ENCYCLOPAEDIA AETHIOPICA

Volume 4

O – X

ENCYCLOPAEDIA
AETHIOPICA

Volume 4
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2010
Harrassowitz Verlag • Wiesbaden

Publication of this book was supported by a grant of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

Vignette:
Gold coin of King Afilas,
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Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek:
Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.ddb.de abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by Die Deutsche Bibliothek:
Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at http://dnb.ddb.de. cip@dbf.ddb.de

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Printed on permanent/durable paper.
Printing and binding: Memminger MedienCentrum AG
Printed in Germany
www.harrassowitz.de/verlag
ISBN

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Preface

It has been six and a half years now since the first volume of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* saw light, and we have arrived to an important landmark: with the exception of approximately 350 remaining articles – most of those beginning with letters Y and Z – the main part of the entire work has been completed. The last outstanding volume, the fifth one, will, along with the aforementioned entries include addenda et corrigenda, overviews, a set of maps and a general index. Thus, the very final stage in the creation of the first ever academic lexicon for a large African cultural region is approaching. The lexicon will create a reliable basis for further research; the index in particular will provide targeted access to its over 4,300 articles.

The humanities – with topics from history and biography, ethnology and linguistics, literature and art history, historical geography and religion – remain at the centre of the *Encyclopaedia*'s thematic scope. At the same time, abundant basic data on land and people, the region's resources, its flora and fauna as well as on the social, economic and political developments from the pre-Aksumite times well into the second half of the 20th century is provided. Some of the subjects have been so far little known even to experienced scholars of Ethiopian studies; in many cases extensive primary research had to be conducted for the articles to take their present shape. These new research results inevitably lead to the necessity to be confirmed and developed in the course of further study. The need of a lengthier profound research has in some cases forced us to postpone certain entries until the next volume. These entry titles appear in the volume in alphabetical order with the endorsement "s. EAE vol. 5".

I am particularly pleased to acknowledge the active participation of many young scholars in the authorship of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. For some of them, this was an important step in their personal academic development. Supported by the Hamburg editorial team, they could thus acquire the important skills that will, among other things, enable them to advance Ethiopian studies. The fact that a considerable share of authors (ca. 20 % in this volume) come from Ethiopia and Eritrea confirms the interest of scholars from the region in this international enterprise which has so far involved over 560 authors from 30 countries.

The *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* provides a basic research tool for the students and scholars of Ethiopian Studies, more general African Studies or Oriental Studies. Its articles as well as bibliographies for further study make many research areas more easily accessible. Moreover, it has in the meanwhile advanced to become a reference work for those involved in economics, politics, diplomacy and development work. It is among the most consulted publications in many University libraries, including Ethiopian ones, as can be easily seen from the obvious signs of wear and tear.

Such positive feedback from colleagues and users motivates the editorial team, co-editors, advisors, field specialists and authors to bring the joint enterprise to a successful and speedy completion.

Acknowledgements

An international venture such as the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* can only succeed thanks to the generous cooperation and support of a large number of persons. In the first place, each and every of the authors should be thanked personally for their dedication. Notwithstanding numerous other commitments, they took the effort to deliver their contributions – and in most cases timely enough for the Hamburg team to have the space for providing the necessary editorial corrections, collecting feedback from reviewers and supplying the articles with maps and illustrations wherever needed. Many had to work under a particular pressure – whether for personal or health reasons, or because they were asked to replace another author – in order to ensure that Volume Four, with its 970 articles, can be completed. To all of them I would like to express my most heartfelt gratitude.

Since the appearance of Volume Three little over two years ago, several former contributors of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* have been snatched by death. They were M. Lionel Bender, Stanisław Chojnacki, Abraham Johannes Drewes, Hussein Ahmed, Joanna Mantel-Niećko, Merid Wolde Aregay and Zewde GebreSellassie. We miss them as friends and colleagues, and we acutely feel the lack of their competence in the project. In one particular case, a text of a longer deceased colleague, Ernst Hammerschmidt (d. 1993), originally published in German, was translated and reused in the current volume (s. the entry Rüppel, Eduard).

The *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* is a living body, and therefore from volume to volume and from year to year the responsibilities of persons may change. Thus, more often than not, older colleagues withdraw and younger scholars take their place. This development is true for the authorship but also for the peer reviewers, both Field Specialists and the Advisory Board members (s. lists p. x). The Field Specialists, who share the responsibility for the academic quality of the lexicon by assuring that no important scholarly aspect has been omitted, deserve my special thanks. Some colleagues were ready to offer more than advice by correspondence and agreed to actively help the editorial team in its daily work by spending lengthy periods of time in Hamburg. They have therefore formed the Advisory Board for the current volume. Abbebe Kifleyesus, Jon Abbink, Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, Gianfranco Fiaccadori, Alessandro Gori, Jonathan Miran, Didier Morin and Witold Witakowski all found time and energy for this task.

Several scholars have been advising us on several occasions without being an official member of either of the aforementioned groups. Their help was of great value for the scholarly quality of the volume, and I would like to thank all those who have been responding to our queries. In particular, on this occasion I would like to express my gratitude to Gian Paolo Calchi Novati, Matthew Curtis, Eloi Ficquet, Fentahun Tiruneh, Ib Friis, Federica Guazzini, Jan Hultin, Wendy James, Mersha Alehegne and Walter Müller.

I would like to repeat my thanks to all those institutions, archives and private persons who have found it possible to place illustrative materials at the disposal of the *Encyclopaedia*.

As before, David Appleyard bore the main responsibility for the quality of the English used throughout the volume. He was strongly supported in this task by Joe McIntyre. To both colleagues I owe my most deepfelt gratitude. The standard in transliteration of Ethiopic terms was additionally controlled by Mersha Alehegne and Maija Priess.

Matthias Schulz was in charge of preparing the maps appearing in this volume, and his skillful work deserves much appreciation.

The main work load remained, however, on the shoulders of the members of the Hamburg editorial team at Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, as the former Research Unit Ethiopian Studies have been now renamed. Without their selfless commitment the appearance of this volume would have been impossible. Their efforts went far beyond formal corrections; they took active part in all important decision-making processes and ensured that the high scientific level of the work could be maintained. In addition to the members of the editorial team listed on p. x, I would like to express my gratitude to the student research assistants who were responsible for the many little things in the background one can so easily forget but that are necessary for the overall success – Isabel Hofmann, Angela Müller and Helen Schmidt.

In autumn 2009 Alessandro Bausi accepted the call as my successor on the Chair of Ethiopian Studies at Hamburg University. From the very start he has invested much of his time and skills in editing the current volume. For this, I am deeply grateful.

A project of such size and scope as the *Encyclopaedia* could never succeed without general financial support. In the first place I would like to thank the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which has now been sponsoring the project for over ten years with a considerable amount. It is with great appreciation that I must also highlight the generous support of the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. The Fritz Thyssen Stiftung sponsored twice special tasks within the project. The German Israeli Foundation has also invested considerable material and personnel costs in particular aspects of the *Encyclopaedia*. Since its very early stages, the Johanna und Fritz Buch Gedächtnis-Stiftung has been providing a yearly subsidy for various research aspects; this help came most handy in several emergency situations. The Sigrid Rausing Trust has enabled some of the authors to spend considerable amount of time on the research for the *Encyclopaedia.* Within a special European cooperation framework, the German Academic Exchange Service has repeatedly supported project members and contributors with generous travel grants. The DeutschÄthiopischeStiftung has been able to help out of a few bottlenecks. Finally, the University of Hamburg deserves a special place on this list, as its constant availability and readiness to help has made the life of the editorial team much easier in many senses.

As with all the previous volumes, the Harrassowitz Verlag and the Memminger printing press have ensured that a due solution was found for all the technical issues and that the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* could maintain its high-quality appearance. The subsidy of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft has once again made it possible that the volume can be sold at its relatively modest constant price.

Siegbert Uhlig

Hamburg, 16 July 2010

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Notes for the User

The *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* uses several conventions that on the one hand standardize the appearance of the articles, and on the other hand facilitate their understanding by the readers. For the transcription and transliteration rules followed in the *Encyclopaedia* s. the corresponding tables in the *Notes for the User* section in Volumes One and Two. A key to the standard Encyclopaedia detail map can also be found in either of the previous two volumes. The section devoted to *Abbreviation Rules* is reproduced in the current volume due to the fact that more bibliographic titles and general abbreviations have been incorporated.

Abbreviation Rules

The *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* works with different types of abbreviations. First and foremost, the main heading is always abbreviated throughout the entry, to one letter if it consists of one or more than two words, and to two letters, if of two words (e.g., "Ometo" - "O.", "Oliqa Dəngəl" - "O.D.", "Täkkälä Wäldä Ḥawaryat" - "T."). The subheadings and titles of subarticles are not abbreviated. If the entry title can have both singular and plural forms, both are abbreviated by the same syglum, the grammatical meaning being elicitable from the context (e.g., "S." in the article "Spirits" stands for both "spirit" and "spirits").

In order to keep the texts compact, a limited set of general abbreviations is used. The frequently used bibliographic references are also abbreviated. The clues are provided in tables on the following pages.

General Abbreviations

abbr.	abbreviation; abbreviated
A.D.	*Anno Domini*
Afr.	African
A.M.	*Anno Misericordiae*; *ʿAmäta Məḥrät* (year in Ethiopian calendar)
A.Mart.	*Anno Martyrum*
Amh.	Amharic
ANLin	Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma
annot.	annotated
anon.	anonymous
Arab.	Arabic; Arabian
art.	article
A.S.L.	above sea level
b.	born
B.A.	Bachelor of Arts
B.C.	Before Christ; Before Common Era
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
bibl.	bibliography; bibliographical
BN	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BritLib	British Library, London
BritMus	British Museum, London
B.Sc.	Bachelor of Sciences
B.S.L.	below sea level
C	Celsius
ca.	*circa*
cent.	century
cf.	confer
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cm	centimetre(s)
col(s).	column(s)
comm.	commented
Copt.	Coptic
cp.	compare
d.	died, dead
D.Sc.	Doctor of Sciences
ead.	*eadem* (the same, fem.)
ed(s).	editor(s); edition; edited
e.g.	*exempli gratia* (for instance)

Engl.	English
Eritr.	Eritrean
esp.	especially
et al.	*et alia* (and others)
etc.	*et cetera*
Eth.	Ethiopian; Ethiopic
f(f).*	(the) following
fasc.	fascicle
fem.	*femininum*
fig(s).	figurative(ly); figure(s)
fl.	flourished
Fr.	French
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
geogr.	geography; geographical
Germ.	German
Gr.	Greek
H.	*hiǧrī* (year of Hiǧra, i.e. in Arab. calendar)
ha	hectar(s)
Har.	Harari
HMML	Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, USA
ibid.	*ibidem* (in the same place)
ICES	International Conference of Ethiopian Studies
id.	*idem* (the same, masc.)
i.e.	*id est* (that is [to say])
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa
iid.	*iidem* (the same, pl.)
ill.	illustration
incl.	including; inclusive(ly)
intr.	introduced; introduction
Ital.	Italian
IUO	Istituto Universitario Orientale (= Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
km	kilometre(s)
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literature; literal(ly)
l(l).	line(s)
m	metre(s)
M.A.	Master of Arts; Magister Artium
masc.	*masculinum*
mf(s).	microfilm(s)
ml	millilitre(s)
mm	millimetre(s)
M.Sc.	Master of Sciences

ms(s).	manuscript(s)
n(n).	note; footnote
n.d.	no date
N.N.	*nomen nominandum*
no.	number
n.p.	no place
obv.	obverse
op.cit.	*opus citatum*
orig.	original(ly)
p(p).	page(s)
p.a.	*per annum*
pers.	person(al) [grammatical]
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy; Philosophiæ Doctor
pl.	plural; plate
pol.	political; politics
pron.	pronoun
r	*recto*
r.	rule(d); reign(ed)
repr.	reprint(ed)
rev.	reverse
s.	see
ser., sér.	series; série
sg.	singular
sp.	spelling; spelled
spec.	specifically; special
src.	source(s)
St.	Saint
sth.	something
s.v.	*sub voce*
suppl.	supplement(ary)
syn.	synonym(ous)
Syr.	Syriac; Syrian
Tgn.	Təgrəñña
Tgr.	Təgre
theol.	theology; theological
tr.	translation; translator; translated
trad.	traditional
v	*verso*
var(s).	variant(s); variation(s)
VatLib	Vatican Library; Biblioteca [Apostolica] Vaticana
vol(s).	volumes
vs.	*versus*

* Wherever the abbreviation "ff." follows upon a page number only two following pages are meant

Bibliographic Abbreviations

AAP	*Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere*, Köln 1985–2002
Abbay	*Abbay. Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la civilisation éthiopienne*, Paris 1977–86/87
AbbCat	Antoine d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris 1859
AbbGeogr	Antoine d'Abbadie, *Géographie de l'Éthiopie, ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu*, Paris 1890
AbbSéjour	Arnauld d'Abbadie, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Ethiopie* (*Abyssinie*), vol. 1, Paris 1868 [repr. Città del Vaticano 1980 (Studi e testi 286)]; vols. 2–4, ed. by Jeanne-Marie Allier, Città del Vaticano 1980, 1983, 1999 (Studi e testi 287, 304, 391)
AbPrince	Mordechai Abir, *Ethiopia*: *the Era of the Princes. The Challenge of Islam and the Re-Unification of the Christian Empire, 1769–1855*, New York 1968
AbSea	Mordechai Abir, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea*: *the Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim-European Rivalry in the Region*, London 1980
ABoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*, Bruxelles 1882ff.
AE	*Annales d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1955ff.
AeF	*Aethiopistische Forschungen*, Stuttgart – Wiesbaden 1977ff.
Aethiopica	*Aethiopica. International Journal of Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies*, Wiesbaden 1998ff.
AfrHorn	Walter Raunig – Steffen Wenig, *Afrikas Horn*: *Akten der Ersten Internationalen Littmann-Konferenz 2. bis 5. Mai 2002 in München*, Wiesbaden 2005 (Meroitica 22)
AfrZion	*African Zion*: *the Sacred Art of Ethiopia*, catalogue by Marilyn Heldman – Stuart C. Munro-Hay, essays by Donald Crummey et al., ed. by Roderick Grierson, New Haven – London 1993
AmhChurchD	Sergew Hable Sellassie (ed.), **የአማርኛ፡ የቤተክርስቲያን፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት**. *Amharic Church Dictionary*, 6 vols., Heidelberg – Addis Ababa 1981–82 A.M. [1989–90 A.D.]
Annali IUO	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Napoli 1940ff.
ArEvang	Gustav Arén, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia. Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus,* Stockholm – Addis Abeba 1978 (Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 32)
AsmGada	Asmarom Legesse, *Gada*: *Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973
AuÜ	*Afrika und Übersee*, Berlin 1910ff.
AWTarik	Asfa-Wossen Asserate, *Die Geschichte von Šawa* (*Äthiopien*) *1700–1865 nach dem Tārika Nagaśt des Belāttēn Gētā Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 53)
BaetDic	Joseph Baeteman, *Dictionnaire amarigna–français. Suivi d'un vocabulaire français–amarigna*, Dire-Daoua 1929
BartOrom	Lambert Bartels, *Oromo Religion*: *Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia*: *an Attempt to Understand,* Berlin 1983 (Collectanea Instituti Anthropos 8)
BassDic	Francesco da Bassano, *Vocabolario tigray–italiano e repertorio italiano–tigray*, Roma 1918
BassÉt [I, II]	René Basset, "Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Première Partie: Chronique éthiopienne, d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris", *JA* 7^{e} sér. 17, 1881, 315–434 [I]; 18, 1881, 93–183, 285–389 [II]; repr. Paris 1882
BassHist [I, II]	Šihābaddīn Aḥmad ibn ^{c}Abdalqādir, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša. Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie* (*XVI*^{e} *siècle*) *par Chihab Eddin Aḥmed ben* ^{c}*Abd el-Qāder, surnommé Arab-Faqih*, *Texte Arabe* [I]; *Traduction Française et notes* [II], ed., tr. by René Basset, 2 vols., Paris 1897 (Publications de l'École des lettres d'Alger 19, 20)
BauEr [I–III]	Alessandro Bausi, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea" [I. Dabra Māryām], *RSE* 38, 1994 [1996] 13-69; [II. Dabra Bizan]", *ibid.* 39, 1995 [1997], 25-48; [III. Dabra Libānos – Dabra Abuna Beṣu'a Amlāk], *ibid*. 41, 1997 [1998], 13–56
BauSen	Alessandro Bausi (ed., tr.), *Il Sēnodos etiopico. Canoni pseudoapostolici: Canoni dopo l'Ascensione, Canoni di Simone Cananeo, Canoni Apostolici, Lettera di Pietro*, Lovanii 1995 (CSCO 552, 553 [SAe 101, 102])
BeckHuntAlm	Charles Fraser Beckingham – George Wynn Brereton Huntingford (ed., tr.), *Some Records of Ethiopia, 1593–1646; being extracts from the History of High Ethiopia or Abassia by Manoel de Almeida, together with Bahrey's History of the Galla*, London 1954 (Hakluyt Society Works, ser. 2, vol. 107); repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein 1967

BeckHunt-Alvar	CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM – GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (eds.), *The Prester John of The Indies. A True Relation of the Lands of the Prester John; being the Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520, written by Father FRANCISCO ALVAREZ*, tr. by Lord STANLEY OF ALDERLEY (1881), Cambridge 1961 (Hakluyt Society Works, ser. 2, vols. 114, 115)
BecRASO I–XV	CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. I: *Notizia e saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la storia di Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII*, Romae 1903; vol. II: P. PETRI PAEZ S.I., *Historia Aethiopiae*, Liber I.II, Romae 1905; vol. III: ID., *Historia Aethiopiae*, Liber III, Romae 1906; vol. IV: P. EMMANUELIS BARRADAS S.I., *Tractatus tres historico-geographici*, Romae 1906; vol. V: P. EMMANUELIS D'ALMEIDA S.I., *Historia Aethiopiae*, Liber I-IV, Romae 1907; vol. VI: ID., *Historia Aethiopiae*, Liber V-VIII, Romae 1907; vol. VII: ID., *Historia Aethiopiae*, Liber IX et X, Romae 1908; vol. VIII: Patriarchae ALPH. MENDEZ S.I., *Expeditionis Aethiopicae*, Liber I et II, Romae 1908; vol. IX: ID., *Expeditionis Aethiopicae*, Liber III et IV, Romae 1909; vol. X: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Prima, Liber I, Romae 1910; vol. XI: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Prima, Liber II, Romae 1911; vol. XII: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Prima, Liber III, Romae 1912; vol. XIII: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Prima, Liber IV, Romae 1913; vol. XIV: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Secunda, Liber Unicus, Romae 1914; vol. XV: *Index analyticus totius operis*, Romae 1917
BegCron	FRANCESCO BÉGUINOT, *La Cronaca abbreviata d'Abissinia, nuova versione dall'etiopico e commento*, Roma 1901
BendLang	MARVIN LIONEL BENDER et al., *Language in Ethiopia*, London 1976
BendNon-SLang	MARVIN LIONEL BENDER et al., *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, East Lansing, MI 1976
BerTarik	BƏRHANÄ MÄSQÄL TÄSFAMARYAM, **ታሪክ፡ ገዳማት፡ ዘምድረ፡ ኣግኣዚት፡ ኤርትራ፡ ወስርዓተ፡ ብሕትውና፡ ንኑም፡ ወዋልድባ፡ ካብ፡ ጥንቲ፡ ክሳብ፡ ሕጂ** (*Tarik gädamat zämədrä agʾazit Erətra wäsərʿatä bəḥtəwənna nənum wäwaldəbba kab ṭənti kəsab ḥəǧǧi*, 'The History of the Cloisters of the Country of *Agʾazit* of Eritrea, and the Customs of the Asceticism of the "Nənum" [lit. 'Let us Sleep'] and Waldəbba, from the Origins till Nowadays'), Aśmära ^{2}1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.]
BerkAdwa	GEORGE FITZ–HARDINGE BERKELEY, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik,* Westminster 1902; London ^{2}1935; New York ^{3}1969
BezKebr	CARL BEZOLD (ed.), *Kebra Nagast*: *Die Herrlichkeit der Könige*, München 1905 (Abhandlungen der königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, I Klasse, Band XXIII, Abhandlung I)
BeyRodRép	ROBERT BEYLOT – MAXIME RODINSON, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits éthiopiens*, Paris - Turnhout 1995 (Documents, études et répertoires 46)
BHO	[PAULUS PEETERS (ed.)], *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, Bruxelles 1910 (Subsidia hagiographica 10)
BHTOrom	PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – JAN HULTIN – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI (eds.), *Being and Becoming Oromo*: *Historical and Anthropological Enquiries*, Uppsala – Lawrenceville, NJ 1996
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden 1943ff.
BlunChr	HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL (ed., tr.), *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769–1840*, Cambridge 1922
BrakKirche	HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, ***Τὸ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔργον θεῖον****. Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum,* Bonn 1994
BrHad	ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens*: *von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50)
BrKam	ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Die Kambata. Geschichte und Gesellschaft eines südäthiopischen Bauernvolkes*, Wiesbaden 1983 (SKK 65)
BruNile	JAMES BRUCE OF KINNAIRD, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*, 5 vols., Edinburgh 1790
BSO[A]S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental* [*and African*] *Studies*, London 1917ff.
BTafA	BAIRU TAFLA (ed., tr.), *Aṣma Giyorgis and His Work*: *History of the Gāllā and the Kingdom of Šawā*, Stuttgart 1987 (AeF 18)
BTafY	BAIRU TAFLA (ed., tr.), *A Chronicle of Emperor Yohannes IV* (*1872–89*), Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 1)
BudHist	ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE, *A History of Ethiopia* (*Nubia & Abyssinia*), *according to the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Egypt and Nubia, and the Ethiopian Chronicles*, 2 vols., London 1928; repr. Oosterhout 1966
BudSaint	ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE (ed.), *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 4 vols., Cambridge 1928; repr. Hildesheim – New York 1976
BZHist	BAHRU ZEWDE, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1974,* London – Athens – Addis Ababa 1991
CANT	MAURITS GEERARD (ed.), *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, Turnhout 1992 (Corpus Christianorum)

CAVT	JEAN-CLAUDE HAELEWYCK, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Turnhout 1998 (Corpus Christianorum)
CE	AZIZ S. ATIYA (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 8 vols., New York 1991
CecZeila	ANTONIO CECCHI, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, 3 vols., Roma 1886–87
CentAddis	AHMED ZEKARIA – BAHRU ZEWDE – TADDESE BEYENE (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa: November 24–25, 1986*, Addis Ababa 1987
CentAdwa	ABDUSSAMAD HUSAIN AHMED – RICHARD PANKHURST (eds.), *Adwa: Victory Centenary Conference, 26 February – 2 March 1996*, Addis Ababa 1998
CerDLib [I–III]	ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo la «lista rimata» (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* nova ser. 12, 1943, 226–53 [I]; *ibid.* 13, 1944, 137–82 [II]; "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo le liste recenti (sec. XVIII–XX)", *ibid.* 14, 1945, 143–71 [III]
CerEt	ENRICO CERULLI, *Etiopia occidentale. Dallo Scioa alla frontiera del Sudan. Note del viaggio 1927–28*, 2 vols., Roma 1930, 1933 (Collezione di opere e di monografie a cura del Ministero delle Colonie 6, 16)
CerFolk	ENRICO CERULLI, *The Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge, MA 1922 (Harvard African Studies 3)
CerIslam	ENRICO CERULLI, *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi,* Roma 1971 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 64)
CerLett	ENRICO CERULLI, *La letteratura etiopica*, Milano ^{3}1968 (La letterature del mondo 30)
CerMaria	ENRICO CERULLI, *Il libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del Medio Evo latino*, Roma 1943 (Reale Università di Roma. Studi orientali, pubblicati a cura della Scuola orientale 1)
CerPal	ENRICO CERULLI, *Etiopi in Palestina. Storia della comunità etiopica di Gerusalemme*, 2 vols., Roma 1943, 1947 (Collezione scientifica e documentaria a cura del Ministero dell'Africa italiana 12, 14)
CerPeople	ERNESTA CERULLI, *Peoples of South-West Ethiopia and its Borderland*, London 1956 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, North Eastern Africa 3)
CerSom I-III	ENRICO CERULLI, *Somalia: scritti vari editi e inediti*, vol. 1: *Storia della Somalia*; *L'Islām in Somalia*; *Il libro degli Zengi*, vol. 2: *Diritto. Etnografia. Linguistica. Come viveva una tribù Hawiyya*, vol. 3: *La poesia dei somali. La tribù somala. Lingua somala in caratteri arabi ed altri saggi*, Roma 1957, 1959, 1964
CerStud I–IV	ENRICO CERULLI, *Studi Etiopici*, vol. 1: *La lingua e la storia di Harar*, vol. 2: *La lingua e la storia dei Sidamo*, vol. 3: *Il Linguaggio dei Giangerò ed alcune lingue Sidama dell'Omo* (*Basketo, Ciara, Zaissè*), vol. 4: *La Lingua Caffina*, Roma 1936, 1936, 1938 [repr. 1963], 1951
ChAbb	MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie. Supplément au Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de H. Zotenberg* (*1877-1912*), Paris 1912
ChMonV	MARIUS CHAÎNE, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Mondon-Vidailhet*, Paris 1913
ChojPaint	STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting: Indigenous Developments, the Influence of Foreign Models and their Adaptation from the 13th to the 19th Century*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 10)
ChRep	MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Répertoire des Salam et Malke'e contenus dans les manuscrits éthiopiens des bibliothèques d'Europe", *ROC* 2ème sér. 8 [18], 1913, 183–203, 337–57
ChTana	ROBERT ERNEST CHEESMAN, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile, an Abyssinian Quest*, London 1936; repr. 1968
CIH	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. IV: *Inscriptiones Himyariticas et Sabaeas continens*, 3 vols., Paris 1889–1932
ClapHS	CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Haile Selassie's Government*, London 1969
ColSyn VI–XIV	GÉRARD COLIN, *Le synaxaire éthiopien. Mois de Maskaram*, Turnhout 1986 (PO 43, fasc. 3) [VI]; *Mois de Ṭeqemt*, Turnhout 1987 (PO 44, fasc. 1) [VII]; *Mois de Ḫedār*, Turnhout 1988 (PO 44, fasc. 3) [VIII]; *Mois de Ṭerr*, Turnhout 1990 (PO 45, fasc. 1) [IX]; *Mois de Yakkātit*, Turnhout 1992 (PO 45, fasc. 3) [X]; *Mois de Maggābit*, Turnhout 1994 (PO 46, fasc. 3) [XI]; *Mois de Miyāzyā*, Turnhout 1995 (PO 46, fasc. 4) [XII]; *Mois de Genbot*, Turnhout 1997 (PO 47, fasc. 3) [XIII]; *Index généraux, annexes*, Turnhout 1999 (PO 48, fasc. 3) [XIV]
ConzGal	WILLIAM EL. CONZELMAN (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Galâwdêwos* (*Claudius*): *Roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1895 (Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences philologiques et historiques 104)
CPG I–V, Suppl.	MAURITIUS GEERARD (ed., tr.), *Clavis patrum Graecorum, qua optimas quaeque scriptorum patrum Graecorum recensiones a primaevis saeculis usque ad octavum commode recluduntur,* vol. 1: *Patres antenicaeni*, Turnhout 1983 [I]; vol. 2: *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*, Turnhout 1974 [II]; vol. 3: *A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum*, Turnhout 1979 [III]; vol. 4: *Concilia. Catenae*, Turnhout 1980 [IV]; vol. 5: *Indices, initia, concordantiae*, Turnhout 1987 [V] (Corpus Christianorum); JACQUES NORET – MAURITS GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum*, Brepols 1998 (Corpus Christianorum) [Suppl.]

CRAbb [I–IV]	Carlo Conti Rossini, “Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d’Abbadie”, *JA* 10e sér., 19, 1912, 551–78 [I]; 20, 1912, 5–72, 449–94 [II]; 11e sér., 2, 1913, 5–64 [III]; 6, 1915, 189–238, 445–93 [IV]; repr. Paris 1914
CrawItin	Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford, *Ethiopian Itineraries, circa 1400–1524; Including those Collected by Alessandro Zorzi at Venice in the Years 1519–24*, Cambridge 1958 (Works of the Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 109)
CRAxum [I, II]	Carlo Conti Rossini (ed., tr.), *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam,* I: *Liber Axumae*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1909 (CSCO 54 [SAe 8]); repr. Louvain 1962 [SAe 24] [text]; II: *Liber Axumae*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1910 (CSCO 58 [SAe 8]); repr. Louvain 1961 [SAe 27] [tr.]
CRDLib	Carlo Conti Rossini, “L’Evangelo d’oro di Dabra Libānos”, *RRALm* ser. 5a, 10, 1901, 177–219
CRHist	Carlo Conti Rossini (ed., tr.)*, Historia Regis Sarsa Dengel* (*Malak Sagad*)*. Accedit Historia gentis Galla,* curante [et interprete] I. Guidi, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1907 (CSCO 20, 21 [SAe 3, 4])
CRList	Carlo Conti Rossini, “Les listes des rois d’Aksoum”, *JA* 10e sér., 14, 1909, 263–320
CRNuov	Carlo Conti Rossini, “Nuovi documenti per la storia d’Abissinia nel secolo XIX”, *RRALm* ser. 8a, 2, 1947, 357–416
CRReal	Carlo Conti Rossini, “La cronaca reale abissina dall’anno 1800 all’anno 1840”, *RRALm* ser. 5a, 26, 1916 [1917], 779–922
CRRicBerhan	Carlo Conti Rossini – Lanfranco Ricci (eds., trs.), *Il libro della luce del negus Zar’a Yāᶜqob* (*Maṣḥafa Berhān*), Louvain 1964–65 (CSCO 250–51, 261–62 [SAe 47–48, 51–52])
CRStor	Carlo Conti Rossini, *Storia d’Etiopia*, I: *Dalle origini all’avvento della dinastia salomonide*, Milano 1928 (Africa italiana 3)
CRStud	Carlo Conti Rossini (ed.), *Studi etiopici,* Roma 1945
CrumLand	Donald Crummey, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia*: *from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Oxford 2000
CrumMis	Donald Crummey, *Priests and Politicians. Protestant and Catholic Missions in Orthodox Ethiopia, 1830–1868*, Oxford 1972
CSA 1984	Office of the Population and Housing Census Commission (Central Statistical Authority) (ed.), *Ethiopia 1984. Population and Housing Census*: *Preliminary Report*, vol. 1, 1, Addis Ababa, September 1984
CSA 1996	Central Statistical Authority (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*: *Results for Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Region* 1, Addis Ababa 1996
CSA 1998	Central Statistical Authority (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998
CSA 2000	Central Statistical Authority (ed.), *Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa 2000
CSA 2004	Central Statistical Authority (ed.), *Statistical Abstract 2003*, Addis Ababa 2004
CSA 2008	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission [Central Statistical Agency] (ed.), *Summary and Statistical Report of the 2007 Population and Housing Census. Population Size by Age and Sex*, Addis Ababa 2008
CSCO	*Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium*, Louvain 1903ff.
CSO 1971	Central Statistical Office, *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 1970,* Addis Ababa 1971
DAE I–IV	Enno Littmann — Theodor von Lüpke (eds.), *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition,* I: *Reisebericht der Expedition. Topographie und Geschichte Aksums*, Berlin 1913 [I]; Daniel Krencker — Theodor von Lüpke (eds.), *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition,* II: *Ältere Denkmäler Nordabessiniens. Mit einem Anhang von* Robert Zahn, Berlin 1913 [II]; Theodor von Lüpke — Enno Littmann — Daniel Krencker (eds.), *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition,* III: *Profan- und Kulturbauten Nordabessiniens aus älterer und neuerer Zeit*, Berlin 1913 [III]; Enno Littmann (ed.), *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition,* IV: *Sabäische, griechische und altabessinische Inschriften*, Berlin 1913 [IV]
DaiMarEr	Giotto Dainelli – Olinto Marinelli, *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912
DerDomTh	Marie-Laure Derat, *La formation du domaine royal éthiopien sous la dynastie salomonienne* (*1270–1527*), Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris I 1998
DerDom	Marie-Laure Derat, *Le domaine des rois éthiopien* (*1270–1527*): *espace, pouvoire et monachisme*, Paris 2003 (Publications de la Sorbonne, Histoire ancienne et médiévale 72)
DicEthBio	Belaynesh Michael – Stanisław Chojnacki – Richard Pankhurst (eds.), *The Dictionary of Ethiopian Biography*, I: *From Early Times to the End of the Zagwé Dynasty c. 1270 A.D.*, Addis Ababa 1975

DillmBerl	August Dillmann, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, III: *Verzeichniss der abessinischen Handschriften*, Berlin 1878
DillmBodl	Augustus Dillmann, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis*, VII: *Codices aethiopici*, Oxonii 1848
DillmChr	Augustus Dillmann, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, Lipsiae 1866 [repr. in: Ernst Hammerschmidt (ed.), *Anthologia Aethiopica*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1988]
DillmLex	Augustus Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicae*, Lipsiae 1865; repr. New York 1955; Osnabrück 1970
DillmLond	Augustus Dillmann, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur, Pars tertia, codices Aethiopicos amplectens*, Londini 1847
DillmZarY	August Dillmann, "Über die Regierung, insbesondere die Kirchenordnung des Königs Zar'a Jacob", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, *Philosophisch-historische Classe* 15, 1884, 1–79
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MiscAethKur	MIECZYSŁAW LUBAŃSKI et al. (eds.), *Miscellanea Aethiopica Reverendissimo Domino Stanislao Kur septuagenario professori illustrissimo viro amplissimo ac doctissimo oblata*, Warszawa 2000 (= *Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne* 12, 2, 1999)
MockWar	ANTHONY MOCKLER, *Haile Selassie's War: the Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935–1941*, New York 1984, Oxford ^{2}2003
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MonVidMus	FRANÇOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET, "La musique éthiopienne", in: ALBERT LAVIGNAC (ed.), *Encyclopédie de la musique et Dictionnaire du conservatoire*, Paris 1922, vol. 5, 1, 3179–96
MonVidTheo	FRANÇOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Théodoros II, roi des rois d'Éthiopie (1853–1868), d'après un manuscrit original,* Paris [1904]; repr. Westmead 1971
MorDicAfar	DIDIER MORIN, *Dictionnaire historique afar (1288–1982)*, Paris 2004
MorTeod	MARTINO MARIO MORENO, "La Cronaca di Re Teodoro Attribuita al Dabtarà Zaneb", *RSE* 2, 2, 1942, 143–80
MRALm	*Memorie della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1898ff. [after 1947: *Memorie della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei …*]
MuhTarih	MUḤAMMAD ʿUṮMĀN ABŪ BAKR, *Taʾrīḫ Īrītriyā al-muʿāṣir: arḍan wa-šaʿban* ('The Contemporary History of Eritrea: Land and People'), Cairo 1994
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NadEr	SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *The Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944
NÆ	*Nubica et Æthiopica. Internationales Jahrbuch für koptische, meroitisch-nubische, äthiopische und verwandte Studien*, Warszawa 1987ff.
NEASt	*Northeast African Studies*, East Lansing, MI 1979ff.
OMahPh[^{2}]	KEVIN O'MAHONEY, *"The Ebullient Phoenix". A History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia*, 3 vols., Asmara 1982, 1987, 1991 [ID., *The Ebullient Phoenix: a History of the Vicariate of Abyssinia 1839 – 1916*: *Revised as one Book*, Addis Ababa ^{2}2002]
OrbAethChoj	PIOTR O. SCHOLZ – RICHARD PANKHURST – WITOLD WITAKOWSKI (eds.), *Orbis Aethiopicus*: *Studia in honorem Stanislaus Chojnacki natali septuagesimo quinto dicata, septuagesimo septimo oblata*, Albstadt 1992 (Bibliotheca nubica 3)
OrChr	*Oriens Christianus*, Leipzig – Roma – Wiesbaden 1901ff.
OrChrA	*Orientalia Christiana analecta*, Roma 1923ff.
OrChrP	*Orientalia Christiana periodica*, Roma 1935ff.
PankBord	RICHARD PANKHURST, *The Ethiopian Borderlands*: *Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1997
PankEcon	RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968
PankHist I, II	RICHARD PANKHURST, *History of Ethiopian Towns*: *from the Middle Ages to the Early Ninteenth Century*, Wiesbaden 1982 (AeF 8) [I]; ID., *History of Ethiopian Towns*: *from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to 1935*, Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 17) [II]
PankIntro	RICHARD PANKHURST, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia, from Early Times to 1800*, London 1961

PankSoc	Richard Pankhurst, *A Social History of Ethiopia: The Northern and Central Highlands from Early Medieval Times to the Rise of Emperor Téwodros II*, Addis Ababa 1990
PerChron	Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, *Chronica de Susenyos, rei de Ethiopia*, 2 vols., Lisboa 1892–1900
PerGov	Margery Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, London 1948
PerrAmdS	Jules Perruchon (ed., tr.), "Histoire des guerres d'^{c}Amda-Ṣeyon, roi d'Éthiopie, traduite de l'Éthiopien", *JA* 8^e sér., 14, 1889, 271–363, 381–493; repr. Paris 1890
PerrEsk	Jules Perruchon (ed., tr.), "Histoire d'Eskender, d'^{c}Amda-Ṣeyon II et de Nâ'od, rois d'Éthiopie. Texte éthiopien inédit comprenant en outre un fragment de la chronique de Ba'eda-Mâryâm, leur prédécesseur, et traduction", *JA* 9^e sér., 3, 1894, 319–66
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PICES 16 [online]	Svein Ege et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, 4 vols., Trondheim 2009 [online version: http://portal.svt.ntnu.no/sites/ices16/Proceedings/Forms/Allitems.aspx; last access: 27 October 2010]
PNCES 1	Tadesse Beyene – Richard Pankhurst – Ahmed Zekaria (eds.), *Proceedings of the First National Conference of Ethiopian Studies, April 11–12 1990*, Addis Ababa 1990
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris 1903ff.
PollEr	Alberto Pollera, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935 (Manuali coloniali 2)
PrRosDic	Chris Prouty – Eugene Rosenfeld, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, Metuchen, NJ ^{2}1994
QSE	*Quaderni di Studi Etiopici*, Asmara 1980–87
RaiCer	Osvaldo Raineri, *Inventario dei manoscritti Cerulli etiopici*, Città del Vaticano 2004 (Studi e testi 420; Cataloghi sommari e inventari dei fondi manoscritti 8)
RANLmor	*Rendiconti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1947ff.
RasTheo	Hormuzd Rassam, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*, 2 vols., London 1869
RevSem	*Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne*, Paris 1893–1914
RicEnbYoh I–V	Lanfranco Ricci, "Le *Vite* di Ĕnbāqom e di Yoḥannĕs, abbati di Dabra Libānos di Scioa", *RSE* 13, 1954 [1955], 91–120 [I]; *ibid.* 14, [1955–58] 1959, 69–107 [II]; *ibid.* 22, 1966, 75–102 [III]; *ibid.* 23, 1967–68 [1969], 79–219 [IV]; *ibid.* 24, [1969–70] 1971, 134–232 [parte II: La *Vita* di Yoḥannes] [V]
RicLett	Lanfranco Ricci, "Letterature dell'Etiopia", in: Oscar Botto (ed.), *Storia delle letterature dell'Oriente*, vol. 1, Milano 1969, 801–911
RIÉ I–III	Etienne Bernand – Abraham Johannes Drewes – Roger Schneider, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*, I: *Les documents*, II: *Les planches*, Paris 1991; III: *Traductions et commentaires,* A. *Les inscriptions grecques*, par Étienne Bernard, Paris 2000
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, Paris 1896–1946; repr. New York 1966
RRALm	*Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1892ff. [after 1947: *RANLmor*]
RSE	*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Roma 1941ff.
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali*, Roma 1907ff.
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RubTew	Sven Rubenson, *King of Kings, Tewodros of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa – Nairobi 1966 (Haile Sellassie I University Department of History: Historical Studies 2)
SalTrav	Henry Salt, *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of that Country, Executed under the Orders of the British Government in the Years 1809 and 1810*, London 1816; repr. 1967
S.L.L.E. linguistic reports	*Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia. Linguistic Reports*, Addis Ababa 1992–95
SAe	*Scriptores Aethiopici* (within CSCO)
SawHist	Sawīrus Ibn al-Muqaffa^{c} [et al.], *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, *Known as the History of the Holy Church,* tr. by ^{c}Aziz Suryal Atiya – Yassa ^{c}Abd al-Masīḥ – Oswald Hugh Ewart Burmester, Cairo 1948–59; tr. by Antoine Khater – Oswald Hugh Ewart Burmester, Cairo ^{2}1968–70

SegBodLes	Stanislav Segert – András J.E. Bodrogligeti (eds.), *Ethiopian Studies: Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, November 14th, 1981, by Friends and Colleagues,* Wiesbaden 1983
SerHist	Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270*, Addis Ababa 1972
ShGurage	William A. Shack, *The Gurage. A People of the Ensete Culture*, London – New York – Nairobi 1966
SihFutuh	Šihābaddīn Aḥmad ibn ᶜAbdalqādir (ᶜArab Faqīh), *Tuḫfat az-zamān, aw Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša, aṣ-ṣirāᶜ aṣ-ṣūmālī al-ḫabašī fī l-qarn as-sādis ᶜašar al-mīlādī* (‘The Gift of the Epoch, or the Conquest of Abyssinia, the Somali-Abyssinian Struggle in the 16th Cent. A.D.’), ed. by Fahīm Muḥammad Šaltūt, Al-Qāhira 1394 H. [1974 A.D.]
SimDillmChr	Jean Simon, “Notes bibliographiques sur les textes de la «Chrestomathia Aethiopica» de A. Dillmann”, *Orientalia* nova ser. 10, 1941, 285-311
SixBay	Veronika Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften* Teil 2: *Die Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, ed. by Ernst Hammerschmidt, Stuttgart 1989 (VOHD 20, 5)
SixDeu	Veronika Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften*: Teil 3: *Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken, Museen und aus Privatbesitz*, Stuttgart 1994 (VOHD 20, 6)
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SKK	*Studien zur Kulturkunde*, Stuttgart – Wiesbaden 1933ff.
SNR	*Sudan Notes and Records*, Khartoum 1918ff.
StAfEt	*Studi Africanistici. Serie Etiopica*, Napoli 1992ff.
StrANL	Stefan Strelcyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de l’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Fonds Conti Rossini et Fonds Caetani 209, 375, 376, 377, 378*, Roma 1976 (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Indici e sussidi bibliografici della biblioteca 9)
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TedEthPrel [I, II]	Salvatore Tedeschi, “Ethiopian Prelates”, in: *CE*, vol. 3, 999–1003 [I]; vol. 4, 1005–44 [II]
THMDic	Täsämma Habtä Mikaʾel, **ከሣቴ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተሰማ። የዐማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Käśate Bərhan Täsämma. Yäᶜamarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, ‘Täsämma, the Light Revealer. An Amharic Dictionary’), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]
TilDic	Tilahun Gamta, *Oromo–English Dictionary*, Addis Ababa 1989
TrIslam	John Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London – Oxford – New York 1952
TSTarik I-IV	Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ኑብያ – አክሱም፡ ዛጕዬ፡ እስከ፡ ዐፄ፡ ይኵኖ፡ አምላክ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት። ፩ኛ፡ መጽሐፍ** (*Yäʾityopya tarik. Nubəya - Aksum Zagʷəye əskä ᶜaṣe Yəkʷənno Amlak zämänä mängəśt. Andäñña mäṣḥaf*, ‘History of Ethiopia. Nubia, Aksum, Zagʷe till the Time of Reign of *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak. Book I’), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; Id., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ፪ኛ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ከዐፄ፡ ይኵኖ፡ አምላክ፡ እስከ፡ ዐፄ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል** (*Yäʾityopya tarik. Hulättäñña mäṣḥaf*: *käᶜaṣe Yəkʷənno Amlak əskä ᶜaṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl*, ‘History of Ethiopia. Book II: from *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak to *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl’), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; Id., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ከዐፄ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡ እስከ፡ ዐፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስ** (*Yäʾityopya tarik. Käᶜaṣe Ləbnä Dəngəl əskä ᶜaṣe Tewodros*, ‘History of Ethiopia. [Book III:] From *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl to *aṣe* Tewodros’), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; ^{5}1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.]; Id., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ። ከአፄ፡ ቴዎድሮስ፡ እስከ፡ ቀደማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ** (*Yäʾityopya tarik. Käʾaṣe Tewodros əskä qädämawi Ḫaylä Śəllase*, ‘History of Ethiopia. [Book IV:] From *aṣe* Tewodros to Ḫaylä Śəllase I’), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.]
TurIz	Boris Turaev, *Izsledovanija v oblasti agiologičeskih istočnikov istorii Efiopii* (‘A Study on the Hagiographic Sources for the History of Ethiopia’), St. Petersburg 1902
UhPal	Siegbert Uhlig, *Äthiopische Paläographie*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 22)
UllBibl	Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, London 1968 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967)

UmMasSezg	IBN FAḌLALLÂH AL-^{c}UMARĪ, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, *'Routes toward insight into the capital empires'*, ed. by FUAT SEZGIN, Frankfurt/Main 1988 (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Series C, Facsimile Editions 46, 4)
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USCES	HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS – JOHN HINNANT (eds.), *Proceedings of the First United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies, Michigan State University, 2–5 May 1973*, East Lansing, MI 1975 (Monograph no. 3, Occasional Papers Series, Committee on Ethiopian Studies)
VarAeth	DENIS NOSNITSIN et al. (eds.), *Varia Aethiopica. In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov* (*1943–2005*), St. Petersburg 2005 (= *Scrinium* 1)
VelMaw	BERNARD VELAT, "Le Mawāsəʾət et les livres de chant liturgique éthiopien", in: *Mémorial du Cinquantenaire de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, Paris 1964 (Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris 10), 159–70
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VOHD	*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Wiesbaden – Stuttgart 1961ff.
VSAe I–III	ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN (ed.), *Altvölker Süd-Äthiopiens*, mit Beiträgen von EIKE HABERLAND – ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN – W. SCHULZ-WEIDNER – ELISABETH PAULI, Stuttgart 1959 (Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950–52, 1954–56, Teil 1) [I]; EIKE HABERLAND, *Galla Süd-Äthiopiens*, mit einem Beitrag von K. REINHARDT, Stuttgart 1963 (Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950–52, 1954–56, Teil 2) [II]; HELMUT STRAUBE, *Westkuschitische Völker Süd-Äthiopiens*, mit einem Beitrag von W. SCHULZ-WEIDNER, Stuttgart 1963 (Völker Süd-Äthiopiens. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expeditionen 1950–52, 1954–56, Teil 3) [III]
WagFath	EWALD WAGNER (ed., tr.), *Legende und Geschichte. Der Fatḥ Madīnat Harar von Yaḥyā Naṣrallāh*, Wiesbaden 1978 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 44, 3)
WagHand	EWALD WAGNER, *Afrikanische Handschriften*, Teil 2: *Islamische Handschriften aus Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1997 (VOHD 24, 2)
WagHar	EWALD WAGNER, *Harar*: *Annotierte Bibliographie zum Schrifttum über die Stadt und den Islam in Südostäthiopien*, Wiesbaden 2003 (AeF 61)
WälYoh	WITOLD WITAKOWSKI - LAURA ŁYKOWSKA (eds.), Wälättä Yoḥanna. *Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Joanna Mantel-Niećko on the Occasion of the 50th Year of Her Work at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Warsaw University*, Warszawa 2006 (= *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 59, 1)
WenDAE I	STEFFEN WENIG (ed.), *In kaiserlichem Auftrag*: *Die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 unter Enno Littmann*, vol. 1: *Die Akteure und die wissenschaftlichen Unternehmungen der DAE in Eritrea*, Aichwald 2006
WrBriMus	WILLIAM WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the Year 1847*, London 1877
YaqMist I–II	YAQOB BEYENE, *Giyorgis di Saglā*: *il libro del Mistero* (*Maṣḥafa Mesṭir*), Louvain 1990 (CSCO 515, 516 [SAe 89, 90]) [I]; Louvain 1993 (CSCO 532, 533 [SAe 97, 98]) [II]
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, Leipzig 1886–1938
ZanBibl I-II	SILVIO ZANUTTO, *Bibliografia etiopica in continuazione alla "Bibliografia etiopica" di G. Fumagalli. Primo contributo*: *Bibliografia*, Roma ^{2}1936 [I]; *Secondo contributo*: *manoscritti etiopici*, Roma 1932 [II]
ZanLitTheod	*däbtära* ZÄNNÄB, *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinia*, ed. by ENNO LITTMANN, Princeton 1902
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig – Wiesbaden – Stuttgart 1847ff.
ZerÉth	ADRIEN ZERVOS, *L'empire d'Éthiopie. Le miroir de Éthiopie moderne*, Alexandria 1936
ZewYohan	ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia*: *a Political Biography,* Oxford 1975
ZotBNat	HERMAN ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens* (*Gheez et Amharique*) *de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1877.
ZRErtra	ZÄWDE RÄTTA, የኤርትራ፡ ጉዳይ 1941–1963 (*Yäʾerətra gudday* 1941–1963, 'The Eritrean Question 1941–1963'), Addis Abäba 2002
ZSem	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, [Leipzig] 1922–35

Biblical Abbreviations

O.T.	**Old Testament**		
Gen	Genesis	Prov	Proverbs
Ex	Exodus	Ecc	Ecclesiastes
Lev	Leviticus	Song	Song of Songs
Num	Numbers	Wis	Wisdom
Deut	Deuteronomy	Sir	Sirach
Josh	Joshua	Ba	Baruch
Judg	Judges	Is	Isaiah
Ruth	Ruth	Jer	Jeremiah
1 Sam	1 Samuel	Lam	Lamentations
2 Sam	2 Samuel	Ezek	Ezekiel
1 Kgs	1 Kings	Dan	Daniel
2 Kgs	2 Kings	Hos	Hosea
1 Chr	1 Chronicles	Joel	Joel
2 Chr	2 Chronicles	Am	Amos
Ezra	Ezra	Obad	Obadiah
Tob	Tobit	Jon	Jonah
Jdt	Judith	Mic	Micah
Neh	Nehemiah [= 2 Ezra]	Nah	Nahum
3 Ezra	Apocryphal Book of Ezra	Hab	Habakkuk
4 Ezra	Apocalypse of Ezra	Zeph	Zephaniah
Esth	Esther	Hag	Haggai
1 Mac	1 Maccabees	Zech	Zechariah
2 Mac	2 Maccabees	Mal	Malachi
Job	Job	En	Enoch
Ps	Psalms	Jub	Jubilees

N.T.	**New Testament**		
Mt	Matthew	1 Tim	1 Timothy
Mk	Mark	2 Tim	2 Timothy
Lk	Luke	Tit	Titus
Jn	John	Phlm	Philemon
Acts	Acts	Heb	Hebrews
Rom	Romans	Jas	James
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	1 Pet	1 Peter
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	2 Pet	2 Peter
Gal	Galatians	1 Jn	1 John
Eph	Ephesians	2 Jn	2 John
Phil	Philippians	3 Jn	3 John
Col	Colossians	Jude	Jude
1 Thes	1 Thessalonians	Rev	Revelation
2 Thes	2 Thessalonians		

O

O rəḫrəḫtä ḫəllina

O.r. (**ኦርኀርኀተ፡ ኀሊና**, lit. ‘Oh merciful of mind …’) is the incipit of the Gəᶜəz Marian ↗hymn describing in detail the magnanimity of St. ↗Mary and her icon.

Describing ms. BN d’Abbadie 102, Carlo ↗Conti Rossini erroneously referred to the hymn (fols. 53r–59r) as the ↗*Ḥaṣurä mäsqäl*, for the second verse of the first strophe ends with these words (CRAbb 75, no. 51). Being not a ↗*mälkəʾ*, the O.r. appears in the ↗*Mälkəʾa gubaʾe* under the title **መልክአ፡ ሥዕል** (*Mälkəʾa śəᶜəl*, ‘Image of the Icon’). It also features in liturgical compositions: in the ↗*Säᶜatat* (Mogäs ᶜƎqʷəbä Giyorgis 1964: 182), it is recited before the Eucharistic liturgy. It is regularly performed during the feasts of St. Mary, usually with a large chorus, accompanied with ↗*käbäro* and ↗*ṣänaṣəl*. In some monasteries, it is sung daily.

The O.r. contains 17 strophes, the first with six verses and the others with five rhymed verses each, following the scheme of the ↗*mälkəʾat*. Each of the five verses within one strophe ends with the same consonant. The first four strophes start with “O.r.”, most of the others have the incipit *sälam lä śəᶜələki* (‘Salutation for your icon …’). The 13th strophe starts with *sägid* (or *sälam*) *wäʾamməḫa yədällu läśəᶜələki;* and the 16th with *bäʾityopəya wägəbṣ*, with *sälam lä śəᶜələki* at the end of the verse.

The O.r. opens with a description of the character of Mary, followed by a list of her miraculous deeds. Unlike most *mälkəʾat*, the O.r. does not follow the systematic worship of the different parts of Mary’s body. It extensively praises the depiction of Mary and connects the Apostles and other contemporaries to the Virgin (e.g., it is due to her that Matthew became an Evangelist). The O.r. is often included with the manuscripts of the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* (e.g., ms. Orient. 641, WrBriMus 48) and contains numerous allusions to and quotations from the latter text. In the last strophe, the author of the *Täʾammərä Maryam* St. Ildephonse (here Däqsəyos) threatens all those who reject her miracles with excommunication.

The list of authors of different *mälkəʾat* found in ms. EMML 1706, fols. 50r–51r, names *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos as the author of the O.r. (Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 373f.).

Src.: ChAbb 74–77, no. 51 [d’Abbadie 102]; ChRep no. 368; *liqä mäzämmməran* Mogäs ᶜƎqʷəbä Giyorgis (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት** (*Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat*, ‘Book of the Hours’), Asmära 1969, 182; Alcide Roman, “Une hymne du Nagara Maryam”, *ROC* 23, 1922–23, 416–26; Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase (ed.), **መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ** (*Mälkəʾa gubaʾe*, ‘The Collection of *Mälkəʾ*’), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], no. 40; WrBriMus 48f., no. 80 [Orient. 641]; 56, no. 95 [Ad. 24,188].

Lit.: Getatchew Haile, “Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns. Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church”, in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 369–75; GrohHymn, s. index; HabUff 198–204; Chrysostome Hayoz, *Portrait de Marie, complainte de la Vierge*: *deux poésies mariales éthiopiennes inédites*, Fribourg 1956, 31.

Verena Böll

Obbia ↗Hobyo

Obboo

O. in modern ↗Oromo language is a form of address or reference equivalent to “mister” in modern English and ↗*ato* in Amharic. Earlier, however, O. was mainly used as a term of endearment mostly to refer to or address the eldest or sometimes an elder brother by the younger. It has also been used as a term of address to a senior relative in general. O. seems to be related to the Oromo word *obbooleessa*, ‘brother’ and is linked with the ↗*obboo* and *č̣ora* system of alternating generation-sets. The female pendant is *adde* (but not *obbooleeti*, ‘sister’)

O. as a form of address or reference to nonrelatives seems to have come into use only in modern times. At present, the term O. is used for both purposes, to address the eldest/elder brother and as a polite or respectful form of address to a male person who does not possess a military, professional or other title.

Src.: Ibsaa Guutama, *Qooqaa Addaa Afaan Oromoo*: *Special Oromo Dictionary*, New York 2004; Mahdi Hamid Muude, *Oromo Dictionary*, vol. 1: *English–Oromo*, Atlanta, GA 1995; Tasgara Hirpo, *Goldgrube*: *Oromo–Sprichwörter und Redewendungen*, Köln 1996; TilDic 483.

Melkamu Duresso

Obboo and Č̣oora

O. (cp. also ↗Obboo) and Č̣. (Oromo sp.: Oboo, Coora) were terms used for distinguishing two adjacent (subsequent) generations in ↗Oromo society. Oromo have conventions and customary rules which regulate behaviour between members of different generations, particularly those between parents and children and grandparents and grandchildren: members of alternate generations should be relaxed with each other, whereas members of adjacent generations should show each other "respect" and, especially, avoid any behaviour and speech containing sexual components. The names O. and Č̣. are used by many Oromo groups to designate members of two adjacent or proximate generations: every child of a man who was born O. must be a Č̣. and, in turn, every child born to a Č̣. must be an O. (TilDic). Similar rules of behaviour feature in many kinship systems and accord well with those which are imposed on adjacent and alternate generations in African cyclical age-and generation-set systems (Radcliffe-Brown 1950: 27–31).

The only detailed account we have of how the restraints of O. and Č̣. operate in daily life is that of ↗Bartels (1983, ch. 25) for the ↗Mäč̣č̣a, amongst whom the restraints may be especially extensive and strict. The Mäč̣č̣a extend the rules which constrain the behaviour between kinsfolk of proximate or adjacent generations to include all members of those generations, whether or not kinship can be traced directly. For most purposes women only enter the dual O. and Č̣. system at marriage. Every married person and youth should know whether they are an O. or a Č̣. and behave accordingly. The senior generation should demonstrate its authority and protective care for the junior which, in turn, should show dependence and respect. Married persons and youths should not engage in any talk across the generations which contains sexual references. An O. and a Č̣. who have sexual intercourse are considered to have committed incest and may be punished or ostracised. It is particularly reprehensible for a father and a son ever to have intercourse with the same woman. Social and verbal relations between members of alternate generations, in contrast, can be relaxed and include discussions of sexual matters and even banter.

The rules are similar to those between adjacent generations-sets in the ↗*gadaa* system. Bartels' informants were unanimous that a set which had completed its period in office never gave advice to the set which succeeded it and only did so to the set after that. Some of the young schooled men interviewed by Bartels, though they still knew the appropriate rules of behaviour, were ignorant about their own generational affiliation, i.e. if they were O. or Č̣.

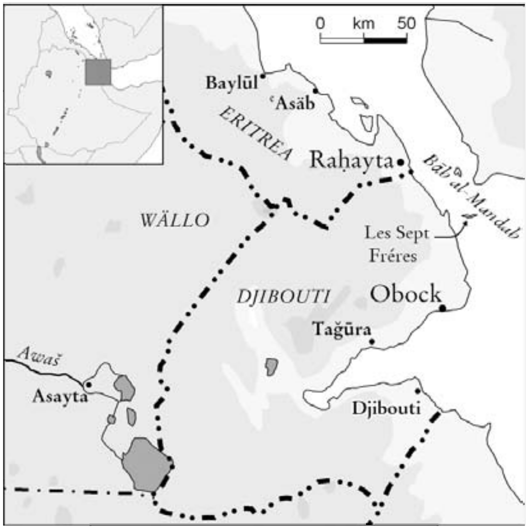
↗Obboo

Lit.: BartOrom 308–23; ALFRED REGINALD RADCLIFFE-BROWN, "Introduction", in: ID. – DARYLL FORDE (eds.), *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, Oxford 1950, 1–85; TilDic.

Paul T.W. Baxter

Obock

O. is a small city and port in the Republic of ↗Djibouti. It owes its existence to French colonialism. In the 1860s ↗France developed a vivid interest in the western shores of the ↗Bāb al-Mandab, which controls the passage from the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean and is therefore of primary strategic importance. This was especially the case after the opening of the Suez canal in 1869. In fact, the government of Napoléon III decided to counterbalance the influence of the British in the region, who had been present in Aden since 1839. On 11 May 1862, France concluded a treaty of friendship with the ↗^{c}Afar delegate Dīnī Aḥmad Abūbakr, in the name of the ^{c}Afar sultans of ↗Raḥayta, ↗Tağūra and ↗Goba^{c}ad. This text stipulated that the shores of O., together with the desert lowlands from Ras ^{c}Ali to ↗Ras Dumērá, would be ceded to France, against the payment of 10,000 thalers. From 1862 to 1881 French presence consisted



only of the irregular appearance of French navy ships based in the Indian Ocean; and the only French flag flew on a building guarded by an ᶜAfar.

O. was a seasonal camp of ᶜAfar nomads moving between the Mabla mountains and the coast, and served as a small port for ships coming from the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea and vice versa. In contrast to the neighbouring ᶜAfar settlement of Tağūra, the seat of the sultan of Tağūra, and ancient centre of Islamization and an active commercial port (grain, coffee, leather, ivory, slaves from the Ethiopian hinterland), O. was not a caravan centre and had no role to play in the commerce with the Ethiopian south.

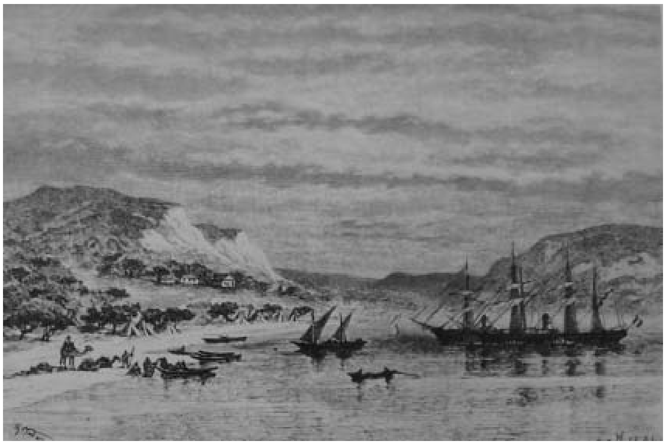
Aerial view on Obock, photo courtesy of the author

Just before the French–Chinese war of 1883–85 and the conquest of Tonkin, France changed its policy radically. The "établissement français d'O." was to become the strategic port of call for the French fleet, important for the ships involved in colonial operations; it also became the port for the economically important Ethiopian kingdom of ↗Šäwa. Starting from 1884, Governor Léonce ↗Lagarde succeeded in making the ᶜAfar sultans of the north and the centre accept French sovereignty, and established diplomatic relations with the south of the Gulf of Tağūra. O. became an administrative centre and a commercial port, with a coal depot. The first urban nucleus, consisting of stone houses on the "plateau des Gazelles", in 1886 consisted of about 2,000 inhabitants (Europeans, ᶜAfar and Yemenites, who built the first mosques).

From 1884 to 1896, O. was the short-lived capital of the new French colony, before being replaced by Djibouti, capital of the Côte française des Somalis, which became the new centre of commerce and established itself as the new main port, with the new ↗railway.

In 1896, within a few months, O. lost its administrative functions (even the prison, opened in 1888, was closed, and also the Catholic mission) and a great part of its population: from 9,000 inhabitants in 1894, it was reduced to 800 in 1902. O. then lost its vitality, but later became, from 1930, a modest administrative centre of the "subdivision d'Obock", belonging to the "cercle de Tadjourah" (Tağūra). The establishment of a garrison, charged with surveying the borders of the French territory, somehow re-stimulated O.'s development: in 1946 there were 4,106 inhabitants (4,042 ᶜAfar, 58 Arabs, 6 Somalis). After the independance of the state of Djibouti in 1977, O. became the capital of a district, with the residence of a commissaire de la République.

With little infrastructure linking it with the semi-desert hinterland, this port is characterized by its heat. There are no agricultural resources or minerals and, seen from the capital, it is too remote. It is more easily accessible by sea than by land and lives only from its military and administrative functions. In addition, there are school and sanitary services used by ᶜAfar nomads. There are few initiatives to modernize O. and the surrounding district or improve its industry – virtually inexistant – or infrastructure, although the former Premier ministre, Aḥmad Dīnī Aḥmad, an ᶜAfar, established a stone quarry there. Their politically marginalized posi-



The French coaling station of Obock in a 19th-cent. depiction; from Reclus 1885: 325

tion within the country under President Hassan Gouled Aptidon encouraged many ʿAfar of the district of O., to participate in the armed rebellion which started in November 1991.

O. was then attacked by the Front pour la restauration de l'Unité et de la Démocratie (FRUD), an action followed by the bombardment of O. by the national army. During the civil war, which ended in 1994, O. was virtually emptied. The civilian refugees from O. established themselves at Balbala, a suburb of Djibouti. After the 1994-peace treaty between the FRUD and the government and following a new policy of decentralization, the government invested in O., the "martyr city", which had suffered greatly from the destruction of its buildings, infrastructure, depopulation and land mines. There are also new activities such as fishing, alongside traditional ones such as animal husbandry. An alphabetization campaign has started, and in 2001 the sisters of the congregation "Filles de la Présentation de Marie au temple" reopened the social centre (from 1971 to 1991 looked after by the Franciscans) and work as nurses at the state-run clinic.

At present, O. has 6,000–8,000 inhabitants and is starting to attract investors, especially due to its touristic potential, e.g. the hot springs, several historical sites (such as Lagarde's house) and the proximity to the Sept Frères Islands, one of the most attractive submarine sites of the world. The establishment of an American base in 2002 re-stimulated the old role of O. as a strategic location near the Bāb al-Mandab and Yemen.

Lit.: ALI COUBBA, *Ahmed Dini et la politique à Djibouti*, Paris 1998; HENRI BRUNSCHWIG, "Une colonie inutile: Obock", *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 8, 1968, 168–79; COLETTE DUBOIS, *Djibouti 1888–1967*: *Héritage ou frustration*?, Paris 1997; EAD., "Illusions entretenues, illusions perdues: Obock 1880–1890", *Revue Sciences et environnement* [Djibouti] 12, 1998, 42–52; EAD., "Obock, un bagne éphémère et méconnu (1886–1895)", *Ultramarines* 21, 2, 2001 [Numéro spécial: *Bagnes et Bagnards*], 18–26; MOHAMED ADEN, *Ourrou. Djibouti 1991–1994*: *du maquis Afar à la paix des braves*, Paris 2002; ELISÉE RECLUS, *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, *La terre et les hommes*, *L'Afrique septentrionale*, vol. 10, Paris 1885, 325 (ill.).

Colette Dubois

Oborra ↗Qottu

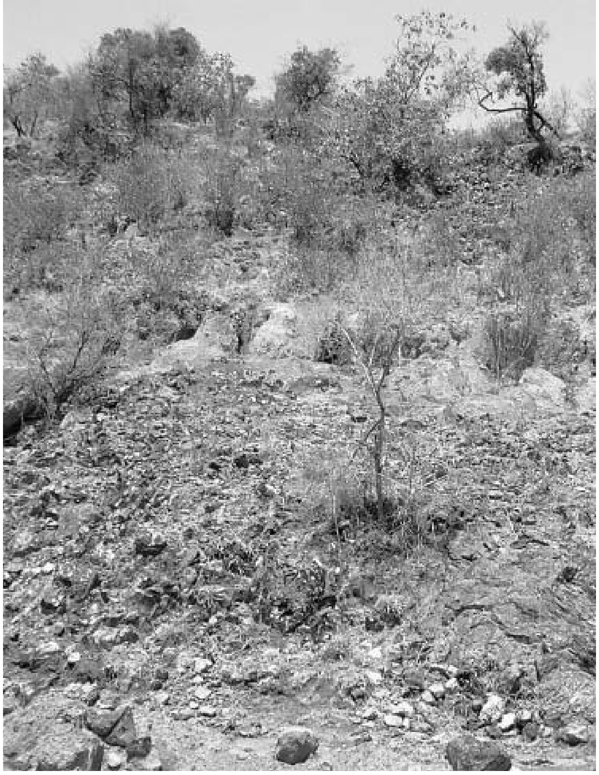
Obsidian

O. is an extrusive volcanic rock that cools down immediately after its eruption so that there is little time for crystallization to take place; although it is not unusual to find porphyritic O. containing feldspar and/or quartz phenocrysts. It has a high silica content (generally higher than 65 wt %). It is glassy and lustrous in texture (hence the term "volcanic glass"), and has typical conchoidal fracture characteristics. Its color is generally black and/or dark green/gray although depending on impurities a number of different shades are possible. Ethiopia provides a unique opportunity for O. investigations because of its ample geological and archaeological O., the latter spanning from the Early Stone Age (ESA) to very recent times.

O. is found along the many silicic volcanic centres in the Ethiopian Rift System in the form of massive felsic lava flows, domes, lapilli, boulders and gravels, some containing vesicles (often filled with secondary materials) or showing lamination of lava flow. O. sources currently known in Ethiopia generally range in age from the Miocene to the Holocene, and hence indicating their availability for utilization by successive prehistoric populations.

Because of its conchoidal properties that allow the production of predictable and sharp-edged flakes O. is an excellent raw material for stone tool production. The earliest evidence for the use of O. in Ethiopian prehistory is from the ESA site of ↗Mälka Qunṭure, some 50 km south-west of Addis Abäba, where O. artifacts are found in abundance. Acheulian tools are also found at the site of Gadäb in south-eastern Ethiopia but its use elsewhere in Ethiopia seems to have been widespread during the Middle Stone Age (MSA). The MSA localities of Mälka Qunṭure, the sites of Gademota and Qulquleti near Lake ↗Zʷay, and the site of Kone in central Ethiopia all contain MSA artifacts made almost entirely of O. It also continued to be used through Late Stone Age (LSA) and into the Neolithic. It is still used as a hide scraping implement in the ethnographic present in some parts of Ethiopia, although this is fast diminishing as a result of competition from manufactured implements.

O. is also an ideal raw material for tracing its movement an archaeological site back to its source due to, with few exceptions, its specific chemical composition with every eruption. O. geochemical studies have been used to address a number of archaeological issues in many parts of the world providing evidence, among others, for long distance ↗trade, contacts, and resource utilization. Long distance transport of raw material is considered by many prehistorians as one criterion for determining the emergence and development of modern behaviour. The importance of O. trade was already mentioned in ancient literary sources. For example, it is well known in the ↗Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (cp., Casson 1989, § 5, 109). O. use in the Pre-Aksumite and Aksumite cultures is attested as well (Michels 2005).



Obsidian flow in Alutocentral Ethiopia, between Lake Zʷay and Lake Langano; photo 2005, courtesy of the author

A number of O. sourcing methods exist. “Colour/visual provenancing”, refractive index, magnetism, etc., have occasionally been used for tracing the origins of archaeological O. but these have drawbacks particularly in Ethiopia where there are abundant geological and archaeological O. A better and more effective means of provenancing archaeological artifacts is using chemical or compositional analytical methods. Choice of instruments for compositional analysis depends on the questions asked as well as the availability, accuracy, rapid evaluation of data, and cost effectiveness of the instruments.

O. can be and has been dated with Fission Track, K/Ar and Ar/Ar in a number of places in Ethiopia and these dating methods are useful for determining the time of eruption, i.e., the age of the volcanic rock. Some investigators have also directly dated O. artifacts to determine the time of tool manufacture. This method, called O. hydration dating, is dependent on the total absorbed water content of a freshly exposed edge (hydration rind) of the artifact, although many factors (e.g., differences in relative humidity, temperature, the chemical composition) affect the usefulness of this technique.

Src.: Lionel Casson (ed., tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, NJ 1989, § 5, 109.

Lit.: Agazi Negash – M. Steven Shackley, “Geochemical Provenance of Obsidian Artifacts from the MSA Site of Porc Epic, Ethiopia”, *Archaeometry* 48, 1, 2006, 1–12; Iid. – Mulugeta Alene, “Source Provenance of Obsidian Artifacts from the Early Stone Age (ESA) Site of Melka Konture, Ethiopia”, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33, 2006, 1647–50; Agazi Negash et al., “Geochemical Provenance of the Terminal Pleistocene/Early Holocene Obsidian Artifacts from the Site of Beseka, Central Ethiopia”, *ibid.* 34, 2007, 1205–10; Harry V. Merrick – Francis Brown, “Obsidian Sources and Patterns of Source Utilization in Kenya and Northern Tanzania: Some Initial Findings”, *The African Archaeological Review* 2, 1984, 129–52; Joseph W. Michels, *Changing Settlement Patterns in the Aksum-Yeha Region of Ethiopia, 700 BC–AD 850*, Oxford 2005.

Agazi Negash

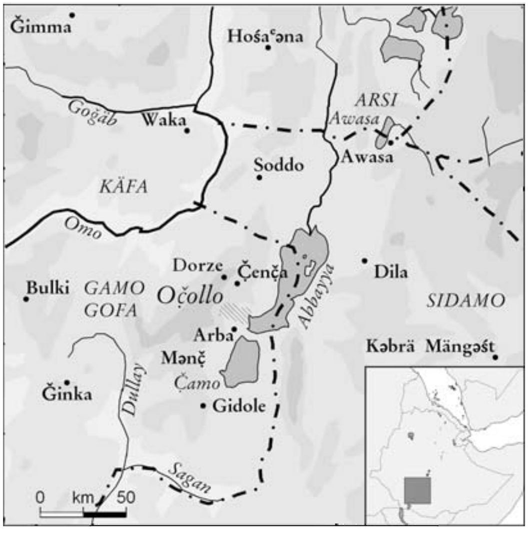
Oč̣ollo

O. is one of 55 ↗Gamo *dere* or local societies located north of the town of ↗Arba Mənč̣ on the western side of Lake ↗Abbayya. They border the ↗Dorze in the north and the ↗Č̣enč̣a *dere* (Ummo and Šaye) in the north-east.

The primary of the O. home is the mountain settlement where their *so* (main houses) with their centre-posts and the hearths of each lineage are located. The O. also own rich lowland fields stretching down to the rivers Baso (Šay) and Harre and to Lake Abbayya, where they have their *moṣa* (secondary homes). The lowland areas provide agricultural products for the highland centre. The main O. sub-sections are Zuza, Qeha, Guč̣a and Doma in the highlands, Lante, Čalba, Dorga and Čano in the lowlands. Other Gamo respect O. for their ability to cope with the conditions of the lowland areas.

Major social events and rituals take place in the main settlement where the *so*-houses are. Seniors of every lineage (*kao*) conduct rituals from their highland homes or sacred places that also serve as assembly venues for meetings, ↗feasts or ↗funeral dances. The most important of the 22 O. sacred places is Muta. O. are the only Eastern Gamo to dwell in and around sacred places (similarly to the ↗Konso and ↗Guǧǧi).

In the late 1890s the O. fiercely resisted the conquering army of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, even after the other Gamo had surrendered. The messengers sent to mediate compared the Gamo with a clay cooking pot, with O. forming the pot's bottom: a crack on the bottom will not hold water but will extinguish the fire. O. agreed to reunite with the other Gamo.



After ↗World War II, much of the O. lowland was appropriated by the government. The O. protested in a big demonstration in Addis Abäba in the late 1960s. *Aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I was deposed before the land issue could be resolved. When the O. later refused to join agricultural co-operatives they were persecuted by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), and more land was expropriated.

Recently, state and religious structures have made their way into O. life, interpreting the land problem as a consequence of allegiance to tradition rather than as a result of deliberate human appropriation. Various religious denominations are seeking influence in the region while state development models are trying to eliminate tradition. Many O. have been converted to ↗Protestantism by the ↗Sudan Interior Mission.

O. people continue to play a leading role in local trade, agriculture, cotton-weaving, and nowadays also fruit cultivation (bananas, mangoes, avocados).

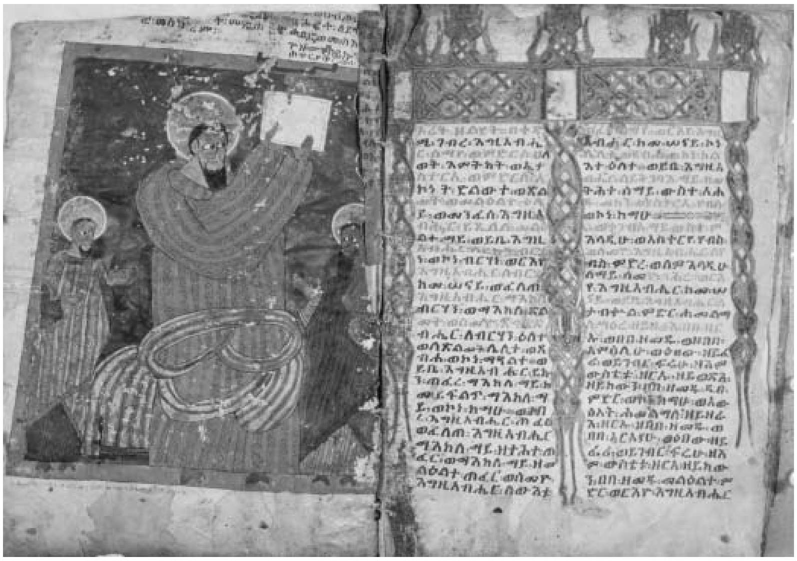
Src.: ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition 1896–1898,* tr. by RICHARD SELTZER, Lawrenceville, NJ 2000, 173–382; GASTON VANDERHEYM, *Une expédition avec le négous Ménélik. Vingt mois en Abyssinie*, Paris 1896, 177–205.

Lit.: MARC ABÉLÈS, "La guerre vue d'Ochollo (Éthiopie méridionale)", *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 11, 3, 1977, 455–70; ID., *Le lieu du politique*, Paris 1983; ID., "Revenir chez les Ochollo", in: MARCEL DETIENNE (ed.), *Qui veut prendre la parole?*, Paris 2003, 393–413 (Le genre humain 40–41) [Lit.]; HELMUT STRAUBE, "Das Dualsystem und die *Halaka*-Verfassung der Dorse als alte Gesellschaftsordnung der Ometo-Völker Süd-Äthiopiens", *Paideuma* 6, 1957, 342–53; WOLDE GOSSA TADESSE, "The Postsocialist Agrarian Situation in Southern Ethiopia", in: CHRISTOPHER M. HANN et al. (eds.), *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question: Property Relations and the Rural Conditions,* Münster 2003, 441–60; ID., "The Persistence of Multiple-Religious Ceremonies in South-West Ethiopia", in: WENDY JAMES – DAVID MILLS (eds.), *The Qualities of Time: Anthropological Approaches*, New York 2005, 219–34; VSAe III, 215–19, pl. 3 (ill.).

Wolde Gossa Tadesse

Octateuch

The Ethiopian O. (ኦሪት, *Orit*, 'Law', originally a loanword from Jewish Aram. *ʾôraytā*, 'Law [of Moses], Pentateuch'; s. Polotsky in PICES 2, 5 = 1971: 12) comprises the first five books of the ↗Old Testament as well as the subsequent books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. Authoritative Church law texts – such as the ↗*Senodos*, in which the Ethiopian Biblical canon is stated – have these



Moses, with Joshua and Aaron, receiving the Tablets of the Law, and the beginning of Genesis; front page of an Octateuch manuscript, Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, ms. Martini etiop. 5 (1437/38), fols. 5v–6r (before restoration); photo by G. Marcone; courtesy of Gianfranco Fiaccadori

“three books” forming a fixed combination with the Pentateuch. This combination is known as the “Book of Law” (s., e.g., the 2nd recension of the ↗*Abṭəlis* and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Bərhan*). Accordingly, each book is named “Orit (of) Genesis”, “Orit (of) Exodus”, etc.

The O. arrangement seems to be quite old, as Greek and Latin sources from the 4th/5th cent. onward refer to the first eight books of the Bible as “(Book of) Law” (Fiaccadori 1994: 84–87, 100ff.); in Ethiopia, it is likely that it dates back to Aksumite times and, thereby, to Greek prototypes of the early Byzantine period (ibid.).

The eight-book arrangement is also mentioned as being traditional in the ↗*Andəmta* commentaries, where it is explained in symbolic terms (Cowley 1974: 136f.). Nor did Ethiopic ↗Bible manuscripts ever include only parts of the O., but always the whole of it, even though sometimes they are copied in two volumes (5 + 3 books).

The earliest known O. testimony dates to the 14th–15th cent.: Paris BN, Aeth. 3, *olim* éth. 102; Abbadie 22; Oxford, Bodleian Library, BFBS 169 = Eth. 1; *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ṭefut* of ↗Amba Gəšän Maryam; a ms. from the church of Krəstos Sämra, near Efrata, on the western shore of Lake Ṭana; ms. from ↗Däbrä Maryam Qʷäḥayn; Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Martini etiop. 5, *olim* 2. Other important mss. are BritLib Orient 481, copied from the *Mäṣḥafä ṭefut* (16th–17th cent.); EMML no. 510; Berlin Ms. or. 152.

O. volumes often show one or more illuminations: Moses (with Aaron and Joshua or the archangel Mikaʾel) and, respectively, a cycle of O.T. figures, both ultimately deriving from lost Aksumite exemplars depending in turn, like the text, upon early Byzantine models – here, probably, of Palestinian origin (e.g., mss. Martini etiop. 5; Amba Gəšän Maryam *Mäṣḥafä ṭefut* with its copy, BritLib Orient. 481).

Src.: James Oscar Boyd (ed.), *The Text of the Ethiopic Version of the Octateuch, with Special Reference to the Age and Value of the Haverford Manuscript*, Leyden – Princeton, NJ 1905 (Bibliotheca abessinica 2); Id. (ed.), *The Octateuch in Ethiopic According to the Text of the Paris Codex, with the Variants from other Manuscripts*, 1: *Genesis*, 2: *Exodus and Leviticus*, Leyden – Princeton, NJ 1909, 1911 (ibid. 3, 4); Anton Baumstark, “Der äthiopische Bibelkanon: Ein Exemplar desselben mit einleitenden Bemerkungen vorgelegt”, *OrChr* 5, 1905, 162–73; BauSen; Augustus Dillmann (ed.), *Biblia veteris testamenti aethiopica … I: Octateuchus aethiopicus*, Lipsiae 1853; Gianfrancesco Lusini (ed., tr.), *Il ‘Gadla Absadi’* (*Dabra Māryām, Sarāʾē*), Louvain 1996 (CSCO 557, 558 [SAe 103, 104]), vf., 79–92 (text) = 56–67 (tr.).
Lit.: Roger T. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and its Background in Early Judaism*, London 1985/86, appendix 5; Peter Brandt, “Geflecht aus 81 Büchern: Zur variantenreichen Gestalt des äthiopischen Bibelkanons”, *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 79–115; Roger Wenman Cowley, “The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today”, *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23, 1974, 318–23; Id., “Old Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition”, *JES* 12, 1, 1974, 133–75; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, “Prototipi miniati dell’Ottateuco etiopico”, *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 8, 1994 [1995], 69–102; Mikre-Selassie Gebre-Ammanuel, “The Bible and its Canon in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church”, *The Bible Translator* 44, 1993, 111–23; Hans Jacob Polotsky, “Aramaic, Syriac, and Geʿez”, in: *PICES* 2, 2–19, here 5 (= Id., *Collected Papers*, Jerusalem 1971, 8–17, here 12); Hans Peter Rüger, “Der Umfang des alttestamentlichen Kanons in den verschiedenen kirchlichen Traditionen”, in: Siegfried Meurer (ed.), *Die Apokryphenfrage im ökumenischen Horizont*, Stuttgart 1989, 137–45.

Ute Pietruschka

Odaa ↗Sycamore

Odorizzi, Dante

O. (b. 14 November 1867, Mantua, d. 7 November 1917, Mersa Fatma Heri) was an Italian colonial officer. In February 1892, he joined the Army administration with the rank of an accountant Second Lieutenant in Colonia ↗Eritrea. With the end of the military administration, he took over civilian duties in the colony. Considered by governor Ferdinando ↗Martini as one of his most able aides, O. carried out important duties. He undertook field research on the geography, traditions and languages of the peoples of the colony. In 1899, he was sent to ↗Asaorta to study land-related issues and later was despatched on a mission to the ↗Ḥabab.

After a short stay in Italy, O. returned to Eritrea as a Lieutenant. In 1901, he was colonial deputy (*residente*) in ↗Naq̱fa. From March 1903 to January 1904, he was the Italian consul in Mocha and, in 1906, participated in the Italian delegation to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II headed by Martini. From 1907 to 1908, he was vice-deputy and regional deputy (*commissario regionale*) at ↗Massawa and then deputy in southern Dankalia (↗Dänkäl; ↗ᶜAfar). In 1916, he left the colonial administration but stayed in Eritrea working for the private firms Gandolfi and Compagnia per lo sfruttamento dei sali potassici in Dallol (*Piano del Sale*, ↗Salt). During this last period he committed suicide. He was among the founding members of the ↗Istituto Coloniale Italiano.

Src.: Ghibellino [i.e. Dante Odorizzi], *Kassala's Surrender* (*Un ricordo militare*), Roma 1908; Dante Odorizzi, *Notizie sull'ordinamento della proprietà terriera in Etiopia e nella zona abissina della Colonia Eritrea*, Roma 1906; Id., "Studio storico sulla provincia arabica dello Jemen e sulle sue relazioni etniche con l'Eritrea e con l'Etiopia. Conferenza", in: Carlo Rossetti (ed.), *Atti del congresso coloniale in Asmara, settembre-ottobre 1905*, Roma 1906; Id., *Il commercio eritreo ed il mercato etiopico*, Roma 1906; Id., "La Dancalia italiana del Nord. Relazione sulla Colonia Eritrea", in: *Camera dei Deputati* 32, 1907, 1915–63; Id., *Studio sulla provenienza e legge storica di formazione delle popolazioni somale, dancale, saho*, Asmara 1909; Id., *La Dancalia settentrionale*, Asmara 1909; Id., *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911; Id., *Della mano d'opera nelle nostre colonie* (*Eritrea*). *Relazione al Secondo Congresso degli italiani all'estero*, Roma 1911; Id., *Mano d'opera indigena. Relazione allegata alla Relazione sulla Colonia Eritrea del R. Commissario civile Deputato Ferdinando Martini per gli esercizi 1902–1907*, Roma 1913; Id., *La Dancalia del Nord. Relazione allegata alla Relazione sulla Colonia Eritrea del R. Commissario civile Deputato Ferdinando Martini per gli esercizi 1902–1907*, Roma 1913; Id., *La guerra europea e la politica coloniale italiana*, Roma 1915; Id., *Sulla nostra guerra. Conferenza tenuta in Asmara* …, n.p. 1915; Id., *Note storiche sulla religione musulmana e sulle divisioni dell'Islam con appunti speciali relativi all'Islam in Eritrea*, Asmara 1916 (re-edited 1937).

Lit.: ErDizBio ad vocem; Massimo Zaccaria, "'Tu hai venduto la giustizia in Colonia'. Avvocati, giudici e coloni nell'Eritrea di Giuseppe Salvago Raggi 1907–1915", *Africa* 61, 3–4, 2006, 317–95; Id., "Magg. Teobaldo Folchi – Commissariato Regionale di Massaua – Brevi Cenni storico amministrativi sulle popolazioni, dal suddetto Commissariato Regionale dipendenti. Nota introduttiva", *Ethnorema* 3, 2007, 89–141, 122 n. 128 (Lit.).

Giancarlo Stella

Ogaden

The term O. (Somali sp.: Ogaadeen) denotes two distinct concepts: (1) territorial O., which is part of Ethiopia's Somali-speaking eastern region, and (2) the O. clan, a major Somali clan in the area that belongs to the ↗Daarood confederacy.

Territorial O., covering ca. 240,000 km^2, consists of the vast arid flat bush lands sloping down from the Ethiopian plateau of ↗Harärge province and extending to colonial ↗Italian Somaliland (today's southern Somalia) and to former ↗British Somaliland (today's Somaliland Republic). The territory is inhabited by an assortment of Somali pastoralists who eke out a precarious living, herding camels, cattle and flocks of sheep and goats. This is a harsh land without sufficient water or rainfall, though it does have pockets of well-watered places such as the Maraar plains near ↗Ǧiǧiga, and the lower ↗Wabi Šäbälle valley. The only significant settlements in the area are those of the towns of Ǧiǧiga and Ḍagaḥbuur (↗Dägah Bur) east of the city of ↗Harär, and Goday and Qällafo on the lower reaches of the Šäbälle. The Šäbälle stream traverses the O. while the Juba (↗Ganaalee), a much bigger river system, circles around its south western rim.

O. as a clan name is something of a misnomer because dozens of non-O. clans also inhabit the region. Nevertheless, the O. constitute the single largest clan in the area, their members occupying areas to the west as far as the Northern Province of Kenya, to the south as far as Somalia, and into parts of the Somaliland Republic. Their place in the Daarood clan confederacy is defined through traditional genealogical accounts, according to which O. was (together with the brothers Wayteen, Baalᵓad and Gidwaaq) the son of Absame, son of Kablalah of the Daarood.

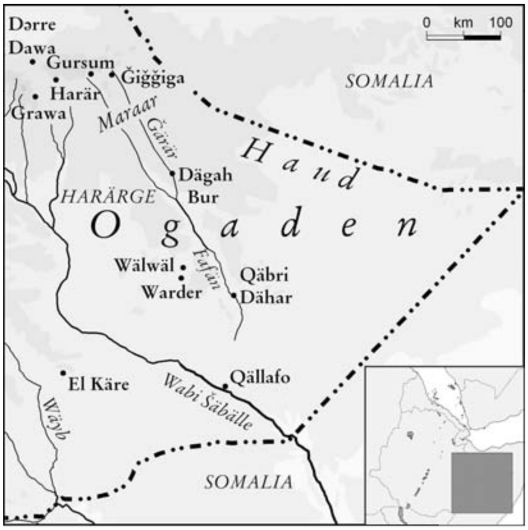
The O. region, and particularly the part known as the Haud, has played a prominent role in

Ethiopian history. In the 13th and early 14th cent., O. belonged to the Islamic ↗Ifat sultanate, and from the late 14th cent. to ↗^{c}Adal. The latter was largely independent from the central Christian Ethiopian power until, in the late 19th cent., *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II conquered Harär and solidified his occupation of O. by the treaties of 1897 and border agreements (↗Boundaries) with the ↗United Kingdom (British Somaliland) and ↗Italy (Italian Somaliland).

Ləǧ ↗Iyasu sought the support of the O. population, and appointed a local Somali, ^{c}Abdallāh Ṣādiq, as regional governor (BZHist 125). This, as well as Iyasu's alliance with the ↗Ottoman Empire and his support of Somali anti-colonial resistance by trading arms with *sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ^{c}Abdallāh Ḥasan through the O. to British Somaliland during ↗World War I, were certainly among the factors that accelerated his deposition.

In the following years, the O. was contended between Ethiopia on the one side and the colonial powers on the other. The struggle culminated in the incident of ↗Wälwäl of 5 December 1934, which led to the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 and the establishment of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, bringing O. under Italian control. Several important battles of the war were fought in O. E.g., on 6–23 January 1936, Rodolfo ↗Graziani, the Commander of the Southern Front (Somalia), defeated the army of *ras* ↗Dästa Damṭäw in O.; and on 14–30 April 1936, he deployed forces into the O. and occupied Ḍagaḥbuur. After the Liberation of 1941, the British regained control of the O., which was duly returned to Ethiopia in 1948–49 (s. the sub-article on the Haud and Reserved Area for more details on the events between 1887 and 1948 below).

When British and Italian Somaliland merged into the unitary independent state of the Somali Republic in 1960, the dispute over the O. boiled over again. Shortly thereafter the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) was formed which, with Somali military and logistical support, began to harass Ethiopian garrisons in the O. A brief but savage war broke out between Somalia and Ethiopia in 1964. Then in 1977 WSLF forces backed by Somali regular troops took over the entire O. region, but in early 1978 Ethiopia, reinforced by a Cuban expeditionary force and strengthened by a massive infusion of Soviet arms, counterattacked and ejected the Somali army along with the WSLF guerrillas, precipitating a mass flight of refugees estimated at 900,000 inhabitants of O. into Somalia. This massive human displacement overburdened the meagre resources of the Somali Republic to breaking point. It is partly this refugee crisis that directly led to the collapse of the state itself in 1991.



At present, with Ethiopian troops occupying southern Somalia, in response to the express appeal of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia in order to put down the Islamic Courts Union, a new anti-Ethiopian resistance movement has sprung up in the O. The Ogaden National Liberation Front is now engaged in persistent operations against Ethiopian security forces.

With oil and natural gas rumoured to be present in the O. in commercial quantities, the region's troubles are far from over.

↗Somalia

Lit.: MARGARET CASTAGNO, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, Metuchen, NJ 1975; JOHN DRYSDALE, *The Somali Dispute*, London 1964; *Encylopedia Britannica*, vol. 8, London et al. 2005, 883; *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 20, Danbury, CT 1995, 650; ROBERT HESS, *Italian Colonialism in Somalia*, Chicago, IL 1964; DOUGLAS JARDINE, *The Mad Mullah of Somaliland*, London 1923; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *The Modern History of Somaliland*: *from Nation to State*, London 1965; NOEL ANTHONY SCAWEN LYTTON, *The Stolen Desert*: *a Story of Uhuru in North East Africa*, London 1966; SAID SAMATAR, *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism*: *the Case of Sayyid Mahammad ^{c}Abdulle Hasan*, Cambridge 1982 (African Studies Series 32); ID., "The Somali Dilemma: Nation in Search of a State", in: ANTHONY I. ASIWAJU (ed.), *Partitioned Africans*: *Ethnic Relations Across Africa's International Boundaries*, New York 1985, 155–94.

Said S. Samatar

Haud and Reserved Area

The Haud (also: Hawd, Som. ‘bush’) is a strip of land of approximately 65,000 km² which stretches from north-eastern Somalia to Ethiopia’s ↗Harär province. It is one of the main grazing areas used by Somali herders. This, and its geographical position, made the Haud a highly disputed area.

The part of the region belonging to the O. area was first brought under Ethiopian control by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in the course of his conquest of Harärge in the late 19th cent. After the Emperor’s victory over the Italians at ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896, the ↗United Kingdom, which depended on Ethiopia’s goodwill concerning the ↗Mahdi threat from the Sudan, offered large parts of Somaliland’s main grazing area to Ethiopia. The Anglo-Ethiopian border agreement of 1897 (↗Boundaries) placed large parts of the Haud under Ethiopian administration.

The border was ill-defined, and in 1934 a new Anglo-Ethiopian commission came together in an attempt to demarcate the boundary. However, subsequent events failed to resolve the dispute. In October 1934, Colonel Clifford, head of the British section of the boundary commission, failed to honour an Italian demand that he could not draw water at ↗Wälwäl. On 23 November 1934, Clifford also objected to Italian restrictions on his movement in the Wälwäl region which contained more than 1,000 water wells.

Two days later, Clifford and his party withdrew to Ado, 29 km away, to avoid a confrontation with the Italians. On 5 December 1934, a shooting incident at a watering hole at Wälwäl resulted in a short but fierce battle between Italian and Ethiopian forces. The incident gave Italy a pretext to invade Ethiopia, leading to the creation of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, which from then on included the Haud region, and the entire O.

Following Britain’s conquest of Africa Orientale Italiana, London sought to unify the O. with ↗British Somaliland and the former ↗Italian Somaliland in the hope of establishing a Greater Somalia, which many local inhabitants supported. In 1945, Britain, Ethiopia, and the ↗United States attended the ↗London Conference of Allied Powers, in which Britain sought to gain possession of the O. and Eritrea. The Conference produced no result. ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase’s adroit diplomatic lobbying of the United States (to which he had just awarded a military base in newly federated Eritrea, ↗Qäññäw), coupled with Soviet Russia’s suspicion of British designs in the area, forced Britain to abandon its policy of seeking to establish control of these regions, and return the O. to Ethiopia in 1948-49.

The Haud and a corridor called the Reserved Area stretching from the Haud to French Somaliland (now ↗Djibouti) remained under British control until 1954. That year, a new Anglo-Ethiopian agreement reaffirmed the one of 1897 and confirmed British removal from the Haud and the Reserved Area. Provision was made for Somali herders to cross the border to use the grazing grounds. However, implementation of this has been frequently hindered by the ongoing Ethio-Somali disputes.

Lit.: GEORGE W. BAER, *The Coming of the Italian–Ethiopian War*, Cambridge, MA 1967, 114ff., 130ff., 145–49, 169ff., 239–43; ESMOND HUMPHREY MILLER CLIFFORD, “The British Somaliland-Ethiopia Boundary,” *Geographical Journal*, vol. 87, 1936, 289–302; MockWar xxxi–xxxiii, 51ff., 89, 91f., 127ff., 139; DAVID SHIRREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers: Wingate, Sandford, the Patriots and the Part They Played in the Liberation of Ethiopia*, London – New York 1995, 3–4.

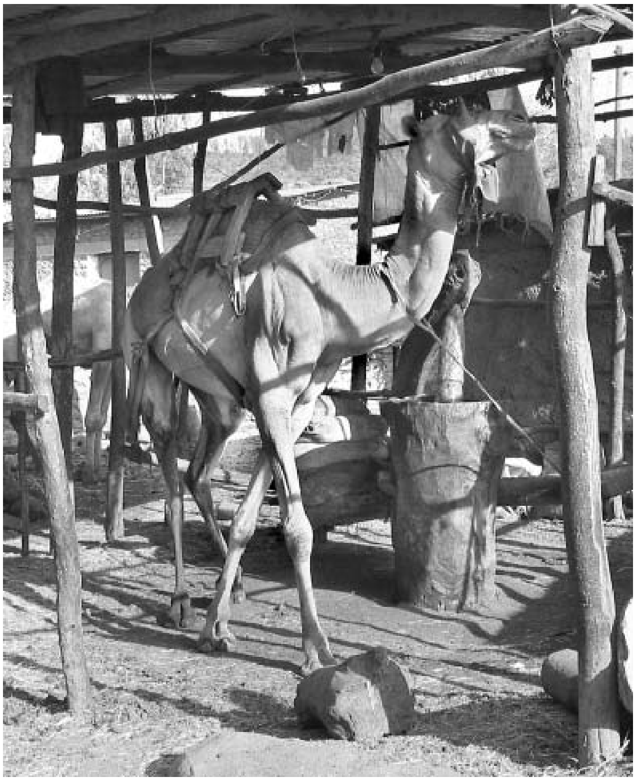
Thomas P. Ofcansky

Oil

O. (Gəᶜəz, Amh.: ዘይት, *zäyt*; Tgn. ዘይቲ, *zäyti*, etc.) of one kind or another seems to have been used in Ethiopia, for either consumption or ritual purposes, since early times. Thus, according to the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* articles imported through the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden around the 1st cent. A.D., included sesame O. as well as “unripe olives”. Alvares in the 16th cent., and Almeida in the 17th cent., both told of the cultivation in the Ethiopian highlands of the oilseed ↗nug (*Guizotia olifera* or *abyssinica*).

According to Almeida, although primarily used in cooking, O. such as linseed O., was also used in ↗painting (BeckHuntAlm 46), and on one recorded occasion, was utilized by the 18th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa for the caulking of an experimental boat on Lake Ṭana (GuiIohan 338 [tr.]). The prevalence of sesame oilseeds was reported by the early 16th-cent. Ludovico di Varthema, who saw a “great quantity” of them at Zaylaᶜ (tr. Badger 1863:86), while the 19th-cent. traveller von Heuglin (1874:58) mentioned the import at Massawa of O. of cloves. The advent of the Italians in Eritrea subsequently led to sizable imports of olive-O. from Italy, largely through the ports of Massawa and ᶜAsäb, as well as other O. from India (PankEcon 379, 381, 387f.).

Oilseeds were particularly important during ↗Lent and other periods of ↗fasting when Christians abstained from meat products, including ↗milk products which were substituted by O. (ChTana 206). During the fasting period most Ethiopian stews contained edible O. Besides **ኑግ** (*nug*) the principal oilseeds consumed in Ethiopia comprised **ሱፍ** (*suf*, 'safflower' or *Carthamus tinctorus*); **ሰሊጥ** (*säliṭ*, 'sesame' or *Sesamum indicum*), also used in preparing the pan for the making of *ənğära*; **ተልባ** (*tälba*, 'linseed, flax' or *Linum usitatissimum*); **ጎመን፡ ዘር** (*gommän zär*, 'long-stalked cabbage' or *Brassica integrifolia*); and, a more recent innovation, **የፈረንጅ፡ ሱፍ** (*yäfäränğ suf* or *suf*, 'sunflower' or *Helianthus annuus*). Two of the above, *säliṭ* and *tälba*, were both widely used in traditional medicine. The oilseed **ጉሎ** (*gulo*, 'castor', *Ricinus communis*), served primarily for softening hides. O. was also used in oil-lamps.



Camel-drawn oil mill in Aksum, Təgray; photo 2005, courtesy of Jan Tromp

O. likewise had considerable ritual importance. The ↗Coronation ceremony, that of the ↗Matrymony and the ↗Unction of the Sick included anointing; and holy O. was also used in exorcising ↗spirit possession and in the First Catechesis of Christian initiation or ↗Baptism (s. EAE 1, 469b), as well as in a variety of consecrations and blessings of persons and things. The ointment should have been **ቅብዐ፡ ሜሮን** (*qəb^{c}a* ↗*meron* [s. EAE vol. 5]), or chrism, brought, like the metropolitan (cp. ↗*P̣ap̣p̣as*), from Coptic Egypt. This import, described in the *Mäṣḥafä meron*, was subsequently so difficult to procure that it fell into disuse (cp. BudHist vol. 1, 157). Import of O. from Egypt was, however, later resumed.

Src.: George Percy Badger (tr.), *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, London 1863, 86; BeckHuntAlm 46; BeckHuntAlvar vol. 1, 189; ChTana 206; GuiIohan 316 (text) = 338 (tr.); Theodor von Heuglin, *Reise nach Abessinien, den Gala-Ländern, Ost-Sudán und Chartúm in den Jahren 1861 und 1862*, Gera 1874, 58; George Wynn Brereton Huntingford (tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London 1980, 23, 28; Wolde Michael Kelecha, *A Glossary of Ethiopian Plant Names*, Addis Ababa 1987, 233–36; LesCDic 647.

Lit.: BudHist vol. 1, 175; Daniel Joté Mesfin, *Exotic Ethiopian Cooking*, Falls Church, VA 1993, 71, 203; Dawit Abebe – Ahadu Ayehu, *Medicinal Plants and Enigmatic Health Practices of Northern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1993, 190, 244; Harry Middleton Hyatt, *The Church of Abyssinia*, London 1928, 94f., 229f.; PankEcon 379, 381, 387f.; Stephanos Pierre Pétrides, *Le livre d'or de la dynastie salomonienne d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1964, 214, 221; Charles Fernand Rey, *Unconquered Abyssinia as it is To-day*, London 1923, 223f.; Stefan Strelcyn, *Médecine et plantes d'Éthiopie*, vol. 2: *Enquête sur les noms d'emploi des plantes en Éthiopie*, Napoli 1973, 180, 202f., 214, 219, 223; Youhanna Nessim Youssef – Ugo Zanetti, *La consécration du Myron par Gabriel IV, 86^{e} patriarche d'Alexandrie, en 1374 A.D.*, Münster (Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum 20), in preparation.

Richard Pankhurst

Old Testament

The clear separation of the Ethiopic ↗Bible into the O.T. (Gə^{c}əz **ብሉይ፡ ኪዳን**, *Bəluy kidan*) and the ↗New Testament is among the few unchanging features in all known Bible manuscripts and editions of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. The O.T. is the same for Christians and the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, and plays a central role in Ethiopian traditional culture.

The canon of the Ethiopic O.T. developed throughout the centuries (↗Bible canon, but cp. Bausi 1990: 46–51 and 72f.). The O.T. canon as it is known today is listed in the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* that is regarded as basic for issues concerned with canon ↗law; it is also found in the 17th-cent. *Gädlä Märqorewos* (cp. also the canons of the ↗*Senodos*). Apart from the books of the Septuagint [hereafter: LXX] it contains a number of texts considered apocryphal or pseudepigraphic by other churches. The number of books in the Ethiopian O.T. is usually 46 [47], though it can be reached in different ways (s. Brandt 2000: 89ff.).

The O.T. includes the eight Books of the ↗Octateuch; the ↗Historical books that, apart from the books present in the LXX usually include the Ethiopic Book of the ↗Maccabees and omit 1–2 Mac of the LXX; the ↗Wisdom Books of Solomon; the ↗Psalter; the Books of the ↗Prophets; the Book of Sirach and, with varying frequency, a number of apocalypses and ↗pseudoepigrapha absent in the LXX, such as the Apocryphal Book of Ezra, Apocalypse of ↗Ezra, the Book of ↗Baruch, the Book of ↗Jubilees, the Book of ↗Enoch, and the Ascension of ↗Isaiah. The Yosippon (↗*Zena Ayhud*), sometimes replacing the Book of Maccabees (as 5 Mac) in the canon of Oriental churches, is seldom part of the Gəᶜəz Bible tradition.

The O.T. books were translated into Gəᶜəz from the Greek LXX during the 4th–6th cent. A.D. Some ↗inscriptions contain quotations from Ps as well as other O.T. (and N.T.) books. The broad range of quoted texts suggests that the entire Bible had been translated into Gəᶜəz before RIÉ nos. 191, 192 and 195 were composed (Schneider in RIÉ, s. Beaucamp et al. 1999–2000: 39 n. 98).

From the 12th cent. on, Arabic (within the Copto-Arabic tradition, but also Syro-Arabic texts) Bible versions have influenced the Ethiopic text (↗Bible *Vorlage*). The oldest known manuscripts go back to the 13th–14th cent. (s., e.g., ms. VatLib Borg. aeth. 3, BN Paris Éth. 7, cp. UhPal 105ff., 139f.).

The development of the Gəᶜəz O.T. (parallel to that of the N.T.) can be summarized as follows: (1) translation of the texts from Greek during the 4th–6th cent.; (2) crystallization of the ancient Ethiopic version (= Versio Antiqua, or *Altäthiope*, which has the 12th cent. as its *terminus ante quem* and early 14th cent. as the *terminus post quem*); (3) further revision of the O.T. after the Arabic text, possibly upon the installation of the ↗Solomonic dynasty (= "Vulgar" recension); (4) revision according to the Hebrew text, as shown by Hebrew quotations transcribed with Ethiopic characters, e.g., in Neh 3:7 (= "Academic", or "Hebrew" recension), which took place possibly parallelly with (5) another revision during the literary heyday of the 16th–17th cent. resulting in the emergence of the standard text that has remained largely unchanged since the 18th cent. (↗Bible: biblical text criticism).

Whereas the pre-critical O.T. editions started with ↗Potken in the 16th cent., it was not until ↗Dillmann in the mid-19th cent. that the scholars turned their attention to critical editions of the O.T. texts (↗Bible: Gəᶜəz Bible editions). So far the Pentateuch, Josh, Judg, Ruth, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chr, Neh, Ezra, Esth, Song, Is, Jer and Lam have been edited, with a varying degree of critical approach, as well as all the deuterocanonical texts. Most editions were made on the basis of very few manuscripts. A new critical edition of O.T. texts appears desirable.

The O.T. plays an outstanding role in Ethiopian society, as is already shown by the quotations in the Aksumite inscriptions. The national epic novel ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* draws a lot (maybe via intermediate sources) from 1 Kings 10:1–13. Besides, other elements constitutive of Ethiopian culture can be found in the O.T., such as the ↗Ark of the Covenant (Ex 25:10–22, 37:1–9, Deut 10:8; cp. also ↗*tabot*); the three-part structure of ↗church buildings resembling the tabernacle (Ex 25–27) and the Temple of ↗Jerusalem (1 Kings 6–8, 2 Chron 2–6); male ↗circumcision on the 8th day (in accordance with Gen 17:10–13, 21:4; Lev 12:3); ↗baptism on the 40th day for boys, 80th day for girls (in accordance with the defined period of impurity of the woman in childbed, 7 + 33 days – 4 + 76 days, as in Lev 12:2–6); the observance of the Saturday-↗Sabbath (which goes back to the N.T. in its practical shaping but is O.T. in spirit, cp. Hammerschmidt 1963: 25ff.); the observance of dietary rules (s. Lev 11; though also known in pre-Christian society, differentiating between pure and impure animals, slaughter rules and the ↗taboo on drinking ↗blood have, in practice, their roots in O.T. regulations); ritual ↗purity rules governing everyday life (defined in Lev 15:19–31 etc.; similar rules exist in other cultures but the close relationship to the Mosaic law cannot be denied); the church dime ↗*ᶜaśrat* is explicitly said to correspond to the O.T. practice of giving one tenth of one's income to God (e.g. Lev 27:30–33); hymnody (↗Hymns) and church ↗music have since earliest times (↗Yared) depended for their structure, form and instrumentalization upon O.T. examples. Besides, Ethiopians see the O.T. as the source of other traditions such as the Council of Elders and the Practice of the Vow.

The Ethiopian historiographers saw the history of the Solomonic dynasty as a sort of continuation of that of the Israelite kings, and the chronicles (the term itself borrowed from the Historical books of the O.T.) abound in biblical allusions (e.g., Barzillai from 2 Sam 17:27–29 in CRHist 33; Nabal from 1 Sam 25 in CRHist 132f., PerChron ch. 25, GuiIohan 298; reference to 1 Kings 4:24–25 in GuiIohan 185, etc.).

Ethiopian traditional theology has produced an ample commentary on the O.T. (↗*Andəmta*; ↗*Tərgʷame*; cp. ↗Bible: Bible commentary traditions) with written testimonies reaching back to the 16th cent. and sources in patristic literature, theological and hagiographic texts adapted by the Ethiopians as well as in genuinely local literary tradition. Some of the commentaries have become literary texts in their own right (such as, e.g., the *Mäṣḥafä ṣ́äḥay*, s. Marrassini 1987:76). The commentaries contributed greatly to grounding the O.T. in culture and society.

↗Judaism

Src.: for editions s. ↗Bible (esp. Gəᶜəz Bible editions, Bible commentary tradition, Bible translation); ↗Octateuch; ↗Historical books; ↗Prophets, biblical; ↗Wisdom books; ↗Psalter; CRHist 33, 132f. (text) = 43, 151 (tr.); GuiIohan 185, 298 (text) = 195, 319 (tr.); PerChron ch. 26.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, “Alcune considerazioni sul ‘Sēnodos’ etiopico”, *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 5–73; JOËLLE BEAUCAMP – FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET – CHRISTIAN ROBIN, “La persécution des chrétiens de Nagrān et la chronologie ḥimyarite”, *ARAM* 11–12, 1999–2000, 15–83, here 39 n. 98; BrakKirche; PETER BRANDT, “Geflecht aus 81 Büchern. Zur variantenreichen Gestalt des äthiopischen Bibelkanons”, *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 79–115; JEAN-CLAUDE HAELEWYCK, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Turnhout 1998, nos. 180, 182, 183; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Stellung und Bedeutung des Sabbats in Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1963 (Studia Delitzschiana 7); ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, “The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today”, *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23, 1974, 318–23; ID., *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: a Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38); MICHAEL A. KNIBB, *Translating the Bible: the Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1999 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995; Lit.); PAOLO MARRASSINI, “I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze”, *RSE* 31, 1987, 69–110, here 76; MAXIME RODINSON, “Sur la question des ‘influences juives’ en Éthiopie”, in: *PICES* 2, 11–19; UhPal; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, “Hebraic-Jewish Elements in Abyssinian (Monophysite) Christianity”, *JSS* 1, 1956, 216–56; UllBibl.

Siegbert Uhlig

ᶜOliqa Dəngəl

ᶜO.D. (ዖሊቃ፡ ድንግል, Oromo sp.: Oliiqaa Dingiluu; b. ca. 1900, Lalo Gare Denta, Qälləm *awrağğa*, d. 1941, Addi Butta Aläku) was one of the most famous ↗Oromo patriots to fight against the Italian colonial occupation forces in Ethiopia from 1936 to 1941 (↗Resistance). He was the son of a peasant, *ato* Hirpa Heffo Dagago of Wälläga.

At the height of his guerrilla activities, ᶜO.D. commanded a significant and well-armed insurgent force. His main arms suppliers were Dännäqä Täklä Wäld, Fäyissa Ararso and the brothers Elyas and Milkəyas Amäya. They commuted through ↗Kurmuk and Hursa to Khartoum to bring firearms from Major Corfield, former British District Commissioner of Southern Sudan and later Governor of Kharthoum. Even after the capture and death of the suppliers (Fäyissa Ararso was doused with gasoline and torched alive while the others were poisoned and killed), ᶜO.D. continued his struggle.

ᶜO.D.’s activities concentrated on the Sayyoo district (next to the road to ↗Dambi Dolloo), strategically important for its proximity to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The Italian garrison in the area was guarding such key locations as the entrance to the British-controlled river port of ↗Gambella; the town of ↗Gidaamii, a gateway to Ǧootee Wärq and the gold mines of Beni Šangul and the rich coffee-producing district of ↗Anfillo. ᶜO.D. collected information, sometimes entering the enemy territories disguised as an Orthodox priest or a Muslim *šayḫ*, and then ambushed the Italian military units.

Afraid of ᶜO.D.’s strength, the Italians tried to win him over and offered him the governorship of Western Wälläga. When he declined, they promised 100,000 lira to anybody who would bring them ᶜO.D. dead or alive. ᶜO.D. was subsequently poisoned by one of his close aides, a certain Wädağo, only three months before the ↗Liberation. A photograph of the dead body was then sent to ↗Mussolini, with a letter informing the *Duce* that they had ultimately succeeded in crushing one of his fiercest foes in southern Ethiopia. Wädağo was later assassinated by Oromo resistance fighters.

A school in Dambi Dolloo has been recently renamed to bear ᶜO.D.’s name.

Lit.: FRANK DEREK CORFIELD, “The Koma”, *SNR* 21, 1938, 123–65; ID., *Memoirs*, ms.; RICHARD PANKHURST, “The Ethiopian Patriots: the Lone Struggle, 1936–1940”, *EthObs* 13, 1, 40–56; WENGIELU ELIAS, *Folio of Family Records*, private archive, ms. 2005.

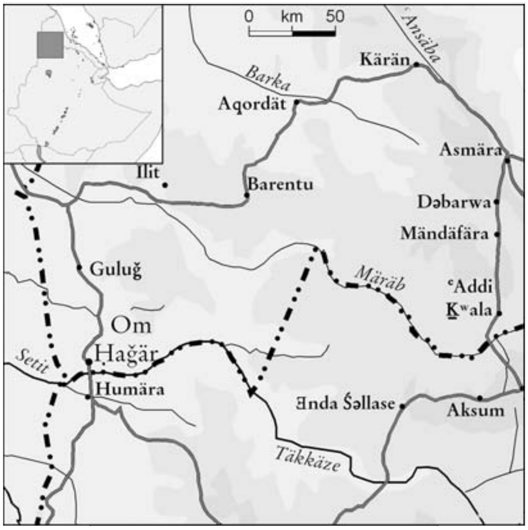
Paulos Milkias

Om Ḥağär

O.Ḥ. (ኦም፡ ሓጀር, also Umm Ḥağar, Om Ḥağer, 599 m A.S.L., 14° 20' N, 36° 39' E) is an Eritrean town close to the border with Ethiopia and near the border with the Sudan, adjacent to the Ethiopian town of ↗Ḥumära. It lies on the Ḵor Om Ḥağär (Ḫūawr Umm Ḥağar), a dry river bed belonging to the ↗Setit river system. A road connects O.Ḥ. with Ḥumära and Eritrean Guluğ. In the period of colonization O.Ḥ. became a small administrative centre and developed into a major border town and trading centre, with a few agricultural projects in the surrounding area. Before the independence of Eritrea, it was the centre of the *wäräda* O.Ḥ. and is now a sub-capital in the *zoba* Gaš-Barka.

The market of O.Ḥ. dates from the period when O.Ḥ. was only a caravan post linking the Ethio–Sudanese border regions with the northern Sudanese and Eritrean ports of ↗Sawākin and ↗Massawa. Because of this position, O.Ḥ. attracted settlers from very diverse origins, among them Təgrəñña speakers from both the Eritrean highlands and Təgray, ↗Hausa and other West Africans (called ↗Tukrir), Təgre, Kunama and others. The majority of the population is Muslim. Many local people are merchants, but also craftsmen and peasants, specialized in ↗oil milling. Before colonization most peasants only came to O.Ḥ. seasonally. Still in the 1970s the population of O.Ḥ. increased seasonally due to migrant workers.

The first time O.Ḥ. acquired political importance was when it served as a point of reference for the Addis Abäba border treaty of 15 May 1902 between Italy, Great Britain and Ethiopia (Hertslett 1967; ↗Treaties). The Ethio–Eritrean border was then established starting from the confluence between the Ḵor Om Ḥağär and the Setit (14° 18' N, 36° 38' E); this new border assured that the ↗Kunama came under ↗Eritrea. During the ↗Italian war 1935–36 there was an Ethiopian army unit called after O.Ḥ., from where many combattants originated, in the *mahəl säfäri* (the Army of the Centre), under the command of *ras* ↗Mulugeta Buli.



In the 1960s the *wäräda* of O.Ḥ. was included in the great “Humera Agricultural Development Project”, set up in a vast region stretching from the River Gärgäf near Guluğ to the south of today’s Western Təgray, the whole area being very fertile and irrigated by various rivers coming from the highlands (cp. Ministry of Agriculture 1973). Modern plantations (sesame, nug, cotton) were then set up around O.Ḥ. They are still important for the economy of Eritrea today.

During the period from 1961 to 1991, O.Ḥ. was repeatedly the scene of measures of repression by the Ethiopian central government, the first one being a massacre in July 1974 (again in 1975). Several thousand fighters of the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (in the 1980s replaced by the ↗Eritrean People’s Liberation Front) were operating in the hinterland of O.Ḥ. and ↗Täsänäy, as far as ↗Kärän.

O.Ḥ.’s population numbered about 10,000 in the 1990s, but was reduced to ca. 2,000 after the Ethio–Eritrean border war of 1998–2000; many refugees went to the Sudan, but also to Təgray. O.Ḥ. lies within the Temporary Security Zone, which had been overseen by United Nations’ troops until 2008.

Lit.: *Guida*, index; DAVID HAMILTON, “Schedule of International Agreements Relating to the Boundaries of Ethiopia”, *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 58–69; EDWARD HERTSLETT, *The Map of Africa by Treaty, Revised and Completed to the End of 1908 by R.W. Bryant and H.L. Sherwood*, vol. 2: *Abyssinia and Great Britain and France*, London 1967; MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, HUMERA AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (ed.), *The Humera Report, Resources and Development Planning*, Addis Ababa 1973.

Wolbert Smidt

Oman

The Sultanate of O. (Ar.: ʿUmān) extends across the entire south-eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula along the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of O. (Bosworth – Smith – Holes in EI²). The country is geographically and culturally divided into two distinct areas: the north (the area around the capital Masqaṭ, the Bāṭina coast and the Ḥağar region) inhabited by followers of the Ibāḍī current of ↗Islam (a branch of the early Islamic opposition movement of the Kharijites) and the Šāfiᶜī south (the region of Dhofar, Ar. Ẓafār) covering the Oriental part of the Mahra region, which forms a cultural continuum with the neighbouring Yemen. Known as *Magan* in Sumerian sources, the O. region traded abundant supplies of timber, copper and diorite to Mesopotamia and Elam from the 3rd millennium B.C. onward (Albright 1921, 1922; Hansman 1973; Michailowski 1988).

Since ancient times, O. enjoyed the strategic position of an important crossroads on the long-distance ↗trade routes linking the Mediterranean, via the Strait of Hormuz and the ↗Red Sea, to Indian Ocean areas such as East Africa, India and China. Northern O. coastal towns Ṣuḥār (Sohar, frequently but not unanimously identified with "Omana" mentioned by ↗Pliny the Elder and the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* [Casson 1989, index esp. 180ff.; Fiaccadori 1992, xxvii n. 43, 33 and n. 109] and with the *Persikon Emporion* of Theophilus the Indian's mission [Kevran EI^2 but s. Fiaccadori 1992 xxvi–i and n. 43, 6f. and n. 8], subsequently Sasanian province of Māzūn), Masqaṭ (Wilkinson in EI^2) and Qalḥāt (ibid.) were important stations in the Oceanic trade which developed in accordance with the seasonal rhythm of the monsoons. The southern O. region was one of the main areas producing frankincense (↗Incense), with such ports as Ḫawr Rawrī (mentioned in the *Periplus* as "Móscha Limēn", Casson 1989: 170ff. and *passim*, and Avanzini 2008), Ḥāsik ("Asikhôn" in the *Periplus*, Casson 1989: 173, Schleifer in EI^2), Mirbāṭ (Bosworth in EI^2) and Raysūt (the port of ancient Ẓafār, modern Balīd and Ṣalāla: Costa 1979, Smith in EI^2).

Under the direct rule or the indirect control of different Persian dynasties, O. became the target of a large-scale migration of Azd Arabs from the Tihāma and Sarāt through Ǧaᶜlān and Qalḥāt. This migration led to the flight of the Persian component of the local population and the subsequent Arabization of O. which was completed before or immediately after Islam began to spread in the country.

Islamic O. was closely connected to the Horn of Africa (esp. Somalia) and East Africa from the very beginning of its history, when Sulaymān and Saᶜīd b. Abbād al-Ǧulanda fled to the land of the Zanǧ from the army of the notorious al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ b. Yūsuf, who had probably been sent in 705 by *ḫalīfa* ᶜAbdalmalik to invade O. (Kirkman 1983: 41). The presence of immigrants from the O. region and from the area of the Persian Gulf is recorded all along the African coasts of the Indian Ocean. The *Furs* (↗Iran) mentioned in relation to the ↗Dahlak islands may be typical of these waves of immigration (Puglisi 1966; Tedeschi 1966: 51f.). Over time, these ties consolidated even further (Kirkman 1983). According to Benaadiri traditions, many cities of the southern Somali coast (e.g., Warshaykh) were regularly visited by O. merchants (Cerulli 1923). Slaves were part of the goods traded: they were taken from the Swahili coast and sold in O. but also in Somalia (CerSom II, 20 and n. 1). Conversely, groups of Mahrī origin came to settle in the Horn where they intermixed with the local people (Martin 1964). Descendants of immigrants who had arrived in the 18th cent. were still easily recognizable among the ↗Mageerteen in the early 20th cent. (Cerulli 1926). Mahrī fighters were present in the army of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (BassHist I, 97, II, 170f. and n. 2). Noble *ašrāf* families descending from the famous saint Muḥammad Ṣāḥib Mirbāṭ in southern O. are still much revered in Mogadishu (s. EAE vol. 5; Gori 2006: 210f.).

Relations between O. and East Africa were strengthened with Portuguese expansion in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea (Serjeant 1963), Afonso de ↗Albuquerque seizing Ṣuḥār Qalḥāt and Masqaṭ in 1507. Portuguese rule in O. lasted till the mid-17th cent., when *imām* Sulṭān b. Sayf liberated it, becoming the first of the Yaᶜrubī dynasty. His son *imām* Sayf b. Sulṭān al-Yaᶜrubī (d. 1711) defeated the Portuguese in East Africa, seizing Zanzibar in 1698, Mombasa, Pate, ↗Merka, ↗Brava and Mogadishu (Cerulli 1943: 24). The troops soon had to withdraw back to O., but from then on the *sulṭāns* of Masqaṭ claimed control over the region. The first *sulṭān* of the Būsaᶜīdī dynasty, Aḥmad b. Saᶜīd (d. 1793), placed the main commercial towns of the East African coast (Mombasa, Kilwa, Pemba, Lamu and Zanzibar) under O. government. Saᶜīd b. Sulṭān (d. 1856) put Zanzibar under his direct control and named a governor for Mogadishu. Upon his death, the dynasty split into two: Ṯuwaynī b. Saᶜīd continued to rule in O. while Māǧid b. Saᶜīd settled in Zanzibar and governed the island and other African possessions. Challenged by German and British colonial ambitions in East Africa, the dynasty was forced to make some concessions in Kenya and Tanzania (Declich 2004: 19ff.). ↗Italy also started extending its influence on the Indian Ocean coasts, eventually (1906) buying the Somali ports of Brava, Merka and Mogadishu from the Būsaᶜīdī rulers.

The interest of the O. rulers of Zanzibar in the Horn diminished when their power was drastically limited by the British protectorate (1890–1963). The continuing relationship, however, can be illustrated by the letter of *sayyid* Ḫalīfa b. Ḥārib b. Ṯuwaynī (r. 1911–60) to the Ethiopian emperor (possibly *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu), in which he asked for 20 horses to play polo (al-Muġayyirī 2001: 431).

O. cultural presence is evident in the architecture of Somali coastal towns, e.g., the Garesa of Mogadishu (Catalogo 1934; Monneret de Villard 1934, passim). The presence of Ibāḍīṣ among "Somali immigrants in Eritrea and among Ḥaḍramawtīs" has been mentioned (TrIslam 232, probably after Odorizzi 1911: 123) but seems unlikely unless we surmise that they could be Omanis from the ports of the Somali coast under the rule of the Būsaʿīdī dynasty and from the Arabian Peninsula. ↗Islamic brotherhoods from Somalia spread to Kenya, Tanzania and Zanzibar thanks to the common political and commercial space established and fostered by O. rule in the area (Martin 1969; Samatar 1992). In the late 19th cent. individual O. entrepreneurs settled in Eritrea where they engaged in trade (s. Miran 2009).

The ↗*zar* cult is known in O. where it was probably imported by Ethiopian slaves. A peculiar pl. *zīrān* from sg. *zār* is used in the local O. Arabic dialect (Cerulli in EI^1). Some current research has focused on the forced movement of East Africans to the O. region, where they worked on date plantations, in the pearl industry, or as domestic slaves.

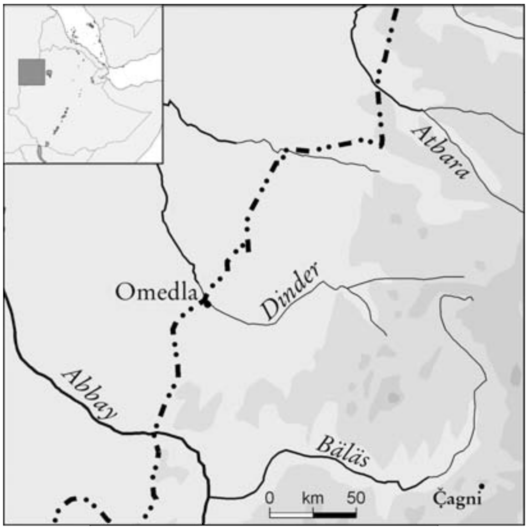
Src.: GEORGE PERCY BADGER, *History of the Imâms and Seyyids of ʾOmân by Salîl ibn Razîk*, London 1871; BassHist I, 97, II, 170f.; LIONEL CASSON (ed., tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, NJ 1989; AL-MUĠAYYIRĪ, *Ǧuhaynat al-aḫbār fī taʾrīḫ Zanǧibār* ('A Collection of Notes on the History of Zanzibar'), Masqaṭ 2001^4; ROBERT B. SERJEANT, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, Oxford 1963.

Lit.: WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT, "Magan, Meluḫa, and the Synchronism between Menes and Narâm-Šin", *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 7, 1921, 80–86; ID., "New Light on Magan and Meluḫa", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 42, 1922, 317–22; ALESSANDRA AVANZINI (ed.), *A Port in Arabia between Rome and the Indian Ocean* (*3rd C. BC–5th C. AD*). *Khor Rosi Report* 2, Rome 2008 (Arabia Antica 5); CLIFFORD E. BOSWORTH, "Mirbāṭ", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 7, 114; ID. – GERALD REX SMITH – CLIVE HOLES, "ʿUmān", *ibid.* vol. 10, 814–18; REGIO GOVERNO DELLA SOMALIA, *Museo della Garesa. Catalogo*, Mogadiscio 1934; ENRICO CERULLI, "Di alcune monete raccolte sulla costa somala", *RSO* 10, 1923, 281–82 (= CerSom I, 123f.); ID., "Un gruppo Mahrī nella Somalia italiana", *ibid.* 11, 1926, 25–26 (= *ibid.* 109f.); ID., "La città di Merca e tre sue iscrizioni arabe", *Oriente moderno* 23, 1943, 20–28 (= *ibid.* 91–100); ID., "Il diritto consuetudinario della Somalia settentrionale (Migiurtini)", in: *CerSom* I, 1–74; PAOLO COSTA, "The Study of the City of Ẓafār (al-Balīd)", *Journal of Oman Studies* 5, 1979, 111–50; LORENZO DECLICH, *Passaggi culturali tra Oman e Zanzibar* (*1830–1930*), Venezia 2004; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), xxvi–i and n. 43, 6f. and n. 8; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Lo Yemen e l'Islam in Africa Orientale: contatti, testi, personaggi", in: *Storia e cultura dello Yemen in età islamica, con particolare riferimento al periodo Rasulide*, Roma 2006, 201–18; JOHN HANSMAN, "A 'Periplus' of Magan and Meluḫḫa", *BSOAS* 36, 1973, 554–87; MONIQUE KEVRAN, "Ṣuḥār", *EI*^{2}, vol. 9, 774–76; JAMES KIRKMAN, "The Early History of Oman in East Africa", *Journal of Oman Studies* 6, 1983, 41–58; BRADFORD G. MARTIN, "Arab Migrations to East Africa in Medieval Times", *IJAHS* 7, 1964, 367–90; ID., "Muslim Politics and Resistence to Colonial Rule. Shaykh Uways b. Muḥammad al-Barāwī and the Qādiriyya Brotherhood in East Africa", *JAH* 10, 1969, 471–86; PIOTR MICHALOWSKI, "Magan and Meluḫḫa Once Again", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 40, 1988, 156–64; JONATHAN MIRAN, *Red Sea Citizens*: *Cosmopolitan Society and Cultural Change in Massawa*, Bloomington, IN 2009; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, "Note sulle influenze asiatiche in Africa Orientale", *RSO* 17, 1938, 303–49; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il commissariato regionale di Massaua al 1° gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911; GIUSEPPE PUGLISI, "Alcuni vestigi dell'isola di Dahlac Chebir e la leggenda dei Furs", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 35–47; SAID S. SAMATAR, "Shaykh Uways Muhammad of Baraawe, 1847–1909: Mystic and Reformer in East Africa", in: ID. (ed.), *In the Shadow of the Conquest*: *Islam in Colonial Northeast Africa,* Trenton, NJ 1992, 48–74; J. SCHLEIFER, "Ḥāsik", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 3, 269; GERALD REX SMITH, "Ṣalāla", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 8, 914; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Note storiche sulle isole Dahlak", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 49–74; TrIslam 232; JOHN C. WILKINSON, "Ḳalḥāt", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 4, 500; ID., "Masḳaṭ", *ibid.* vol. 6, 734–36.

Alessandro Gori

Omedla

O. (**ኦሜድላ**, also Umidla), a small settlement on the Dinder River along the Ethiopian–Sudanese bor-



Ḫaylä Śəllase I raising the Ethiopian flag after his arrival at Omedla; from Seltene Seyoum 1999: 347

der, played a significant role in freeing Ethiopia from Italian aggression and colonial rule. On 20 January 1941, *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I – accompanied by his sons Crown Prince *märʿəd azmač* ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase and the governor of Harär *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Ḫaylä Śəllase, several other senior Ethiopian government officials and a bevy of international war correspondents – arrived in O. from Khartoum via Rosaires. He hoisted the Ethiopian flag before a guard of honour and remarked that "death is better than captivity". The following day, the Princes returned to Khartoum, while Ḫaylä Śəllase – supported by two battalions, Mission 101, a mortar platoon, an eight truck convoy, a staff car, and camel transport – departed O. to establish a forward headquarter ca. 240 km east of O. at Mount Bəlaya. On 6 February 1941, after an excruciating march, the beleaguered column finally reached its destination. From Mount Bəlaya, the Emperor directed operations that initially involved dropping leaflets from the air throughout Goǧǧam and Təgray that encouraged all Ethiopians to close ranks against the Italians. Ḫaylä Śəllase also approved a British strategy that involved opening a northern front under Lieutenant-General Will Platt's command and a southern front led by General Alan Cunningham from Kenya. Meanwhile, Ḫaylä Śəllase moved through the Goǧǧam front to Addis Abäba, where he arrived on 5 May 1941 to reclaim his Empire.

In the post-1941 administrative division O. was included in the Qʷara-Omedla *wäräda* of the Č̣əlga *awraǧǧa*.

Src.: HSLife II, 142, 145.

Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History,* London 1993, 257; SELTENE SEYOUM, *A History of Resistance in Gojjam* (*Ethiopia*), *1936–1941*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1999, 347 (ill.); DAVID SHIRREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers,* London – New York 1995, 73f.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Ometo

O. is the collective name of about twelve languages and their dialects which constitute one of the major branches of the ↗Omotic language family (In the following alphabetic list variants reported as dialects are counted once and are separated by a hyphen): ↗Basketo–Dokko–Dolo, ↗Č̣ara, ↗Gamo–↗Dorze–Očollo, ↗Gofa, Harro–Gaṣame–Ganǧule (↗Harro cluster), ↗Koorete, ↗Kullo–Konta (Dawro), ↗Maale, ↗Malo, ↗Oyda, ↗Wälaytta, ↗Zayse–Zargulla–Mäle–Ganta.

The language vs. dialect status of many varieties is controversial and the nomenclature is not always consistent in the literature. Thus, the status of Dokko-Dolo is not clear: Bender (2000: 7) treats it as a dialect of Basketo, while Fleming (in BendNonSLang 300) lists these as distinct languages. Contrary to Lamberti (in EAE vol. 2, 55f., 676ff.), Dač̣e and Gamo are not names of different languages but are alternative names (along with Zeege) for one and the same language, i.e. the North-O. Gamo (not to be confused with Zargulla, whose speakers also call their language Gamo; cf. Freeman in PICES 15). Similarly, Balta, ↗Gäräse, Zala and Gidiččo (sometimes mentioned as language names) are respectively names of places where local varieties of Basketo, Gamo, Wälaytta and Harro are spoken. On the other hand, the varieties Mäle and Ganta (close to Zayse and Zargulla) are hardly mentioned in works on O. due to the fact that they are found in areas widely known as "Gamo-speaking".

The number of speakers and official status of each language vary considerably within the O. group. Wälaytta and Gamo, reported to have the largest number of speakers (ca. 1.7 million and 1.1 million, respectively; CSA 2008: 65, 67), are used in education and administration. O. varieties with the least number of speakers are Č̣ara (ca. 13,000 speakers, ibid. 65), Kačama (i.e., Gaṣame; 2,682) and Ganğule (1,390; the two latter groups are not listed in CSA 2008, the figures are provided after CSA 1996; Hudson 1999: 91).

The most important features that unite O. are a relatively high percentage of cognate grammatical morphemes, shared independent pronouns, numerals and other items of basic lexicon. According to Bender (1988: 133), the average lexical correspondence among O. languages is 58 % whereas that between O. and its next closest kin, ↗Benç̌, is 43 %; shared correspondences are as low as 14 % between O. and the distantly related Eastern Omotic (Aroid) languages (↗Aari, ↗Dime and ↗Hamär).

Most of the numerals correspond within O. and originate from a (now obsolete) quinary system (Zaborski in SegBodLes; Hirut Woldemariam 2008). Thus, Wälaytta *ˀusúppuna*, 'six', derives from *ˀissó*, 'one', and *-ppuna; laáppuna*, 'seven', from *naaˀˀá*, 'two', and *-ppuna*, etc. (for various etymologies proposed for -(*p*)*puna* s. CerStud III, 58; Fleming in BendLang 50; Dolgopolsky 1966: 62 [by Zaborski in SegBodLes 378]; and recently comparison to common O. *ˀappun-*, 'how much?' by Hirut Woldemariam 2008).

Verbal affixes wide-spread among O. languages include: affirmative and imperative negative marked by -*k*(*ay*) and -*Vpp*(*V*) for the affirmative and negative imperative, resp., -*ana* for the future tense. Grammaticalization of the auxiliary verb **d-* 'to be' as a past tense/perfective aspect marker is one of the characteristics of O. (cf. Hayward 1984; Zaborski in PICES 7).

In the nominal category, we find case-marking morphemes, including dative -*s* (absent in Č̣ara) and locative/instrumental -*n*. O. languages (plus Benç̌) have the "Marked Nominative" case system both in nouns and pronouns; all languages use the cognate morpheme -*i* for marking the nominative/subject case but in the North O. languages nominative -*i* is restricted to masc. sg. and pl. whereas fem. nominative is marked by -*a* (Zaborski 1990; Hayward – Tsuge 1998).

Within Omotic, O. belongs to the *Ta/Ne* branch (which includes also Benç̌, ↗Yäm and ↗Gonga/Käfoid languages), so labelled after the form of the 1st and 2nd pers. sg. pronouns (*ta.ani* and *ne.eni*, uniform across O.).

Two major internal classifications of O. have been proposed:

I) On the basis of lexical and grammatical comparison Fleming (in BendLang 47) divides O. into four groups (the language names are quoted here as in the original publication; for their evaluation s. discussion above):

1) North O. or central O.: Welamo [i.e., Wälaytta] (together with Gemu [Gamo], Gofa, Malo, Zala); Kullo-Konta; Dache [Dač̣e], Dorze and Oyda;
2) East O.: Zayse-Zargulla, Koyra [Koorete], Gidicho [Gidiččo] and Kachama [Kačama, i.e. Gaṣame];
3) West O.: Dok(k)o-Dollo, Basketo and tentatively Chara [Č̣ara];
4) South O.: Male.

II) The three-way division of O., first proposed in Cerulli (CerStud III), adopted by Moreno (1940), and supported by Bender (1988, 2000, 2003):

1) North-west O. (NWO), comprising all languages in Fleming's North, West and South O. groups, with the exception of Č̣ara;
2) South-east O. (SEO), same as Fleming's East O.;
3) Č̣ara.

Bender's (1988: 122) classification was "based on mainly lexicon (but including some pronouns and demonstratives)", but reaffirmed in his (2000) morphological comparison of Omotic languages. As a rationale for the sub-division, Bender (2000: 92ff.) mentions seven possible shared innovations, the first three of which are: 1) 3rd pers. pl. pronoun *usu* in SEO and *its+endi* in Č̣ara; 2) the interrogative form *ayna* 'where?' in SEO; 3) lack of -*k* in one of the distal demonstratives in SEO and presence of +*r* in several demonstratives in Č̣ara.

Further remarks on O. classification (Zaborski in PICES 7, 29) are similar to that by Fleming. The position of Č̣ara remains unclear: certain isoglosses relate it to North O., some others to West O. and still others to East O.

Src.: CSA 1996; Central Statistical Authority (CSA), *Preliminary Results of the 2007 Ethiopian Census*, Addis Ababa 2008, 65ff.

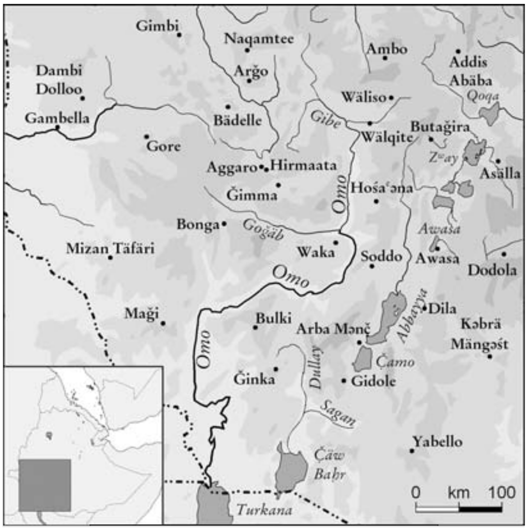
Lit.: Azeb Amha, "Verb Derivation in Ometo: the Case of Maale, Basketto, Kullo and Koorete", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 1121–30; Ead., "Aspects of the Verb in Ometo", *Ethiopian*

Journal of Languages and Literature 6, 1996, 43–63; Marvin Lionel Bender, "Proto-Omotic Phonology and Lexicon", in: Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst – Fritz Serzisko (eds.), *Cushitic-Omotic. Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages, Cologne, January 6–9, 1986*, Hamburg 1988, 121–59; Id., *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19); Id., *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Carbondale, IL 2003; CerStud III; Aaron B. Dolgopolsky, "Materialy po sravnitel'no-istoričeskoj fonetike kušitskih jazykov: gubnye i dental'nye smyčnye v načal'nom položenii", in: *Yazyki Afriki – voprosy struktury, istorii i tipologii*, Moskva 1966, 35–88; Harold C. Fleming, "Omotic Overview", in: *BendNonSLang* 299–323; Id., "Cushitic and Omotic", in: *BendLang* 34–53; Deena Freeman, "Who are the Gamo? And Who are the D'ache?", in: *PICES* 15, 85–91; Richard J. Hayward, "The Proto-Omotic Verb Formative *d-", *BSOAS* 47, 2, 1984, 324–30; Id., "The Origins of North Ometo Verb Agreement Systems", *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 19, 2, 1998, 93–111; Id., "A Further Consideration of Terminal Vowels in Ometo", in: Andrzej Zaborski (ed.), *New Data and New Methods in Afroasiatic Linguistics*: *Robert Hetzron in Memoriam*, Wiesbaden 2001, 53–63; Id., "Omotic. The 'Empty Quarter' of Afroasiatic Linguistics", in: Jacqueline Lecarme (ed.), *Research in Afroasiatic Grammar II. Selected Papers from the Fifth Conference on Afroasiatic Languages, Paris, 2000*, Amsterdam 2003, 241–61; Id. – Yoichi Tsuge, "Concerning Case in Omotic", *AuÜ* 81, 1998, 21–38; Hirut Woldemariam, *The Grammar of Haro with Comparative Notes on the Ometo Linguistic Group*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2003; Ead., "Gamo: a Dialect Variant or a Group with its Own Dialects?", in: Yoichi Tsuge (ed.), *Cushitic-Omotic Studies 2004*, Kanazawa University, ms., 2005, 67–78; Ead., "Historical Notes on Numerals in Ometo: the Obsolete Quinary System", *JES* 43, 2008, 131–50; Grover Hudson, "Linguistic Analysis of the 1994 Ethiopian Census", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1999, 89–107; Marcello Lamberti, "Daċe", in: *EAE* vol. 2, 55–56; Id., "Gamo", *ibid.* 676–78; Martino Mario Moreno, *Introduzione alla lingua Ometo*, Milano 1938; Andrzej Zaborski, "Remarks on the Verb in Ometo", in: *PICES* 7, 25–30; Id., "Basic Numerals in Omotic", in: *SegBodLes* 375–90; Id., "Preliminary Remarks on Case Morphemes in Omotic", in: Richard J. Hayward (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990, 617–39.

Azeb Amha

Omo

O. (ኦሞ) is the name of the southern reaches of the ↗Gibe river system. The three rivers, Gibe of Lagamara, of Ǝnnarya and of Ǧimma, have their sources in the volcanic ranges south of the River ↗Abbay (Mount Balballa, 3,261 m A.S.L.). Their eroded courses demarcated the so-called Oromo Gibe kingdoms. The three rivers flow together north-west of Abälti from where the Gibe turns southward. Called O. downstream from Hadiyya, this river flows southward parallel to the Rift in a deep and narrow canyon. The river opens up its course, interrupted by waterfalls, through lower cenozoic volcanic strata (Mäqdäla series). The difference in level between the middle cenozoic plateaus of basaltic trapps and the bed of the O. River is more than 1,000 m. As an endoreic river the O. flows after 760 km (EMAtlas) or 829 km (Guida) into the salted water of Lake ↗Turkana (ca. 375 m A.S.L.). Although Teleki (1888) had seen the delta on the Northern bank of the lake, Europeans did not known that this was the O. River until the ↗Bottego expedition (1896).



Where the river flows out of its gorges it spreads in wide meanders into a loamy plain which is floaded during the rainy season. As the gorge sunk down deeper it was filled with lacustrine and fluvial upper cenozoic sediments where human fossiles were buried. Its main right bank affluent the ↗Goǧäb with its straight course along a fault forms a 90 degree angle with its valley. To the east the O. gorges separate the highlands of Gurage, Hadiyya and Kambaata from the plateaus of Oromiyaa, to the West, dominated by Mount Malgudo (3,390 m). ↗*Ǝnsät* cultivating peoples took refuge in the eastern highlands. Since 2000 a main road connects ↗Soddo (Wälaytta) with ↗Ǧimma across the O. at an altitude of 700 m. On the right bank the new road passes through a triple wall built with drystones which protected the kingdom of ↗Däwaro from the ↗Wälaytta. The middle and lower parts of the Gibe-O. basin: 77,206 km² (EMAtlas) or 67,450 km² (Guida) are located in the South *kəlləl*. The Gilgäl Gibe dam and powerplant are on the way to completion. There are many suitable sites for the construction of hydroelectric installations along the river which brings abundant water to one of the most humid regions of Ethiopia. The recently inaugurated Gibe 3 dam at the Ethio–Kenyan border, however, is highly problematic due to its supposed negative effect on ecology and on the traditional economy of the people inhabiting the area.

The banks of the O. canyon are densely populated while its narrow and malaria proned bottom is almost uninhabited. Various ethnic groups live in the lower valley, growing cereals after the floods and keeping cattle in spite of trypanosomiasis. This region is divided between Nilo-Saharan languages (↗Mursi, Bodi [↗Meˀen] ↗Ñaŋatom, ↗Turkana), to the east, Omotic languages (↗Bäšada, Aari, ↗Banna, ↗Kara, ↗Hamär), to the west, and the Cushitic-speaking ↗Đaasänäč, to the south. Sometimes, bloody feuds broke out because of grazing quarrels and spread over the Ethio–Kenyan border.

Lit.: Alain Chenevière, *Éthiopie, berceau de l'humanité*, Paris 1989; EMAtlas; GasEth; Georg Gerster et al., *L'Éthiopie, toit de l'Afrique*, Zürich 1974 (Orbis Terrarum); Guida; MesfGeogr; Serge Tornay, *Les fusils jaunes*: *Générations et politiques en pays nyangatom* (*Éthiopie*), Paris 2001.

Alain Gascon

Omo valley

The Lower O.v. features prominently in the history of research on human evolution. It is the oldest Ethiopian palaeoanthropological research area, and was exploited by a diversity of teams with diverse methods, goals, and theoretical frameworks (Guillemot 1997). Fossils were first collected by Emile Brumpt in 1902, during ↗Bourg de Bozas' trans-African expedition. This led the French palaeontologist Camille Arambourg to investigate the fossiliferous deposits of the southern part of the Lower O.v. in 1933. He recognized the Plio-Pleistocene age of these localities and made an abundant collection of fossil vertebrate samples (Arambourg 1947). In this material, he identified a number of new taxa of bovids, hippopotamids, and elephant relatives described in the 1930s and the 1940s. Until 1967, the O.v. was visited only briefly by a few palaeontologists, without adding significantly to the previous work.

In 1967 F. Clark Howell (USA) formed the second major research expedition in the O.v. with Arambourg, Yves Coppens (France), and Louis Leakey (Kenya). The International Omo Research Expedition (IORE) worked for nine years between 1967 and 1976, with the aim of understanding human evolution within its temporal, environmental, cultural, structural, and climatic context. Howell's drive determined a resolutely multidisciplinary approach, involving notably geologists, radiochronologists, palaeontologists, palynologists, archaeologists and anthropologists. The research was performed at the interface of all disciplines related to human evolutionary studies, from tectonics to artefact technology, and included emerging methods, such as radiochronology. This approach became a model for later palaeoanthropological studies in Africa.

The IORE identified several groups of deposits in the Lower Omo Valley. The most important one is the "Shungura Formation" (Šungura). This formation is located on the western bank of the ↗Omo River, about 20 km north of its delta. It is constituted by tilted and faulted fluviatile sediments interbedded with stratified volcanic ashes (tuffs), spread north-south over approximately 60 km (de Heinzelin 1983). More than 25 Šungura tuffs were dated by measuring radioactive element decay, indicating that the Šungura sediments were formed between ca. 3.6 million years ago (Ma) and ca. 1 Ma. This allowed building a chronological scale, with sometimes less than 100,000 years between two dated layers. This framework was ideal examining local vertebrate evolution. About 50,000 fossils were collected in hundreds of localities; they are now preserved at the National Museum of Ethiopia in Addis Abäba. These fossils represent more than 150 species, most of them now extinct. Dominant groups include notably various antelopes, monkeys, hippos, and pigs. These fossils and other data (fossil plants and pollens, natural sediments) provided detailed pictures of the O.v. environments in the past. Several ↗hominids inhabited these environments. *Paranthropus aethiopicus*, a species characterized by its powerful cheek teeth, was first identified in the O.v. by Arambourg and Coppens (1967), and dated to 2.5 Ma. The lineage that led to modern humans was also represented, notably with fossils probably close to the earliest ↗*Homo* around 2.5 Ma, and with *Homo erectus* after 2 Ma. These human ancestors left remains of their activities in the Šungura Formation. Early Stone Age artefacts, mostly knapped flakes of quartz, were unearthed in levels dated ca. 2.4 Ma–2.3 Ma, and figure among the oldest evidence for human cultural evolution (Chavaillon 1976).

Other palaeoanthropological sites are known in the Lower Omo Valley. The Usno Formation is contemporary or slightly older than Šungura, and the Mursi Formation was dated as somewhat older than 4 Ma. Both contain fossil vertebrates, with a few remains at Usno of hominids probably close to "Lucy's" species, ↗*Australopithecus afarensis*. The extended Kibiš Formation, displaying little tectonic distortion, includes sediments younger than 200 thousand years. In 1967 Richard Leakey's IORE team discovered several remains of advanced *Homo* in this formation, which is also known for its recent fauna and numerous Middle Stone Age artefacts (Fleagle et al. 2008).

The fossil collection from the Lower Omo Valley is now regarded worldwide as a critical reference for studying environmental, biological, and cultural evolution during the Plio-Pleistocene. It is constantly used for age correlations between the O.v. and other palaeontological sites. It can be used to explore the connexions between global and regional changes (climatic, tectonic) and human evolution. It was the background for the "(H)omo event" theory of Coppens (1994), proposing that global climate changes after 3 Ma triggered the emergence of our genus, *Homo*, characterized by a larger brain and advanced technological skills.

Research in the Lower Omo Valley was reactivated in 2006: new fieldwork with more recent methods was developed by the Omo Group Research Expedition, a multidisciplinary Ethio-French team. This research discovered new hominid remains and archaeological evidence (Boisserie et al. 2008), which should allow more complete knowledge of the critical transition between small-brained human ancestors with no known material culture, and our genus.

Lit.: CAMILLE ARAMBOURG, *Mission Scientifique de l'Omo (1932–1933): Géologie et Anthropologie*, Paris 1947; JEAN-RENAUD BOISSERIE et al., "New Palaeoanthropological Research in the Plio-Pleistocene Omo Group, Lower Omo Valley, SNNPR (Southern Nations, Nationalities and People Regions), Ethiopia", *Comptes Rendus Palevol* 7, 2008, 429–39; JEAN CHAVAILLON, "Evidence for the Technical Practices of Early Pleistocene Hominids Shungura Formations, Lower Omo Valley, Ethiopia", in: YVES COPPENS et al. (eds.), *Earliest Man and Environments in the Lake Rudolf Basin*, Chicago, IL 1976, 565–73; YVES COPPENS, "East Side Story: the Origin of Humankind", *Scientific American* 270, 1994, 88–95; JOHN G. FLEAGLE et al., "Paleoanthropology of the Kibish Formation, Southern Ethiopia: Introduction", *Journal of Human Evolution* 55, 2008, 360–65; CLAUDE GUILLEMOT, "Recherches paléoanthropologiques dans la basse vallée de l'Omo", *Bulletin de la Maison des Études Éthiopiennes* 11, 1997, 69–78; JEAN DE HEINZELIN, *The Omo Group: Archives of the International Omo Research Expedition*, Tervuren 1983.

Jean-Renaud Boisserie

Omotic

O. is a controversial language family found exclusively (aside from Ganza and rare individual emigrants) within Ethiopia. Its classification as an independent branch of ↗Afro-Asiatic was proposed by Fleming 1969 (who rejected their classification as a subbranch of Cushitic by Moreno 1940). The limits of this proposed family are subject to several interpretations. The core of the family consists of those languages forming the "West Cushitic" or "Sidama" family. This less controversial grouping (*Ta/Ne* family) includes ↗Ometo (together with ↗Č̣ara), Gimira (= ↗Benç̌), ↗Yäm (= Ğanğäro), and ↗Gonga (= Käfoid), all of which are characterized by having independent pronouns of the form 1st pers. sg. *ta*/2nd pers. sg. *ne*. A more radical approach includes the ↗Dizoid languages (↗Dizi and relatives) and the ↗Aroid languages (↗Aari and relatives). Still more radical is the inclusion of the ↗Mao group.

The name "Omotic" was suggested by Fleming (1969; in BendNonSLang; in BendLang), taken from the salient position of the ↗Omo River of south-western Ethiopia in the family's geographical spread. Earlier, Cerulli (1929: 1) gave Omētō or Omētī as a name for the people of the Omo River vicinity (s. also Bender 2000: 7, 236 n. 1).

Membership and Demography

A brief gazetteer of languages follows, with estimates of native-speakers from Hudson (1999; 2004).

Ta/Ne (TN) languages:

Ometo: three genetically differentiated branches, usually referred to as West (Fleming 1969: North; Bender 2000: North-west) and East (Fleming 1969: South; Bender 2000: South-east), and the single language Č̣ara. West Ometo is by far the larger, consisting of a large dialect cluster (↗Wälaytta, ↗Gamo, ↗Gofa, ↗Dorze, Dawro [↗Kullo], and others: about 2.5 million speakers), plus ↗Malo, ↗Oyda, ↗Basketo, and ↗Maale (perhaps 150,000). East Ometo has three languages: ↗Koorete, ↗Zayse, and ↗Harro cluster, totalling about 127,000 speakers. Č̣ara has about 7,000 speakers. Locations are in the former ↗Gamo Gofa province: West Ometo: between the Omo River on the west and Lake Abbaya on the east; East Ometo: south and east of Lake Abbaya; Č̣ara: north of West Ometo across the Omo River. Gimira (Benč̣) is a single language with two main dialects: Benč̣ and Še, located south of ↗Käfa and west of Konta (↗Kullo-Konta), the most north-westerly of the Ometo varieties. The total number of speakers is about 188,000. Yäm is also a single language, formerly known (derogatorily) as Ǧanǧäro. It is isolated from other O. languages along the upper Goǧäb River, east of Ǧimma. Speakers number ca. 82,000. The Gonga family consists of Käfa-↗Šakačo, Anfillo, and Boro (= ↗Šinašša). Käfa is a major language with as many as 510,000 speakers, while the closely related Šakačo (= Moča) has about 55,000. Both are located on the headwaters of the Baro River, north-west of the Ometo area in the former Käfa province. Anfillo, an outlier in the former Wälläga province, north of Gambella, numbers now about 14,000, being displaced by Oromo. Boro is a dialect cluster spoken by ca. 20,000 to the north of most other O. languages, along the Blue Nile (Abbay) River, mostly on the northern side (former Goǧǧam province).

Non-*Ta/Ne* languages fall into three families. Dizoid has three languages: Dizi (= Maǧi) around the town of Maǧi between the Omo River and Sudan border; ↗Nayi, between Gimira and Ometo, and ↗Šeko, south of Käfa-Šakačo, west of Gimira. Dizi has about 21,000 speakers. Nayi has about 4,000, but the younger generation speaks only Käfa, so the language is dying out. Šeko has about 24,000. Aroid also has three languages: Aari (= Bakko, the name of the former main town; ↗Hamär-Bakko) is in the former Gamo Gofa east of the Usnu River and west of Arba Mənč̣, with dialects Galila in the north and ↗Ubamär in the south; Hamär is south of Aari extending to the Kenya border, Banna is the northern dialect forming a buffer with Aari, and Kara is a dialect found along the lower Omo River (s. ↗Hamär cluster); ↗Dime is located just north-east of Aari. Population estimates are about 159,000 Aari, 43,000 Hamär, 7,000 Dime.

Mao languages are four: Hozo and Sezo (s. ↗Hozo-Sezo) in the former western Wälläga province near the Sudan border; ↗Mao of Bambasi north of Hozo with a small group transported east to the Diḍessa River near Naqamtee; and the little-known and nearly extinct Ganza, around Ǧabal Bange west of Bambasi, all or mostly in Sudan. There are said to be about 3,000 speakers each of Hozo and Sezo and 5,000 of Bambasi.

The demographic total for O. is probably about 4 million.

Internal and External Classification

Some aspects of the internal structure of O. are clear, though a generally agreed-on family tree remains elusive. Within the *Ta/Ne* languages, Fleming proposed a Gonga-"Gimojan" family, consisting of Gonga vs. Gimira-Ometo-Yäm (latter Fleming's Ǧanǧäro), which is still widely accepted, though it is probably incorrect. Bender (2000: 135) suggests that Yäm and Käfoid belong together on a morphological basis. On a lexical basis, Bender (2003a: 156f.) posits Yäm as being most divergent among *Ta/Ne* languages, though the differentiation among *Ta/Ne* branches is relatively small and ambiguous.

What we may call "the O. question" is now very complex and richly documented. A brief summary follows. It may conveniently be seen as beginning with Moreno's (1940: 320) observation of the split between languages such as Oromo and Sidaama with 1st pers. sg./2nd pers. sg. pronouns of form *aní/atí* and Wälaytta and Käfa with *ta/ne*, calling the latter "West Cushitic". Following the Oromo use of the term Sidaama as a general term for strangers, West Cushitic was also referred to as "Sidaama" (Sidamo and its near relatives later became known as ↗Highland East Cushitic). As noted above, Fleming judged the differences between "West" and other Cushitic to be so great that he proposed setting up "West Cushitic" as a separate ↗Afro-Asiatic family he called O. Moreno included Ometo, Gimira, "Janjero", and Gonga in his grouping. Fleming (e.g. in BendNonSLang 299) brought in Č̣ara, Mao, and Aroid. Fleming's original list of O. traits is weak, e.g., he includes absences such as lack of pharyngeals in phonology and weakness of gender distinctions in pronouns. Fleming also introduced the unfortunate terminology of "South Omotic" (Aroid) vs. "North Omotic" (all the rest) in his 1976 article (replaced by "East" vs. "West" in Fleming in BendLang).

Andrzej Zaborski has been the most ardent defender of retaining O. as West Cushitic, though without Aroid and Mao, both said to be ↗Nilo-Saharan. The first statement of this may be Zaborski 1986 (from a 1980 conference). A recent and more detailed statement is Zaborski

2004. The earlier paper is unconvincing, since it argues for retaining West Cushitic on the basis of a single systematic isomorph: verbal conjugation with markers of imperfective _-a_, perfective _-i_ ~ _-e_, and dependent _-o_ ~ _-u_. Bender (1986) replied to this and suggested that Cushitic and O. may be part of a genetic unit he called "Cushomotic", though he no longer supports this (s. Bender 1990, 2000: 217). Bender 2000 and Zaborski 2004 contain the most detailed and refined proposals to account for Moreno's West Cushitic plus Dizoid, Mao, and Aroid. Both of these have strengths and weaknesses.

Bender (2000: 198ff.) suggests that the _ta_ morpheme of _ta/ne_ is in origin a copula. It might derive from the suffix _+ta_ found in some ↗Surmic languages in independent pronouns of 1st and 2nd persons. This copula occurs in an Afro-Asiatic emphatic nominative construction "it is I, thou, etc. that …" (Diakonoff 1988: 70). This construction accounts for the presence of suffixal _+ta_ in Dizoid and Aroid languages, found in instances of all persons except 3rd pers. sg. (Bender 2000: 145, 163) and also possibly for the _-ši_ suffix found in Käfoid (ibid. 103). In the _Ta/Ne_ languages, the process has gone furthest, with _ta_ itself assuming the role of 1st pers. sg. pronoun. It is worth noting that Nilo-Saharan has widespread _n_(_i_) ~ _in_ as 2nd pers. sg. pronoun, including West ↗Nilotic, but not in East Nilotic, ↗Berta, ↗Gumuz, or ↗Koman. Mao is variable and mysterious in the forms of pronouns. However, there are _t-_ in 1st pers. sg. in Mao and Ganza, _ye_ in Ganza 2nd pers. sg. (like Dizoid), and various suffixes: _-ga_, _-še_, pl. _-le_ (ibid. 183). Aroid pronouns also have a plural pattern _w/y/k_, identical to a West Nilotic pattern (ibid. 200). Cf. "Characteristics" below for O. morphemes deriving from Proto-Afro-Asiatic.

Zaborski 2004 makes many good points, but is a bit vague on the source of 1st pers. sg. _ta_. It is stated without evidence that Proto-Cushitic 1st/2nd pers. sg. were _*ana-te/*anta_, in which 1st pers. sg. _-te_ was from proto-Afrasian _*-tV_, "oblique case marker" (ibid. 178). These were mutated as follows: _*ana-te_ > _ante_ > _atte_ > _ate_ > _te_ (not _ta_!) and _*anta_ > _anne_ > _ane_ > _ne_. It is also stated in various places that 1st pers. sg. _t-_ is from Nilo-Saharan, though Bender (1989:23) shows that Nilo-Saharan 1st pers. sg. is _*-k-_, with _-t-_ showing up only in distant Saharan and sporadically elsewhere, e.g. in ↗Mağaŋgir _eet_ (probably from _an-eta_, as in other Surmic). Ethiopian Nilo-Saharan languages do not have 1st pers. sg. _t-_: ↗Nara has _ag_, Nilotic and Surmic have _an+_, Berta has _ali_, Koman has _ka_ ~ _aga_, Gumuz has _ada_, ↗Kunama has _aba_. Zaborski's comparisons with Nilo-Saharan are dubious, often based on morphemes consisting of single segments or chosen from widely separated and distant languages. It is misleading to make comparisons to Nilo-Saharan in general. Within the Ethiopian area, a few Nilotic languages (↗Añwaa and ↗Nuer of West Nilotic, ↗Ñaŋatom of East Nilotic) and most Surmic languages, by reason of their proximity today, are candidates for strong interaction with Dizoid and Aroid. Mao is in contact with or near to Berta, Gumuz, and ↗Kwama. Nara and Kunama are too far away in Eritrea to be of concern.

Another approach is that of Lamberti (typical is Lamberti 1993), who proposes retaining West Cushitic, including Dizoid but without Mao, and splitting off Aroid (his "Ari-Banna") as a separate branch of Cushitic.

Many papers, not all of them of high professional quality, have been published on the lexicon of Nilo-Saharan and its branches. If Aroid and Mao are actually Nilo-Saharan languages, as maintained by Lamberti and Zaborski, one would expect a fair amount of basic lexicon to align with Nilo-Saharan. This did not show up in Bender's systematic lexical work (1996 for Nilo-Saharan, 2003a for O.). Possible Dizoid and Aroid lexical correspondences with Nilotic and Surmic are taken up by Bender (2003a: 222ff.) with negative results.

Although Mao grammar is very distinctive compared to other O. (e.g., s. Bender 2000: 229 for a list of 14 isomorphs shared by all O. except Mao), Mao shows strong lexical affinity to _Ta/Ne_ languages, especially Ometo (Bender 2003a: 284ff.), less so to Dizoid, and even less so to Aroid. If Mao speakers are "Omoticized Nilo-Saharans", the most plausible places to look for correspondences are nearby Berta, Gumuz, and Kwama. Bender (ibid. 284f.) lists 33 very basic "pan-Mao" items (three in all Mao languages; 12 in all but Ganza, 18 in Hozo-Sezo only). Only two items show reasonable resemblances to Berta: 'kill' Sezo and Mao _piy-_, Berta _fi_(_y_)_a_; 'sleep' Hozo-Sezo _he-_, Berta _iha_(ˀ). Gumuz has only one: 'say' Hozo-Sezo-Mao _ko_(_l_)_i_, Gumuz _kəl_. Kwama has five: 'all' Hozo-Sezo-Mao _muk_(_q_)-, Kwama _muuko_; 'die' Hozo-Sezo _zi_(_z_)-, Kwama _ṣii_ (?); 'fish' Hozo-Sezo _waṣ+_, Kwama _waaṣ_;

‘swim’ Hozo-Sezo-Mao *paaŋg-*, Kwama *paŋ*; ‘three’ Hozo-Sezo *siyazi*, Mao *tyaaze*, Ganza *tizi*, Kwama *twasan* (?). Two of these are doubtful and three look like loans (‘fish’, ‘swim’, ‘three’). The Kwama are immediate neighbours of Hozo-Sezo. The case for loans seems more compelling than that for Mao as “Omoticized Kwama”.

Scholars have taken various positions on the place of O. within Afro-Asiatic. Ideas about Proto-Afro-Asiatic have been dominated by Semitic scholarship, with such striking characteristics as laryngeal and pharyngeal consonants, morphology based on consonant roots and vocalic patterns, and prefix verbal conjugations. O. does not have any of these nor does it show convincing traces of any of them (Bender 1997). Two major interpretations are possible: the Semitic characteristics are innovations within the branch which includes Semitic (“Macro-Cushitic”, consisting of Semitic, Berber, and Cushitic), or they were proto-features, lost in O. (and in Chadic, where they also are conspicuously absent). Zaborski denies the first interpretation outright (2004: 182f.) on the grounds that some branches of Cushitic have levelled-off morphology. Of course both innovation of new morphology and levelling-off of old morphology are found in language phyla and sorting it all out is a difficult problem, but one expects to find relics of old morphology.

Linguistic Characteristics: Phonology – Morphology – Syntax

The largest compilation of O. descriptions to date is Hayward 1990, but many more studies, especially by Ethiopians, have been appearing recently.

Syntactically, all O. languages are of basic word order S[ubject]-O[bject]-V[erb]. This is a characteristic of the ↗Ethiopian Language Area (or Northeast African Language Area), which may have its origin in O. For a recent summary, see Bender 2003b. Features associated with SOV order such as use of suffixes for most grammatical categories and subordinate verbs known as “converbs” are widely distributed among O. languages. O. lacks the prefix conjugation found strongly in Semitic and as a remnant in Cushitic (Hayward 2000: 90 states that Yäm has a trace, though this is debatable).

The segmental inventory of Proto-O. as reconstructed in Bender (2003a: 309ff.) is:

	Labial	Dental/ Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	*p*, *b*	*t*, *d-*		*k*, *-g-*	
Glottalized Stops		*ṭ-*, *ḍ*		*q*	
Fricatives		*s*	*š*		*h-*
Affricates		*-ts-*	*-č-*		
Glottalized Affricates		*ṣ*	*č̣-*		
Nasals	*m*	*-n-*			
Liquids		*-l-*, *-r-*			
Semivowels	*w*	*y-*			

Vowels

i	*i-* ~ *u-*	*-u-*
-e-		*o*
	a, *aa*	

Positional restrictions applying to consonants: initial only: *d-*, *ṭ-*, *č̣-*, *y-*, *h-*; medial only: *-g-*, *-ts-*, *-č-*, *-n-*, *-l-*, *-r-*. Vowels: initial only: *i-* ~ *u-*, medial only: *-e-*, *-u-*.

Only *i* and *u* occur as second vowel in CV_1CV_2C. For family-to-family correspondences and lexical series, s. Bender (2003a: 310–13). Regarding suprasegmentals, neither long consonants (“geminates”) nor diphthongs can be reconstructed with any certainty; the only reconstructable long vowel is *aa*. Tone and stress are not well-enough documented at this time to be reconstructed. Certainly tone (sometimes best interpreted as pitch-accent) is important in many languages and more recent papers are appearing on the topic: Wedekind 1990 on a purported six-tone system in Gimira and Azeb Amha 1996 on tone-accent in Wälaytta are just two examples.

The O. system includes features which could be attributed to Proto-Afro-Asiatic, e.g., the “triads” *d*, *t*, *ṭ* and *g*, *k*, *q*. O. provides evidence for the precedence of ejectives, not “emphatics” in the Arabic manner, and there is no evidence in favour of uvulars, pharyngeals, or laryngeals except initial *h-*. There is a five-vowel system with the uncertain addition of an initial high vowel indicated by /*i-* ~ *u-*/. Length in consonants and vowels in general is not supported. The voiceless labial stop /*p*/ is reconstructable, so O. is not the source of the “lack of *p*” feature of the Ethiopian Language Area (s. Bender 2004). Comparison to Cushitic shows a fair amount of agreement but special features such as the existence of pharyngeals and laterals seem to be innovations within branches of Macro-Cushitic or Cushitic.

A few selected morphological features follow. For comparative purposes, Afro-Asiatic morphology is surveyed by Hayward (2000) and

Zaborski (2003 in EAE 1). The 1st- and 2nd-pers. independent pronouns of O. (3rd-pers. is variable, being based on various demonstratives) can be summarized:

Pers.	*Ta/Ne* Family	Dizoid	Aroid
1st sg.	*ta*	*ǹ*	*i*(*n*)*ta*
2nd sg.	*ne*	*ye*	*aana*, (*y*)*in*(*a*)
1st pl.	*nu*	*ń*	*wot+* ~ *wos+*
2nd pl.	*int+*	*it+*	*yet+* ~ *yes+*

	Mao:		
	Hozo-Sezo	Mao of Bambasi	Ganza
1st sg.	*d-*, *n-*, *haa+*	*ti*(*ya*)	*ti*
2nd sg.	*hin+*	*hiya*	*ye*
1st pl.	*nu+*, *d-*	*hamb+le*	*mu*
2nd pl.	*d-*, *n-*	*hawe+le*	*näm*

The *Ta/Ne* family is constant with only minor variation throughout North-West Ometo, South-East Ometo, Ç̣ara (Bender 2000: 77), and Gimira-Yäm-Käfoid (ibid. 102). Dizoid (ibid. 145) is more variable in 1st pers. (high vs. low tones differentiating pl. from sg.), but consistent in 2nd pers. Aroid is somewhat more variable in all persons (ibid. 163), and plurals (also 3rd pers. pl.) are like Nilotic. Dime 1sg. is anomalous, but one form is *a*(*a*)*t+*. Mao pronouns (ibid. 183) are even more variable, but some patterns emerge: 1st pers. sg. *t-*, 2nd pers. sg. *-y-*, 1st pers. pl. *n* ~ *m*. All three (Dizoid, Aroid, Mao) seem to have been influenced by West Nilotic.

Given space limitations, only a summary of the best proposed O. isomorphs follows (from Bender 2000: 223ff.). Those which might be derived from Afro-Asiatic are shown in bold. No number or gender markers used with nouns have been strongly reconstructed for O.

1st/2nd pers. sg. independent and verb-suffix pronouns: *t*(*a*)/*n*(*e*);

2nd pers. sg. independent pronoun: *y*;

3rd pers. masc. sg. independent pronoun: ***is***;

1st/2nd pers. pl. independent pronouns: ***nu-/i*(*n*)*t***;

verb-affix pronouns: ***uni/eti***;

nominative: +*i* (?);

absolutive/accusative: +*n*(*a*);

near/far demonstrative: ***ha*** ~ ***ka***/*ye*;

demonstrative: *so*(*k*);

interrogatives: ***ay***; *al* ~ *ar*; *am*;

nominal genitive: +***ka***; *n*;

nominal dative: +***s***;

imperative pl.: *-te*;

perfective: *-i* ~ *-e*; *-a*;

jussive: *-o* ~ *-u* (weak);

verbal negative: ***ay***; ***b***; ***k***;

copulas: *de-*; *en* ~ *an*; *k* ~ *g*; *te* ~ *ti*;

causative-transitive/passive-reciproc: ***-s/t***.

Some morphemes are as in Cushitic: 1pl. and 2pl. independent pronouns *nu-/i*(*n*)*t*; nominative +*i* (but weak in O.); perfective *-i* ~ *-e*; jussive *-o* ~ *-u* (weak in O.); causative/passive *-s/t* (or *-š~/t*). The absolutive/accusative +*n*(*a*) might be related to Afro-Asiatic +*a*.

Lexically, Bender (2004) refutes the largely negative conclusions of Bender (2003a) about O. lexicon from Afro-Asiatic, listing 21 items from a corpus of 105: ‘ashes’ *bi/end+*, ‘bone’ *qus*, ‘come’ *y-*, ‘count’ *paid-*, ‘cut’ *qaaṭ-*, ‘dog’ *kan+*, ‘eat’ *m-*, *t-*, ‘elephant’ *dang-*, ‘eye’ *aap+*, ‘give’ *ta-*, ‘go’ *t-*, ‘head’ *mat+*, ‘horn’ *quš+*, ‘meat’ *ač+*, ‘monkey’ *gVr*, *qar*, ‘moon’ *arf*, ‘night’ *ṭum*, ‘nose’ *sinṭ*, ‘sew’ *sip-*. Of these, ‘ashes’ (↗Agäw?), ‘come’ (↗Beğa?), ‘cut’ (East), ‘eat’ (both Beğa?), ‘elephant’ (Agäw, East, South?), ‘head’ (Agäw?, East), ‘meat’ (Cushitic?), ‘monkey’ *gVr* (East, South), ‘moon’ (Agäw), ‘nose’ (East) are found in Cushitic families as indicated. This is about half the total of O. < Afro-Asiatic and only one of these is in Cushitic. This does not support O. as part of Cushitic. Another eight items found in O. sub-families may derive from Afro-Asiatic: ‘come’ *aad-* ~ *aat-* (Aroid), ‘cut’ *tič-* ~ *teč-* (Aroid), ‘dig’ *huʣ-* (Mao), ‘goat’ *der+ti* (Mao), ‘knee’ *gurmat+* (*Ta/Ne*), ‘neck’ *kum* (Dizoid), ‘sew’ *šak-* ~ *žak-* (Aroid), ‘skin’ *gonq+* (Mao), *goog+* ~ *gook+* (*Ta/Ne*). Of these, ‘come’, ‘dig’, ‘knee’, ‘sew’, ‘skin’ are also found in Cushitic sub-families (only ‘knee’ is perhaps Cushitic).

These O. isoglosses frequently include Aroid, Dizoid, and Mao. In view of the dearth of evidence for Nilo-Saharan lexicon in these families (s. Classification above), it is impossible to say that these languages are Nilo-Saharan.

In fact, O. has a high incidence of basic lexicon not cognate to Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic, or Nilo-Saharan. This supports the idea of O. languages as being languages of a prior substratum in south-western Ethiopia, but not as currently “West Cushitic” or Nilo-Saharan languages. A sample of idiosyncratic O. items follows (from Bender 2003a: 301–05): ‘ask’ *oʦ-*, ‘bird’ *kap+*, ‘bite’ *saaṭ-*, ‘buffalo’ *mi/en+*, ‘cry’ *yep-*, ‘die’ *he-*, ‘drink’ *i/uš-*, ‘ear’ *we/al+*, ‘fire’ *tam+a*, ‘foot’ *tu/o*(*g*), ‘full’ *ṣo-*, ‘god’ *yer*, ‘head’ *tok+*, ‘hide’ (verb) *ač-*, ‘honey’ *i/es+*, ‘house’ *kett+*, ‘liver’ *mel+*, ‘moon’ *aʦ+*, ‘one’ *is-*, ‘rat’ *i/unt+*, ‘scratch’ *qu/oč̣-*, ‘sister, mother’ *ind+*, ‘smoke’ *č̣ub+*, ‘snake’ *šoš*, 'sun' *ab+* > *aw+*, 'tooth' *aṣ+*, 'tree' *int+*, 'water' *haaṣ+*.

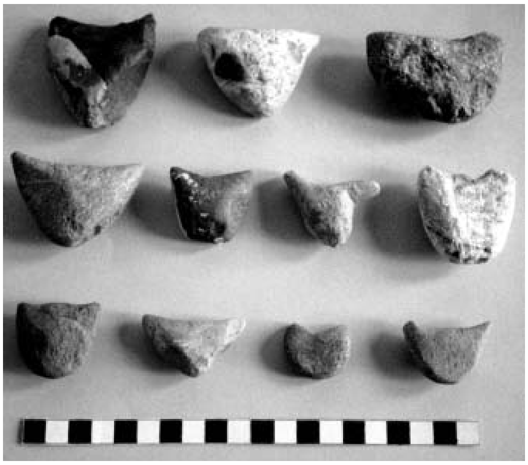
Lit.: Azeb Amha, "Tone-Accent and Prosodic Domains in Wolaitta", *Studies in African Linguistics* 25, 2, 1996, 111–38; M. Lionel Bender, "A Possible Cushomotic Isomorph", *AAP* 6, 1986, 149–55; Id., "Nilo-Saharan Pronouns/Demonstratives", in: Id. (ed.), *Topics in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics*, Hamburg 1989 (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentation 3), 1–34; Id., "A Survey of Omotic Grammemes", in: Philip Baldi (ed.), *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology*, Berlin 1990, 661–95; Id., *The Nilo-Saharan Languages: a Comparative Essay*, München 1996 (LINCOM Handbooks in Linguistics 06); Id., "Upside-Down Afrasian", *AAP* 50, 1997, 19–34; Id., *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19); Id., *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Carbondale, IL 2003a; Id., "Northeast Africa: a Case Study in Areal and Genetic Linguistics", *Annual Papers in African Linguistics* 1, 2003b, 21–45; Id., "Afrasian Lexicon Reconsidered", paper presented at a Symposium in Honour of Gene B. Gragg, Chicago, IL 2004; Enrico Cerulli, "Note su alcune popolazione Sidama dell'Abbissinia meridionale II, i Sidama dell'Omo", *RSO* 12, 1929, 1–69; Igor M. Diakonoff, *The Afrasian Languages*, Moscow 1988; Harold C. Fleming, "The Classification of West Cushitic within Hamito-Semitic", in: Daniel McCall (ed.), *Eastern African History*, New York 1969, 3–27; Id., "Omotic Overview", in: *BendNonSLang* 299–323; Id., "Cushitic and Omotic", in: *BendLang* 46–53; Richard J. Hayward (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990; Id., "Afroasiatic", in: Bernd Heine – Derek Nurse (eds.), *African Languages*, Cambridge 2002, 74–98; Grover Hudson, "Linguistic Analysis of the 1994 Ethiopian Census", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1999, 89–107; Id., "Languages of Ethiopia and Languages of the 1994 Ethiopian Census", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 160–72; Marcello Lamberti, "The Ari-Banna Group and its Classification", *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata* 22, 1, 1993, 39–87; Martino Mario Moreno, *Manuale di Sidamo: grammatica, esercizi, testi, glossario*, Milano 1940; Klaus Wedekind, "Gimo-Jan or Ben-Yem-Om: Benç̌-Yemsa Phonemes, Tones and Words", in: Richard J. Hayward (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990, 68–184; Andrzej Zaborski, "Can Omotic be Reclassified as West Cushitic?", in: *PICES* 6, 525–30; Id., "Afro-Asiatic", in: *EAE* 1, 2004, 134–35; Id., "West Cushitic: a Genetic Reality", *Lingua Posniensis* 46, 2004, 173–86.

M. Lionel Bender

ᶜOna culture

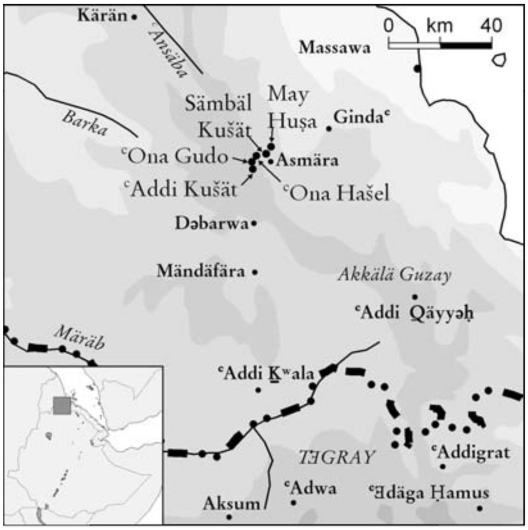
The term ᶜO.c. (ዖና, Tgn. '[ancient] ruins') was introduced in the archaeological literature in the 1960s by Giuseppe Tringali to indicate a number of sites dating to late prehistoric and historical times he recorded around ↗Asmära in Ḥamasen. They include the remains of settlements and cemeteries, sometimes with ↗stelae. Two main groups of ᶜO.c. have been distinguished on the basis of the pottery: ᶜO.c. with red ware and ᶜO.c. with black ware. They represent two distinct periods of occupation of the region.

The ᶜO.c. sites with red ware date to late prehistoric times (early to mid 1st millennium B.C.) and can be considered an indigenous culture of Eritrea. The occurrence of small stone "bulls' heads" (abstract figurines made of stone, and, sometimes, fired ceramic, that may depict the head and horns of cattle) in some finds may also point to contacts with the ↗Arabian Peninsula. A few flat clay stamp seals from ↗Sämbäl Kušät, near Asmära, suggest social complexity with a form of administration. Typical features of this culture were the construction of stone buildings and the use of polished axes. Pit-graves sometimes marked with a stela are also associated with this culture. ᶜO.c. site communities lived in villages covering an area from 1ha to more than 15ha and characterized by multi-room buildings made of stone. ᶜO.c. communities possessed an agropastoral economy, including grain agriculture and the keeping of domesticated cattle, goats, and sheep.



ᶜOna culture bulls' heads from a survey of the greater Asmära area; photo 1999, courtesy of Matthew Curtis

The ᶜO.c. with black ware can safely be dated to ↗Aksumite or sometimes to ↗Post-Aksumite times. Most ᶜO.c. of this period can be ascribed to rural villages, although the occurrence in some of them of imported ceramics suggests that they were not excluded from long-distance trade. The remains of an Aksumite church have been recorded at ↗Dəbarwa.



Lit.: Stuart Munro-Hay – Giuseppe Tringali, "The Ona Sites of Asmara and Hamasien", *RSE* 35, 1991 [1993], 135–68; Peter R. Schmidt – Matthew Chad Curtis, "Urban Precursors in the Horn: Early 1st Millennium BC Communities in Eritrea", *Antiquity* 75, 290, 2001, 849–59; Iid. – Zelalem Teka (eds.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 2008; Giuseppe Tringali, "Cenni sulle "'ona" di Asmara e dintorni", *AE* 5, 1965, 143–52; Id., "Necropoli di Curbacaiehat (Asmara)", *JES* 5, 1, 1967, 109–14; Id., "Varietà di asce litiche in 'ouna' dell'altopiano eritreo", *ibid.* 7, 1, 1969, 119–22; Id., "Necropoli di Cascassè e oggetti sudarabici (?) della regione di Asmara (Eritrea)", *RSE* 26, 1973–77 [1978], 49–66; Id., "Note su ritrovamenti archeologici in Eritrea", *RSE* 28, 1980–81 [1981], 101–13; Id., "Orecchini in pietra ritrovati nella zona di Sembel-Cuscet (Asmara)", *QSE* 5, 1984, 93–95; Id., "Elenco commentato dei reperti archeologici custoditi nel museo del Collegio 'La Salle' in Asmara", *ibid.* 6–7, 1985–86, 143–57.

Rodolfo Fattovich

ᶜOna Gudo

ᶜO.G. (ዖና ፡ ጉዶ) is a village ca. 5 km west of Asmära and 1 km north of ᶜAddi Qušät, in ↗Ḥamasen, Eritrea (for location s. map for ᶜOna culture). It gained importance due to the archaeological site (OG01) to the north of the village, on a gentle upland ridge area above the May Bäla valley, to the south of the old Italian ↗railway. Oral traditions link ᶜO.G. with the nearby, now completely destroyed, archaeological site of ᶜOna Hašəl.

Intensive archaeological survey, mapping, and test excavation were conducted in February of 2000 at the OG01 site as part of the 1999–2000 Greater Asmara Regional Archaeological Survey Project. The ca. 5-ha site is characterized by a series of five platforms on which eroding ash and multiple linear stone walls are found. One 2 x 2 m test excavation unit was placed on the top-most platform near an exposed wall and excavated to sterile bedrock at a depth of 2.3 m. Radiocarbon dating suggested the site's occupation between the 9th and 4th cent. B.C. (although one analysis may suggest occupation as late as the 1st cent. B.C.). These dates, combined with stratigraphy, features, and material culture, suggest continuous occupation for much of the first millennium B.C.

Excavation revealed layers of ashy loam punctuated by thin layers of red clay and intense ash deposits. Several hearths associated with areas of dense charcoal were documented and a wide range of 1st millennium B.C. ↗ᶜOna culture ceramics and chipped stone artefacts were recovered from the test excavation. Also recovered were various milling stones and handstones, chipped stone debitage, textile fragments, possible iron slag, bulls' heads stone figurines, stone beads, a stone lip or ear plug, and an unidentified ceramic figurine. Faunal and archaeobotanical material recovered from the test excavation included cattle and goat/sheep bones and carbonized specimens of emmer wheat, indeterminate wheat, hulled barley, linseed, and lentil.

Lit.: Matthew Chad Curtis, "Ancient Interaction Across the Southern Red Sea: New Suggestions for Cultural Exchange and Complex Societies during the First Millennium BC", in: Paul Lunde – Alexandra Porter (eds.), *Trade and Travel in the Red Sea Region*: *Proceedings of the Red Sea Project I Held in the British Museum, October 2002*, Oxford 2004, 57–70; Id., *Archaeological Investigations in the Greater Asmara Area*: *a Regional Approach in the Central Highlands of Eritrea*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Florida 2005; Stuart Munro-Hay – Giuseppe Tringali, "The Ona Sites of Asmara and Hamasien", *RSE* 35, 1991 [1993], 135–68; Peter Ridgway Schmidt – Matthew Chad Curtis, "Urban Precursors in the Horn: Early 1st Millennium BC Communities in Eritrea", *Antiquity* 75, 290, 2001, 849–59; Iid. – Zelalem Teka (eds.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 2008; Selam Daniel, *Oral Tradition among the People of Ona Gudo,* senior research paper, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Asmara 2001; Giuseppe Tringali, "Cenni sulle 'Ona' di Asmara e dintorni", *AE* 6, 1965, 143–52; Id., "Necropoli di Curbacaiehat (Asmara)", *JES* 5, 1, 1967, 109–14; Id., "Varietà di asce litiche in 'ouna' dell'altopiano eritreo", *ibid.* 7, 1, 1969, 119–22; Id., "Necropoli di Cascassè e oggetti sudarabici (?) della regione di Asmara (Eritrea)", *RSE* 26, 1973–77 [1978], 49–66; Id., "Note su ritrovamenti archeologici in Eritrea", *RSE* 28, 1980–81 [1981], 101–13; Id., "Orecchini in pietra ritrovati nella zona di Sembel-Cuscet (Asmara)", *QSE* 5, 1984, 93–95; Id., "Elenco commentato dei reperti archeologici custoditi nel museo del Collegio 'La Salle' in Asmara", *ibid.* 6–7, 1985–86, 143–57.

Matthew C. Curtis

ᶜOna Hašel

ᶜO.H. is an ancient ↗ᶜOna culture archaeological site area located a few hundred metres north of the May Bäla stream, ca. 6 km west of central ↗Asmära, Eritrea (for location s. map for ᶜOna culture). Local oral traditions link it with the nearby site of ↗ᶜOna Gudo and emphasize conflict between the two communities in the late historical period.

The site was first explored by Tringali and later by Anfray. During 1999–2002 systematic archaeological survey carried out by the Greater Asmara Regional Archaeological Survey Project and Asmara University documented ancient walls, architectural rubble, artefact scatters, and dense ash deposits occupying an area of ca. 10 ha and representing what was probably once an enormous complex of ancient residences that were part of a town dating back to the first millennium B.C. The site was largely destroyed by road and building construction in 1999–2000.

Lit.: Francis Anfray, “Notes archéologiques”, *AE* 8, 1970, 31–42; Matthew Chad Curtis, *Archaeological Investigations in the Greater Asmara Area: a Regional Approach in the Central Highlands of Eritrea*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Florida 2005; Id. – Peter Ridgway Schmidt, “Landscape, People and Places on the Ancient Asmara Plateau”, in: Iid. – Zelalem Teka (eds.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 2008, 84–89; Stuart Munro-Hay – Giuseppe Tringali, “The Ona Sites of Asmara and Hamasien”, *RSE* 35, 1991 [1993], 135–68 (Lit.); Selam Daniel, *Oral Tradition among the People of Ona Gudo,* senior research paper, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Asmara 2001; Giuseppe Tringali, “Cenni sulle ‘Ona’ di Asmara e dintorni”, *AE* 6, 1965, 143–52.

Matthew C. Curtis

Ončo

O., the second ruler of the Gibe state of ↗Guummaa, reigned from 1810 to the 1830s. He and the other kings of Guummaa continued to use the pre-state title, ↗*abbaa dulaa* (‘war leader’), rather than ↗*mooti* (‘king’) that was adopted by the rulers of most Oromo states. O. is said to have solidified and expanded the newly formed state that his father Ǧiilčaa had founded by aggressively warring on his neighbours, especially ↗Limmu-Ǝnnarya. It is said that O. treated his own people very harshly as well; he was reputed to sell whole families into ↗slavery for offences committed by one of their members (cp. ↗Ruufoo).

Src.: Charles Tilstone Beke, “On the Countries South of Abyssinia”, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 13, 1843, 254–69; CerFolk; MHasOr 107ff., 113, 128.
Lit.: AbPrince.

Herbert S. Lewis

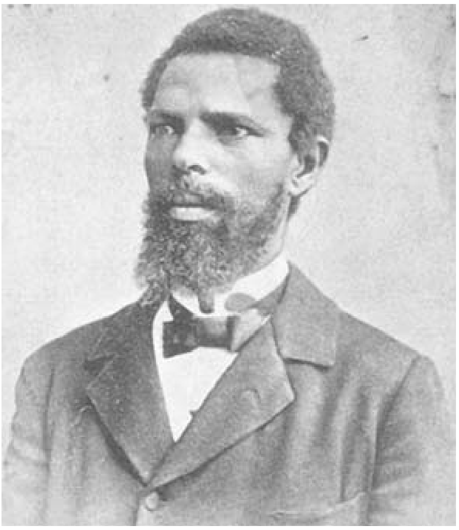
Onesimos Näsib

O.N. (Oromo: Onesimoos Nasiib, birth name Hiikaa, lit. ‘translator, problem solver, one who liberates’; b. 1855/56, Hurrumu, Illubabor, d. 21 June 1931, Naqamtee, Wälläga), was an Oromo evangelist, translator, teacher and pioneer of ↗Oromo literature.

O.N. was only four years old when his father died. At that time, he was captured by slave-traders (Leepisaa Tito 1973: 10; Arén 1978: 164f.; Terfassa Digga 1973: 2f.). After having changed owners several times, he was liberated in 1870 in ↗Massawa by Consul ↗Munzinger and handed over to the ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission. According to Terfassa Digga (1973: 3), it was then that O.N. took the name of his master, called Nasīb (though it is also possible, that he took this name from a previous master). Later, after being baptized at the Mission, he received the Biblical name Onesimos (also Onesimus, lit. ‘useful’; after St. Onesimus, an escaped slave). O.N. studied at the mission school in ↗Ǝmkullu, and later moved to Sweden, where, between 1876–81, he studied at the Johannelund Missionary Training Institute in Stockholm (Hylander 1969: 81).

In 1881–82, having returned to Massawa, O.N. was engaged in a missionary expedition to “Oromo country” via Khartoum and Famaka, and in 1885–86 in an expedition to the court of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in Šäwa, via Tağūra. From 1882 onwards he worked on the translation of literature into ↗Oromiffa. Around 1890, he had become an active member of the Oromo language team, organized in Gäläb, Eritrea, with the aim of promoting the develoment of written Oromo literature (Mekuria Bulcha 1995: 41ff.). In 1903 he went to Ethiopia via Djibouti, planning to go to ↗Illubabor, but at the invitation of *mooti* Kumsaa Moroda (↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer) settled in Wälläga, where he started teaching and spreading literacy. He stayed in Naqamtee, Wälläga, until the end of his life.

Among O.N.’s important contributions to Oromo literature, his translation of the Bible stands out. His predecessor in this field was ↗Krapf, who, based on translations by ↗Ruufoo and ↗Zännäb, made an Oromo translation of the N.T. During his work on the Bible, O.N. decided not to rework Krapf’s translation, but rather to retranslate the Bible from the Amharic and the Swedish versions, keeping Krapf’s translation “in front of me all the time” (Kebede Hordofa



Onesimos Näsib, on a postcard from ca. 1880; from the collection of Ezekiel Gebissa

2005:65; Norlander 1998:38f.; ↗Bible translation into Oromo).

At the Ǝmkullu mission station, under the supervision of the Swedish missionary society and with the assistance of ↗Aster Gannoo, O.N. produced the following literary works in Oromo, written in *fidäl* (Hylander 1969; ArEvang): *Galata Waaqayyo Gooftaa Maččaa* (‘Evangelical Songs and Psalms’, 1887); *Kakuu Haaraa* (‘the New Testament’, 1893); *Mačaafa Qulqulluu* (‘the Holy Bible’, 1899); *Katekismos* ([Luther’s] Catechism); *Garaani Namaa Mana Waaqayyoo Yookis Bultii Seeṭanaa* (‘Man’s Heart either God’s Temple or Satan’s Abode’, 1899). The following were co-authored with ↗Aster Gannoo: *Dr. Barth’s Bible Stories Translation* (1899); ↗*Ǧalqaba Barsiisaa. The Galla Spelling Book* (*and Reader*) (1894). All, except the *Spelling Book*, were scripture-based translations into Oromo.

Lit.: ArEvang 164f.; HARTWIG HARMS, “Louis Harms’s Religious Experience and His Strategy to Reach the Oromo People”, in: ETHIOPIAN EVANGELICAL MEKANE YESUS CHURCH (ed.), *Missiology and Linguistics*, Addis Ababa 1998; FRIDE B. HYLANDER, “Onesimos Nesib: Some Remarks on Cerulli’s ‘The Folk Literature of the Galla’”, *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 79–87, here 81; KEBEDE HORDOFA, “Missionaries, Enslaved Oromo and their Contribution to the Development of the Oromo Language: an Overview”, in: *EthMis* 63–76; MEKURIA BULCHA, “Onesimos Nasib’s Pioneering Contributions to Oromo Writing”, *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 4, 1, 1995, 36–59, here 41ff.; MARTIN NORDFELDT, *A Galla Grammar*, Lund 1947; AGNE NORDLANDER, “The Missiological Strategy of Niguse Tashu, Gebre Ewostateos Ze-Mikael, and Onesimos Nesib in Reaching the Oromo with the Gospel”, in: *Missiology and Linguistics*, Addis Ababa 1998, 21–55, here 38f.; LEEP̣ISAA TITO, “**ኦኔሲሞስ፡ ነሲብ፡ እና፡ ኦሮምኛ**” (*Onesimos Näsib ənna Oroməñña*, ‘Onesimos Näsib and the Oromo Language’), *Zena Ləssan* 1, 3, 1973 A.M. [1981 A.D.], 9–12; TASGARAA HIRPHOO, *Abbaa Gammachiis, Oneesimos Nasib, Nama Biyaa Oromoo Ergama Wangelaa* (*1850–1931*), Finfinee 1999; TERFASSA DIGGA, *A Short Biography of Onesimos Nesib*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1973.

Kebede Hordofa Janko

ᶜOngota

ᶜOngota language

ᶜO. (*Íifa ᶜongóta*, ‘the language [lit. mouth] of the ᶜO.’) is the original language of the ᶜO. people, who live on the west bank of the Wäyṭo River, in the South-Omo Zone. The majority of the ᶜO. use Ṣamakko (the westernmost dialect of the ↗Dullay cluster of East Cushitic) for everyday communication. The ᶜO. language is still spoken by a handful of elders, although code switching in Ṣamakko is the rule. A few more ᶜO. understand, at least partially, portions of the ancestral language. Approximately half of the lexicon and most of the limited morphology of ᶜO. is from Ṣamakko.

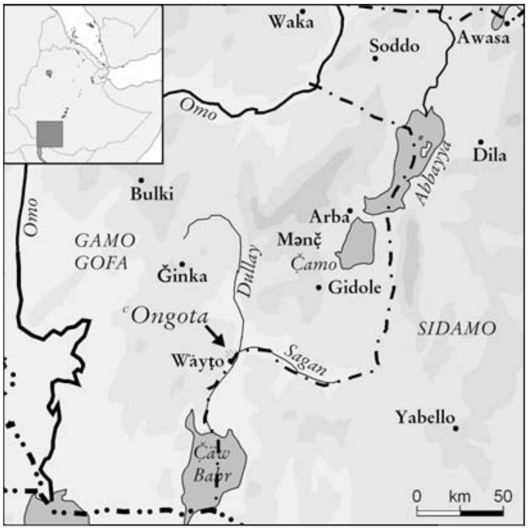
The classification of ᶜO. is uncertain. It is probably affiliated to the ↗Afro-Asiatic phylum (either ↗Cushitic or ↗Omotic); at the same time, its lexicon shows elements of ↗Nilo-Saharan origin, and certain features of the grammar suggest origin from a creolized pidgin (as suggested by Aklilu Yilma).

The ᶜO. vowels are *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. The consonants of ᶜO. are: plosives *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *q*, ʾ; implosives *ɗ*, *ɠ*; nasals *m*, *n*; affricates *ʦ*, *č*, *ǧ*; fricatives *f*, *s*, *z*, *š*, *x*, *ḥ*, ᶜ, *h*; trill *r*; liquid *l*; glides *w*, *y*. The status of the voiced-voiceless opposition is unclear. Final stops are devoiced. Vowel length and consonant gemination are phonemic, as in *áka* ‘foot, leg’ vs. *áaka* ‘women, females’ vs. *ákka* ‘grandfather’.

Pitch-accent is also phonemic: cf. *yóoba* ‘men, males’ vs. *yoobá* ‘see!’. On long vowels, pitch can fall on the first or second mora: cf. *ka=xáab* [*kaxáàb̥*] ‘I scratched’ (= marks clitic boundaries) vs. *ka=xaáb* [*kaxàáb̥*] ‘I (will) scratch’ (pitch opposition is extensively used in the verbal system; s. below). The syllable structure is (C)V(V)(C).

ᶜO. nouns, as a rule, are invariable. In a few cases, the Ṣamakko number affixes (both sg. and pl.) are used. A few nouns have suppletive plural forms: cf. *áyma* (sg.)/*áaka* (pl. or collective), ‘woman, female, wife’; *ínta*/*yóoba* ‘man, male, husband’; *máara*/*éela* ‘boy, son’.

The personal pronouns follow the usual Cushitic seven-member system, with separate masc. and fem. elements for the 3rd pers. sg. Six se-



ries have been identified: emphatic, subject clitic, object, adpositional, and possessive, with a sixth series, the indirect clitics, having separate forms for the singular only. The emphatic (independent) pronouns are: *káta* 'I', *ǧánta* ~ *ǧáama* 'you (sg.)', *kíta* 'he', *kúta* 'she', *ǧúta* 'we', *gitáta* 'you', *kiˀíta* 'they'. Morphologically simpler forms exist among the object clitics: *ka* 'me', *ǧámi* 'you (sg.)', *ki* 'him', *ku* 'her', *ǧu* 'us', *gíta* 'you', *kíˀi* 'them'. The subject clitics are the same as the object pronouns, except for the 2nd pers. sg., which has a separate form, *i*=.

When a noun is followed by modifiers, it generally appears with the determining element =*ko* or =*nki* attached. The main deictics are *índa* 'this' and *áddate* 'there'.

There are a few basic adjectives in addition to deverbal ones. E.g., basic colour terms of ᶜO. are: *áttomuni* 'white', *ɗákkamuni* 'black', *róomini* 'red', *čárkamuni* 'green', and *sílbe* 'yellow'.

Verbs do not agree with their subject through affixes, but subject clitics obligatorily precede the verbal form in declarative clauses. The following verbal categories exist: past vs. non-past tense; unmarked vs. progressive aspect; indicative, imperative, jussive and infinitive moods. Moreover, there are distinct positive and negative forms. Derivation is represented by a causative (marked by the affix -*san*, with allomorphs -*is*, -*as*), a reflexive-middle (marked by -*iˀ*; its productivity is unclear), and a few non-productive affixes. A few verbs have different stems for sg. and pl. subjects and/or objects: *gay*- (sg.)/*bagat*- (pl.) 'to run'; *gad*- (sg.)/*qits*- (pl.) 'to cut'.

The past tense is marked by an accent on the first (or only) mora of the verbal form. The non-past tense is used for an incomplete action, either present or future, and is marked by the absence of an accent on the mora of the stem if it is monomoraic (CVC). In this case, the subject clitic bears the accent (cf. *ka=čóq* 'I hit' vs. *ká=čoq* 'I (will) hit'). If the verb is at least bimoraic, the past has the accent on the first mora of the stem, and the non-past on the last (cf. examples of 'to scratch' above). An ongoing action is expressed through the ending -*i* (for consonant-final stems) or -*ni* (for vowel-final stems); the verbal form has the accent on the first mora. The positive imperative singular is marked by final -*á* for consonant–final verbs and by -*é* for vowel-final stems; the imperative plural is expressed by the affix -*´ta*.

ᶜO. is a verb-final, dependent-marking language. The verb is the last element of a sentence, but a pronominal object often follows the verbal form: *kita čata ki=gáᶜ* (he meat 3SG.MASC–bite.PAST) 'he bit the meat' vs. *gabare ki=gáᶜ=ki* (snake 3SG.MASC–bite.PAST–him) 'a snake bit him'. Modifiers follow the head.

The standard ten-word list is as follows: (*ak*)*kálbano* 'one', *láma* 'two', *záḥa* 'three' (from Ṣamakko), *oxóni* 'fire', *čaᶜáwa* 'water', *áxačo* 'sun', *leeᶜá* 'moon' (from Ṣamakko), *šóxo* 'blood', *ᶜádaba* 'tongue', *itíma* 'tooth'.

Src.: Aklilu Yəlma, personal communication.

Lit.: Aklilu Yilma et al., "Ongota or Birale: a Moribund Language of Gemu–Gofa (Ethiopia)", *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 3, 3, 1992, 181–225; Václav Blažek, "Nilo-Saharan Stratum of Ongota", in: Doris L. Payne – Mechthild Reh (eds.), *Advances in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics*: *Proceedings of the 8th Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium. University of Hamburg, August 22–25, 2001*, Köln 2007 (Nilo-Saharan 22), 1–10; Dinote Kusia [Shenkere] – Ralph Siebert, "Wordlists of Arbore (Irbore), Birayle (Ongota), Tsamai (Tsamaho)", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Report 20*, 1994, 1–12; Harold Fleming, *Ongota*: *a Decisive Language in Africa Prehistory*, Wiesbaden 2006 (AeF 64); Graziano Savà, "Ts'amakko Morphological Borrowings in Ongota (or Birale)", *AAP* 71, 2002, 75–93; Id. – Mauro Tosco, "A Sketch of Ongota, a Dying Language of Southwest Ethiopia", *Studies in African Linguistics* 29, 2, 2000, 59–135; Iid., "The Classification of Ongota", in: M. Lionel Bender – David L. Appleyard – Gábor Takács (eds.), *Selected Comparative Historical Afrasian Linguistic Studies*: *in Memory of Igor M. Diakonoff*, München 2003 (LINCOM Studies in Afroasiatic Linguistics 14), 307–16; Iid., [review of Fleming 2006], *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 223–32; Iid., "Ongota: Back to Reality?", in: Tomáš Machalík – Jan Zahořík (eds.), *Viva Africa 2007*: *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on African Studies*, Ústí nad Labem 2007, 71–80.

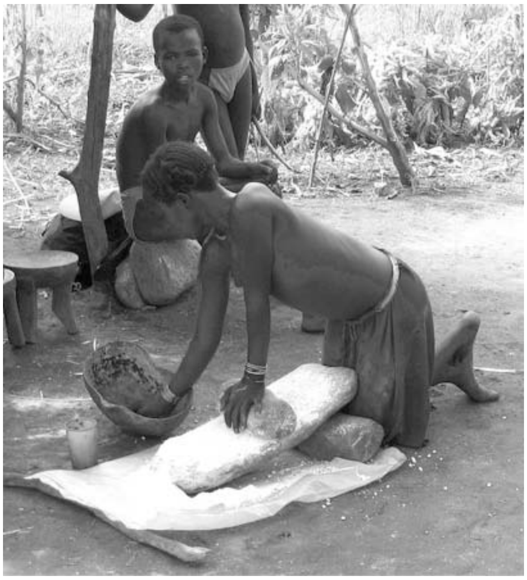
Mauro Tosco

ᶜOngota ethnography

ᶜO. (*ᶜongóta*) is the self-denomination of a small ethnic group called Birale by the neighbouring peoples. The community lives in a section of the forest on the western bank of the Wäyṭo River, in today's South Omo Zone. Their only village, Muṣe, is not far from the small town of Wäyṭo. Researchers estimated their number to be ca. 100 (Melesse Getu 1997; Savà – Tosco 2000), 84 (Fleming et al. 1992/93) and 78 (Aklilu Yilma 1997). The ᶜO. are not mentioned in the 1994 census. The main language of the ᶜO. today is ↗Ṣamakko. Only few elders speak the ᶜO. language, which is, therefore, highly endangered. Neighbouring populations are the Ṣamakko (or ↗Ṣamay), ↗Gawwada (s. also Dullay), Gollango, Harso, ↗Arbore, ↗Boorana Oromo, ↗Konso, ↗Banna, ↗Hamär and ↗Maale.

Fleming et al. (1992/93) propose to identify the ᶜO. with a "Borali" people, about which Donaldson Smith (1896) heard during his travels in South Ethiopia. According to the British traveller, the Borali were affiliated to a mysterious group of "pygmies", the "Dume". The ᶜO. do not look like pygmies nowadays, but they are known as the only hunter-gatherers in a wide area dominated by pastoralists. They hunt and collect plants in the forest on the banks of the Wäyṭo River and fish in its waters. However, they also practice small-scale agriculture (mainly maize) and keep some sheep, goats and chickens. Cultivation of banana-trees and collecting incense are also common.

It is not clear if the ᶜO. were originally hunter-gatherers who have moved to ↗pastoralism or if they used to have larger herds of cattle and abandoned them for some reason. According to Melesse Getu (1997) as well as ᶜO. informants, the ᶜO. were agro-pastoralists who had to abandon cattle because of the massive presence of tsetse flies in the Wäyṭo River area. Hunting, collecting wild plants and ↗bee-keeping are not activities exclusively characterizing the life of hunter-gatherers. Those practices are spread all over the neighbouring pastoralist groups. On the other hand, the ᶜO. are the best beehive builders and the only fish eaters (fish is ↗taboo among their neighbours). Information which supports the hunter-gatherer origins have been collected by Savà and Thubauville (2006). Probably, the ᶜO. were never cattle-herders. Moreover, it seems that the ᶜO. arrived only in relatively recent times along the shores of the river. Savà and Thubauville collected a long list of ᶜO. toponyms which correspond to villages inhabited by ᶜO. during the last decades. The direction of movement was from the Maale area towards the Wäyṭo River, where it seems the ᶜO. arrived about 150 years ago, since they claim to have changed their villages about 30 times and to have lived in each of them for about 5 years. These frequent movements are also an indication of an original hunter-gatherer population. Apart those which they have probably adopted from the Ṣamay, the ᶜO. perform only few rituals — another typical feature of hunter-gatherers.



ᶜOngota girl grinding grain in the village of Muṣe; photo 2007, courtesy of Mauro Tosco

The influence of the Ṣamay on the ᶜO. is due to the particularly strong relationship between the two groups. The ᶜO. have, in fact, begun to assimilate to the Ṣamay. The members of the two communities intermarry, the ᶜO. take part in the Ṣamay market in Wäyṭo, young people attend the Ṣamay dances and the fertility of their land depends on the blessings of the same ritual leader living among the neighbouring Arbore. The ᶜO. openly imitate Ṣamay dressing and ornaments and have adopted their language. The ᶜO. clans have the same names as those among the Ṣamay. Some ᶜO. migrated with their families to the neighbouring town of Wäyṭo, the only urban-like place in Ṣamay country.

In spite of their efforts to adopt a pastoralist life style, the ᶜO. are perceived as being "strange" by their neighbours and are often target of derision. The main reason for this is their limited knowledge in domestic animal keeping, when compared with their cattle-keeping neighbours. Their life is seen as "wild" because they are "chicken herders" and fishermen. In spite of neighbours' opinion, the ᶜO. have to be acknowledged as being among the best producers of honey and bananas. Due to the presence of the Wäyṭo River they do not have problems with drought. Since their animal herds are small, young boys and girls have more time to go to school than the children of the pastoralists who are needed for herding.

In the 1990s a huge cotton farm, the "Birale Cotton Company", was established in the plain of the Wäyṭo River. The declared aim of the enterprise to employ ᶜO. workers and to contribute by this to the preservation of their culture and language failed because nobody from the ᶜO. community accepted employment there.

Src.: AKLILU YILMA, "A Sociolinguistic Description of Ongota", paper presented at the Symposium on Endangered Languages in Africa, Leipzig 29. 7.–1. 8. 1997 (ms.); GRAZIANO SAVÀ – SOPHIA THUBAUVILLE, "Field Notes on Ongota Language and People", July 2006 (ms.).

Lit.: ARTHUR DONALDSON SMITH, "Report of a Journey from Lake Rudolf to Somalia", *Bulletin of the Royal Geographic Society* 8, 1896, 120–37, 221–39; HAROLD C. FLEMING et al., "Ongota or Birale: a Moribund Language of Gemu-Gofa (Ethiopia)", *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 3, 3, 1992/93, 181–225; MELESSE GETU, "Local Versus Outsider Forms of Natural Resources Use and Management: the Tsamako Experience in Southwest Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, 748–65; GRAZIANO SAVÀ – MAURO TOSCO, "A Sketch of Ongota, a Dying Language of Southwest Ethiopia", *Studies in African Linguistics* 29, 2, 2000, 59–134.

Graziano Savà

Onnis, Eleonora

O. (b. 23 March 1922, Napoli, d. 28 March 2007, Arco [Trento], religious name: Sr. Marianora) was the founder of the University of Asmara (UoA; ↗Asmära University). She took her vows in the Institute of the "Piae Matres Nigritiae" (Comboni Missionary Sisters), at Verona, in 1942. In the same year the Institute assigned her to Asmära, where she remained until 1971.

From the beginning, O. dedicated her intellectual resources and energies to education. In this, O. was inspired by the founder of the Comboni Missionary Sisters, the later St. Daniele Comboni (1831–81) who, in his "Plan for the Regeneration of Africa" (1864), had envisioned the founding of four theological-scientific institutions of higher education in strategic locations in Africa.

Together with Sr. Fosca Berardi, she founded the UoA in 1958. O. involved eminent politicians, religious figures and education experts, also overcoming some anti-Catholic resistance in Asmära (Branca 2004: 44f.). Following its foundation, the UoA was officially recognized by the Eritrean Federal Government; the Ethiopian Government; the Italian Consiglio Superiore dell'Istruzione Universitaria Italiana; and by the Holy See (↗Vatican and Holy See), whose "Sacra Congregatio de Seminariis et Studiorum Universitatibus" recognized it as a Catholic University. O. and other Comboni Sisters worked indefatigably at planning, developing and setting up the University's academic programs and curriculum.

On 26 January 1967, the new building of the UoA, planned by O.'s brother, the architect Tonino Onnis, was inaugurated in a ceremony attended by many officials and religious dignitaries including *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, who had accepted to serve as the UoA's Great Chancellor. O. held an inauguration speech (*Il Quotidiano Eritreo*, 28 January 1967, 1). On the occasion of the graduation ceremony on 3 August 1972, the Emperor praised O. and Sr. Fosca's success in establishing and running the UoA (*Il Quotidiano Eritreo*, 4 August 1972, 3). His speech concluded several years of discussions over the future of the University – the Italian founders wishing to keep it under Italian Catholic influence, the Ethiopian government aiming to integrate it into the Ethiopian educational system.

O. served as president of the UoA until 1971 when she left Eritrea for Italy and then Israel to take up a position as a faculty member of the

The founder of the University of Asmara (UoA), Sr. Eleonora Onnis (right) visiting the University on 11 September 1971, together with (from right to left) *abunä* Mikaᵓel, Orthodox bishop of Asmära, *mälᵓakä gännät* Mogäs ᶜƎqʷəbä Giyorgis, Sr. Männa Gäbrä Mädḫən from Comboni, journalist *ato* Abrəha Gäbrä Ḫəywät; from the collection of Fr. Ezio Tonini

Ecumenical Institute for Theological Research – Tantur, Jerusalem. She remained there until her return to Italy in 2003.

O. is the author of two voluminous tesi di laurea for which she was awarded two degrees from Padova University. The two studies, *La città di Asmara* (1956–57) and *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara* (1958–59), are still highly valued by social scientists studying Eritrea.

Src.: Asmara University, *Legislation of the University Senate*, Asmara, 1 January 1981, VIII–100 (mimeographed); Decree 1821/60/25 in 8 September 1960, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, ser. 3, 3, 2, 117f. [cp. Ref. SS/E4/244, March 30th, 1959; Prot. 3777, 3 August, 1960]; *Nägarit Gazeṭa* 19, 52, 1968, 137–48.

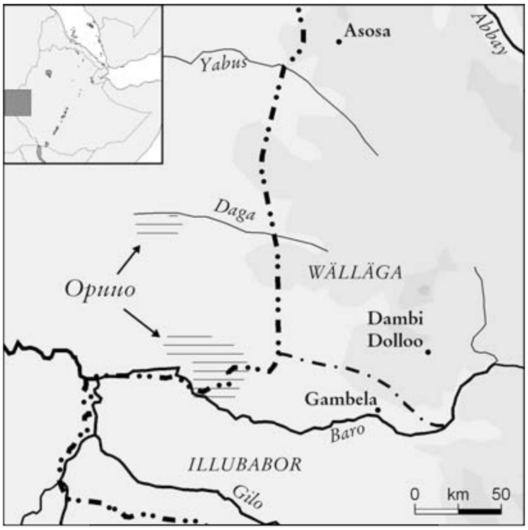
Lit.: Vittore Branca, *Protagonisti nel Novecento. Incontri, ritratti da vicino, aneddoti*, Torino 2004, 44f.; KilHDic 427–29; Enrico Mania, “Ad Asmara inaugurata la seconda Università dell’Impero”, *Sestante* [Asmära] 3, 1, 1967, 149–60; Id., “Primi gradi accademici conferiti dall’Università di Asmara”, *ibid.* 5, 2, 1969, 59–68; Filomena di Nello, “Organizzazione e attività dell’Università di Asmara,” *Africa* (Roma) 27, 1972, 682–89; [Anonym], “Asmara. Nuova Università Cattolica”, *Servizio Informazioni Chiesa Orientale* 22, 2 (300), 28 February 1967, 1–10; *Il Quotidiano Eritreo*, 28 January 1967, 1 and 4 August 1972, 3; Dolores Smith, “My Name is Woman”, in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 469–80; Techeste Ahderom, “The Development of Asmara University”, *Ethiopian Journal of African Studies* 1, 1, 1981, 79–147; Id., “Asmara University, the Transition to a National University”, *ibid.*, Special Issue: *Asmara University 25th Anniversary Celebration 1958–1983, Silver Jubilee*, June 1984; Angela Tortorella, “L’Università di Asmara”, *Pedagogia e Vita* [Brescia] 29, 1, 1967, 47–52.

Ezio Tonini – Jonathan Miran

Ophra ↗Ṗänṭälewon

Opuuo

Opuuo language



O. (also (an)Šita, Čiita, Madiin, Opo, and Lʌŋa [last is said to be a derogatory name used by ↗Añwaa]; self-name: *Ṭa-apo*, lit. ‘mouth (of) O.’) is a ↗Nilo-Saharan language of the ↗Koman group. It shares about 61 % basic vocabulary with ↗Ṭwampa (Uduk) and ↗Komo, while ↗Kwama and Gulé are more distant. The Ethiopian O.-speakers are found in five villages north of ↗Gambella on the Sudan border. The 1994 census reported 301 speakers within Ethiopia (Gordon 2005: 117), though a previous edition of *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996: 265) mentions 2,000–5,000 speakers in Sudan and Ethiopia. The most recent numbers for Ethiopia are 1,602 (CSA, 2008).

The segmental phonemes are a reduced version of the extensive system of Ṭwampa, except for the addition of *f*: labials *p*, *ḃ*, *f*, *m*, *w*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *s*, *n*, *l*, *r*; palatals *č*, *ǧ*, *č̣*, *š*, *y*; velars and post-velars *k*, *g*, *q*, *h*, ᵓ. The vowels are: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, with allophones (within this entry, phonetic rather than phonological transcription is given).

There are a number of gender markers in nouns; singular is usually unmarked, plural is sometimes marked by *-sai*. Verbal derivations were not recorded.

The independent pronouns of O. are 1st pers. sg. *aga*, 2nd pers. sg. *ay*, 3rd pers. masc. sg. *ɔtaare*, 3rd pers. fem. sg. *baare*, 1st pers. pl. inclusive *mana*, 1st pers. pl. exclusive *mina*, 2nd pers. pl. *uma*, 3rd pers. pl. *biare*. The lack of gender in 2nd pers., as well as presence of inclusive/exclusive pronouns are very unlike Afro-Asiatic languages, but in a pattern common to several Nilo-Saharan families (s. Bender 1996). Demonstrative elements are: ‘this’ (*yo*)*ge*, *ñene* (sg.)/*dianere* (pl.), ‘that’ (*ye*)*re* ~ *dere* (sg.)/*hɛre* (pl.) ~ *tere*. Interrogatives include: ‘what, why?’ *tʌna*, ‘who?’ *tawa* (sg.)/*tʌmo*(*wa*) (pl.), ‘where?’ *taai*, ‘when?’ *gawe*. Copulas are: existence: *čɔrʌ*, possession: *čɔrɔ*, identity and attribution: Ø (sg.)/ *ka* (pl.), place: *ǧe* (?), *a*, (*a*)*bi*, locative particles. Connectives are: ‘and’ *gɔ*, *sai* … *sai* (?), ‘or’ *ta*.

The basic word order of O., like all Koman, is S[ubject]-V[erb]-O[bject], not SOV as in languages of the ↗Ethiopian Language Area.

The ten basic word-list of O. is: ‘one’ *ɗeɗe*, ‘two’ *suka*, ‘three’ *tʊsu*, ‘fire’ *wɔṭi*, ‘water’ *ǧi*, ‘moon’ *dwəi*, ‘sun’ *tai*, ‘blood’ *č̣əma*, ‘tongue’ *liṭa*, ‘tooth’ *se*. These are very similar to Ṭwampa or Komo except for ‘blood’ (like Kwama) and ‘moon’ (unique to O.).

There are no special studies on O. An early reference to the language with a little data (as Madiin) is found in Corfield 1938. The above analysis is based on the author's fieldnotes (1980–81). Harold Fleming also collected basic data on O. (Lʌŋa) in the 1960s at Pokwo, near Gambella. There is no known literature in O.

Src.: author's fieldnotes, Gambela, 1980–81; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 117; BARBARA F. GRIMES, *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{13}1996, 265.

Lit.: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, "Proto-Koman Phonology and Lexicon", *AuÜ* 66, 2, 1983, 259–97; ID., "Comparative Komuz Grammar", *ibid.* 77, 1, 1994, 31–54; ID., *The Nilo-Saharan Languages,* München 1996 (LINCOM Handbooks in Linguistics 6); FRANK D. CORFIELD, "The Koma", *SNR* 21, 1, 1938, 123–65; ROLAND C. STEVENSON, "The Koma Group" [Uduk from 1944 notes of Malcolm I. Forsberg], in: ARCHIBALD NORMAN TUCKER – MARGARET A. BRYAN, *Linguistic Analyses*: *the Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa …*, London – New York – Cape Town 1966 (Handbook of African Languages 3), 356–69.

M. Lionel Bender

Opuuo ethnography

The O. (also Opuo, Opo, Šita, Šyita, Šiita, Čita, Čiita, Ansita, Kina, Kʷina, Burun) live on both sides of the Ethio–Sudanese border. Their ↗Nilo-saharan language belongs to the ↗Koman cluster (together with ↗Ṭwampa, ↗Kwama, ↗Komo). Traditionally the O. inhabited the area around the rivers Daga and the Yabus (Corfield 1938: 130). Schuver's description tells us that the O. lived also around the River Ǧal, west of Ǧäbäl Bangé. Their current population size is estimated at 1,602 living in Ethiopia (CSA, 2008).

Opuuo men drinking local beer at a social gathering; photo 2006, courtesy of the author

According to James, who calls them Šyita, the O. inhabit the "hilly country to the south of the Yabus" (James 1999: 27). There are settlements found around Mayǧud and Kigille in the Sudan, and, in Ethiopia, there are five settlements in Gambella regional state (Wankey, Akula, Longkʷey and Kela) as well as the Bonga refugee camp, where Sudanese O. are living.

The O. practised a marriage system with sister exchange: in exchange for the bride, the bridegroom is obliged to find a sister or close relative (e.g., a cousin) to marry into the bride's family. Today bride-wealth is the more accepted pattern in marriages.

The settlements have an egalitarian organization headed by village headmen, called *umnda*. The *umnda* are represented by the *liqna*. The holders of both offices are elected by the village community, which includes all men and women from the age of about 15 onwards. The Ethiopian O. recognize similar offices, which are called *qworeton* and *nykuku* respectively.

Little is known about the history of the O. or about their present situation. Historically they belong to those groups who fell prey to frequent slave raids by the ↗Leeqaa Oromo from the Ethiopian side and the ↗Watāwīṭ from the Sudan, which led to their dispersal along the Ethio–Sudanese border. Historical accounts are few and confusing because of the variety of ethnonyms given to the O. Schuver (1883) calls them Gambiel or Kilai and Corfield (1938), who visited them much later, calls them Čiita and distinguishes three dialect groups, namely *Castillo*, *Kigali* and *Buldiit*. He tends to identify them with the ↗Komo under the name "Koma", which is probably derived from the term *koomoo*, the Oromiffa blanket term for enslavable people. The O. of Ethiopia divide themselves into two subgroups, namely *Šilkong* and *Tutš*. In his description of an O. slave he bought from an Oromo, Schuver deduces the small size the group must have already had in his time: "I find it remarkable that he has never been able to find another Negro of his race, although this individual has travelled the Sudan with me for one and a half years" (James – Baumann –

Johnson 1996: 336). According to Schuver the O. kept a considerable number of cattle, but these were taken from them by their hereditary enemies the Dinka and Nuer, especially, when the Dinka were raided by Sobat Arabs. Schuver says that the O., ruined by the loss of their cattle, accepted voluntary slavery in the service of the Oromo or even as far south as the region around the Baro River with the Ǧambo (↗Añwaa) to avoid starvation (ibid.). The Añwaa called the O. *Lᴀŋo*, a rather derogative term meaning ‘slave’ or ‘worker’, which is occasionally still used today.

Some Sudanese O. have adopted the term Burun, originally an Arabic blanket term for enslavable people, as their autonym. These O. fled the Sudan as a result of heavy raids by Nuer under the flag of the Sudanese People’s Liberation Army. The term Čiita is also used for the Burun language. This indicates that the O. of both the Sudan and Ethiopia have little contact and also the difficulties of reconstructing a common history of these peoples who have fallen prey to a long history of migration and dispersal.

Src.: Raymond G. Gordon (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, s. index; Wendy James – Gerd Baumann – Douglas Johnson (eds.), *Juan Maria Schuver’s Travels in North East Africa 1880–1883*, London 1996, 336.

Lit.: CerPeople 12, 16, 30; Frank D. Corfield, “The Koma”, *SNR* 21, 1938, 123–65; Wendy James, *The Listening Ebony*: *Moral, Knowledge and Power among the Uduk of Sudan*, Oxford 1999, 27; Ernst Marno, *Reisen ins Gebiet des Blauen und Weissen Nils, im Egyptischen Sudan, 1868–1873,* Wien 1874; Tesema Taʾa, “A Brief Historical Account of the Goma of the Ethio–Sudanese Frontier (ca. 1880–1950)”, in: Bahru Zewde (ed.), *Land, Gender and the Periphery*: *Themes in the History of Eastern and Southern Africa*, Addis Ababa 2003, 167–78; Joachim Theis, *Nach der Razzia*: *Ethnologie und Geschichte der Koma*, München 1995.

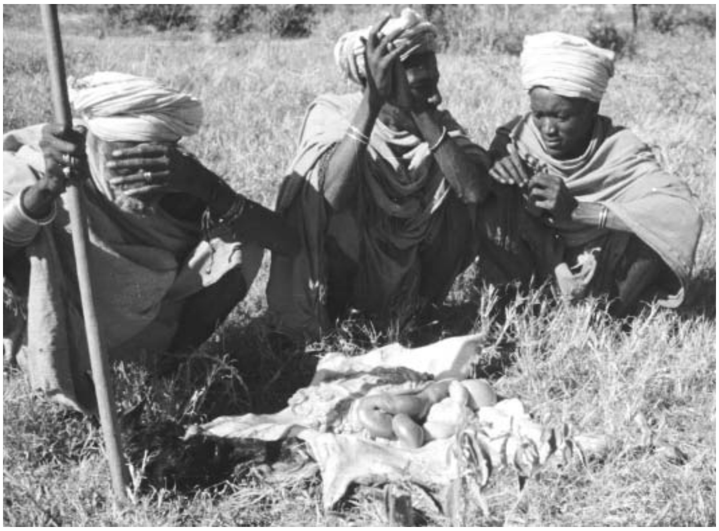
Alexander Meckelburg

Oracles and divination

O. and D. are magical practices aimed at revealing the unknown and to predicting the future. The term O. may also refer to the diviner who carries out such practices. In O. techniques, an event or fact considered to be beyond human control is taken as a supernatural sign in accordance with a culture-specific symbolic system. To consult an O. means to induce and/or identify (in the case of an omen, s. below) such a sign or set of signs and to interpret it. While some O. can be consulted only with the help of a specialist (s. for example ↗*Däbtära*; ↗*Qaallu*; ↗*Qalləčča*), other techniques of reference and interpretation are widespread in the particular society. An O. can be part of a religious system or constitute a cognitive system of its own. The consultation of an O. is often related to an altered state of consciousness in which inspiration is received. In many cases ↗spirit possession is involved, and often spirit mediums (e.g., the ↗*Gäramanǧo*) function as diviners.

Reasons for consulting an O. are manifold: people may want to know about questions of health and possible cures, public affairs, the coming year’s harvest, the outcome of a battle, whether a marriage is auspicious, or where a lost object is to be found. In general, O. and D. are believed to give advice concerning contact with the spiritual world as well as moral or even judicial questions. An example of the latter, was the ↗*leba šay* O., which was consulted when searching for a thief. In Gurage and Səlṭe the *raga* specialist is asked to reveal certain misdeeds of the ancestors in order to find reasons for the misfortune of their descendants as well as ways to break a spell originating from the past (Bustorf 2009; among the Boorana *raga* is a general term for a diviner, VSAe II, 166).

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church formally condemns the consultation of O. and D. The function of the diviner was superseded by the (monastic) ↗holy men – seers and prophets; the rest were ousted and stigmatized. Later, the persistence of these practices was frequently ascribed to the influence of “pagans”, primarily the Oromo (thus, the description one finds in the Christian sources is certainly not unbiased). However, O. and D. practices were so widespread and deeply rooted in the life of Christian society that it was virtually impossible to exterminate them. The zealous *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob is remembered for his attempts to uproot all kinds of O. and D. (referring to the books of Church law, such as the ↗*Senodos*). An insight into 15th-cent. O. and D. methods is given in his ↗*Ṭomarä təsbəʾət* (Getatchew Haile 1991: 40–45) and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*bərhan*. The latter mentions, among various kinds of O. and D., specifically the diviner who, on occasion of an individual’s rite of passage, “looks for an omen in the blood of a dog, and by [observing] donkeys, bedbugs, fleas and hyenas […]” (CRRicBerhan II, 51 [text] = 30 [tr.]). Certain diviners are accused of having manipulated major conflicts. ↗Ṣabraddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr who fought against *aṣe* ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I, for instance, apparently relied on the help of di-



Divination from the intestines of a goat (haruspicy); photo 1950–52 by Eike Haberland, courtesy of Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23-Ha248-15a)

viners (s., e.g., KrAmdS 6f. [text] = 10f. [tr.]; but cp. MarAmdS 38f.). Consulting different sorts of diviners (and the "hidden" usage of ↗magic in general) was widespread among both commoners and nobility, and in times of instability and struggles for power D. may have perpetuated political unrest (as seems to have been in the cases of *ras* ↗Atnatewos, ↗Kəflo and Wälättä Giyorgis, PerChron ch. 49).

Under the surface of official Church doctrine, a great variety of O. and D. practices were handed down from generation to generation. Examples are astrology (**ራእየ፡ ኮከብ**, *raʾəyä kokäb*, lit. 'vision of the stars'), haruspicy (s. ill.), the "pebble O.", the interpretation of dreams (**ራእየ፡ ትንቢት**, *raʾəyä tənbit*), only the latter beeing not mentioned in written religious texts.

Aside from practices of non-Christian origin, different D. techniques were elaborated in the Christian milieu, in fact, in the ecclesiastic (monastic) environment. For example, to reveal the future, the Bible or the Psalter is opened at random and a passage is chosen and interpreted. Among Muslims the Qurʾān or other sacred books are used (Rodinson 1967: 45, n. 4). Another practice was the calculation of the "lucky days" for important actions (cp. the 16th-cent. Vita of ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, where the king's advisers had to understand "the computation" to decide whether Yəmrəḥannä should be killed or not, s. Marrassini 1995). Different kinds of numerology and methods of performing "D." through the interpretation of ↗numbers and letters were elaborated upon in texts such as the ↗ʿ*Awdä nägäśt* and the *Tərgʷame fidälat* (cp. Griaule 1934). Such numerological books were used by the *mäṣḥaf gäläč̣* ('book revealer, astrologer'; s. Aspen 2001: 119–24), an *awaqi* ('a knowledgeable one') or a *ṭänqʷay* ('magician').

Like the official Christian Church(es), Islamic orthodoxy rejects D. However, it is traditionally carried out by certain *šayḫs* and other specialists, such as the *raga* and *miskeen* ('diviner, magician') among the Muslim Gurage and Səlṭe. *Istiḫāra* or *ḫayra* (Arab. 'divination') is a practice in which God is asked for the inspiration needed to decide between different choices. After certain rituals and prayers the question is expressed. The answer follows in a dream or by other manifestations of God's will (EI^2, 259f.). Trimingham (TrIslam 264) relates that *istiḫāra* carried out by specialists such as *qalləčča* or *wadād* were frequently used before major enterprises.

A widespread traditional D. technique, mostly carried out by specialists, is haruspicy. It is practiced, among the Meʾen (Abbink 1993), Dizi, Gofa, Kuča, Maale, Hadiyya (CerPeople 50, 94, 114ff., 129) as well as Oromo (VSAe II) and Gurage (for an early description s. Bermudez 1875: 101f.). In haruspicy the characteristics of certain inner organs of a slaughtered (usually sacrificed) animal are analysed and interpreted as divinatory signs. Variations of this principle can be identified by the organs (e.g., liver, abdomen, abdominal fat) examined and by the system of interpretation used. The type of animal slaughtered may vary, e.g., goat, sheep or cattle. In some cases a certain skin colour of the animal is required. Sacrificed animals may be examined in order to find out if a further sacrifice is needed (VSAe I, s. index; VSAe II, 139; VSAe III, s. index). In Amharic haruspicy is called **አንጀት፡ ማየት** (*anğät mayät*, 'looking at the entrails') and **ሞራ፡ ማየት** (*mora mayät,* lit. 'to see abdominal fat', cp. KaneDic 174; cp. BTafA 95, 705, n. 933). The word *mora* for 'abdominal fat' is also used in Oromiffa. Among the Oromo the O. is carried out by interpreting the lines drawn by the fatty membranes of the abdomen which is stretched out on the ground (s. PankSoc 203 and s. ill.). Interestingly the word *mora* in Banna designates the diviner of the "sandal O." (s. below) while in Konso the holy places where sacrifices and the haruspicium are carried out have this name (VSAe I, 328).

A prominent type of O. was the "bee O." (↗Bees and beekeeping) which, in many variants, is reported from Amhara and Təgray, Harär, Basketo, Dokko, Maale, Yäm, Šeko. In all cases this D. practice is carried out in connection with rituals of kingship (cp. HabKön 123ff.; ↗Kingship, divine). In Dokko, Balta and Malo, for instance, the "bee O." played an important role in the election process of the new *kati* ('king, chief'). A beehive was emptied in the presence of the candidates to the chieftaincy. When the bees gathered on the body of one of the candidates this was taken as a sign of his suitability (VSAe I, 204–07; for a variant of the ritual s. idem. 271). According to tradition it was a bee O. that foretold *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla's rise to power and ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's suitability was indicated, beside other omens, by bees swarming around his head (HabKön 123ff.; BassHist 26ff., n. 1, 30).

Many O. techniques are based on the interpretation of numerical patterns and/or graphical configurations of pebbles (also coffee beans). Among the Amhara the *ṭäṭär ṭay* ('pebble thrower') divines by throwing 34 pebbles and analysing their configuration after they fall on the ground or a special plate. For the interpretation the numerical value of the letters of the client's name are additionally considered. Some specialists combine this practice with elements of the cult of *wəqabi* spirits. The *ṭäṭär ṭay* O. is traditionally said to originate from "ᶜAdal" [ᶜAfar] (Aspen 2001: 124; Molvaer 1995: 50; for a variant cp. KaneDic 2188). Among the Aari groups of Šangama and Bakko the *azi baab* diviner is specialized in the identification of the causes of his client's illnesses. He interpreted the pattern of black and white stones which he had thrown. Similarly, the *ṣoma baab* of the ↗Ubamär, the *kaisa* of the ↗Basketo and the *garoo* of the ↗Dime used stones for D. (VSAe I, 139, 180, 219, 257). Small stones are also used by the Kuča (CerPeople 115). Straube (VSAe III, 167) reports on an O. in Hirbo, Gamo, which was consulted with the help of 19 small stones which were set in parallel lines. In this case divinatory practice was not restricted to specialists.

Different O. techniques derive from an Arab divination system called *ᶜilm al-raml* ('science of the sand' or *raml*, 'sand'; s., e.g., Savage-Smith – Smith 2004 for a description). Examples are the ↗ᶜAfar *ramri* O., described by Morin (MorDicAfar 235–38), and the Somali *faal* O. For the *faal* (from Arab. *faᵓl*, 'omen', cp. *faᵓl* in EI², vol. 2; Mohamed Mohamed Abdi 1992), stones are placed on grooved dots on a rectangle drawn into the sand. According to certain rules the stones are moved from dot to dot. At the end an expert interprets the pattern constituted by the positions of the stones. The Hirbo O., the *faal* and the *ramri* or *raml* eventually have historical links with the ↗*gäbäṭa* game and with several D. techniques in Africa, such as the *ifa* of the Yoruba. The *raml* O. was mentioned in the Chronicle of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I as a D. method typical among Muslims (Marrassini 1993: 59).

The "sandal O.", e.g., used among the Banna, Bäšada, Meᵓen and Ṣamay, is a method to discover the causes of different diseases and their cures, and, among the hunters of Baača, to learn the outcome of a future hunt. In most cases the O. advises the afflicted to carry out a sacrifice to the ↗ancestors. For the "sandal O." a pair of miniature "sandals", i.e. pieces of leather in the shape of feet, is thrown and the practitioner's interpretation is based on how they fall (VSAe I, 328, 346, 369, 372ff., 416 [ill.]; cp. VSAe II, 166).

A common belief is that hidden knowledge may be revealed by visions and dreams. Ordinary people may ask a specialist to interpret such a "message" or may try to find an explanation on their own. A widespread principle here is that events in a dream may designate the opposite of their obvious meaning, e.g., to dream of quarrelling is interpreted to mean love (cp., also Leslau 1983: 64). Possession spirit mediums and other kinds of magical and religious functionaries including Christian, Muslim and Betä Əsraᵓel holy men are believed to receive supernatural messages concerning the future through dreams. An example is reported by Pearce and Gobat from Gondär, where a Betä Əsraᵓel woman made a prophecy based on a dream that the town would be attacked by enemies unless the whole population held extensive collective prayers (PankSoc 263). Another example is related by ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis, who reports that Mənilək II, ca. 1889, was warned by the prophecy of a monk not to spend the rainy season in Wällo in order to prevent his country from being destroyed.

The Emperor followed the advice and went to Ǝnṭoṭṭo where he learned that *ras* Gobäna had died and his presence was urgently needed as the monk had predicted (BTafA 802).

A special technique of foretelling the future is practiced by interpreting given natural events as divinatory signs, i.e. as omens. Widespread and well documented is the reading of "animal omens". Haberland (VSAe II, 257, 330, 341f., 405, 486, 502, 551) documented examples of such a practice among the Oromo. Before making an important choice, e.g., of the bride for a son or of a place to construct a house, people observe the behaviour of animals and listen to their sounds. Whether the omen is positive or negative largely depends on the direction from where the sound comes, the left or the right. A famous bird of augury is the *guramayle* ('Black Crow'), but also the sounds of the owl and the hornbill are interpreted as signs. Other animals taken into consideration are ↗lions, ↗leopards, ↗hyenas and jackals. In traditional Oromo culture a ↗serpent visiting the house had a very positive meaning. Similarly, animal sounds as omens are attested from northern Ethiopia by Lobo as early as the 17th cent. and a strong belief in such signs is confirmed by travellers such as Bruce, Parkyns, Plowden and Gobat (PankSoc 47, 85, 202).

Exceptional events are often taken as an omen, for instance certain weather phenomena such as "sand devils" (small tornados; e.g., taken as a sign as to who shall be appointed as the new *saᵓamar dam* priest of ↗Ǝndägañ; oral informants) or the birth of an animal or human child with physical deformities (e.g., congenital deformations, or a child's first tooth growing from the upper jaw etc.; BrHad 266; VSAe II, 328, 401). Cerulli relates that among the Meᵓen, D. was practised according to the direction of flames (CerPeople 50).

Today, in spite of modern education and the dominance of the "world religions", D. techniques continue to be used. Concepts from Western as well as Arab countries have resulted in the emergence of new forms including consulting cards as well as European astrology. Continuing of the above-mentioned Christian traditions of computation, various Amharic and Gəᶜəz divinatory texts (↗magic literature; e.g. studied by ↗Strelcyn) circulate in Ethiopia and enjoy considerable popularity. Some exist only in the form of a manuscript, while others are printed (some including prayers). New "guide books" are prepared on the basis of "new" divinatory methods, sometimes borrowed from European/American popular literature.

Src.: João Bermudez, *Breve relação da embaixada que o patriacha D. João Bermudez trouxe do imperador da Ethiopia vulgarmente chamado Preste João*, Lisboa 1875, 101f.; Dirk Bustorf's field notes from Gurage, Səlṭe and Addis Abäba; CRRicBerhan II, 51 [text] = 30 [tr.]; Getatchew Haile (ed., tr.), *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob* (*Ṭomarä Təsbəᵓt*), Lovanii 1991 (CSCO 522, 523 [= SAe 95, 96]); KaneDic 174; KrAmdS 6f. (text) = 10f. (tr.); Deborah Lifchitz, *Textes éthiopiennes magico-religeux*, Paris 1940; MarAmdS 38f., 59; Paolo Marrassini, *Il gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos*, Napoli 1995 (Supplemento 85), 26 (text) = 65 (tr.).

Lit.: Jon Abbink, "Reading the Entrails: Analysis of an African Divination Discourse", *Man* (*N.S.*) 28, 4, 1993, 705–26; Harald Aspen, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge*: *Spirit Mediums and their Clients*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58), 124; BrHad 266; BTafA 95, 705 (n. 933), 802; Dirk Bustorf, "Schicksal, Fluch und Segen in der Ätiologie der mündlichen Geschichte. Das Beispiel der Selt'é (Äthiopien)", in: Alke Dohrmann – Dirk Bustorf – Nicole Poissonnier (eds.), *Schweifgebiete. Festschrift für Ulrich Braukämper*, Münster (Ethnologie 37), 117–32, in preparation; CerPeople 50, 94, 114ff., 129f.; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Lo ᶜAwda Nagast, scritto divinatorio etiopico", *RSE* 1, 2, 1941, 127–45; Id., "Sul calendario astrologico degli Habab", *RSE* 5, 1947, 83–92; Toufic Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966; Id., "Faᵓl", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, 758–60; Id., "Istikhāra", *ibid.*, vol. 4, 259–60; Marcel Griaule, "Notes sur l'arithmomancie éthiopienne", *Journal de la société des Africanistes*, 1934, 4, 1, 25–31; HabKön 123ff.; Wolf Leslau, "Popular Interpretation of Dreams in Ethiopia", in: Joseph Tubiana (ed.), *Guirlande pour Abba Jérôme*, Paris 1983, 61–82; Mohamed Mohamed Abdi, *Histoires et Croyances en Somalie*, Paris 1992; Reidulf K. Molvaer, *Socialization and Social Control in Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 44), 50; MorDicAfar 235–38; PankSoc 47, 85, 202f., 263; Maxime Rodinson, *Magie, médecine et possession en Éthiopie*, Paris 1967, 45, n. 4; Emilie Savage-Smith – Marion B. Smith, "Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device: Another Look", in: Emilie Savage-Smith (ed.), *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, London 2004, 211–76 (Lit.); TrIslam 264; VSAe I–III, s. index.

Dirk Bustorf – Denis Nosnitsin

Oral literature

O.l. is a term that has been used since the 19th cent. for referring to several unwritten, oral forms of expression with a "literary" character, that makes them different from everyday speech. Finnegan (1970) made one of the first systematic surveys of Africa including the ↗Horn of Africa to use this term. The field of interests of O.l. partially overlaps with oral tradition, folklore, verbal art, performance literature and ethnopoetics (s., e.g., Hymes 2003) as well as "orature", that are sometimes used as synonyms or quasi-synonyms.

The term O.l. has been criticized because of its implicit reference to the concept of "text", and the allegedly controversial epistemological status of an "oral text". Yet recent research (e.g., Barber 2005) has stressed that, even though oral discourse is a sequence of physically evanescent utterances, some kinds can be remembered in a more or less exact manner, detached from their immediate context and recontextualized in subsequent performances. Oral utterances thus can become texts, i.e. mental or ideal objects that can be identified independently of their particular instantiations, be quoted, and become the focus of commentary and exegetical attention.

There is a growing awareness that a proper understanding of O.l. requires the multiple competences of linguistics, anthropology, ethnomusicology, anthropological linguistics (especially ethnography of speech), cultural studies and not only of literature studies. However, there is no consensus on the boundaries of O.l., e.g., of which oral genres should be regarded as part of a community's O.l. vis-à-vis other speech genres (s., e.g., Bauman 2001). This is due, in part, to different approaches in the definition of what has a "literary" character, e.g., whether this is defined by an external observer or by the people who produce, perform or make use of oral texts. For instance, many Somali regard as literature proper only the genres of ↗*maanso* oral poetry, but not other genres such as the *ḍaanto* dance songs and the goat-herding songs that are for them just *hees* ('song'), even though their formal organization does not differ substantially from the former genres.

Another issue of boundaries has to do with popular culture, which is mainly an oral one in most contemporary African societies because of low levels of literacy (s. Barber 1997, esp. "Introduction").

Indeed, also in Africa, contemporary popular culture incorporates and modernizes several aspects of traditional culture and O.l., e.g., in the formal organization of ↗song texts and in their ↗music. For instance, some Somali poets such as ᶜAbdi Muḥumud Amiin perform their political poems to the accompaniment of a guitar or a *kaban* lute rather than without musical instruments like more traditional poets; and several modern Oromo singers actually sing ↗*geerarsa* songs accompanied by electronic musical instruments. Contemporary O.l. thus merges with popular culture in many urban settings.

A quite different type of boundary issue is represented by genres that are composed and performed orally and then sometimes recorded and transmitted to posterity in written form. A typical example are the ↗*qəne* hymns improvised during Ethiopian Orthodox celebrations, that could, under certain conditions, be included in written works of ↗historiography (like chronicles) and other historical texts. The introduction of ↗literacy and of modern technology in recent decades for several languages that had been more or less exclusively oral in the past has induced several oral poets either to write down what they compose orally or to avail themselves of audio recordings for preserving and transmitting their poems. The latter case has been called "electronically aided" O.l. by Andrzejewski (1985: 43).

An ethnography-of-speech approach to O.l seems particularly useful. This means that the following aspects should be taken into account when analysing O.l.:

(a) in which community does it circulate?
(b) what are its genres and subgenres, and what are their distinctive features?
(c) who creates which genres and subgenres, when and for whom?
(d) who performs which genres and subgenres, when and for whom?
(e) who listens to, looks at, or anyhow acts as an audience to which genres and subgenres, when and how?
(f) what kind of action is carried out by creating, performing or, anyhow, disseminating which genres and subgenres? That is, to what purpose is this done?

The different O.l. of only some linguistic communities in the Horn of Africa have been studied in detail: the ↗Amhara, the ↗Təgrəñña speakers (KolTrad I–III), the ↗Oromo, the ↗Somali, the ↗ᶜAfar and the ↗Beğa. There are also good studies on specific aspects of ↗Gurage (Shack – Habte Mariam 1974), Harari, ↗Təgre (LitPEA), ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel (↗Folktales of the Betä Ǝsraʾel), ↗Hadiyya (Braukämper – Tilahun Mishago 1999), ↗Sidaama (Lonfernini 1971), ↗Sāho (Morin 1995; 1999), ↗Səlṭe (Wagner in SegBodLes), ↗Käfa (Lange 1979) and ↗Šakačo (Lange 1979). Very little is known about O.l. in the other ↗Omotic languages or in any of the ↗Nilo-Saharan languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Several distinctions can be drawn for classifying the different genres of O.l. One is between open and closed genres, i.e., genres that are "transmitted freely, changing with differences of time, place, and individual speakers" (Mphande 2003: 580) versus genres whose texts are fixed and undergo little, if any, variation when they are transmitted from mouth to ear. Good examples of the first group are narratives such as ↗folktales and legends, but also epic oral poems that are recomposed by bards out of sets of more or less fixed formulas at each performance as shown by the so-called "oralist" school of Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord or Paul Zumthor (1983), who focused on European traditions, as well as Ruth Finnegan (1970; 1992) for African oral literature. Instances of the second group are proverbs and certain kinds of oral ↗poetry that are circulated verbatim like the Somali *maanso*.

Another distinction should be drawn between oral texts that have the same organization of ordinary discourse vis-à-vis oral texts whose formal organization marks them off as special, not ordinary speech, e.g., poetry. The latter are frequently characterized by some kind of metric organization, special grammar, lexicon, and style, i.e., by different kinds of poetic procedures that act as framing devices (s. Banti – Giannattasio 2004; Foley 1997, esp. 259–378). This broadly corresponds to the traditional distinction between prose and poetry.

Importantly, there are several intermediate genres in many communities that are characterized by poetic procedures sometimes or in a reduced way, such as proverbs, riddles and question-and-answer games, curses (e.g., the Somali alliterated and metrically balanced *habaar*), etc. Ethnomusicologists have also highlighted how special speech can be distinguished from ordinary speech by means of changes of voice register (i.e., its frequency range, timbre and intensity), melodic contour and rhythm. This occurs both (i) in kinds of special speech that are not O.l., such as when addressing babies, (ii) in some genres that are intermediate between normal speech and O.l., such as Oromo oratory, and (iii) in several kinds of special speech that are O.l. proper, such as performances of oral poems and songs. Banti – Giannattasio (1996) studied in detail the *luuq*, i.e., the different rhythms and melodies that characterize how seven different genres of Somali oral poetry and songs are performed, as well as of their metric organization (scansion patterns).

When classifying genres of O.l. it is important to be aware that distinctions made by western-educated scholars can be based upon features that are quite different from those that are relevant for ethnoclassifications. One important such feature in different O.l. is whether the theme is religious or not. For instance, western Gurage poems in praise of traditional deities are called *bädəra* and are clearly distinguished from the secular *wäyäg* poems that praise chiefs, famous warriors, clans and lineages (Shack – Habte Mariam 1974: 2f.). Similarly, the ↗Sāho regard religious *nazme* as a quite different genre from non-religious poetry, and the Somali call *masafo* several poems of religious exhortation composed by well-known ↗*šayḫs* such as *šeeḫ* Aḥmad "Gabyow" and *šeeḫ* ᶜAli ᶜAbdiraḥmaan even though their respective scansion patterns and *luuqs* (s. above) are quite diverse (s. Banti – Ciise Maxamed Siyaad 2000; Banti – Giannattasio 1996).

Another important feature is the performance style, e.g., its rhythm and melody. For instance, the *guurow* of the Abgaal Somali is distinguished from the *gabay* of other Somali-speaking areas because of its very fast performance style, even though its lines have the same scansion pattern as the *gabay*. Also gender can be relevant, e.g., some kinds of poems and songs are distinctively performed by males versus females among the Somali, the ᶜAfar and the Oromo.

Broadly speaking, the following genres of O.l. are known to occur frequently among the communities of the Horn of Afica:

(a) Major oral poetry: Several instances of religious poetry have been mentioned above. But different kinds of secular poetry enjoy a high status among different peoples. In many cases these are praise poems such as the Gurage *wäyäg*. A widespread type are poems in praise of oneself or, more precisely, epinicia such as the Amharic ↗*fukkära* and *qärärto* and the Oromo ↗*geerarsa* (↗Oromo oral literature), or even poems for important domestic animals such as the Somali *geeraars* that praised famous war horses. Several kinds of social poetry, i.e., poetry for achieving social or political effects and for political debate are not in the form of praise poetry; for instance the Sāho *ʿadar* (↗Sāho literature), and most genres of Somali *maanso*. Even the *geerarsa* has developed into a tool of political and social critique among the Ethiopian Oromo. Interestingly, epic poetry *stricto sensu*, i.e., narrative poetry that depicts the deeds of heroes, does not seem to occur in the known O.l. of the Horn of Africa. Professional itinerant performers such as the ↗*azmari* and the ↗*lalibäla* of northern and central Ethiopia sing praise poems and blessings that are regarded as having a somewhat lower status than the above-mentioned genres.

(b) Minor oral poetry and songs: Most communities of the Horn of Africa have different kinds of wedding songs, dance songs, mocking songs, work songs (s. ↗ᶜAfar literature, Amharic poetry: ↗Gəṭəm, , ↗Harari literature, ↗Oromo literature, Poetry in EAE 5, ↗Somali literature). Love songs existed traditionally only in some oral traditions, as the young men's *faaruu* and the young women's *qarillee* love songs of the ↗Gabra Oromo; yet they have acquired considerable importance in contemporary urban popular culture.

(c) Prophetic texts: Soothsayers who foretell future events are known from some communities, those of the Christian Highlands (↗Hermits), the *ginnili* of the ᶜAfar and the *raaga* of the ↗Boorana Oromo. Their prophecies are both in poetic and in prose form.

(d) Laws and decrees: Oral texts of ↗customary law exist, e.g., among the Təgrəñña speakers, whose elders (↗*Šəmagəllä*) meet to discuss and rehearse them in their capacity of "holders of tradition" (Conti Rossini 1948–53). Texts of customary law have also been published by Cerulli for some Somali-speaking groups (Cerulli 1918). Traditional Oromo ↗*ç̣affees* frequently issued their decrees in verse.

(e) Historical oral chronicles and genealogies: Historical oral texts are known for all the peoples of the Horn of Africa. Since the 19th cent. they have often been collected and published and include genealogies, traditions of origin, legends about ancient heroes, etc. But they existed in much earlier times; for instance, Oromo oral chronicles might have been the main source for the early history of the Oromo *luubas* as it is depicted in Baḥrəy's ↗*Zenahu lägalla*, dated 1593. Not infrequently one of the purposes of oral chronicles was to exalt the noble origin and deeds of local dynasties, and many were soon forgotten after their demise.

(f) ↗Folktales and anecdotes.

(g) Proverbs: More or less extensive collections of proverbs have been published for most of the communities, discussing different aspects of human experience in detached and generalized ways, yet at the same time obliquely and allusively. Not infrequently, they share some formal aspects with oral poetry, such as rhyme, alliteration, organization into parallel cola or lines, etc. Among the Somali and in ↗Harär there is a strong tradition of numerical sayings.

(h) Riddles: Highly formalized riddles are known from several language-communities. e.g., the Amharic ↗*ənqoqəlləš*, the Somali *googgaale*, or the Oromo *hiibboo*. These three genres are introduced by fixed formulas uttered by the participants and are frequently characterized by formal features that are similar to those of poetry.

Only in a few cases are O.l. texts authorial, i.e., composed by an author, who is remembered by name. This is sometimes, through rarely, the case with the above-mentioned *qəne*, that are improvized only once for a particular occasion, by a particular individual and in a particular church. Another example are the Somali *maanso* poems, composed by individual poets on particular occasions, and later disseminated orally and verbally by memorizers, or quoted as compositions of their particular authors. Individual authors of particular oral poems are also known among the ᶜAfar (e.g., Ḥanfaḍe), the Sāho (e.g., ↗Faḍakoobe) and, less frequently, among the Oromo. Interestingly, also some particularly elaborate proverbs are authorial among the Somali. In the other cases, O.l. texts are transmitted as anonymous texts, even though their performers may be quite famous.

The status of oral poets and of other specialists of O.l. varies considerably in the different communities of the Horn of Africa. For instance, the *azmari* and the *lalibäla* of northern and central Ethiopia are generally regarded as marginal groups of low social status. Traditional Sāho poets, even though their verbal skills are highly appreciated, were treated with suspicion, probably because of the power and potential effects of their words. Among the Somali skilled poets are important persons, and some leaders such as the *sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan owed part of their charisma to their poetic force. A clan's strength consisted in its military power and in its having a skilled poet among its ranks, who would defend its cause in the public arena. Among the Käfa and the Šakačo the minstrels (*šattos*) were a low and landless caste, but the *šatto-raša* 'head of the bards' had important ceremonial functions extending beyond singing (s. Lange 1979: 2).

Lit.: Bogumil W. Andrzejewski, "Oral Literature", "Somali Literature", in: Id. – Stanisław Piłaszewicz – Wytold Tyloch (eds.), *Literatures in African Languages*: *Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, Cambridge – Warsaw 1985, 31–48, 337–407; Giorgio Banti – Ciise Maxamed Siyaad, "Two Little-known Poems by Sheekh Axmad 'Gabyow'", *AuÜ* 83, 2000, 181–207; Giorgio Banti – Francesco Giannattasio, "Music and Metre in Somali Poetry", in: Richard J. Hayward – Ioan Myrddin Lewis (eds.), *Voice and Power*: *Essays in Honour of B.W. Andrzejewski*, London 1996 (African Languages and Cultures, suppl. 3), 83–127; Iid., "Poetry", in: Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, Malden, MA 2004, 290–320; Karin Barber (ed.), *Readings in African Popular Culture*, London – Oxford 1997; Id., "Text and Performance in Africa", *Oral Tradition* 20, 2005, 264–77; Id., *The Anthropology of Texts, Persons and Publics*: *Oral and Written Culture in Africa and Beyond*, Cambridge – New York 2007 (New Departures in Anthropology 5); Richard Bauman, "Genre", in: Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *Key Terms in Language and Culture*, Malden, MA et al. 2001, 79–82; Ulrich Braukämper – Tilahun Mishago, *Praise and Teasing*: *Narrative Songs of the Hadiyya in Southern Ethiopia*, Frankfurt am Main 1999 (Sonderschriften des Frobenius-Institutes 13); Enrico Cerulli, "Testi di diritto consuetudinario dei Somali Marrēhân", *RSO* 7, 1918, 861–76; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Consuetudini giuridiche del Seraé*, vols. 1–2, Roma 1948–53 [supplements to RSE 7 and 11]; Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Literature in Africa*, Oxford 1970; Ead., *Oral Tradition and the Verbal Arts*, London – New York 1992; Ead., "Oral Literature: Issues of Definition and Terminology", in: Philip M. Peek – Kwesi Yankah (eds.), *African Folklore*: *an Encyclopedia*, New York – London 2004, 621–28; William A. Foley, *Anthropological Linguistics*: *an Introduction*, Malden, MA – Oxford 1997 (Language in Society 24); Dell H. Hymes, *Now I Know Only so Far*: *Essays in Ethnopoetics*, Lincoln,

NE 2003; Werner J. Lange, *Domination and Resistance*: *Narrative Songs of the Kafa Highlands*, East Lansing, MI 1979 (Ethiopian Series Monograph 8); LitPEA; Bruno Lonfernini, *I Sidamo*: *un antico popolo cuscita*, Bologna 1971; Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig – Herrmann Jungraithmayr, *Lexikon der afrikanistischen Erzählforschung*, Köln 1998; Didier Morin, *Des paroles douces comme la soie: introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique*, Leuven 1995 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 19); Id., *Le texte légitime*: *pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Leuven 1999 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 25); Lupenga Mphande, "Oral Literature and Performance", in: Simon Gikandi (ed.), *Encyclopedia of African Literature*, London – New York 2003, 579–86; Isidore Okpewho, *African Oral Literature*, Bloomington, IN – Indianapolis, IN 1992; Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy*: *the Technologizing of the Word*, New York 1982; Martin Orwin, "On the Concept of 'Definitive Text' in Somali Poetry", *Oral Tradition* 20, 2005, 278–99; William A. Shack – Habte Mariam Marcos, *Gods and Heroes*: *Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974; Jan Vansina, *De la tradition orale*: *essai de méthode historique*, Tervuren 1961; Ewald Wagner, "Sélt'i-Verse in arabischer Schrift aus dem Schlobies-Nachlass", in: *SegBodLes* 363–74; Paul Zumthor, *Introduction à la poésie orale*, Paris 1983, 363–74.

Giorgio Banti

Orase ↗Mosiye

Orbis Aethiopicus

O.Ae. ('Ethiopian World') is a recent Latin neologism (Scholz 1992) in imitation of the well-known expression *orbis Romanus* ('Roman World') – a classical designation of the Roman empire in its political and cultural unity, as opposed to the rest of the world.

One is reminded of the king of the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum speaking of the κόσμος, *kósmos*, i.e. the "world", he ruled over (RIÉ no. 277: 39), since Gr. *kósmos* conveys in fact the notion of Lat. *orbis* (*terrarum*), i.e. the "known world" (Fiaccadori 2004: 139f.). Similar labels are found such as "Oceanus Aethiopicus", used for the Atlantic Ocean to the west of the South African coast, e.g., in Mercator's map of Africa (1595; s. also Uhlig – Bühring 1994: 177f., n. 123). A western creation, the term O.Ae. should apply to either the Nubian–Ethiopian area (Scholz 1992: xxvf.) or, more extensively, the ↗Horn of Africa with special focus on the highlands and the adjacent, culturally interlinked areas (↗Abyssinia; ↗Aithiopía; ↗Ḥabašāt). If one follows a pivotal concept in ↗Ethiopian studies, the latter meaning is preferable, insofar as the O.Ae. is understood as a concept independent from modern political boundaries, as a cultural region centered in the Ethio–Eritrean highlands which are distinguished by a common history and strong cultural interconnections. Since the 17th cent., in fact, Ethiopian studies developed as a philological and historico-ethnographical discipline focusing on the Christian state (with its ↗Ethio-Semitic languages) and on the neighbouring regions (where ↗Cushitic and ↗Omotic languages dominate; cp. the similar notion of the ↗Ethiopian Language Area).

With the name "O.Ae. – ውርሰ፡ ኢትዮጵያ", a Society for the Preservation and Promotion of Ethiopian Culture was founded in Frankfurt in 1995. The corresponding Amharic term *Wərsä Ityop̣ya* means 'Ethiopian [Global] Heritage', *Wərs* specifically implies the idea of 'encompassing, including' (cp. Amh. *wərəss adärrägä*, 'to invade, to surround').

Src.: RIÉ no. 277: 39; Gerardus Mercator, *Atlas, sive Cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura* …, Duisburgi Clivorum 1595; Siegbert Uhlig – Gernot Bühring, *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 39), initial flyleaf, 177f. and n. 123.

Lit.: Asfa-Wossen Asserate, "100 Jahre deutsch–äthiopische Beziehungen – Bemerkungen zum Bericht der Rosen-Gesandtschaft", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 7–9; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 139f.; Piotr O. Scholz (ed.), *Orbis Aethiopicus. Studia in honorem Stanislaus Chojnacki* …, Albstadt 1992 (Bibliotheca Nubica 3), vol. 1, xxiii–xxxi, here xxvf.; Id. (ed.), *Äthiopien gestern und heute. Akten der 1. Tagung der Orbis-Aethiopicus-Gesellschaft zur Erhaltung und Förderung der äthiopischen Kultur* (*St. Augustin, Bonn 1.–3. Oktober 1995*), Warszawa 1999 (= *Nubica & Aethiopica* 4/5), 389–648; Id. (ed.), *Von Hiob Ludolf bis Enrico Cerulli*: *Akten der 2. Tagung der Orbis Aethiopicus Gesellschaft* … (*Halle/S., 3.–5. Oktober 1996*), Wiesbaden 2001 (Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica 8); *Äthiopien und seine Nachbarn/Ethiopia and its Neighbours. 3. Wissenschaftliche Tagung des Orbis Aethiopicus/The 3rd Academic Conference of Orbis Aethiopicus. Gniew, 25–29 September 1997,* Frankfurt 1998.

Siegbert Uhlig

Orchestra Ethiopia

O.E. was founded in 1963 at the Haile Sellassie I University's Creative Arts Center by Professor Halim El-Dabh (Ḥalīm aḍ-Ḍabᶜ), an Egyptian composer well versed in 20th cent. trends in music, who was invited in 1961 by the Ethiopian government and the University. In contrast to the folklore ensembles which preceded O.E., El-Dabh created an indigenous pan-Ethiopian ensemble reflecting the ideal of a multi-ethnic, yet unified culture. O.E. served as a forum combining modern presentations of orchestral music with Ethiopian traditional musical modes and instruments. Orchestral members included Amhara, Dorze, Gurage, Oromo, Wälaytta,

The Orchestra Ethiopia rehearsing with its first conductor, Prof. Halim El-Dabh, at the Creative Arts Center at the Ḫaylä Śəllase I University; photo 1964, from the El-Dabh collection

Təgrəñña, Harari, ᶜAfar, and Somali musicians.

The O.E.'s twelve-year tenure under various directors began with El-Dabh in 1963 and included American Peace Corps volunteers who served as directors and/or managers: John Coe (1964–66), Charles Sutton (1966–71), and Marc Weishaus (1971–72). The first Ethiopian who served as director (1966–75) was Täsfaye Lämma. In July 1974, together with Nəguśu Rätta and Abbäbä Wälde, he elaborated and introduced an innovative system of musical notation, based on the traditional church notation system (↗*Mələkkət*) and allowing musicians from diverse backgrounds to perform together (Shelemay in SegBodLes 571–82, 1991: 123f.).

In 1968, the O.E. was dismissed from the University and had to become independent and self-supporting. In 1969 it toured the United States for the first time, renamed "The Blue Nile Group".

After the ↗Revolution of 1974, the O.E. was officially dissolved on 8 June 1975. Most O.E. members joined groups that toured the Middle East, Europe, and the United States. While participating in the official "People to People Tour" in 1987, Täsfaye Lämma defected in the United States. Soon after, he founded the Nile Ethiopian Ensemble and the Center for Ethiopian Arts and Culture based in Washington, D.C. He also became advisor and community scholar for the African Immigrant Folklife Project at the Library of Congress. As executive director, he managed the Center until his retirement due to ill health in 1999, at which point the Center's current operations ceased.

Src.: interviews with David Badagnani, 2003–04; John Coe, 2001, 2003; Halim El-Dabh, 2003–04; Charles Sutton, 23 November 2003; Täsfaye Lämma, 2001–2004; Täsfaye Lämma, Blue Nile Group program notes and commentary, 1969; Yäwəbdar Bäyyänä, personal communication, 2003; Letter from President of Haile Selassie I University Professor Kasəll Wälde to Patriarch *abunä* Yoḥannəs in Mäq̱älä, Təgray Province, 1955 A.M. [1963 A.D.] (in Halim El-Dabh's possession); "Due to Lack of Support Orchestra Ethiopia to Be Silenced by June 8", *Ethiopian Herald*, 27 May 1975.

Lit.: BETTY J. BELARUS, "Nile Ethiopian Ensemble: Profile of an African Immigrant Music & Dance Group", in: *Smithsonian Folklife Festival on the National Mall, Washington, D.C.* [program], Washington, D.C. 1998; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, "A New System of Musical Notation in Ethiopia", in: *SegBodLes* 571–82; EAD., *A Song of Longing*: *an Ethiopian Journey*, Urbana, IL – Chicago, IL 1991, 123f.; CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, "Make Army Tanks for War into Church Bells for Peace: Observations on Musical Change and Other Adaptations in Ethiopia during the 1990s", in: JACQUELINE COGDELL DJEDJE (ed.), *Turn Up the Volume*! *A Celebration of African Music*, Los Angeles, CA 1999, 124–31, 345–46; EAD., "Orchestra Ethiopia 1963–1975: Halim El-Dabh, Catalyst for Music Innovation and Preservation", in: GEORGE DOR – BODE OMOJOLA (eds.), *Multiple Interpretations of Dynamics of Creativity and Knowledge in African Music Traditions*: *a Festschrift in Honor of Akin Euba* …, Point Richmond, CA 2005, 187–209; DENISE A. SEACHRIST, *The Musical World of Halim El-Dabh*, Kent, OH 2003, ix–x; TESFAYE LEMMA, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Ababa 1975; TSEGAYE DEBALKE, "Ethiopian Music and Musical Instruments", *Ethiopian Herald*, 5 November 1967; ID., ["Orchestra Ethiopia"], *ibid.*, 20 December 1969.

Discography: *Éthiopiques* 23: *Orchestra Ethiopia*, Buda Music, Paris 2007; CHARLES SUTTON et al., *Zoro Gäṭṭäm*, Nahom Records label, 2007; TESFAYE LEMMA, *Orchestra Ethiopia*: *the Blue Nile Group*, recording commentary, Tempo Records, Hollywood, USA, TRE-6169, [1969].

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Orders and Decorations

O. (Amh.: **ኒሻን**, *nišan*, from Ottoman Turkish *nīšān*) and D. in the European sense were a rather late invention of the latter half of the 19th cent., starting with *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. However, the bestowal of honorific vestments (↗Clothing; ↗*Lämd*), which had the function of D., had been institutionalized in the Christian empire and also among several Muslim kingdoms in the region at a much earlier stage already. They usually corresponded to ↗titles granted by a ruler or a prince. Even after the invention of modern O. and D. this ancient system of honorary D. continued parallelly till 1974. Both kinds of D., ancient and modern, then played a role in diplomatic relations between Ethiopian rulers and Europe, both O. and honorific vestments, intended as D., being sent as gifts to foreign sovereigns; e.g., *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu sent a purple vestment to the Austrian Emperor Franz Josef I with his diplomatic envoy to ↗Austria (Volker-Saad – Greve 2006: 160f.).

Investitures were normally accompanied by the bestowal of richly ornamented vestments. These vestments differed according to rank, but there was no pronounced difference between the vestments bestowed to the clergy and the laymen (i.e., those bestowed to the vestments of the ↗*əč̣č̣äge* and a ↗*ras* were largely the same). Every honorific vestment had to be given to the church after the death of the title holder; this custom was also applied to O. and D., which after death were either given back to the state or to the patronatic church (i.e., of which the decorated noble was a ↗*gäbäz*). Locally, such vestments remained in high esteem, local leaders therefore being bestowed such traditional D. rather than O. (e.g., Muslim Somali *šayḫs* were honored by ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I with vestments).

These vestments were produced by Indian and Yemenite ↗gold embroiderers, thus the ornaments used were influenced by Indian motives and arabesks. The material of which the vestments were made as well as the ↗colours played an important role in determining the stature of the bearer. Mostly those vestments were made of ↗cotton (*abu ǧädid*) for the lower rank (e.g., servants), ↗silk and velvet for the higher ranks (e.g., *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV decorated high officials with *kabba lanqa* and velvet clothes on the occasion of his ↗coronation, s. BTafY 127ff.).

Purple was the colour of the kings, green was reserved for the *ras*, and blue for the *däǧǧazmač*; the more gold was used in the embroidery, the higher the rank. The colours of umbrellas (↗*Dəbab*) used by nobles corresponded to their vestments.

Other objects could also serve as D. The king of kings decorated ↗Nägaśi Krəstos Wärädä Qal of Šäwa by awarding him a ↗*matäb* made of blue silk (CecZeila 1, 238), which seems to have been a common D. for princes and nobles. High ranking notables were also decorated with headgears of gold (e.g., *nəburäʾəd* Iyasu of Aksum on the occasion of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV's coronation, s. BTafY 129) or by a gilded saber (e.g., *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II decorated the influential governor *ras* Wäldä Giyorgis of Käfa with a saber mounted

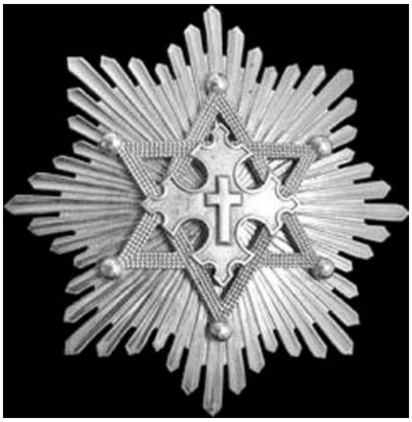


Fig. 1: The Order of Solomon's Seal, Knight Grand Cross; photo courtesy of the author

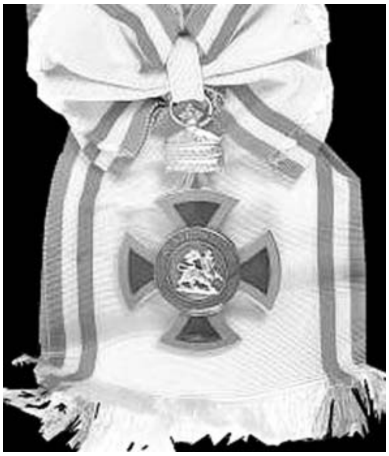


Fig. 2: The Order of Emperor Mənilək II, founded in 1924; photo courtesy of the author

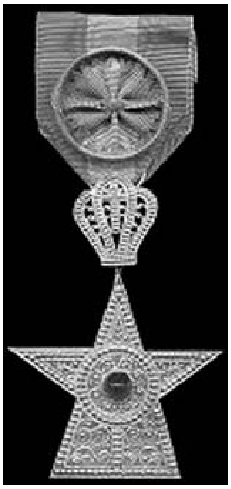


Fig. 3: The Order of the Star of Ethiopia, Officer; photo courtesy of the author

in gold as a military distinction, s. Bulatovich 2000:262).

The oldest known D. in Ethiopia is the Order of Solomon (sometimes also referred to as the Order of the Seal of Solomon), which was invented by *aṣe* Tewodros II (Pankhurst 1996) and casted by his German worker Eduard ↗Zander (s. fig. 1). There was only one class of this D. originally, and it was worn on a golden necklace. This D. was normally given to foreign envoys. It is possible that John ↗Bell, his closest advisor, suggested him to found such an award. The ruler who established O. in the proper sense, i.e. with different classes was *aṣe* Mənilək II. The Order of Solomon (under Mənilək also known as The Cross of Solomon) already existed in five classes under him (s. Montandon 1913). It appears that even earlier, Mənilək had founded another O., the Order of the Star of Honor of Ethiopia (*yäʾItyopya yäkəbər kokäb*), which according to Montandon (1913:409f.; s. Copley 1998:157) was established in 1884/85 whilst Mənilək was king of Šäwa.

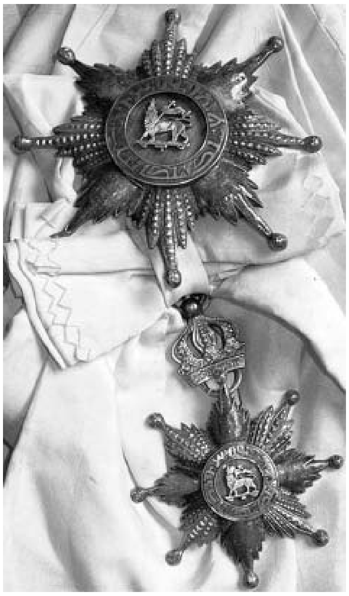


Fig. 6: The only known order established by *nəguś* Mikaʾel of Wällo and Təgray, from the Nachlass of the German envoy Friedrich von Syburg; photo courtesy of Jürgen Otto, from Smidt 2005:72

The Order of Solomon, the first D. founded, was later, when O. were established, regarded as the highest ranking O. of Ethiopia. Its collar was established in 1922 during the reign of ↗Zäwditu by *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in 1922 (Copley 1998:146; s. fig. 5). It was a magnificent piece made out of gold, enamel and diamonds and was only given to ruling monarchs, the Emperor's sons and to the two highest Ethiopian princes, *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu and *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša.

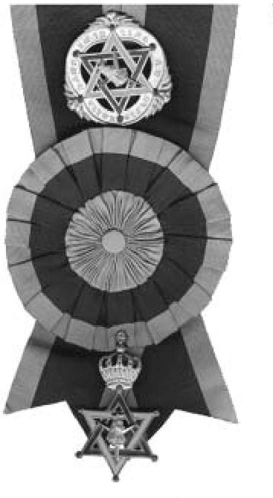


Fig. 4: The Order of the Queen of Sheba, founded in 1922; photo courtesy of the author

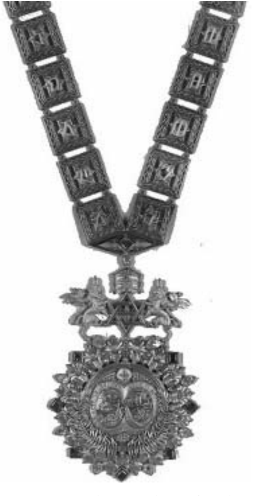


Fig. 5: The Order of Solomon, founded in 1922; photo courtesy of the author

The second highest O. was the Order of the Queen of Sheba (*yänəgəśtä Saba nišan*) which was established in 1922 (according to Copley 1998: 151) or perhaps only in 1930 (s. fig. 4). However, its use is not documented until the liberation of 1941. The third highest O. was the Order of the Holy Trinity which was established by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1930 (Copley 1998: 153). The fourth in rank was the Order of Mənilək II which was established in 1924 by Empress Zäwditu (Copley 1998:155 attributes it to *ras* Täfäri, her regent; s. fig. 2). An interesting fact is that the fifth-ranking O. is that of the Star of Honor of Ethiopia, which as mentioned above is supposedly the oldest O. in the proper sense. The ranking of O. was established by Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1930 after his coronation. All the O. had five classes, plus collars in the cases of the two O. of Sheba and Solomon (cp. fig. 5).

Regional governors also bestowed O.; e.g., *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša gave a cross of the Order of Solomon to the traveller Jean Duchesne-Fournet in ca. 1901/03 (Duchesne-Fournet 1909:306, with ill.; it was done by a local silversmith). An unusual O. which depicts the ↗Lion of Judah was established by *nəguś* Mikaʾel ʿAli of Wällo and Təgray after his coronation as the king of northern Ethiopia in 1914, an indication of the sublime position he held during the reign of his son, *ləǧ* Iyasu. One grand cross and a star, bearing the King's name in Amharic and Arabic, is documented, which was awarded to the German envoy to Ethiopia, Friedrich von Syburg (Smidt 2005:72; s. fig. 7).

Other D. were invented after 1930 by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase. He awarded golden coins as honorary gifts (↗Coinage), and medals. Medals were

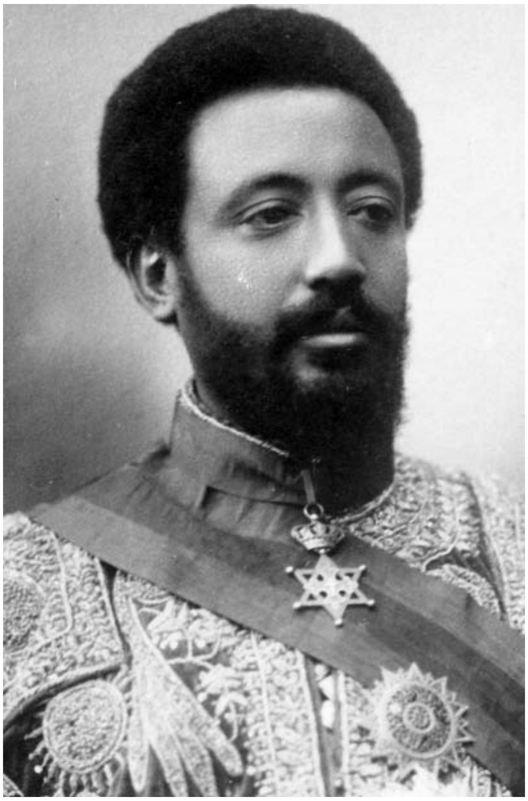


Fig. 7: *Ras* Dästa Damṭäw with orders; from the collection of the IES (no. 23 D, 770)

struck on specific occasions, such as the silver jubilee of Ḫaylä Śəllase's coronation or other events celebrated by the state. There are, for example, medals created for those who participated in the Korean War under the auspices of the ↗United Nations in 1950–53 (s. fig. 8), and later members of the Ethiopian UN troops in the Congo.

Src.: ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia Through Russian Eyes, Country in Transition 1896–1898*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2000, 262; BTafY 127ff.; CecZeila 1, 238; JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Ethiopie* (*1901–1903*), Paris 1909, vol. 2, 306; GueCopMen; KWKDic 878; MahZekr; GEORGES MONTANDON, *Au pays Ghimirra*: *récit de mon voyage à travers le massif éthiopien* (*1909–1911*), Neuchâtel 1913.

Lit.: GREGORY R. COPLEY, *Ethiopia Reaches Her Hand Unto God*: *Imperial Ethiopia's Unique Symbols, Structures, and Role in the Modern World*, Alexandria 1998; DENIS GÉRARD – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Ethiopia Photographed. Historic Photographs of the Country and Its People Taken Between 1867 and 1935*, London 1996; WOLBERT SMIDT, *Äthiopien und Deutschland, 100 Jahre diplomatische Beziehungen. Ethiopia and Germany, 100 Years Diplomatic Relations*, Addis Ababa 2005, 72 (ill.); KERSTIN VOLKER-SAAD – ANNA GREVE (eds.), *Äthiopien und Deutschland, Sehnsucht nach der Ferne*, Berlin 2006.

Asfa-Wossen Asserate

Medals

Besides the O. in the strictest sense which are insignia of honour worn (at least in theory) by a community of entitled bearers, a much larger and complex group of related objects is composed of various kinds of D. or distinctions, badges, bars and pins. Some were bestowed by the government as a reward and in memory of certain services, especially in wartime. These D. are typically similar to medals in their form and manufacture, but only in part by their purpose and use. Medals could be turned into D. (or simply ↗jewellery) by mounting them with a loop. Many kinds of medallic objects in Ethiopia show European influence.

The borderline between medals and coins is sometimes difficult to draw, especially when the coin standard of weight and fineness was applied to the medals. Even if they were not made for monetary circulation, these pieces had the same metal value as the full value coins struck in silver and gold which in turn were issued according to the weight unit of the ounce (*wäqet*) corresponding to 1 *Bərr* in silver (or 5 *Wärq* in gold). Basically they were not to be worn, but rather kept in a case as souvenirs.

The first true medal manufactured in Ethiopia probably dates to 1903; it has been embossed, and the two sides (showing ↗Mənilək II and St. George) were soldered together by a court jeweller of emperor Mənilək on the occasion of the seven years celebration of the ᶜAdwa victory. Separately the two sides were also used to decorate crowns given to *rases*.

Later presentation pieces were struck in the palace mint of Addis Abäba which operated from 1905 to 1936. Some were only off-metal strikes from coin dies. But after *ras* Täfäri had visited the Paris mint in 1924 he wanted to have medals in different gradations at his disposal, commemorating special events. Therefore these pieces were issued in silver and (from the same dies) in gold in the sizes of one *Bərr*, ½ *Bərr*, ¼ *Bərr* silver and 8, 4 and 2 *Wärq*. The dies were procured by the mint master Hagop Bagdassarian in Paris and Vienna and occasionally muled with primitive reverse dies of his own workshop. The distribution of such medals was occasioned by *ras* Täfäris's coronation as *nəguś* in 1928, by the landing of the first airplane in Addis Abäba 1929 and by the imperial ↗coronation of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I 1930; the latter issues were in continued use, and even after the closure of the mint the court jeweller, Bedros Sevadijan, who had saved part of the minting machinery, did restrike them for the Emperor with new dies of his own. The last set of medals in the standard sizes was issued at the silver jubilee of Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1955. Afterwards one of the functions of these medals was taken over by pseudo-coins, pieces carrying a coin denomination but intended to be sold to collectors for a price and were therefore not in circulation.

Medals serving as distinctions are produced with an added loop to be worn on a riband. They appeared during World War II and were inspired by the habitude of the Italians. Their mass production was met by foreign firms, e.g., in England or ↗Sweden.

Official medals are accompanied by a puzzling lot of private fabrications mainly serving as cheap jewellery, being mostly made in base metal and often imitating coin types. The small ones (usually called jetons) could be produced by simple screwing presses. The earliest example of this kind was made in 1889 in Ankobär by Alfred ↗Ilg on a machine constructed for the production of cartridges (s. fig. 9).

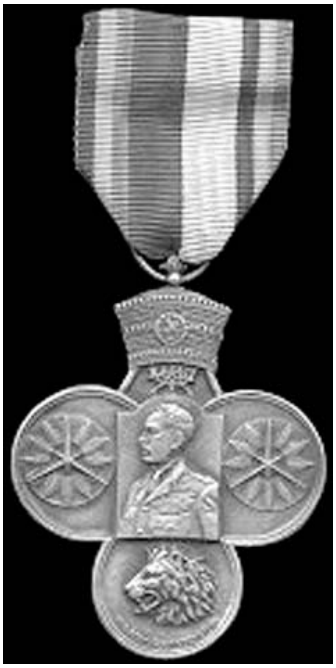


Fig. 8: Commemorative medal for the Korean War, created by Ḫaylä Śəllase I; photo courtesy of the author

The same categories apply to the medallic objects connected with the Italian Impero in the period when it controlled Ethiopia: official medals were struck by the royal mint in Rome, but they were exceeded by the numerous productions of private firms such as Johnson in Milan. They celebrate the victorious battles and conquered cities in the 1935/36 war and the proclamation of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana on 9 May 1936. An official medal for the participants of the campaign to be worn on a riband was created by decree on 27 April 1936 and was also bestowed for further service with annual bars added to the riband until 1940. Badges were also produced for the different combat units and volunteers (even of Eritrean askaris). In 1940 the conquest of British Somalia by the viceroy Amedeo di ↗Savoia, Duke of Aosta was commemorated by a medal as well as his death in captivity in 1942.

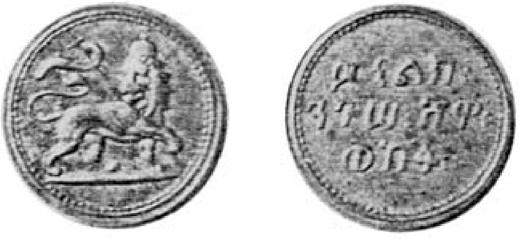


Fig. 9: Jeton of "Mənilək, King of Šäwa and Käfa", brass, 20 mm; from Wood 1936: 51

Lit.: Alessandro Brambilla, *Le medaglie Italiane negli ultimi 200 anni, Parte Seconda 1901–1906*, Milano 1997; Gianfranco Casolari, *25 anni di storia, Medaglie e decorazioni Mussoliniane 1922–1945*, Rimini 1996; Dennis Gill, *The Coinage of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Italian Somalia*, Garden City 1991; Wolfgang Hahn, "Zur Geschichte der Münzstätte Addis Abeba, Teil 3: Die Produktion von medaillösen Stücken", *Money Trend* 34/12, 2002, 118–21; Id., "Von Gewehrpatronen und Münzen, Die ersten Ansätze einer Münzprägung im Reiche Meneliks II.", *Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte Wien, Mitteilungsblatt* 33, 2006, 12–17; Walter Rosenwald – Karlheinz Rühl, "Die Ehren- und Erinnerungszeichen der Abessinienkriege 1935/35 und 1941", *Orden und Ehrenzeichen* 11/60, 2009, 73–82; Robert Werlich, *Orders and Decorations, Ancient and Modern, Civil and Military*, Washington, DC ²1974; Howland Wood, "The Coinage of Ethiopia", *The Coin Collector's Journal*, 1936, 51 (ill.).

Wolfgang Hahn

Ordination

The ritual of O. specifies the procedure for the consecration of the clergy. Today the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC.) has four main orders of ministry: ↗*diyaqon*, ↗*qäsis*, ↗*qomos*, and ↗*ep̣p̣isqop̣p̣os*.

The rite presently in use by the EOTC, and by the Eritrean Orthodox Church, known as 'The Book of Ritual for the Nomination of the Elected of the Church', hereafter M.ś. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ሢመት፡ ዘሥዩማን፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ኢትዮጵያዊት**, *Mäṣḥafä śərᶜatä śimät zäśəyyumanä betä krəstiyan ityop̣yawit*) seems to have been translated into Gəᶜəz from Arabic in the mid-20th cent. (during the Italian period), as it is confirmed by a colophone note to the manuscript written in 1935 A.M. [1942 A.D.]. There was no need for an indigenous rite before the emancipation of the EOTC from the ↗Coptic Church (cp. the description of O. in BeckHuntAlvar 348–56) and the nomination of the first Ethiopian patriarch, as his Egyptian predecessors used the rite in the liturgical language of their mother church. The M.ś. is therefore the translation of the O. rites used for centuries by the Coptic Metropolitan (↗*P̣ap̣p̣aṣ*) in Ethiopia.

The earliest known manuscripts containing the M.ś. in Gəᶜəz date to mid-20th cent.: (a) a collection of prayers and passages from ancient ecclesiastical writings such as the ↗*Testamentum Domini*, the ↗*Senodos*, the *Canons of Church Fathers*, etc. which belonged, judging by the stamp, to *abunä* Filəp̣p̣os (later the first Patriarch of the Eritrean Orthodox Church, d. 2005); (b) ms. EMML 1204 from ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral, Addis Abäba. The two serve as the basis for numerous copies, at least one in the possession of every bishop. According to one manuscript, the M.ś. was translated in 1968, by *abunä* Abrəham, into Amharic.

The M.ś. (a) gives prayers and rubrics for the consecration of *liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat* (archbishop; p. 4), *p̣ap̣p̣as* (bishop; p. 13), *ep̣p̣is qop̣p̣os* (p. 24, after Trisagion), *anagʷənəsṭis* (lector), *diyaqon*, *liqä diyaqonat* (archdeacon), *mäzämmər* (psalmist), *qäsis*, *qomos*, guardian of the gate (*ᶜaṣawe ḫoḫət*) and deaconess (cp. ↗Churches and church administration). The ministries are divided into four groups in accordance with the type of consecration:

(i) by anointing (**ቅብዐት**, *qəbᶜat*) and/or afflation (**ንፍኀት**, *nəfḫat*): *p̣ap̣p̣as* (only anointing) and *ep̣p̣isqop̣p̣os* (anointing and afflation);
(ii) by imposition of hands (**አንብሮ፡ እድ**, *anbəro əd*) and afflation: *qomos*, priest (*qäsis*), *diyaqon*, *liqä diyaqonat;*
(iii) by benediction (**ቡራኬ**, *burake*) and afflation: *nəfqä diyaqon* (sub-deacon), *däbtära*, *mäzämmər*;
(iv) only by word (*bäqal*): the guardian of the gate, the deaconess, the regular widower and widow (husbandless).

The M.ś. (b) does not provide any text for the O. of a bishop (this being reserved to the Holy Synod only and thus rarely copied). Both (a) and (b), resp., contain O. prayers for lector (pp. 78–87; fols. 1a–4a); *nəfqä diyaqon* (pp. 70–78; fols. 4a–8a); *diyaqon* (pp. 57–70; fols. 8a–13b); *liqä diyaqonat* (pp. 49–57; fols. 13b–15a); *mäzämmər* (pp. 87–98; fols. 15a–17b); *qäsis* (pp. 36–49; fols. 17b–22b); *qomos* (pp. 27–36; fols. 22b–27b). They also contain the prayers for blessing the *qəddəst* (pp. 113–18; fols. 28b–29b), and the ↗*tabot* (pp. 108–11; fols. 29b–31a); the prayer for blessing the altar (cp. ↗*Mäqdäs*) and the vestments is found in (b) only (fols. 27b–28b). Other similar manuscripts, probably with the same EMML 1204 as their *Vorlage*, additionally provide a prayer for blessing the ↗*maᶜəṭänt* and for the reconsecration of the *qəddəst*, in the event that it has been touched by a man not properly ordained.

The M.ś. of the EOTC has not been edited yet. The Pontifical (**መጽሐፈ፡ ጳጳስ**, *Mäṣḥafä p̣ap̣p̣as*), used by the Catholics of Gəᶜəz rite, was edited and published by van Lantschoot in 1940. It was immediately put into the use by *abunä* ↗Kidanä Maryam Kaśa for O. in the Gəᶜəz rite at ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori.

The 15th-cent. *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir* mentions seven orders of ministries with their respective functions (**ተልእኮ**, *tälʾəko*, ‘service’) and duties (**ሥልጣን**, *śəlṭan*, ‘power’), corresponding to the Coptic Pontifical (cf. Burmester 1985), meaning that ↗Giyorgis of Sägla was familiar with the O. rite as it was practised either in Egypt or in Ethiopia in his time (cp. YaqMis II, 273–77):

(i) *mäzämmər*, with the duty to say the liturgy of the hours of the day and of the night (cp. ↗*däbtära*);
(ii) lector (**አናጕስጢስ**, *anagʷəsṭis*) who reads the Scriptures from a special desk;
(iii) *nəfqä diyaqon* who helps the *diyaqon* to serve at the altar and to watch over the assembly during the religious service;
(iv) *diyaqon* who serves the celebration of the Eucharist;
(v) *qäsis* (here also **በርዘቤጤር**, *bärzəbeṭer*, **ጤርዘቤጤር**, *ṭerzəbeṭer*, i.e. presbyter) who celebrates the Divine Liturgy, teaches, absolves sins, baptizes and blesses;
(vi) chorepiscopos (**ኮሮ/ኮሬ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ**, *koro/kore ep̣p̣is qop̣p̣os*) who blesses the baptistery and the sacred vessels of the Church;
(vii) *ep̣p̣isqop̣p̣os* is the highest rank, who lays on hands for the O. of lower orders (on a Sunday) and consecrates the holy altar with the Holy Myron.

The EOTC, which was headed by a foreign (Egyptian) bishop for centuries, inherited a practice of O. utterly different from its bishop’s mother Church. As the Egyptian bishop would not celebrate the Divine Liturgy (↗*Qəddase*), he conferred O. without liturgical celebration. In fact, even in today’s Ethiopian and Eritrean Orthodox Täwaḥədo Churches, all the rites of O., both the “minor orders” (doorkeeper, singer, reader, subdeacon) and the “major orders” (deacon, priest) are ordained separately from – before, after, or simultaneously with the Liturgy. Priests and deacons are ordained on the feasts of Our Lord or of Mary, on Sunday, or on any occasion when the bishop is present. If the newly ordained deacons and priests are ordained in the context of the *Qəddase*, they receive communion from the presiding celebrant first, before other communicants of the same rank. All the “minor orders” are always given communion together immediately before the deaconate. O. takes place in the *qəne maḫlet*. Rarely, O. can also take place in private, in the bishop’s house. In that case, fasting is required from both the ordainer and the ordained.

The rite of episcopal consecration (*täkriz* or *śimät*) is performed during the Sunday Mass, preferably on the feast of Pentecost or of the Apostles Peter and Paul, after the reading of the Acts and the singing of the Trisagion (s. *abba* Marqos, *Mäṣḥafä śərᶜatä śimät* … 1941/42:4, 13, 28). The rite is preceded by ↗*wazema* the day before and by the ↗*Səbḥatä nägh* in the morning (ed. van Lantschoot 1940:2f.). As in the Coptic tradition, in the Ethiopian and Eritrean Orthodox Täwaḥədo Churches, the newly consecrated bishop is expected to read the Gospel, to preach, and to preside over the *Qəddase* (unless the presiding bishop is the Patriarch or the *liqä p̣ap̣pasat*).

↗Church buildings; ↗Kəhnät

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 348–56; ROBERT BEYLOT (ed., tr.), *Testamentum Domini éthiopien*, Louvain 1984; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei Re", codice ecclesiastico e civile d'Abissinia*, Napoli 1897 (text), Roma 1899 (tr.); ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ጳጳስ** (*Mäṣḥafä p̣ap̣pas,* 'The Pontifical'), Città del Vaticano 1940 [cp. *Osservatore Romano* 100 (24.294), 1940, 2]; *liqä kahənat* KƎNFÄ GÄBRƎʾEL ALTAYÄ, **ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan*, 'The Rule of the Church'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; YaqMis II, 273ff. (text) = 152ff. (tr.); *abba* MARQOS ITYOP̣YAWI ZÄDÄBRÄ BIZÄN (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ሢመት፡ ዘሥዩማን፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ኢትዮጵያዊት** (*Mäṣḥafä śərᶜatä śimät zäśəyyumanä betä krəstiyan ityop̣yawit*, 'The Ritual Book of the Nomination of the Officials of the Ethiopian Church'), ms., *Mäggabit* 1933 A.M. – *Taḫśaś* 27, 1935 A.M. [1941/42 A.D.]; YaqMis II, 273ff. (text) = 152ff. (tr.).

Lit.: STÉPHANE ANCEL, *Épiscopat et encadrement des pratiques religieuses en Éthiopie chrétienne contemporaine. Caractéristiques et évolutions*, Ph.D. thesis, INALCO 2006; ANDEMARIAM TESFAMICHAEL, *Il Metropolita copto-alessandrino della Chiesa Ortodossa Tawāḥdo. Il sacerdozio ministeriale presso i Cristiani Abissini,* Gorle 2003; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 37ff.; OSWALD HUGH EWART KHS-BURMESTER, *Ordination Rites of the Coptic Church*, Le Caire 1985; J. JONES, "On the Decision of the Holy Office on Abyssinian Orders", *The Month* 19, 1873, 451–60; ID., "On the Abyssinian Ordinations", *ibid.* 20, 1874, 229–40; HABTEMICHAEL KIDANE, *Bibliografia della liturgia etiopica*, Roma 2008 (OrChrA 280); PATRIARCHATE OF THE EOTC (ed.), **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነት፡ ሥርዓተ፡ አምልኮትና፡ የውጭ፡ ግንኙነት** – The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥēdo Church: Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations, Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D], 37ff. (text), 40ff. (tr.).

Habtemichael Kidane

Orero, Baldassarre

O. (b. 1 June 1841, Novara, d. 11 November 1914, Novara) was an Italian general and governor of the Colonia ↗Eritrea.

Baldassarre Orero; from Cesari 1935:214, table XXVIII

O. graduated in 1859 from the Military Academy of Turin as sergeant. In the same year, as a first lieutenant in the 4th Bersaglieri battalion, he fought in the Risorgimento campaign against Austria. In 1860, as a lieutenant in the headquarters corps, O. fought in Umbria and the Marche against the Bourbons. In 1866 he became captain and in 1870, as an officer in the headquarters of General Nino Bixio, participated in the occupation of Rome. From 1880 to 1882 he commanded the 21st infantry division with the rank of colonel; in 1887 he was promoted to major-general and was given command of the Calabria brigade.

On 6 November 1889 O. succeeded Antonio ↗Baldissera as the comandante of the ↗Colonia di Assab and dependent territories, arriving at Massawa on 24 December. On 1 January 1890, with the formation of the Colonia Eritrea, he became its governor. O. followed the pro-Šäwan policy. On 26 January 1890, he started a march to ↗ᶜAdwa believing that a temporary occupation of the town, by then free of the armies of *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda and *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs, who had withdrawn beyond the May Wärᶜi River in Tämben and Ǝndärta, would facilitate ↗Mənilək II's advancement. The Emperor himself, however, never wanted this military intrusion and regarded it as an act of conquest. Nor did the

Italian government of Rome order or approve of the operation. Prime Minister Francesco Crispi telegraphed O. to cross back the ↗Märäb, but on finding out O. was already in ᶜAdwa, the President of the Council ordered him to stay there. O., however, left native troops at ᶜAdwa under the command of Major Di Majo and moved to Eritrea. In April 1891 O., embittered by the lack of appreciation, asked to be transferred back to Italy; on 4 June he was succeeded by Antonio Gandolfi.

Back in Italy, O. commanded the Parma brigade (1890–92), the Brescia military division (1892–95), Rome military division (1895–98), and the 11th armed corps, as a colonel general, from 1898 onwards. A cavalier of the Military Order of Savoia, he was awarded two gold medals for his participation in the Risorgimento wars. After the Congress of Berlin, he became the Italian commissary for the demarcation of borders between the Balkan states. Upon retirement, he returned to Novara where he was actively involved in local administrative and political life.

Src.: BALDASSARRE ORERO, *Da Pesaro a Messina. Ricordi del 1860–1861*, Torino 1905; ID., "Ricordi d'Africa", *Nuova antologia*, 16 January 1901, 193–210; *ibid.* 1 February 1901, 500–22; *ibid.* 16 February 1901, 665–87; ID., *Note di viaggio nella penisola dei Balcani*, Novara 1881; ID., "Castelfidardo", *La lettura* [Milano] 3, March 1903.

Lit.: "Baldassarre Orero", in: *Enciclopedia militare. Arte – Biografia – Geografia – Storia – Tecnica militare*, vol. 5, Milano 1933, 666; MANLIO BONATI, *Vittorio Bottego, un ambizioso eroe in Africa*, Parma 1997, 56f., 111; [ETEOCLE CAGNASSI], *I nostri errori*: *Tredici anni in Eritrea*, Torino, 1898, 90–115; CESARE CESARI, *Storia Militare della Colonia Eritrea*, vol. 1, Roma 1935, 214 (ill.); GUIDO CORTESE, *Eritrea*: *Traccia storico politica della conquista*, Roma 1934, 115ff.; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale*, vol. 1: *Dall'unità alla marcia su Roma*, Bari 1985, 364–82; AGOSTINO GAIBI, *Manuale di storia politico-militare delle colonie italiane*, Roma 1928, 61f.; ERSILIO MICHEL, "Baldassarre Orero", in: *Dizionario del Risorgimento nazionale. Dalle origini a Roma capitale. Fatti e persone*, vol. 3: *Le persone*, Milano 1933, 737–38; MINISTERO DELLA GUERRA, *Storia militare della Colonia Eritrea*, vol. 1, Roma 1935, 213–26.

Manlio Bonati

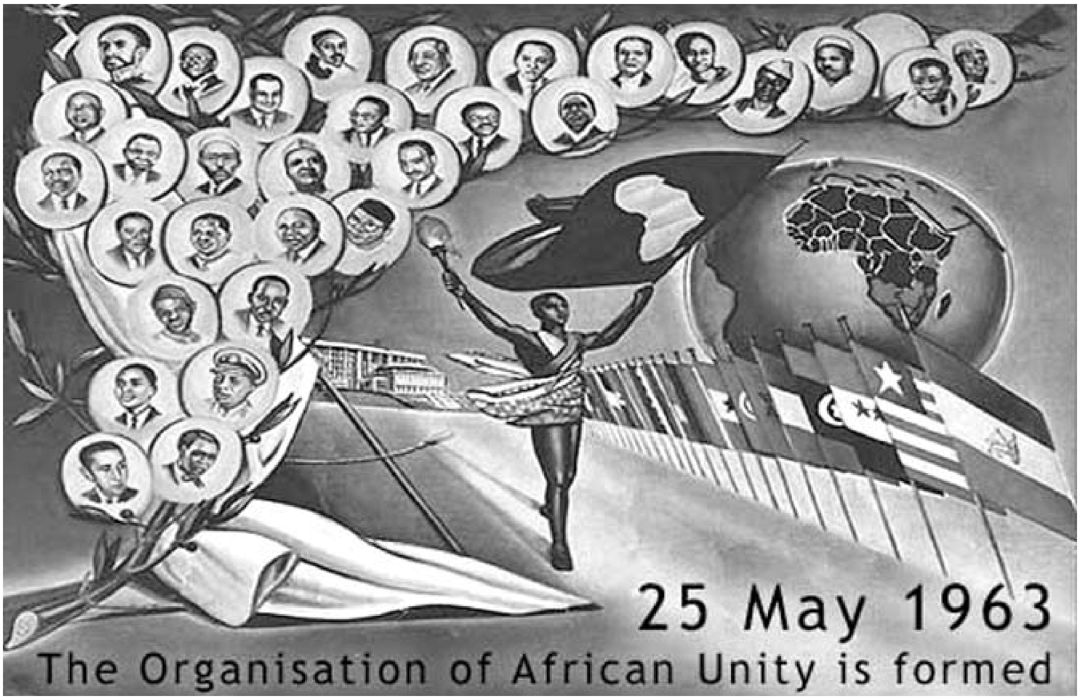
Organisation of African Unity

The OAU (today African Union) was established in ↗Addis Abäba on 25 May 1963 by 30 independent African states. As the independence process continued, new members signed the OAU Charter. In 1994 the Republic of South Africa became the 53rd member. Morocco left the organization in 1984 in protest against the admission of Western Sahara. The main objectives of the organization, as established in its Charter, were to promote African unity and co-ordinate and strengthen regional economic and political co-operation and to fight for the eradication of ↗colonialism from the African continent. After a hard competition and effective Ethiopian lobbyism, Addis Abäba became headquarter of the organization. In return, Ethiopian diplomats nominated Guinea's permanent representative to the United Nations, Diallo Telli, as first OAU chairman (Makonnen Ketema 2006: 4f.).

The OAU was established in a period of political division, which was reflected in two rival groups within the organization. The radical "Casablanca group", led by Kwame Nkrumah fought for a closely integrated union, and the majority in the more conservative "Monrovia group" preferred a more gradual approach towards African unity, emphasizing economic integration. Ethiopia, under the leadership of Foreign Minister ↗Kätäma Yəfru and Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, played a mediating role, to prevent a lasting division between the two blocs and to show a united stand of all Africans (Makonnen Ketema 2006: 2ff.; Van Walraven 1999: 128).

The OAU established several institutions: the Assembly of Heads of State and Government; a Council of Ministers [Foreign Affairs]; a Secretariat; and the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration. Specialized Commissions were created later. The Pan-African Telecommunications Union and the Pan-African News Agency were autonomous specialized agents under the auspices of the OAU. Already in 1964 the OAU contributed to the establishment of the African Development Bank.

The members agreed to struggle for self-determination for all of Africa and to combat apartheid, but their practice differed. State leaders were very eager to defend their newly won national sovereignty, and used the OAU Charter to defend the sanctity of state sovereignty and independence. However, the OAU affirmed as inviolable the African borders as inherited from colonial powers, thus being incapable of acting in border conflicts between members or in internal matters of member states. The preservation of colonial borders as well as the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, have both been named "the OAU doctrine". Harsh criticism of and interference with the apartheid regimes, while remaining silent about the former abuses, earned the organization the nick-name "a


25 May 1963
The Organisation of African Unity is formed

Poster announcing the opening ceremony of the Organisation of African Unity, 1963; from the collection of CORBIS (U032)

trade union of African leaders". Criticism of such double standards was a major factor that made the OAU adopt the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights in 1981. However, the Charter is generally considered a weak instrument for human rights protection (Naldi 2002: 5ff.).

The OAU Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration never functioned as intended. During the period 1963–93, the OAU mediated in 44 inter-state or domestic conflicts, half of the mediations being described as successful, most often in the early years of the organization (Van Walraven 1999: 295). Ethiopia was a party in five conflicts under OAU mediation: on her relations to ↗Somalia in 1964, 1967, 1973 and 1977–78 (two successes and two failures), and on her relation to the ↗Sudan in 1977 (success).

In the 1990s, the OAU played a more active role in conflict management. In 1993, a new Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution was established, which increased OAU's institutional capacity. However, economic strains limited it to co-ordination and prevention, thus proving little effective in the conflicts in Liberia, Rwanda and the Comoros (Espegren 1999: 40ff.). A joint OAU and ↗United Nations brokered peace agreement brought an end to the Ethiopian–Eritrean war in 2000, but no lasting solution has been reached so far (Tronvoll 2004: 48ff.).

For Ethiopia the establishment of OAU marked a shift in foreign policy from isolationism towards a more active regionalism. The presidency of OAU circulated among African heads of state, but Ethiopia got the chairmanship four times (Ḫaylä Śəllase twice, Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam and Mälläs Zenawi), more than any other member. ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld played also a prominent role in its early stages and Täsfaye Gäbrä Əgziʾ was its provisional Secretary General. Formally the chairman did not have much power, but he was a major spokesman of the OAU between sessions. Respect for Ḫaylä Śəllase and Ethiopia's role as a host prevented the OAU from discussing Ethiopian–Eritrean relations as long as the Emperor was in power. When OAU later accepted the independence of ↗Eritrea, the main argument was its separate colonial history, not the principle of self-determination, nor a general acceptance of secession.

The prestige of being host was expensive for Ethiopia. 16 of the 40 annual summits of OAU were held in Addis Abäba, at great expenses for the Ethiopian government. Shortage of qualified personnel was particularly pressing in the early years, and Ethiopians had the highest share of professional staff at the OAU. On 9 July 2002, the OAU was disbanded and replaced by the African Union.

Lit.: C.O.C. AMATE, *Inside the OAU*: *Pan-Africanism in Practice*, London – Basingstoke 1986; SAMUEL G. AMOO, "The OAU and African Conflicts: Past Successes, Present Paralysis and Future Perspectives", working Paper, Institute of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University 1992; RENNIE CAMPBELL (ed.), *The OAU*: *35 Years in the Service of Africa*, Saffron Walden 1998; ZDENEK CERVENKA, *The Unfinished Quest for Unity*: *Africa and the OAU*, London 1977; YASSIN EL-AYOUTY – I. WILLIAM ZARTMAN (eds.), *The OAU After Twenty Years*, New York 1984; ASTRID ESPEGREN, "The Organization of African Unity and Conflict Management: Still a Toothless Bulldog?", Oslo 1999 (NUPI report 247); DELPHINE LECOUTRE, "La médiation de l'OUA dans le conflit entre l'Éthiopie et l'Érythrée (1998–2000)", *AE* 21, 2005, 31–72; COLIN LEGUM, "The Organization of African Unity: Success or Failure?", *International Affairs* 51, 2, 1975, 208–19; MAKONNEN KETEMA, *Creation of the OAU*, ms.; GINO J. NALDI, "Future Trends in Human Rights in Africa: the Increased Role of the OAU?", in: MALCOLM EVANS – RACHEL MURRAY (eds.), *The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*: *the System in Practice, 1986–2000*, Cambridge 2002, 1–35; KJETIL TRONVOLL, "From War to Peace – and Back to War again? The Failure of OAU/UN to Create Sustainable Peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea", in: GUNNAR M. SØRBØ – SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG (eds.), *Prospects for Peace, Security and Human Rights in Africa's Horn*, Bergen 2004, 48–61; KLAAS VAN WALRAVEN, *Dreams of Power*: *the Role of the Organization of African Unity in the Politics of Africa 1963–1993*, Aldershot 1999 (ASC Research Series 13/1999).

Åshild Samnøy

Origen

The Greek writer O. of Alexandria (b. ca. 185, d. ca. 254) is one of the most prominent theologians of the first Christian centuries, but none of his work has been translated into Ethiopic. However, traces of his thinking can still be detected in ↗Gəʿəz literature, where he is known under the name Argenəs (**አርጌንስ**).

Being strongly influenced by Platonic ideas, O.'s theology was the object of controversy after his death. In 543 an edict of the Emperor Justinian condemned him for his Christology and for his doctrines on the psyche: e.g., the pre-existence of human souls and their embodiment in flesh as a consequence of the fall, the spherical shape of human bodies at the time of the resurrection, and the *apokatástasis*, or "restoration" (of souls), meaning the universal salvation of human beings.

Some of the views of O. are discussed in ↗Giyorgis of Sägla's *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məsṭir*, compiled before 1425 from more ancient (even Aksumite) sources. In chapter 6, Giyorgis opposes the thesis of the subordination of the Son to the Father (**ሑጻጼ፡ ወልድ፡ እምአብ**, *ḥuṣaṣe wäld əmʾab*), supporting the "orthodox" doctrine of the equality of the Father and the Son (**ዕሪና፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ**, *ʿərinna ab wäwäld*). In chapter 26, he opposes the opinion that the creation of human bodies is a consequence of original sin. In both cases, the condemnation of O. seems to contain a hidden polemic against Ethiopian monastic circles, such as that of the monk Zämikaʾel (↗Zämikaʾelites), who was condemned by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob for his anti-materialistic and spiritualistic ideas of "Gnostic" derivation.

The 15th/16th-cent. ms. Paris, BN d'Abb. 51 (= CRAbb no. 37), fols. 131v–57v, contains an eschatological *dossier*, translated from Arabic but hitherto unknown in the Arabic original. This series of texts opens with the translation of the *Apocalypse of* ↗*Peter*, fols. 131v–37, rearranged and treated as a prologue to the treatise **ዳግም፡ ምጽአቱ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ ወትንሣኤ ፡ ምውታን** (*Dagəm məṣʾatu läkrəstos wätənśaʾe məwətan*, 'Second Coming of Christ and Resurrection of the Dead'; cp. ↗*Dagəm məṣʿatu läkrəstos*), fols. 131v–46v. A second treatise, **በእንተ፡ ኵነኔ፡ ኃጥአን** (*Bäʾəntä kʷənnäne ḫaṭəʾan*, 'On the Judgement of Sinners'), fols. 146v–57v, completes the short collection (↗Eschatology). In both works, the Origenian concept of *apokatástasis* left its traces in several passages: e.g., "all the sons (of Adam) will become an army of angels, instead of an army of the devil", fol. 144v (= Grébaut 430), "God did not create Adam for punishment and decay, but for happiness and joy", fol. 154 (= Grébaut 170), and "(God) will not make (Adam) die twice" (ibid.).

Ms. Paris, BN d'Abb. 51 comes from ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos, and the same *dossier* is found in the 18th-cent. ms. Ṭānāsee 35, fols. 46–70v, from ↗Kəbran Gäbrəʾel. This may indicate that in Lake ↗Ṭana monasteries a theological school was active, preserving such ancient Christian ideas as the Origenian *theologoúmenon* of the universal salvation of human souls, and elaborating on them. In keeping with the dating of ms. Paris, BN d'Abb. 51, that school might have flourished towards the end of the 15th cent.

Src.: CRAbb 64f.; HamTana I, 163–67; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine", *ROC* 12, 1907, 285–97 and 308–23; *ibid.* 13, 1908, 166–80 and 314–20; ID., "Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Texte et traduction du traité: 'La seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts'", *ibid.* 15, 1910, 198–214, 307–23, 425–39; YaqMis chs. 6, 26.

Lit.: Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Tradizione origeniana in Etiopia", in: Lorenzo Perrone (ed.), *Origeniana Octava: Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition/Origine e la tradizione Alessandrina. Papers of the 8th International Origen Congress* (*Pisa, 27–31 August 2001*), Leuven 2003 (Bibliotheca Ephemeridium Theologicarum Loreniensium 164), vol. 2, 1177–84.

Gianfrancesco Lusini

Orit ↗Octateuch

Orléans, Henri d'

Prince O. (Henri Philippe Marie d'Orléans; b. 15 October 1867, Ham, Surrey, England, d. 9 August 1901, Saigon, Vietnam) was a French traveller. He was a great-grandson of the last French king Louis-Phillipe I and son of Robert of Orléans, Duke of Chartres. He became an insatiable traveller and explorer and between 1889–90 he travelled with Gabriel Bonvalot to Asia.

O. went to Ethiopia in 1892 and explored the city and area of ↗Harär. In February 1897, he travelled again to Ethiopia with Viscount Edmond de Poncins, officially on a private mission, yet with the support of French industrialists and a small military force (d'Orléans 1898: 8). The mission coincided with mounting French involvement in the Horn, as proven by the simultaneous presence of three other French missions in the area (Henri Nicolas ↗Clochette, Léonce ↗Lagarde and Bonchamps/Bonvalot in ↗Fashoda). In France the mission aroused suspicion because of fears that the prestige of O. might overshadow the official mission led by Lagarde.

O. met *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel in Harär and ↗Mənilək II in Addis Abäba and befriended Nikolaj ↗Leontiev. He also became a staunch critic of Italian and British colonialism and a supporter of a Franco–Ethiopian alliance. In June 1897, he went back to France with Leontiev, with the intention of gathering forces and official support for his project to participate in Mənilək's colonization of southern Ethiopia (d'Orléans 1898:195, 262; Marcus 1975: 188). He brought back photographs and film footage and published an account defending France's role in Ethiopia (d'Orléans 1898). His anti-Italian stance led him to fight a duel with Prince Vittorio Emanuele di Savoia, leaving the two wounded. O. could never put into practice his Ethiopian project and instead returned to Asia where he died of malaria.

Src.: Henri d'Orléans, *Une visite à l'Empereur Ménélick: Notes et impressions de route*, Paris [1898], 8, 195, 262.
Lit.: "Abyssinie, mission du prince H. d'Orléans", *Revue française* 22, 1897, 415–21; "La mission du prince Henri d'Orléans en Abyssinie", *L'Illustration* 2824, 10 April 1897, 276–77; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 188.

Lukian Prijac

Orma

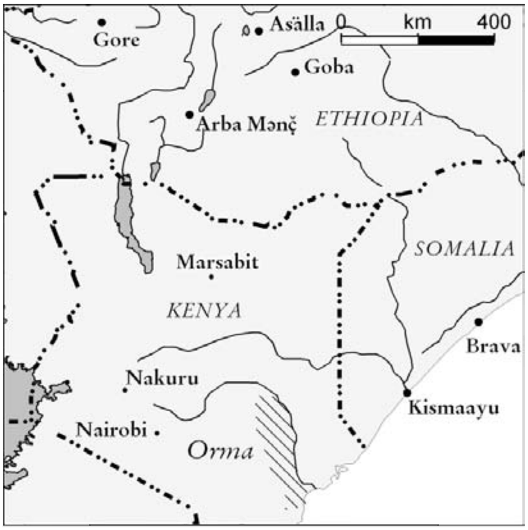
O. (Orom. sp.: *Ormaa*, also Wärr Day or Tana O.) is the name of an ethnic subgroup living near the River Tana in Kenya and the supposed name of the ancestor of the ↗Oromo. They are the southernmost speakers of ↗Oromiffaa.

O. or *ilm*(*a*) *Ormaa* ('sons of Ormaa'), a self-designation of the ↗Boorana, is sometimes interpreted as the original name of the ↗Oromo in general (d'Abbadie: *Ilmorma*) and *afaan Ormaa* ('language of the Ormaa') was even used to name their language (cp. Conti Rossini 1904: 307, 321). Although O. seems to be the name of an apical ancestor, Horro instead of O. appears in the genealogies recorded by Haberland (VSAe II, 24).

The Tana O. seem to represent one of the earlier waves of Oromo expansion from southern Ethiopia starting in the 16th cent., having preceded the Boorana. They live on the right bank of the lower Tana River, to which they were confined by the British in 1909, in order to separate them from the Ogadeen ↗Somali (↗Ogaden) at whose hands they had suffered heavy losses. Previously, under the name of Wärr Day, the southern Oromo had occupied vast areas of what is now eastern Kenya and southern Somalia.

Although these 19th- and 20th-cent. events have had an influence on the composition of the Oromo and Somali groups of the area, the comparison of clan lists and hints found in the literature (s. Schlee 1991) point to a much earlier event as the trigger of the ethnogenesis of the Tana O. In the oldest source on the Oromo and the O. we have (under their alternative name Wärr Day), the 16th-cent. Ethiopian monk ↗Baḥrəy in his ↗*Zenahu lägalla*, provides a clan list. If we compare this list with Haberland's (VSAe II) Boorana clan list and a Tana O. clan list compiled from Werner (1914) and Kelly (1979), the following pattern is revealed: all three groups have a primary division in moieties. Baḥrəy's "Galla" were divided into Boorana and into ↗Baarentuu (or Bareytuma). The modern Boorana name their moieties Goona and Sabbo, and the Tana O. divide themselves in Irdida (also known as Arsi) and Bareytuma.

The overlap of clan names (↗Inter-ethnic clan relations) is strong enough to suggest that the 16th-cent. "Galla" split along the moiety line. Their Boorana moiety became the Goona moiety



of the modern Boorana, their Baarentuu moiety the homonymous moiety of the modern Tana O. Since the moieties were (and among some Oromo still are) exogamous, the missing moiety needed to be reconstituted in order to have ↗ marriage partners, following such a split. These new moieties were composed of remnants of the moiety which had left and of people of heterogeneous origins, including non-Oromo. This is in complete agreement with Haberland's general hypothesis about the emergence of Oromo subgroups, according to which, after the separation into Boorana and Baareentu, the exogamous moieties were re-established and that, today, there is no major subgroup which does not show at least traces of such a division, even if this is no longer reflected by rules of exogamy (VSAe II 120).

There is evidence that the split between those Oromo who became the modern Boorana and the ancestors of the Tana O. took place at an early stage of the Oromo expansion. A Portuguese source (cited in HuntGal 11) states that there were "Galla" called "Britamos" (Baareentu/Baraytuma?) in the Juba/Šäbälle area of what is now southern Somalia in 1620.

In northern Kenya the Wärr Day are associated with giant stone circles which are said to mark their graves and are attributed mythical features. According to P. Léon des Avanchers (1859) in the mid-19th cent. the Wärr Day extended from Salmate, which now belongs to Marsabit district, to the vicinity of Mombasa.

By 1979 there were 32,127 O. in Kenya, 30,607 of whom were living in Tana River District. They form about a third of the total population of the district (92,401), being only slightly outnumbered by the Bantu-speaking Pokomo (32,539) who traditionally practice agriculture. Grazing and raiding by their Somali neighbours continues to be a problem for the Tana O. who now live as sedentarized market-integrated cattle pastoralists. Only the younger men, in some cases employed labourers, move with the cattle camps. Between 1920 and 1940 the Tana O. converted to Islam. Conversion, like the colonial conquest which had preceded it, contributed to breaking up earlier power structures and social norms. Internal tensions stem from the fact that traditional forms of wealth distribution have declined and property rights have become more narrowly circumscribed. These developments have divided the O. into a class of wealthy entrepreneurial ranchers and another one of poor agro-pastoralists (Ensminger 1992).

Competition for riverine lands with Pokomo whose farms even block the access of herds to the river, as well as the development of state-sponsored irrigation agriculture affect the O. adversely. Also commercial ranching and game parks encroach on O. pasture lands. Increasingly, conflicts about land are taking a violent form (Abdullahi A. Shongolo 2003).

Src.: CRHist 223–32; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il 'Nagara Galla'", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 8, fasc. 11–12, 1904, 307–44; HuntGal 11; REPUBLIC OF KENYA, *Kenya Population Census, 1979*, Nairobi 1981.

Lit.: ABDULLAHI A. SHONGOLO, *Local Conflict Resolution between the Agro-pastoralist Orma and the Pokomo Farmers of the Tana River District of Kenya,* Report to the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle an der Saale 2003; LÉON DES AVANCHERS, "Esquisse géographique des pays Oromo ou Galla, des pays Soomali, et de la côte orientale d'Afrique", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 4^{e} série, vol. 17, 1859, 153–70; JEAN ENSMINGER, *Making a Market*: *the Institutional Transformation of an African Society*, Cambridge 1992; VSAe II, 13, 24, 120; HILARIE KELLY, *The Orma of Tana River District*: *a Preliminary Report for Dr. Mbithy, Sociology*, ms., Nairobi 1979; GÜNTHER SCHLEE, *Who are the Tana Orma*? *The Problem of Their Identification in a Wider Oromo Framework,* Bielefeld 1992 (Sociology of Development Research Centre, Working Paper 170); HARRY STROOMER, *A Concise Vocabulary of Orma Oromo* (*Kenya*): *Orma–English, English–Orma*, Köln 2001 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 16); ALICE WERNER, "The Galla of the East Africa Protectorate", *Journal of the African Society* 13, 50, 1914, 121–42, 262–87; ID., "Some Galla Notes", *Man* 15, 1915, 17–22.

Günther Schlee

Oromiffaa

O. (Oromíffáa, or Oromo language) and *afaan Oromoo* are modern terms used in Ethiopia for the language spoken by the ↗ Oromo. In the 19th and most of the 20th cent. it was usually referred to by its speakers as *afáan Oromóo* 'language of the Oromo' or as *afáan Órmáa* 'language of the people' or 'language of the [↗]Orma', but also other names of major Oromo sections have been used for designating it, e.g., *afáan Booráná* 'language of the [↗]Boorana' – still the most common term in Kenya. In Amharic this language has been called *Gallǝñña* (ጋልኛ); the early 19th cent. booklet of the same name uses the Gǝᶜǝz form *nägärä Galla* (ነገረ፡ ጋላ, 'language of the [↗]Galla'). The modern Amharic term is *Oromǝñña* (ኦሮምኛ).

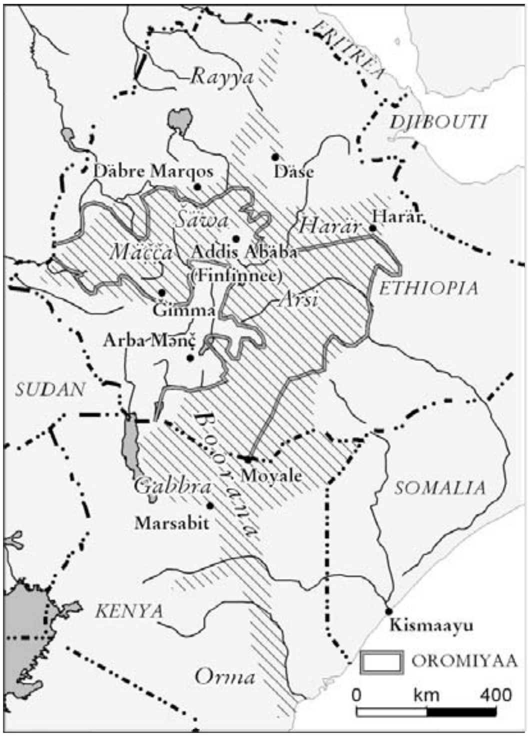
Together with the ↗Konsoid dialect chain spoken west of the southern Rift Valley in Ethiopia, O. forms the Oromoid subgroup of East Cushitic, one of the major branches of the ↗Cushitic language family. O. distinctively palatalized *t to s after *y as in the nominal suffix -eesá (-éssá in West-O.) < *-ayta, and developed *s to f in most environments, e.g., 'horn': O. *gaafá* vs. Konso *kaasa*, Somali *gêes*; 'urine': O. *finčáan* vs. Konso *sindaa*, Ɖáasanač *sínna* (cf. Sasse 1979).

O. is the Cushitic language with the highest number of native speakers (17,268,000 according to *Ethnologue*, cf. Gordon 2005: 117f.), and is used as a language of inter-group communication in several parts of Ethiopia. It is now spoken from eastern ↗Tǝgray to the Kenyan coast south of Malindi, and from ↗Wälläga to the ↗Harär area.

The major dialect groups of O. are (i) western Oromo (West-O., mainly ↗Mäčča), (ii) northern Oromo (such as ↗Rayya), (iii) highland Šäwan Oromo (mainly ↗Tuulama), (iv) eastern Oromo (East-O., including the dialect of Harär), (v) the central dialects (mainly ↗Guǧǧi and ↗Arsi), (vi) Boorana and the related varieties of northern Kenya and south-western Ethiopia, and (vii) Tana River dialects. The last, southernmost, group (s. Heine 1981: 14ff.), includes a dialect which Heine (ibid.) and Stroomer (1987) call Waata, which is spoken by a group of hunters and farmers along the Kenyan coast. This dialect should not be confused with the jargons of small groups of low-caste hunters and potters, called ↗Waata, who live among several O.-speaking communities.

The earliest known text with identifiable O. words is Baḥrǝy's ↗*Zenahu lägalla* (cf. Guidi 1907), dated 1593. It mentions not only tribal names such as *Baraytumaa*, *Bartumaa* and *Booran*, or personal names such as *Roobalee* or *Mulʾataa*, but also common words such as *saqalaa*, 'tent, dwelling', *mučaa*, 'child', *gurbaa*, 'young man', *qondaala*, 'young uncircumcised man', etc. A local grammatical tradition of the O. language, based on the Ethiopian model of the ↗*säwasǝw*, had developed by the beginning of the 19th cent. and produced such works as Habtä Śǝllase's *Nägärä Galla* (cf. Conti Rossini 1904) with basic grammatical data such as verb paradigms, plural forms of nouns, nouns with possessives, etc., as well as O.-Amharic word lists organized in semantic fields. During the following decades Christian and Muslim missionary efforts identified the social importance of O. With the spread of ↗Islam, religious poems for the *zikri* and *hadra* ceremonies (↗*Ḏikr*) were also composed in O., and were written down in Arabic script (the oldest known manuscripts are from the early 19th cent.).

Christian missionaries of different denominations as well as scholars produced grammars, dictionaries and ↗Bible translations, using both the Ethiopic and the Latin scripts, cf., e.g., ↗Tutschek, ↗Massaja, ↗Krapf, ↗Praetorius. In 1894 and 1899 ↗Onesimos Näsib published a collection of Oromo stories and poems and a full translation of the Bible in an adapted form of the Gǝᶜǝz ↗script. Yet the policy of nation building that promoted Amharic as the national language of Ethiopia severely restricted the spread of ↗literacy in O. During Italy's occupation of Ethiopia, O. received some official promotion: O. periodicals were produced using a Latin orthography, and there were regular O. radio broadcasts; both were discontinued at the end of the ↗British Military Administration of Ethiopia (s. EAE vol. 5; cf. RicLett 897; Gragg 1976: 171). Even *šayḫ* ↗Bakri Sapaloo's attempt to develop a new Oromo syllabic script in the early 1950s (cf. Hayward – Mohammed Hasan 1981) was prevented from spreading beyond his closest associates. The *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) launched publications in O. with an adapted Gǝᶜǝz script. Yet the O. opposition movements opted for a Latin orthography without diacritics, the *qubee*, and introduced it among the diaspora and in some areas of Ethiopia. After 1991, when Ethiopia adopted its new system of "ethnic federalism", O. written in *qubee* was introduced in elementary schools and in the administration of Region 4, Oromiyaa. Printing in O. spread quickly in the ensuing years, and there are now periodicals, novels, dictionaries (e.g., Akkaadaamii Afaan Saboota Itoophiyaa 2004), etc. As shown by Griefenow-Mewis (2001), O. has now developed a written standard based upon its Šäwan and western varieties, that also incor-



Maximum extension of the Oromo language including linguistically mixed areas

porates features of East-O. Some Muslim O. still use Arabic script, especially for religious texts.

In Kenya, Boorana O. has been used at least since the 1980s in broadcasts by the Voice of Kenya, but it has been little used in publishing.

Most varieties of O. have the following consonant phonemes (*qubee* spelling in brackets): plain stops *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, ˀ (’); retroflex implosive *ḍ* (*dh*); ejective stops *p̣* (*ph*), *ṭ* (*x*) and *q*; plain palatal affricates *č* (*ch*), *ǧ* (*j*); ejective palatal affricate *č̣* (*c*); voiceless fricatives *f*, *s*, *š* (*sh*), *h*; nasals *m*, *n*, *ñ* (*ny*); liquids *l*, *r*; glides *y*, *w*. East-O. frequently develops *k* into the velar fricative *ḵ* (*kh*). The vowels are: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. Consonant gemination and vowel length are phonemic. Word final vowels are subject to change in allegro and normal speech in most dialects: short final vowels are frequently devoiced and, in southern O., even deleted while long vowels are shortened and glottalized, e.g., [*gúddáˀ*] (< *gúddáa*, ‘big’).

All accurately described varieties of O. display tonal alternations that have been treated as systems of pitch accent (cf. Owens 1980, 1985; Banti 1988; Hayward – Gemetchu Megerssa 1996). There are many minimal pairs such as Boorana O. *hín-ḍufani*, ‘they are coming (~ they will come)’ vs. *hin-ḍúfani*, ‘they don’t (~ won’t) come’. Tonal alternation plays a major role in inflectional morphology. The current *qubee* orthography does not represent tones, and indeed representing them in the standard orthography is not easy because of regional tonal differences and of complex phenomena of tonal sandhi. In this entry tones are indicated only when it has been possible to check them. The O. tone system distinguishes high (H) and low (L) tones, with occurrences of falling tones in the southern dialects. Tonal sandhi frequently changes the basic tonal patterns of words, and serious work on O. tones began only after Owens (1980) identified syntactic contexts where sandhi does not modify them. O. verbs belong to a single lexical tone class, while nouns and adjectives belong to several lexical tone classes, e.g., in all the described dialects nouns and adjectives with long final vowels have either HH or LH basic tonal patterns in their final two syllables, like *utúbáa*, ‘central pole of a house’ and *maqáa*, ‘name’. Two tonal classes are also distinguished in nouns and adjectives with final short *-a* in some dialects, e.g., in Harär-O. they are HH and, resp., LH like *galgálá*, ‘evening’ vs. *intalá*, ‘girl’, but they have merged into a single HH class in Mäč̣č̣a (*galgálá*, *intálá*).

Personal pronouns have separate nominative (NOM) and absolutive (ABS) forms. As in most Cushitic languages, seven persons are distinguished: East-O. NOM 1st pers. sg. *ani*, 2nd pers. sg. *ati*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *inní*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *isíin*, 1st pers. pl. *nu*, 2nd pers. pl. *isin*, 3rd pers. pl. *isáan*; ABS 1st pers. sg. *na*, 2nd pers. sg. *si*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *isá*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *isíi*, 1st pers. pl. *nu*, 2nd pers. pl. *isin*, 3rd pers. pl. *isáan*. Minor variations occur in some dialects, like ABS 3rd pers. sg. fem. *išíi* or *išée* in the west and in the south, NOM 1st pers. pl. *nuy* in West-O., 2nd pers. pl. *isan* in southern O. There are no object clitics and no subject clitics, except for the phrase-final H-toned 1st pers. sg. subject clitic *-n~-ín*, e.g. Harär-O. *qóttoon*$_1$-*ín*$_2$ *qoráan*$_3$ *č̣ap̣se*$_4$ ‘I$_2$ cut$_4$ wood$_3$ with the axe$_1$’ vs. *qóttoon qoráan č̣ap̣se* ‘he cuts wood with the axe’.

The 3rd pers. possessives are genitive forms of the above independent pronouns that frequently drop their initial *i-*: 3rd pers. sg. masc. *isáa* ~ *sáa*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *isíi* ~ *síi*, 3rd pers. pl. *isaaníi* ~ *saaníi*. E.g. Harär-O. *abbáan*$_1$ *sáa*$_2$ *eesá*$_3$ *ǧira*$_4$? ‘where$_3$ is$_4$ his$_2$ father$_1$?’. The other possessives form together with *kana*, ‘this’, *kám*, ‘which?’, *káan*, ‘the other (anaphoric)’ and the associative pronoun *ka* ~ *kan* a special class of definitives that have masc. forms with *k-* and fem. ones with *t-*: *koo/too* 'my', *kee/tee* 'your (sg.)', *keeñña/teeñña* 'our', *keesan/teesan* 'your (pl.)'. Some O. dialects have 1st pers. sg. *kiyya* instead of *koo*. All definitives follow their head nouns.

The demonstratives are *kana/tana* 'this (masc./fem.)' (NOM *kuni/tuni*), *sana* ~ *sani* 'that' (NOM *suni*; southern and East-O. dialects use *suni* also as ABS form). The main interrogatives are *éeññú* 'who?', *máal* 'what?', *máal-íf* 'why?' (with the case marker *-f*), *meeqá* 'how much?', *eesá* 'where?', *yóom* 'when?', *kám/tám* 'which? (masc./fem.)', *ak-kám* 'how?'.

O. has two genders, masc. and fem. Adjectives, definitives, 3rd pers. sg. possessives and verb forms mark gender agreement (although West-O. tends to use the masc. definitives with *k-* everywhere). Apart from the nouns with the suffixes *-eesá* (masc.) and *-éettíi* (fem.), only some nouns are overtly marked for gender (e.g., *ǧaarsá* 'old man' vs. *ǧaartíi* 'old woman'). Plural is marked by suffixes such as *-óotá* (*-ótá* after long syllables), *-wwán*, *-lée*, *-íi* etc.; sometimes the stem is changed as in West-O. *kórmá* 'bull' (sg.) – *koromm-íi* (pl.). However, plural forms are not used when plurality is contextually clear. In southern O. nouns in *-áan* like *bisáan* 'water' and *miḍáan* 'grain' are *pluralia tantum*. Singulatives indicating an individual out of a group are marked by *-iččá* (masc.), *-íttíi* (fem.); in West-O. they can mark anaphoric definiteness.

Adjectives follow their head nouns. Some have the same form for masc. and fem., e.g., *ǧágná* 'brave' and *adíi* 'white'. Other ones are marked for gender: *gúddáa* 'big' (fem. *gúddóo*), *ḍéeráa* 'long' (fem. *ḍéertúu*), etc. Adjectives frequently have reduplicated plurals like *ḍeḍḍéeráa* or *ḍeḍḍéeróo* from *ḍéeráa* 'long'.

Verbs are usually cited with their infinitive form in *-úu*. As in all Cushitic languages, a system of stem extensions derives O. verbs from other verbs, nouns or adjectives. The most important are: middle *-at-* (infinitive *-aččúu*), causative *-s-* ~ *-siis-*, passive *-am-*, inchoative *-oom-* ~ *-aw-*. E.g., West-O.: *banúu* 'open (tr.)', middle *banaččúu* 'open for oneself', causative *bansiisúu* 'cause somebody to open something', passive *banamúu* 'be opened'; *baʾúu* 'go out', causative *baasúu* 'cause to go out, take out', middle of causative *baafaččúu* 'undress', passive of causative *baafamúu* 'be taken out'. Harär-O.: *duresá* 'rich', inchoative *duróomúu* 'become rich', causative of inchoative *duróomsúu* 'make rich'.

Partial reduplication of the first root syllable of primary and derived verbs indicates that the action is performed more than once, frequently or intensely; e.g., East-O. *deddéemúu* 'wander about' vs. *déemúu* 'walk', *č̣ač̣č̣ápsúú* 'break something in several pieces' vs. *č̣ápsúú* 'break something', West-O. *aʾargúu* 'look attentively' vs. *argúu* 'see'.

Verbs have two simple tenses, called "present" and "past", or "imperfect" (IMPF) and "perfect" (PERF) resp.: affirmative impf. 1st pers. sg. *rafa* 'I sleep', 2nd pers. sg. *rafta*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *rafa*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *rafti*, 1st pers. pl. *rafna*, 2nd pers. pl. *raftan*, 3rd pers. pl. *rafan* (2nd pers. pl. and 3rd pers. pl. regionally also *raftu* and *rafu*); affirmative perf. 1st pers. sg. *rafe*, 2nd pers. sg. *rafte*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *rafe*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *rafte*, 1st pers. pl. *rafne*, 2nd pers. pl. *raftan*, 3rd pers. pl. *rafan*. The corresponding negative tenses are: negative impf. 1st pers. sg. *hin ráfu*, 2nd pers. sg. *hin ráftu*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *hin ráfu*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *hin ráftu*, 1st pers. pl. *hin ráfnu*, 2nd pers. pl. *hin ráftan*, 3rd pers. pl. *hin ráfan*; negative perf. *hin ráfne* for all persons. Relative and other subordinate clauses have partly different tenses: the affirmative dependent (DEP) imperfect is like the negative independent imperfect but is L-toned, e.g., 1st pers. sg. *rafu*, 2nd pers. sg. *raftu*; the affirmative dependent perfect is like the independent perfect, while the invariable form *hin ráfne* is used for the negative dependent imperfect and perfect. The affirmative jussive is like the affirmative negative imperfect preceded by *ha* (regionally *haa*), e.g., 3rd pers. sg. masc. *ha ráfu*, 'he should sleep, let him sleep', while the negative jussive is *hin rafín* for all persons. This distribution of person-marked vs. invariable tenses, and of person-marked forms with final *-u* in the affirmative jussive and in the negative non-dependent and affirmative dependent imperfect, is typical of Oromoid and most Omo-Tana languages, but does not occur in other Cushitic languages. The affirmative imperative is 2nd sg. *ráfi*, 2nd pers. pl. *ráfaa*; the negative one 2nd pers. sg. *hin rafíni*, 2nd pers. pl. *hin rafína*. The affirmative perfect with a H final tone and, optionally, a lengthened final vowel forms a consecutive or "converbal" tense, e.g., West-O. *mač̣áafá*$_1$ *buttée*$_2$ *dúbbisi*$_3$, 'pick$_2$ (2nd pers. sg. consecutive) up the book$_1$ and read$_3$ it! (lit. 'having picked up the book, read it!'). Several compound tenses are formed with auxiliaries such as *ǧirúu* 'exist', *turúu* 'be', etc. The infinitive with *ǧirúu* is much used in southern and East-O. for progressive tenses, while West-O. uses the invariable same-subject converb in *-áa*, e.g., East-O. *ammá ḍúfúu ǧira* vs. West-O. *ammá ḍúfáa ǧira* 'he is coming now'. The consecutive with *ǧirúu* forms a perfect tense, e.g., *beekée ǧira* 'he has known it', contracted to *beekéera* in central, Šäwan and West-O.

Owens (1985: 98f.) distinguished word cases vs. phrase-final cases in O. The former are marked on nearly all words in a phrase, the latter only on the last word. Word cases are the nominative, used for non-focussed subjects, and the absolutive, the unmarked form used *inter alia* for direct objects, or with phrase-final case markers. (The term "absolutive" is now widely used for this unmarked case form in Cushitic and Omotic linguistics, even though it does not involve ergativity here.) The nominative is marked in most varieties of O. by *-ní* (masc.)/*-tí* (fem.)/*-í* (after geminates and consonant clusters) in words with final short *-a*, and by *-n* after long vowels, e.g., East-O. *fardí*$_1$ *adíin*$_2$ *kun*$_3$ 'this$_3$ white$_2$ horse$_1$' (NOM) vs. *fardá adíi kana* (ABS). Phrase-final cases are, e.g., the genitive, the L-toned instrumental *-iin ~ -n*, and the benefactive *-iif ~ -f*. The genitive is marked by a lengthened H-tone final vowel on the last word of a genitive phrase as in *maqáa*$_1$ *intalá*$_2$ *saníi*$_3$, 'that$_3$ girl's$_2$ name$_1$' where only *saníi* is marked as genitive. When a genitive-marked word gets a further inflectional suffix, the genitive ends in *-t*, as in Harär-O. *makiináa*$_1$ *namiččá*$_2$ *saníit*$_3$*-iin*$_4$ *ḍufe*$_5$, 'he came$_5$ with$_4$ the car$_1$ of that$_3$ man$_2$', where the genitive *saníit-* is followed by the phrase-final L-toned instrumental suffix *-iin*.

The instrumental and benefactive suffixes can also be suffixed to verbs as in *ḍufan-iin*, 'they came with (it)' and *bitee-f*, 'he bought it for (him)'.

O. clauses have Subject–Object–Verb word order; however, modifiers follow their head nouns (for examples s. above). Also relative clauses generally follow their antecedents. They lack resumptive pronouns and are marked only by having dependent verbal forms, as in East-O. *bakkí*$_1$ *at*$_2$ *déemtu*$_3$ *fágoo*$_4$ 'the place$_1$ (NOM) you$_2$ are going$_3$ (DEP.IMPF) to is far$_4$'. But they can be additionally characterized by the associative pronoun, as in *bišáan*$_1$ *haróo*$_2$ *kan*$_3$ *qulqúllúu*$_4$ *ture*$_5$ *heddúu*$_6$ *boraˀe*$_7$ 'the lake$_2$ water$_1$ that$_3$ was$_5$ pure$_4$ became very$_6$ dirty$_7$'. Preposed relatives also occur, but apparently never in southern or in East-O.; e.g., *kan*$_1$*-ín*$_2$ *barbaadu*$_3$ *qorqorróo*$_4$ 'the cans$_4$ that$_1$ I$_2$ need$_3$'. West-O. typically has relative clauses introduced by 3rd pers. sg. pronouns, like *namiččí*$_1$ *inní*$_2$ *kaléessá*$_3$ *argine*$_4$ *abbaa*$_5$*-kóot*$_6$*-i* 'the man$_1$ (NOM) that$_2$ (lit. 'he' NOM) we saw$_4$ yesterday$_3$ is my$_6$ father$_5$'.

O. has no proper affirmative imperfect copula. Adjectives and nouns used as predicates are marked phrase-finally by a special tone pattern, e.g., Harär-O. *fárda*, '(it) is a horse' (from *fardá*, 'horse') or *fágoo*, '(it) is far' (from *fágóo*, 'far'). Words ending in a consonant such as *bišáan* also add an *-i* in most dialects: *bíšaani*, '(it) is water'. Genitives and some possessives occur with their forms in *-t* and the same final *-i*, as Harär-O. *makiináa*$_1$ *namiččá*$_2$ *saníiti*$_3$, '(it) is the car$_1$ of that$_3$ man$_2$', or *abbaakóoti*, '(he) is my father' (vs. ABS *abbáakoo*). In *qubee* spelling this *-ti* is frequently reanalysed orthographically as a sort of copula and spelt as a separate word. Words ending in long vowels add *-ḍa* in Šäwan and West-O., and sometimes also in East-O.: *fágooḍa*, '(it) is far' (vs. *fágóo*, 'far'). This *-ḍa* is also spelt as a separate word in *qubee* orthography even though it is the same morpheme *-ḍa-* which, in these same varieties of O., can be added to (non-genitive) words in long vowels before phrase-final suffixes such as the benefactive *-iif ~ -f* and the instrumental *-iin ~ -n*, as in *qóttooḍaan*$_1$ *qóráan*$_2$ *čạp̣se*$_3$, 'he cut$_3$ wood$_2$ with the axe$_1$' or *Gálmooḍaaf*$_1$ *fóon*$_2$ *kénni*$_3$, 'give$_3$ the meat$_2$ for Galmoo$_1$!' Negative adjective and nominal predicates are characterized by different tonal patterns and by a negative copula, invariable *miti* in several dialects (even *nii ~ niini* in southern dialects), but masc. *mihi* and fem. *miti* in the east (Owens 1985:80), e.g., Harär-O. *ḵun bišaaníi mihi* 'this is not water' vs. *ḵun bíšaan,* 'this is water'. As seen in this example, *mihi* also requires *-íi* when following a word ending in a consonant.

As in some other East Cushitic languages, subject focus is marked in O. both on the verb and on the subject noun phrase. The former is invariably in the 3rd sg. masc., while the subject is not in the nominative but has a phrase-final suffix in *-t*. In most varieties of O. this is *-tu*, in the east *-túu*, while in southern dialects it is *-tti*, e.g., Arsi *aannán*$_1$ *intala*$_2$ *ḍéertú*$_3$*-tu* *ḍúgé*$_4$, 'it is the tall$_3$ girl$_2$ who drank$_4$ the milk$_1$' (vs. *aannán intaltí ḍéertúun ḍugde* without subject focus).

The basic ten-word list is: *tokko* 'one' (regionally *takka*), *lamá* 'two', *sadíi*, 'three', *ibiddá*, 'fire', *bišáan*, 'water' (regionally *bisáan*), *ádúu,* 'sun', *ǧiˀá*, 'moon', *ḍiigá*, 'blood', *arrabá*, 'tongue', *ilkáan*, 'tooth'.

A major reference grammar of O. has still to be written. Several grammatical and lexicographical works on O. represent important phonological features such as vowel length and tones with little or no accuracy. Many regional varieties, especially the northern ones, have not yet been described.

Src.: Akkaadaamii afaan saboota Itoophiyaa ('Academy of the Ethiopian Peoples' Languages'), *Galmee jechoota Afaan Oromoo* ('Oromo Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2004 A.D.]; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il 'Nagara Gāllā'", *RRALm* ser. 5^e, 13, 1904, 307–24, 329–44; TilDic; GraggDic; Ignatius Guidi, "Historia gentis Galla", in: *GuiIohan* 221–32 (text) = 193–208 (tr.); Onesimus Nesib – Aster Gannoo, ጀልቀበ፡ በርሲሳ … (*Ǧalqaba barsiisaa*, 'The Galla Spelling Book'), Moncullo 1894; Id., መጫፈ፡ ቁልቁሉ (*Maçaafa qulqulluu*, 'The Holy Book'), St. Chrischona 1899; Tamene Bitima, *A Dictionary of Oromo Technical Terms*: *Oromo–English*, Köln 2000 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 15).

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Giorgio Banti

Oromo

Oromo ethnography

The O. people, in earlier literature referred to as "↗Galla" or "Ilma Orma", are one of the most numerous in Africa. Their territory, although not always contiguous, extends over some 1,600 km from ↗Rayya ᶜAzäbo in the north to the Tana River in ↗Kenya in the south and from the regions of Harär and the Ogaden in the east to the borderlands of the Sudan 1,000 km to the west. In Ethiopia, where they constitute the largest ethnic group and make up about one third of the population, their number is estimated to be some 30 million. In Kenya, they (under the names ↗Boorana and ↗Orma; Gabra and Sakuye) occupy about a quarter of the territory. Their language is thus one of the five or six most important in Africa, both in terms of the number of speakers and geographic area (Hudson 1982; Baxter 1986). Their vast country shows great ecological variation and the modes of subsistence and ways of life of the various O. groups are manifold. They are specialized, mobile pastoralists (↗Pastoralism) in the arid and semi-arid lands of the South and sedentary mixed farmers and plough cultivators in highland regions with high precipitation.

In O. lore, major divisions, such as Boorana, ↗Gabra, Orma, ↗Guǧǧi, ↗Arsi, ↗Tuulama, ↗Mäçça (Maccaa), ↗Qottu (Afran Qaalluu) and ↗Wällo, are defined with reference to myths of origin and to patri-genealogical constructs as well as to territorial boundaries and resource borders. Each division has, or had, its own cyclical generation set system, ↗*gadaa* (↗Age group systems), with its own shrines and ritual centres.

For the Boorana and the Guǧǧi, the blessings of the ↗*qaallu*, their hereditary ritual figureheads, are crucial for the peace and well-being of the country. Although the majority of the O. today are Muslim or, as in parts of ↗Šäwa and ↗Wälläga, Christian, recent research shows that *gadaa* is still a viable institution amongst the Tuulama of Šäwa (Nicolas in PICES 15); Tuulama settlers in ↗Bale (Blackhurst 1974; 1978); the pastoral Karrayyo (Karrayyuu, s. ↗Baarentuu) of the middle Awaš valley (Ayalew Gebre 2001: 170ff.); the Arsi in the highlands of Bale; and the southern O., such as Boorana, Gabra and Guǧǧi (VSAe II; AsmGada; Baxter – Almagor 1978; Hinnant 1978; Van de Loo 1991: 23–68; Tablino 1999; Wood 1999: 70–76, 166–99). In addition, most O. communities still adhere to the deliberations and decisions of their many traditional assemblies. Thus, Bassi's (1996: 153) observation of the Boorana that "all binding decisions, concerning virtually all spheres of social activity, have to be reached during an assembly", is typical of most O. communities (Helland 1982; Abdullahi Shongolo 1994; Bassi in BHTOrom; Nicolas in PICES 15).

The bulk of publications over the past 50 years have dealt with the southern O. of Ethiopia and Kenya and with the Mäçça and Tuulama of cen-

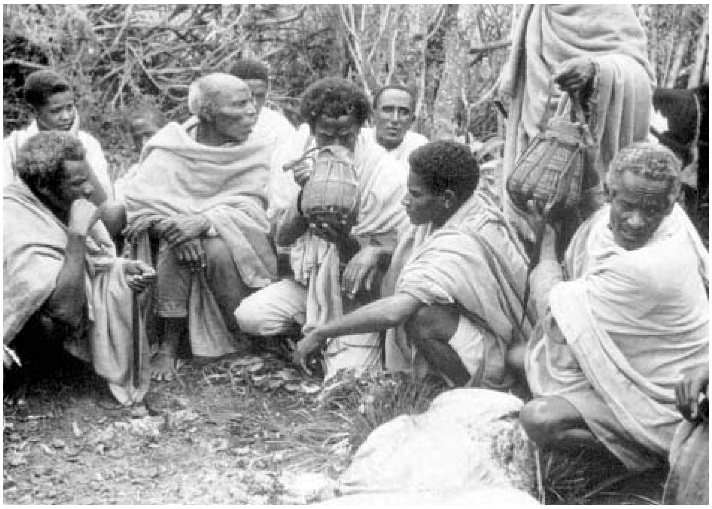


Fig. 1: Ceremonial drinking of milk during a *buttaa*-celebration in Arsi; photo 1954/55; from VSAe II, pl. 76.2

tral Ethiopia. In contrast, there is a lack of ethnographic documentation out of modern field research on the northern and eastern O. In the north, the ↗Rayyaa inhabit the district that carries their name in south-eastern Təgray and northern Wällo. Until famine and conflicts in the second half of the 20th cent. disrupted their lives, they combined pastoralism with maize and millet cultivation along the semi-arid eastern escarpment.

The Yäǧǧu and Wällo, to the south, are ↗plough farmers in the highlands and along the escarpment of Wällo and northern Šäwa. They adopted the ↗Islam of the autochthonous peoples early and have later also assumed their dialects, except in the east. Names of O. divisions and groups are reflected in the names of districts and places throughout north-eastern Šäwa and Wällo: e.g., ↗Wärrä Illuu, ↗Wärrä Himäno, ↗Wärrä Qaallu, Wärrä Babo, Kobbo, Kombolča, ↗Wəč̣ale and Boorana (HusIslam).

The eastern O. groups of Harärge do not refer to themselves with a common name. The ↗Ittuu in the west live in ↗Č̣ärč̣är and adjacent lowlands. To the east are the Annya and the Afran Qaallu, the 'Four Qaallu', who also refer to themselves as Qottuu (lit.: 'peasants'). They are both further subdivided into a large number of clans. They are all Muslim and adherence to *gadaa* has waned (VSAe II, 14f.).

The Tuulama are divided into a large number of groups. They inhabit the fertile Šäwan plateau where they practice agriculture and animal husbandry. They are Orthodox Christians or Muslims, although they adhere to *gadaa* and its rituals and councils (Blackhurst 1978; Nicolas in PICES 15).

The Mäč̣č̣a are mixed farmers in the highlands of western Šäwa, southern Goǧǧam, Walläga, Käfa and ↗Illubabor. Mäč̣č̣a clans are not localized and the same names of descent groups and categories appear repeatedly throughout their country. Over time, the Mäč̣č̣a *gadaa* system became increasingly locally organized and the influence of its assemblies (↗*Č̣affee*) and officers waned. Instead, local war leaders and men of wealth became increasingly influential (Knutsson 1967; Hultin 1987). In the 19th cent. a number of kingdoms, the so-called ↗Gibe states, emerged in southern Mäč̣č̣a: the most important being ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar (LewJimm).

The Arsi in southern Šäwa, Arsi proper, northern Bale and western Harärge are one of the largest O. groupings. They are divided into two main categories, Sikko and Mando, that in turn, are made up of a large number of patrilineal divisions. Although Arsi have always lived with Islamic contacts and influences, massive conversion began only in the 20th cent., i.e. after the Šäwan conquest in the 19th cent. (Abbas Haji Gnamo 1990; BrHad; Braukämper in PICES 8).

Their southern neighbours, the agro-pastoral Guǧǧi, live in the Rift Valley and its adjacent highlands to the east of Lake ↗Abbayya. The Guǧǧi are a confederation of four divisions: the Alabdu, the Uraga, the Mati and the Hoku (VSAe II; Hinnant 1977; Van De Loo 1989).

The heartland of the pastoral, cattle oriented Boorana is in southern Ethiopia, but Boorana also live throughout northern Kenya on Mount Marsabit and along the Waaso-Nyiro River in Isiolo district north and north-east of Mount Kenya. Boorana have generally been regarded by scholars as the most "traditional" O. group and since the 1950s more has been written on the Boorana than on any other O. people.

The Orma, the southernmost O., live along the Tana River in Kenya. The Sakuye, to their north, were in the past mobile camel nomads. During the war in northern Kenya in the 1960s the herds of the Orma were killed, the population forced into camps and many perished. After the emergency many lived as peri-urban paupers; a few managed to build up new herds. The Gabra camel nomads live in the arid lands from the Marsabit mountain in Kenya northwards into Ethiopia. They are divided into two groups, Malbe and Miigo. The Gabra Malbe, that includes the majority of Gabra, lives in Kenya, while the smaller group, Gabra Miigo, lives mainly in Ethiopia and in northern Kenya's Wajir district (Torry 1973, 1978; Schlee 1989; Tablino 1999; Wood 1999).

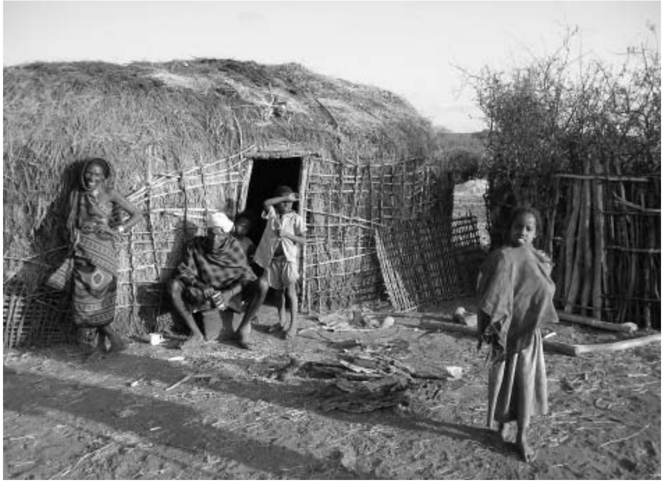


Fig. 2: Boorana house in Gayyoo, near Sodda, built at the famous Gumii Gayyoo assembly place; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

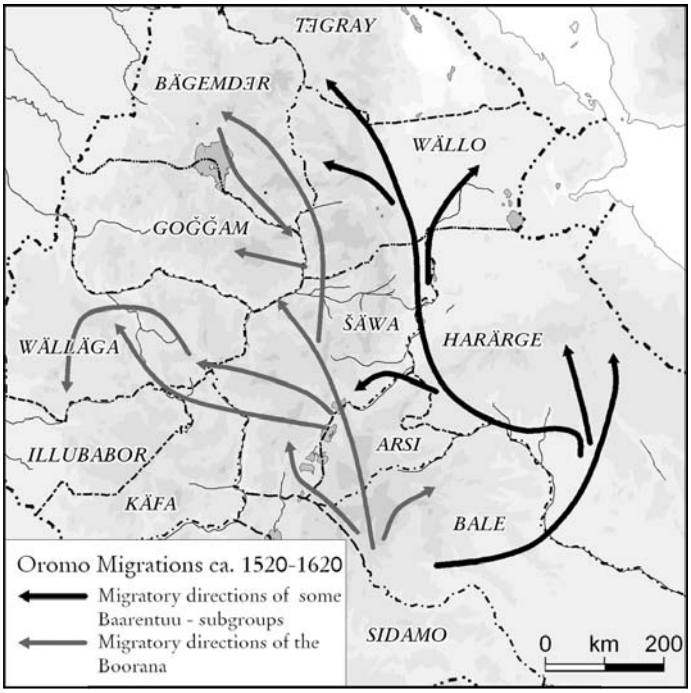
Lit.: ABBAS HAJI GNAMO, *Les Oromo-Arsi*: *continuité et evolutions des institutions d´une société éthiopienne*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne 1990; ABDULLAHI A. SHONGOLO, "The Gumi Gaayo Assembly of the Boran: a Traditional Legislative Organ and its Relationship to the Ethiopian State and a Modernising World", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 119, 1994, 27–58; AsmGada; AYALEW GEBRE, *Pastoralism under Pressure*: *Land Alienation and Pastoral Transformations among the Karrayu of Eastern Ethiopia, 1941 to the Present*, Maastricht 2001; MARCO BASSI, "Power's Ambiguity or the Political Significance of *Gada*", in: BHTOrom 150–61; ID., *Decisions in the Shade*: *Political and Juridical Processes among the Oromo-Borana*, Trenton, NJ, 2005; PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER, "The Present State of Oromo Studies: a Résumé", *Bulletin des études Africaines de l'Inalco* 6, 2, 1986, 53–82; ID. – URI ALMAGOR (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time*: *Some Features of East African Age Organisations*, London 1978; HECTOR BLACKHURST, "Continuity and Change in the Shoa Galla Gada System", *ibid*., 245–67; ID., *A Community of Shoa Galla Settlers in Southern Ethiopia*, Ph.D thesis, University of Manchester 1974; BHTOrom; BrHad; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "The Islamization of the Arssi-Oromo", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 767–77; JOHAN HELLAND, "Social Organization and Water Control among the Borana", *Development and Change* 13, 1982, 239–58; JOHN T. HINNANT, *The Gada System of the Guji of Southern Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago 1977; ID., "The Guji: Gada as a Ritual System", in: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – URI ALMAGOR (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time*: *Some Features of East African Age Organisations*, London 1978, 207–43; GROVER HUDSON, "Foreword", in: GENE B. GRAGG, *Oromo Dictionary*, East Lansing, MI 1982 (Monograph 12), v–vi; JAN HULTIN, *The Long Journey*: *Essays on History, Descent and Land among the Macha Oromo*, Ph.D. thesis, Department of Cultural Anthropology, Uppsala University 1987; HusIslam; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change*: *a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967 (Etnologiska Studier 29); LewJimm; ANDREA NICOLAS, "Governance, Ritual and Law: Tulama-Oromo Gadaa Assemblies", in: *PICES* 15, 168–76; GÜNTHER SCHLEE, *Identities on the Move*: *Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, Manchester 1989; PAUL TABLINO, *The Gabra*: *Camel Nomads of Northern Kenya*, Limuru 1999; JOSEPH VAN DE LOO, *Guji Oromo Culture in Southern Ethiopia*, Berlin 1989; VSAe II, pl. 76.2 (ill.); JOHN COLMAN WOOD, *When Men are Women*: *Manhood among Gabra Nomads of East Africa*, Madison, WI 1999.

Jan Hultin

Oromo history

In the first decades of the 16th cent., the O. began to move in large numbers into the central and north-western highlands from their cradleland in the plains and plateaux of what today is southern Ethiopia. Prior to their movement, several O. groups were organized into two moieties called *boorana* and ↗*baarentuu* who lived to the west and east of the ↗Rift Valley, respectively. As early as the 12th and 13th cent., all aspects of O. life were governed by the ↗*gadaa* system, a politico-military and ritual system based on an egalitarian ethos, age-grade social organization (↗Age group systems), and highly structured institutions. The political system was supported by a complementary and equally complex religious organization. The position of the ritual leader, the ↗*qaalluu* served at the centre of the O. religion.

In the early 16th cent., an O. population movement (↗Population history: migrations) began, which took them eastward to the territories of the medieval Muslim sultanates (↗Šäwa, ↗Ifat, ↗ᶜAdal, ↗Fäṭägar, ↗Bale, ↗Däwaro, ↗Arabäbni, ↗Därа), northward to the Christian kingdom, and westward to the ↗Sidaama and ↗Omotic kingdoms. At the initial stage of the O. expansion, only the pastoralist O. moved to other areas. The settled agriculturalists stayed in their cradle land and in the territories then ruled by the sultanates of Däwaro, Ifat, ↗Wäğ, and Bale and within


TƎGRAY
BÄGEMDƎR
WÄLLO
GOĞĞAM
ŠÄWA
HARÄRGE
WÄLLÄGA
ARSI
ILLUBABOR
KÄFA
BALE
SIDAMO
0 km 200
Oromo Migrations ca. 1520-1620
Migratory directions of some Baarentuu - subgroups
Migratory directions of the Boorana

the medieval Christian kingdom. In the early 16th cent., the *baarentuu* branch moved in the eastern and north-eastern direction, eventually settling into today's ↗Arsi, Bale, ↗Harär, ↗Goğğam and ↗Wällo regions. The *boorana* trekked in north-west, west and south-west directions to the regions of Šäwa, ↗Wälläga, ↗Illubabor, Goğğam, and ↗Gondär. As a result, the O. today are one of the largest and most widely spread ethnic groups in Africa.

In explaining this dramatic expansion, some scholars readily refer to historical coincidence. They suggest that the military campaigns of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī and of the Sultanate of ↗ᶜAdal against the Christian kingdom created a political and military vacuum that allowed the O. to move relatively unhindered into the territories of both. Others cite military factors that, during their expansion, the O. learned the use of cavalry and body-length shields, which allowed them to fight more effectively and break the resistance of their opponents. Still others identify cultural factors as contributing to O. successes. The O. institution of *moggaasa* (↗*Moassa*, i.e. adoption), which facilitated the quick and smooth assimilation of non-O., opened the way for the O. to consolidate their control over their enemies and augment their numbers against future opponents. One contemporary observer offers a sociological explanation: ↗Baḥrəy argues that it was because all O. men were trained as warriors, while among Ethiopian Christians only the warriors fought, leaving a large section of the population, including monks, priests, artisans, farmers, traders, and servants, uninvolved in the defense of their country.

The early 17th cent. witnessed the continued expansion of the O. into the area west of the Abbay River and the steady absorption of O. into the Ethiopian state. After decades of conflict and interaction, following their arrival in this region, some O. groups were gradually integrated into the existing political establishment and became defenders of the Christian kingdom. Of the contemporary Ethiopian emperors, *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, who came to power with O. support, did much to make them part of the Christian Ethiopian political establishment. Having grown up among the O., he spoke their language and knew their way of life. He employed O. fighters, military tactics, and combat formations against his rivals for the throne. Once in power, he filled high-level offices with his O. supporters and settled various O. groups in both Goğğam and ↗Bägemdər to defend his empire from attacks by other O. groups. Many of these O. converted first to Orthodox Christianity and then later to the Catholic faith (↗Catholicism). They became assimilated into highland Ethiopian society, and, in the process, became permanently separated from their fellow O.

Under Susənyos's successors, several O. warriors rose to positions of prominence in imperial service, specifically during the reigns of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa and his successors. In fact, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II married an O. from the ↗Yäğğu family in Wällo and was succeeded by his "half-O." son, *aṣe* ↗Iyoᵓas I. By the late 18th cent., the O. had become such a dominant political force in Gondär that ↗Oromiffaa was the main language spoken at the imperial court.

The increasing influence of the O. did not sit well with the powerful regional lords. In 1769, ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul of ↗Təgray, determined to restore Ethiopian Christian control, removed the influence of the Yäğğu O. from the imperial court, killed the reigning monarch, and inaugurated the era of political turmoil known in Ethiopian history as the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

Political disorder did not disrupt the economic unity of the region. The provinces, including the territories south of the Abbay, remained connected to the seaports and to the inland commerce with the Sudan. ↗Trade routes and merchants looking for export commodities linked with Christian Ethiopia the O. who had settled in the territories south of the Abbay River in the late 17th cent. The O. who settled in this region saw their lives transformed in a completely different direction than those who settled in the regions north of the river.

Within 60 years after their arrival, five O. states (↗Limmu-Ǝnnarya, ↗Gomma, ↗Guumaa, ↗Ǧimma, and ↗Geeraa) had emerged in the ↗Gibe region and two more in the ↗Wälläga region (Leeqaa ↗Naqamtee and Leeqaa ↗Qälləm, cp. ↗Leeqaa). In the formation of the political institutions and symbols, the Gibe states may have been influenced by pre-existing states of ↗Omotic-speakers and ↗Sidaama. However, these states arose through internal processes of evolution, particularly the transformation of the mode of production from ↗pastoralism to mixed ↗agriculture and the relationship of ↗trade to the political economy of the region. The fertile and adequately watered land increased the importance of agriculture and consequently led to the emergence of a landowning class. The rich natural environment produced commodities that were in high demand and facilitated the rise of a strong merchant class. These changes allowed former *gadaa* officials to acquire more authority and gradually convert their elective offices to permanent monarchical institutions (cp. ↗*Mooti*). Eventually, processes of intermarriage and continued immigration of the O. into the area led to the emergence of an O.-Sidaama state, Limmu-Ǝnnarya, and other states by the middle of the 19th cent.

In the southern and eastern part of the country, especially in Bale, ↗Arsi, Harär and ↗Boorana, the O. continued a pastoral life into modern times. After settling in the territories west of the ↗Wabi Šäbälle in the early 16th cent., the Arsi O. began some agriculture for ritual purposes, but they remained predominantly pastoralists. Despite evidence of some differentiation, based on cattle possession and instances of hereditary *gadaa* offices prior to the mid-19th cent., the *gadaa* system remained the dominant sociopolitical organization among the Arsi until their conquest by Mənilək's forces. Similarly, the O. who settled in the ᶜAdal sultanate remained pastoralist until the mid-19th cent. Only those who settled in the immediate periphery of the city of Harär adopted agriculture as their main occupation. This was likely the consequence of their involvement in exchange relationship with the inhabitants of the walled city that resorted to trade after the emigrating O. expelled them from their farmlands. The O. who inhabited the areas beyond 30 miles of Harär remained pastoralist and governed by their own *gadaa* "parliament" known as the *raaba-dori*, until the late 19th cent. The *gadaa* system has remained a practising institution among the pastoral Boorana, the southernmost O. group in Ethiopia, to the present day.

In the last third of the 19th cent., these O. groups and kingdoms fell under the rule of *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (↗Mənilək II). Beginning in the 1870s, the Šäwan kingdom conquered and annexed one O. territory after another with unprecedented speed owing to the advantage of military technology Mənilək acquired from European powers and disunity among the various O. groups with whom he engaged in battle. After defeating his main rival, *ras* Adal of Goǧǧam (later *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot), at the battle of ↗Ǝmbabo in 1882, Mənilək was able to occupy the O. states of Leeqa Naqamtee and Leeqa Qälləm as well as the Gibe states within four years (s. also ↗Nonno). His forces gained control of ↗Arsi in 1886, after breaking a fierce resistance put up by the Arsi O. The subjugation of Arsi opened the way for the conquest of Harär, which was completed after Mənilək's victory at the battle of ↗Ç̣állänqo in 1887.

The manner in which the conquest was carried out determined the form of administration that was subsequently set up in the newly acquired areas. In areas where the Šäwans encountered resistance, such as in the countries of the Arsi and Noolee (s. also ↗Qottu) clans, the conquering generals were installed as governors and northern soldier-settlers, or ↗*näfṭäñña*, were moved in. Military garrisons known as ↗*kätäma* were built throughout the conquered regions and later became the administrative centres of Šäwan rule. These officials and the soldier-settlers drew no payment from the government; they lived off the land and the labours of the local farmers, or

↗ *gäbbar*. In those areas where independent kingdoms existed and the indigenous rulers submitted peacefully, the former kingdoms were made tributaries to the crown with their rulers left in place, subject to the acceptance of the Šäwan king's suzerainty and the payment of an annual tribute. The Wälläga kingdoms and the Gibe states avoided war and managed to remain autonomous through the first quarter of the 20th cent.

During ↗ Ḫaylä Śəllase I's rule the O. lost even the autonomous status Mənilək had been willing to grant to some O. regions. Finding his predecessor's administrative system incongruent with his vision of an empire ruled from the centre by an all-powerful sovereign, Ḫaylä Śəllase abolished the semi-independent status of such O. regions as Wälläga and Ǧimma, and appointed only Šäwans to rule the subordinate regions. He sought to secure the fidelity of the O. by co-opting the thoroughly assimilated or Amharized O. notables. The vast majority of O. farmers became tenants of feudal lords. Pastoralists were evicted to make room for mechanized farming. The few members of the educated O. élite were prevented from holding positions congruent with their education. Despite the great contribution of the O. region to the country's agricultural economy, O. areas were left out of the modernization projects of the state. The discontent emanating from political marginalization, economic exploitation, and cultural domination of the O. fuelled sporadic revolts throughout the period of Ḫaylä Śəllase's rule, the ↗ Rayya ʿAzäbo (Azeboo) revolt of 1928–30, the ↗ Western Galla Confederation of 1936, and the Bale uprising of 1964–70. The failure of Ḫaylä Śəllase's approach to ruling the O. through political co-optation became evident in 1963 when an organization known as the ↗ Mäč̣č̣a and Tuulama Association was established, ostensibly for organizing O. self-help, but in fact to promote O. identity (↗ Ethnicity). The declared objective of the organization was to struggle for the equitable allocation of the country's resources and an end to the second-class treatment of O. The Mäč̣č̣a and Tuulama Association was quickly disbanded, but its impact was far-reaching. The movement raised the consciousness of the O. regarding the significance of their own culture and historical unity and their status as a people within the Ethiopian state. It is in this condition that the popular ↗ revolution of 1974 erupted.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 109–29; Anna Trudnos, *Oromo Documentation. Bibliography and Maps*, Warsaw 1984 (Lit.).

Lit.: HuntGal; Lemmu Baissa, "The Oromo Gada System of Government: an Indigenous African Democracy", in: Asafa Jalata (ed.), *State Crisis Globalization and National Movements in North-East Africa*, New York 2004, 125–52; Servir B. Chernetsov, "The History of the Galla and the Death of Za Dengel, King of Ethiopia (1603–1604)", in: *PICES* 4, 803–08; Eloi Ficquet, "La fabrique des origines oromo", *AE* 18, 2002, 55–71; MHasOr; Mohammed Hassen, "The Oromo in Medieval Muslim States of Southern Ethiopia", *Journal of Oromo Studies* 15, 1, 2008, 203–14; PankBord 279–323.

Ezekiel Gebissa

Oromo religion

O. traditional ↗ religion cannot be considered as uniform or monolithic. The wide distribution and cultural variation of the different O. groups as well as interethnic and interreligious exchange of ideas (↗ Syncretism) with ↗ Islam and ↗ Christianity along with processes of historical transformation produced a diversified religious landscape. Furthermore, as it is the case with other autochthonous folk-religions, in traditional O. society religion was inextricably interwoven with other social institutions, such as ↗ *aadaa*, ↗ *seera* and the ↗ *gadaa* system. One of the uniting concepts of the holistic socio-religious system of the O. was the principle of ↗ *safuu*.

The pantheon of O. religion was dominated by a duality of the male divinity of the sky ↗ Waaqa and Lafa, the female chthonic divinity; the significance of the latter being diminished in time. The old Oromo religion was characterized by the idea that most, if not all, things have a sacred aspect, personified by an individual *ayyaana* ↗ spirit or spiritual force. According to explanations given to Bartels, people, animals, plants as well as mountains or rivers have their own *ayyaana*, which is thought of as a manifestation of Waaqa's creative power. The *ayyaana* protects the person with whom it is linked. Thus, the killer of a man has to appease the *ayyaana* of his victim. The term *ayyaana* is also employed for various types of possession spirits (↗ Possession cults). Harmful *ayyaana* are called *seeṭana* ('demons'; BartOrom 112, 159, 221; cp. Knutsson 1967: 53ff.; VSAe II).

According to traditional O. belief, various sets of rituals have to be carried out in order to maintain human well-being, fertility and rain (↗ Rainmaking) and to prevent disease and misfortune. ↗ Sacrifices play an important role in this respect (cp. also ↗ *Buttaa*, ↗ *Dibaayyuu*). According to social position, defined by gender, *gadaa* class etc., and situational context every member of society takes part in several different ritual sub-systems. As a household head one is responsible for certain domestic rituals, as member of a *gadaa* class one is involved in the rituals of ↗initiation and passage. The women, again, have their own ritual sub-system which is centred around fertility, health, child-↗birth and solidarity (cp. also ↗*Ateetee*).

Important ritual experts of O. religion are the ↗*qaalluu*-priests. They are believed to have the power to bless and the ability to control certain dangerous animals (e.g., ↗Serpents). Ritual functions are fulfilled by the authorities of the *gadaa* system as well, such as the ↗*abbaa gadaa*, the ↗*gadaamooǧǧi* and the ↗*hayyuu*. The highest ritual agent is the ↗*abbaa muuda*. The annual ↗pilgrimage (Orom.: *ǧila*) to his shrine has an integrating function for all Oromo subgroups.

O. religion became an object of research and scholarly discussion already by the middle of the 19th cent.; it was initiated mainly by Catholic (e.g., ↗Azaïs [1926], de Salviac [1901], ↗Massaja [1867]) and Protestant (e.g., ↗Krapf [1885]; s. also ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission) missionaries. Early non-missionary researchers were ↗Cecchi, Antoine ↗d'Abbadie (1880) and ↗Paulitschke, and then, in the first half of the 20th cent., ↗Cerulli (esp. 1922 [= CerFolk] and 1930, 1933 [= CerEt]). A first ethnographic synopsis of the O. religious system was provided by ↗Haberland (1963 [= VSAe II]), who disproved earlier interpretations of O. religion that were more influenced by a missionary bias rather than based on ethnographic fieldwork (VSAe II, 566, 621). Other well-reputed scholars who worked on O. religion are, e.g., Bartels (1983 [= BartOrom]), Van de Loo (1991), and Asmarom Legesse (1973 [= AsmGada]).

The Islamization of several O. groups, such as the O. of ↗Wällo, ↗Yäǧǧu, the ↗Gibe region and ↗Arsi during the 18th and 19th cent., the Christianization by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, e.g., among the ↗Šäwa O. and, since the 19th cent., by European missions, together with the decline of the *gadaa* system, has resulted in the vanishing of traditional O. belief as a fully functioning socio-religious system. On the local level strong elements of it have been able to survive. Features of O. religion, especially those connected to the *ayyaana* and the *qaalluus*, are also kept alive in the widespread (and probably still growing) possession cults. Today, *waaqeeffanna* ('belief in Waaqa [i.e. God]') is sometimes used to designate O. religion. This notion, singling out religious belief from the social system, seems to have developed in 20th-cent. O. identity discourse.

Src.: Raayyaa Horoo, *Waaqeffannaa*, Finfinnee 2008.
Lit.: Antoine d'Abbadie, "Sur les Oromo, grande nation africaine, désignée souvent sous le nom de 'Galla'", *Annales de la Société scientifique de Bruxelles* 4, 1880, 167–92; AsmGada s. index; François Azaïs, "Étude sur la religion du peuple Galla", *Revue d'éthnographie et des traditions populaires* 6, 25, 1925, 113–20; BartOrom; Paul Trevor William Baxter, "Atete: a Congregation of Arssi Women", *NEASt* 1, 1979, 1–22; BHTOrom; CerEt; CerFolk; Eloi Ficquet, "La fabrique des origines Oromo", *AE* 18, 2002, 55–61, here 65; Fisseha H. Maskal, "Atete", in: Alula Pankhurst (ed.), *Ethnological Society Bulletin* […] *1953–61, Reprint*, Addis Ababa 2002, 359-64; Adolf Ellegard Jensen, *Im Lande des Gada*, Stuttgart 1936; Wilhelm Schmidt, "Die Religion der Galla", *Annali Lateranensi* 1, 1937, 83–152; Andrea Nicolas, *From Process to Procedure*: *Elders' Mediation and Formality in Eastern Shewa* (*Ethiopia*), Ph.D. thesis, Freie Universität Berlin 2007; Joseph Van de Loo (ed.) – Bilow Kola, *Guji Oromo Culture in Southern Ethiopia*: *Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs*, Berlin 1991; VSAe II, s. index et passim; Thomas Zitelmann, "Oromo Religion, *Ayyaana* and the Possibility of a Sufi Legacy", *Journal of Oromo Studies* 12, 1, 2, 2005, 80–99.

Dirk Bustorf

Oromo literature

Oromo oral literature

Different forms of ↗oral literature have played an important role in the ↗Oromiffaa-speaking communities, and a considerable body of studies and collections of texts has been written on several of their genres. There are also surveys of the oral literary traditions of some major ↗Oromo groups; for instance, Cerulli depicts western Oromo traditions at the end of the 19th cent. and the beginning of the 20th, based on Loränsiyos Wäldä Iyäsus and Cerulli's two other informants, ↗Onesimos Näsib and ↗Aster Gannoo (CerFolk; *Awaǧ* Onesimos – Gänon Aster 1894). Tablino (1980) is the only available survey for one of the southern Oromo groups, the ↗Gabra; Van de Loo (1991) surveys the ↗Guǧǧi oral literature, and Jeylan W. Hussein (2005) that of ↗Arsi. However, few studies tried to deal with the known oral literature of all the major Oromiffaa-speaking groups: Haberland (VSAe II, 595f.), Andrzejewski (1985), and Eshete Gemeda (2009) are the major ones.

An early glimpse of some genres of O.o.l. from the first half of the 19th cent. can be found in ↗Tutschek's dictionary and grammar (Tutschek

1844; 1845): a few short wisdom poems that he calls “*magmaga*”, i.e., *makmaaka* ‘proverb’, and some other short poems on love, social satire and other topics that he calls “*wetu*”, i.e., ↗*weedduu* ‘song’, such as the following complaint of a returning warrior (Tutschek 1844: 148):

Silaa simalan yaabaa
Simalli dameen qabu
Silaa gandarran galaa
Gandatu wareen qabu

‘Should I climb on a bamboo cane?
Bamboo canes have no branches;
Should I come back to the village?
The village has no respect for fame’

Also a few prayers were recorded by him (Tutschek 1845: 84–88). One of them, “composed and offered after the close of a long and bloody war” between Hamb^u and Hamaya, begins with the following paragraphs (ibid. 84):

Waaqayoo laftanaa, gooftaa koo! *Ati na gubba tessa, ani si jalan ta’a.*
Hoo hamaan natti ḍufe, akka mukni aduu narraa qabu, ati hamaa natti qabi, gooftaa koo, gaddisa naa ta’ï! …

‘Oh God of this earth, my Lord! Thou art above me, I am below thee.
When misfortune comes to me, as a tree keeps off the sun from me, mayest thou keep off misfortune from me, my Lord, be thou my shadow! …’

A fourth genre is represented by the narratives collected by Tutschek, that were published by ↗Praetorius (1893: 305f.) posthumously (↗Folktales in Oromiffaa).

At that time the Oromo were already organized in different ways, even though a majority probably still followed the ↗*gadaa* system and their traditional religion. Indeed, there were also Oromo kingdoms in the west (↗Gibe), different Oromo-speaking groups were being increasingly incorporated into the Ethiopian state and converted to Orthodox Christianity, while Islam was spreading in the east, in ↗Bale and also in pockets elsewhere. Since the second half of the 19th cent., the life of the Oromo-speaking communities underwent several dramatic changes: (i) the Ethiopian state incorporated most of them, with the exception of the southern Oromo living in present-day Kenya and of the few Oromiffaa-speaking pockets in southern Somalia; (ii) a partial differentiation between urban and rural Oromo resulted from urbanization; (iii) the Oromo kingdoms were dismantled and the *gadaa* system came under increasing pressure, surviving only in southern Ethiopia and in Kenya; (iv) organized movements struggling for Oromo self-determination developed in many areas of Ethiopia; (v) policies of centralized nation-building under the monarchy and the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), that discouraged writing in Oromiffaa, were followed after 1991 by a partial regionalization of Ethiopia and the official creation of Oromiyaa, where written Oromiffaa was introduced in the regional administration and in the school system. These changes had an impact on several aspects of O., not only on the topics it had hitherto been dealing with, but also on its genres and on how they are produced and circulated.

One of its major poetic genres is the ↗*geerarsa*, traditionally an epinicion, i.e., a poem of triumph by a warrior concerning his feats. Among several Oromo groups this is performed in a loud recitative form and can refer to the killing of a large wild animal or an enemy. ↗Boorana *geerarsa*s are performed on the spot when the heroic feat is done, and when the hero returns to his settlement (Leus – Salvadori 2006: 260b), but among other groups they are also heard during *gadaa* ceremonies and other feasts. The *geerarsa* is also a genre used for criticizing one’s lineage, explaining specific facts, and reflecting upon one’s self. During recent decades, long *geerarsa*s have dealt with the political situation of the poets’ regions or countries, and thus frequently have strong nationalistic tones. Also, *walaloo* ‘sung poem’ is used nowadays as a name for the genre that includes major political poems.

Several examples of major political poetry also deal with razzias, challenges from field commanders, laments over dead heroes, pleas of mercy addressed to the victors, etc. (cf. CerFolk). Moreno (1934; 1935: 160f.) and Tamene Bitima (in Griefenow-Mewis – Tamene Bitima 2004: 41–48) provide examples of short poems commenting on social and political events current to when they were composed.

Cerulli (CerFolk 70; cf. also Littmann 1925: 49f.) writes that decrees issued by Oromo ↗*č̣affee*s were usually in verse. Very little is known about the oral poetry that was performed at the courts of the Oromo kings, it probably included major political poetry and praise poetry; possibly also many of the decrees were in verse. For the prose genres such as historical chronicles and jester tales that were performed in those courts see below.

Religious texts are particularly sensitive to cultural changes in the communities where they are performed. Traditional ceremonies, festivals and sacrifices generally involve not only prayers and blessings, both in prose and in verse, but also hymns and songs such as the *gadaa* songs of the ↗Guǧǧi (cf. Van de Loo 1991: 32f.), the *dikira*s of the Gabra (cf. Tablino 1980: 142f.), the ↗*Ateetee* and ↗rainmaking hymns (cf. Onesimos – Gänon Aster 1894; CerFolk), etc. Spirit ↗possession cults have their own songs, such as the *mesmuri addaraa* described by Van de Loo (1991: 288f.), while different brands of Christianity have produced their own religious hymns such as the Sabbath and *masqala* (↗*Mäsqäl*) songs of Orthodox western Oromo (Tesema Ta'a in Griefenow-Mewis – Tamene Bitima 2004: 25f.; Triulzi – Tamene Bitima 1996) or the *Ṗenṭe* songs of the Guǧǧi Pentecostals (Van de Loo 1991: 296f.). Moslem *manzuuma*s and *qasiida*s in praise of major local saints from ↗Ǧimma in the west and from northern Kenya have been published by Ishihara (1996) and Stroomer (2001: 94f.). ↗*Mawlid* hymns are widespread among all the Oromo who celebrate this major Islamic ceremony. Hymns connected to the cult of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn in Bale are called *baahroo* by the ↗Arsi, and have been extensively analyzed by Andrzejewski (1972), Jeylan W. Hussein (2005) and Stroomer (2001: 71f.).

The Western Oromo *weedduu jaalalaa* is a genre of love songs that can also be of considerable length (cf. Tesema Ta'a in Griefenow-Mewis – Tamene Bitima 2004: 13f.). They use an elaborate lexicon and complex literary tropes. The same author (ibid. 36f.) mentions Oromo *asmaarii* poetry (↗*Azmari*) sung for entertainment during weddings and festivals in the ↗Naqamtee area.

Minor poetic genres are known from most Oromiffaa-speaking groups, and are frequently characterized as male or as female songs. For instance, the short ↗Arsi *weelluu* love songs described by Baxter (1974) are sung only by young men and, because they frequently involve humorously vulgar language, are never performed in the presence of elderly people. Tablino (1980: 130) distinguishes young men's *faaruu* love songs from young women's *qarillee* love songs among the Gabra. According to Leus – Salvadori (2006: 591) the *kaarilee* is instead a genre sung by ↗Boorana women for praising or insulting men, e.g., when fetching firewood or water. A rich collection of short love and wisdom poetry from Wälläga and Šäwa can be found in Moreno (1935: 140f.).

Other kinds of minor poetry include satirical and humorous songs, that can even become plainly insulting such as the *arrabsoo* songs. Farewell songs, songs for weddings, childbirth, and other kinds of important events have been published, e.g., from the western Oromo, the Guǧǧi and the Gabra. Van de Loo (1991: 225f.) provides many examples of Guǧǧi work songs, such as beekeepers' songs, women's work songs, men's songs performed when tilling the soil or threshing collectively, etc. Western Oromo cooperative work songs have been published by Triulzi – Tamene Bitima (1996: 251f.).

Children's songs such as those in Haberland (VSAe II, 601f.) are sung on different occasions; Van de Loo (1991:265f.) provides examples of those sung by Guǧǧi children when tending cattle.

Littmann (1925) already showed that Oromo oral poetry counts the number of syllables. In the corpus he gathered from early publications, six- and seven-syllable lines were the most frequent ones, but five- and eight-syllable lines were not rare. Lines of different lengths occurred in the same poem, e.g., for highlighting a particular point or for separating stanzas. Word repetitions, syntactic parallelism and extensive vowel parallelism are features that also occur frequently in western and central Oromo poetry. For instance, in the above short poem from Tutschek, line 1 is syntactically similar to 3, and 2 to 4; in addition to this, lines 1 and 3 have *i-a*-x-*a-a-a-a* vowels and lines 2 and 3 x-*a*-x-*a-e-a-u* vowels. No systematic study is available yet for southern Oromo poetry.

An important aspect of O.o.l. is that early sources from the 19th cent. and the first decades of the 20th cent. mention well-versed performers such as Loränsiyos Wäldä Iyäsus (cf. CerFolk), but not major poets, even though there are some examples of authorial poems, such as the two ones by Walgaafa Qumbii and Ilaansoo Halloo of the Waliso Oromo mentioned in Tamene Bitima (Griefenow-Mewis – Tamene Bitima 2004: 43f.). Prominent *asmaarii* poets such as *abbaa* Qašuumee are mentioned by Tesema Ta'a (ibid. 37) for the western Oromo during the second half of the 20th cent. Major oral poets who composed long poems of social critique and comment on current events have emerged during recent decades, such as *šeek* Ṭahaa Umar and Jaarsoo Waaqoo Qooṭoo (Schlee – Abdullahi A. Shongolo 1996; Assefa Tefera Dibaba 2003).

Soothsayers foretelling future events are known from several Oromo areas, the major ones are called *raaga* by the Boorana. Cerulli provides examples of prophetic prose texts from Ǧiǧǧoo Baččoo, also known as Abbaa Raǧǧii, a famous western Oromo soothsayer (CerFolk 181f.). Both prose and poetic prophecies by Areeroo Boosaaro, a Boorana *raaga* who died at the beginning of the 20th cent. are discussed by Bassi – Boku Tache (2005).

The Boorana *ḍaaduu* is a "narrative recitation in which the person tells of his own heroic deeds […] at top voice and top speed" (Leus – Salvadori 2006: 162bf.). It is thus quite similar to the *geeraarsa* in its topics, but seems to differ from this in how it is ritually performed and in its being in prose rather than in verse.

Cerulli mentions "professional jesters" such as Abbaa Wadaaǧoo, and provides some examples of their witty tales (*haasaa* 'conversation, story') and sayings (CerFolk 190f.). They were maintained at the expense of western Oromo courts, and were quite similar to the *ac̣c̣awač* of the Amhara. Their *haasaa* tales are quite similar to some of the folktales that have been collected in considerable number for different Oromiffaa-speaking communities.

Historical oral chronicles are also mentioned by Cerulli, such as the *Dubbii mootumma Gumaa* 'Chronicle of the kingdom of Guma' (ibid. 148f.). One of their purposes was to exalt the noble origin and the deeds of the dynasties that ruled over the western Oromo kingdoms, but already at the beginning of the 20th cent. such chronicles were known only to the elders.

Minor oral prose genres in O.o.l., are proverbs and riddles. The former (*makmaaka* or *mammaaksa*, a term that may also refer to short gnomic poems or tales) are of quite diverse types, e.g., short sentences, sequences of two or three clauses, wellerisms, etc. When they consist of (at least) two parts, these tend to have parallel syllable numbers as well as syntactic and lexical parallelisms, sometimes also vowel parallelism and even alliteration, like the following proverb:

Namni ḍaḍaa afaan kaa'an, / ḍagaa afaan nama kaa'a.
'The person who has been fed with butter, / feeds you with stones' (about ingratitude; 8 + 8 syllables, *a*-x-*a*-*a*-*a*-*a*-*a*-*a* vowels, *ḍ*- alliteration in *ḍaḍaa* and *ḍagaa*).

There is a huge literature on Oromo proverbs, that includes collections (e.g., Abarraa Nafaa et al. 1991–2004; Cotter 1990, etc.), and attempts at explaining their meanings and structure (e.g., Tasgara Hirpo 1996; Abdullahi A. Shongolo – Günther Schlee 2005; Eshete Gemeda 2009: 136f.; etc.).

Riddles (*hiibboo*) have a strongly formalized structure like proverbs, as shown by Tamene Bitima (Griefenow-Mewis – Tamene Bitima 2004: 81f.). The game of asking and answering riddles is a highly ritualized one; among the western and central Oromo it has to be introduced by saying "*hiibboo*!", and answered with "*hiibbakka*!" by the person who is willing to answer.

It appears that O.o.l. is a huge field, with a considerable degree of variation in the different regions where the Oromiffaa-speaking communities live. The Oromo oral literary traditions of several areas, such as Wällo and the lower course of the Tana River are still almost unknown.

Src.: ABARRAA NAFAA et al., *Mammaksa Oromoo* [Oromo proverbs], vols. 1–4, Finfinnee 1991–2004; ONESIMOS NÄSIB – GÄNON ASTER, *The Galla Spelling-book*. **ጀልቀባ፡ በርሲሳ፡ እኒስ፡ መጫፈ፡ ዱቢሱ፡ በርሲሰኑን፡ አፋን፡ ኦሮሞቲ** (*Ǧälqäba bärsisa*: *ənnis mäc̣afä dubbisu bärsisänun afan Oromotti* [= *Ǧalqaba barsiisaa*: *innis mac̣aafa dubbisuu barsiisanun afaan Oroomotti*], 'The Beginning of Teaching, that is the Book of Reading and Teaching in the Oromo Language'), Moncullo [Ǝmkullu] 1894; MARCO BASSI – BOKU TACHE, "The Oromo Eschatology: the Prophecy of Areeroo Boosaroo narrated by Borbor Bulee and Guyyoo Dambii", *Journal of Oromo Studies* 12, 2005, 174–222; PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER, "Some Preliminary Observations on a Type of Arsi Song, Wellu, which is Popular with Young Men", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 809–20; CerFolk; GEORGE COTTER, *Salt for Stew*: *Proverbs and Sayings of the Oromo People with English Translations*, Debre Zeyt 1990; CATHERINE GRIEFENOW-MEWIS – TAMENE BITIMA (eds.), *Oromo Oral Poetry Seen from Within*, Köln 2004; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, "Il ciclo di Räs Tafari nella poesia galla", *RSO* 15, 1934, 143–71; ID., *Favole e rime galla*: *testi raccolti, editi e annotati*, Roma 1935; GÜNTHER SCHLEE – ABDULLAHI A. SHONGOLO, "Oromo Nationalist Poetry: Jarso Waaqo Qooto's Tape Recording about Political Events in Southern Oromia, 1991", in: RICHARD J. HAYWARD – IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS (eds.), *Voice and Power*: *the Culture of Language in North-East Africa*, London 1996 (African Languages and Cultures Supplement 3), 229–42; HARRY STROOMER, "Islamic Poetry of Oromos in Northern Kenya", *AAP* 65, 2001, 71–102; CLAUDE SUMNER, *Oromo Wisdom Literature*, 2 vols., Addis Ababa 1995, 1997; PAOLO TABLINO, *I Gabbra del Kenya*, Bologna 1980; TASGARA HIRPO, *Goldgrube*: *Oromo-Sprichwörter und -Redewendungen*, Köln 1996 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 12); CHARLES TUTSCHEK, *Lexicon der Galla Sprache*, *Dictionary of the Galla Language*, part 1: *Galla–Englisch–Deutsch*, *Galla–English–German*, ed. by LAWRENCE TUTSCHEK, Munich 1844; CHARLES TUTSCHEK, *A Grammar of the Galla Language*, ed. by LAWRENCE TUTSCHEK, Munich 1845; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, *Zur Grammatik der Galla-Sprache*, Berlin 1893; VSAe II, 595f., 601f.

Lit.: ABDULLAHI A. SHONGOLO – GÜNTHER SCHLEE, *Boran Proverbs in their Cultural Context*, Köln 2005; BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI, "Allusive Diction in Galla Hymns in Praise of Sheikh Hussein of Bale", *African Language Studies* 13, 1972, 1–31; ID., "Literatures in Cushitic Languages Other than Somali", in: BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI – STANISŁAW PIŁASZEWICZ – WITOLD TYLOCH (eds.), *Litera-*

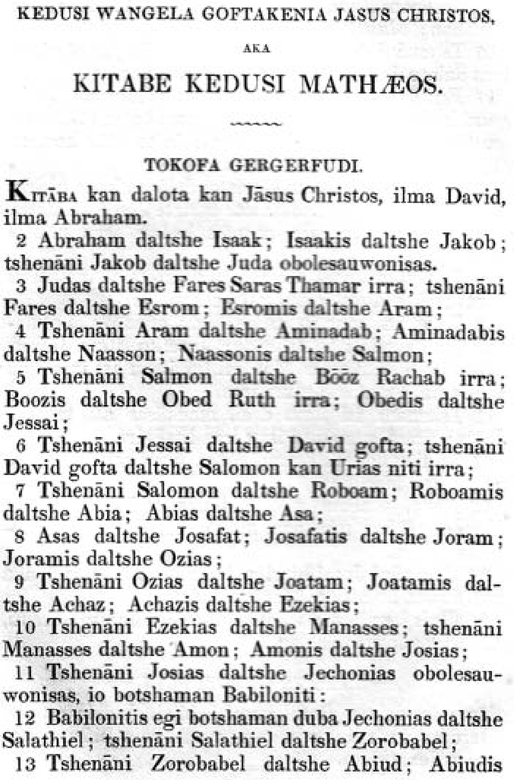
tures in African Languages: *Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, Cambridge – Warsaw 1985, 408–25; Assefa Tefera Dibaba, *Towards a Political Sociology of Oromo Literature*: *Jaarsoo Waaqoo's Poetry*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2003; Lambert Bartels, "Birth Customs and Birth Songs of the Macha Galla", *Ethnology* 8/4, 1969, 406–22; Eshete Gemeda, *African Society and Egalitarian Values*: *Oromo Folklore Literature and Cultural Studies in a Contemporary Context*, 2009, ms.; Minako Ishihara, "Textual Analysis of a Poetic Verse in a Muslim Oromo Society in Jimma Area, Southwestern Ethiopia", in: Shun Sato – Eisei Kurimoto (eds.), *Essays in Northeast African Studies*, Osaka 1996 (Senri Ethnological Studies 43), 207–32; Jeylan W. Hussein, "The Functions of African Oral Arts: the Arsi-Oromo Oral Arts in Focus", *African Study Monographs* 26, 1, 2005, 15–58; Tom Leus – Cynthia Salvadori, *Aadaa Boranaa*: *a Dictionary of Borana Culture*, Addis Ababa 2006; Enno Littmann, *Galla Verskunst*: *ein Beitrag zur allgemeinen Verskunst nebst metrischen Übersetzungen*, Tübingen 1925; Alessandro Triulzi – Tamene Bitima, "On Some Masqala and Daboo Songs of the Macca Oromo", in: Richard J. Hayward – Ioan Myrddin Lewis (eds.), *Voice and Power*: *the Culture of Language in North-East Africa*, London 1996 (African Languages and Cultures Supplement 3), 243–56; Joseph van de Loo, *Guji Oromo Culture in Southern Ethiopia*: *Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs*, Berlin 1991.

Giorgio Banti

Early writing in Oromiffaa

Early ↗Oromo writing, characterized by scattered texts written for diverse purposes in at least four different scripts, has not been fully studied yet. A few locally produced documents in ↗Oromiffaa did exist, but most of them are now lost; more texts have been preserved, which were produced in the context of Catholic and Protestant missions, which reached the Oromo already from around 1840.

It seems that among the first texts in Oromiffaa were 19th-cent. Muslim *ağami* texts (i.e. Oromiffaa in Arabic script), written by ↗Wällo religious leaders, who, also used the Ethiopian *fidäl* (Mohammed Hassen 2008:213). Some *ağami qaṣidas* in Oromiffa were brought by Cerulli from Harär. An obscure diplomatic document "in Oromiffaa" sent from the Oromo kingdom of ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya to ↗Goğğam of 1839 (RubActa I, 40f.) was written in an unknown script (largely reminiscent of the later ↗Harari secret script and even of the "Oromo" script developed much later by ↗Bakri Sapaloo; it might be influenced by secret scripts of Syriac origin known to Arabic learned men in Ethiopia). Its translation into Arabic assured that it was understood; it does not seem that this script was much used.



KEDUSI WANGELA GOFTAKENIA JASUS CHRISTOS,

AKA

KITABE KEDUSI MATHÆOS.

TOKOFA GERGERFUDI.

Kitāba kan dalota kan Jāsus Christos, ilma David, ilma Abraham.

2 Abraham daltshe Isaak; Isaakis daltshe Jakob; tshenāni Jakob daltshe Juda obolesauwonisas.

3 Judas daltshe Fares Saras Thamar irra; tshenāni Fares daltshe Esrom; Esromis daltshe Aram;

4 Tshenāni Aram daltshe Aminadab; Aminadabis daltshe Naasson; Naassonis daltshe Salmon;

5 Tshenāni Salmon daltshe Bōōz Rachab irra; Boozis daltshe Obed Ruth irra; Obedis daltshe Jessai;

6 Tshenāni Jessai daltshe David gofta; tshenāni David gofta daltshe Salomon kan Urias niti irra;

7 Tshenāni Salomon daltshe Roboam; Roboamis daltshe Abia; Abias daltshe Asa;

8 Asas daltshe Josafat; Josafatis daltshe Joram; Joramis daltshe Ozias;

9 Tshenāni Ozias daltshe Joatam; Joatamis daltshe Achaz; Achazis daltshe Ezekias;

10 Tshenāni Ezekias daltshe Manasses; tshenāni Manasses daltshe Amon; Amonis daltshe Josias;

11 Tshenāni Josias daltshe Jechonias obolesauwonisas, io botshaman Babiloniti:

12 Babilonitis egi botshaman duba Jechonias daltshe Salathiel; tshenāni Salathiel daltshe Zorobabel;

13 Tshenāni Zorobabel daltshe Abiud; Abiudis

Title page of the Gospel of Matthew, translated in Ankobär by Krapf and his assistant Barkii into the Galaan Oromo, before the introduction of the *fidäl* script for Oromiffaa; from the collection of Ralf Rickli, São Paulo, Brazil

Because of ↗slavery, individual Oromo settled in numerous countries, especially in the Muslim world, a few also in Europe; some freed Oromo (e.g., Karl ↗Habasch, tutored by ↗Tutschek) lived in southern German principalities from the 1830s onwards and exchanged letters in Oromiffaa amongst themselves in Latin script, and documented some oral literature. Some of it was published, for scholarly use (Tutschek 1845; Praetorius 1889; these also served as source materials for a grammar and the first Oromo dictionary). When the Protestant missionary ↗Krapf established himself in Ankobär, in 1839 he immediately began a Bible translation; he hired the Galaan Oromo Barkii ("Berki") from "Kum Dengai", with whom he produced translations of St. Matthew (s. ill.), St. Mark, Genesis and Epistles to the Romans in Latin script (Krapf 1839; 1841; 1872; 1874). It is known from missionary archives that these translations were actually used for preaching (at least in missionary stations of the "Apostles Road" where young freed Oromo slaves were taught; cp. ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission). The transliteration used was rather approximate (e.g., the consonants *q* and *ḍ* were confused with *k* and *d*), but vowel length is already, at least partially, taken into account. The lexicon shows Gəᶜəz and Amharic influence. These texts served as the basis for the continuation of the Bible translation by the former Oromo slave Ruufoo, who lived in Krapf's house in the 1860s (Smidt in PICES 14; Smidt 2001). Together they produced a New Testament in Oromiffaa, at first in Latin script. This, however, was retransliterated into *fidäl*, as a new Oromo mission had just been re-established in Šäwa (Johannes ↗Mayer), which ensured the further integration of the Šäwa Oromo into *nəguś* Mənilək's (↗Mənilək II) realm. Also the Ethiopian cleric *aläqa* ↗Zännäb translated the New Testament while staying in Təgray, with the help of Oromo whom he knew from the court of Tewodros II in Mäqdäla. This text was used by Krapf to check Ruufoo's translation; the manuscript itself is lost. The first printed Oromo Gospel of 1870 was immediately shipped to Ankobär; the full New Testament produced on the basis of Ruufoo's and Zännäb's translation (1876) was also later used in the mission (especially in Balli near the Awaš). Around the same time a Catholic mission was established in Šäwa, with a station in ↗Finfinnee; within this mission, prayers and songs were produced in Oromiffaa. A curious re-transliteration of Ruufoo's and Zännäb's text into the Latin script is reported by Darlow – Moule (1903: 469): the Gospel of St. Mark had been re-transliterated into Latin letters by several Oromo in South Africa and printed in 1893 at the Lovedale Mission press, South Africa, because most former Oromo slaves in the South African Lovedale Mission could read Latin letters, but almost none knew the *fidäl*.

Around the same period the Swedish Mission sponsored the first important and also locally influential writings (with texts from Oromo tradition, 1894) and translations, by ↗Aster Gannoo and ↗Onesimus Näsib, the latter becoming the most important Oromo Bible translator (Onesimos Näsib 1899). They chose another transcription in *fidäl* letters. Starting from this period, Oromiffaa was more than only occasionally written in *fidäl*, but very few examples have survived; administrative documents are only known in Amharic (with the occasional use of Oromo words). In Muslim ↗Harär, a secret script developed, in which allegedly full Oromiffaa manuscripts were written (in Oromiffaa), which, however, were burnt during persecution of Muslims in the period of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in the 1950s.

Src.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il 'Nagara Galla'", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, fasc. 11–12, 1904, 307–44; Johann Ludwig Krapf (tr.), *Tentamen imbecillum, Translationis Evangelii Johannis in Linguam Gallarum*, London 1839; Id., *Evangelium Matthei, translatum in linguam Gallarum*, London 1841; Ludwig Krapf – *Debtera* Saneb – Roofo, **ወንጌሊ፡ ሉቃሲ** – *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, St. Chrischona 1870; Yoḥannəs Luwis Krapf et al., **ቁልቁሎታ፡ መጣፎታ፡ ከኩ፡ ሖረዋ፡ አፋን፡ ዮናኒቲ፡ ገረ፡ አፋን፡ ኦሮሞቲ** – *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Translated into the Galla Language*, St. Chrischona 1876; RubActa I, 40f.; Charles Tutschek, *A Grammar of the Galla Language*, ed. by Lawrence Tutschek, München 1845; Onesimos Näsib – Gänon Aster, *The Galla Spelling-book*. **ጀልቀበ፡ በርሲሳ፡ እንስ፡ መጫፈ፡ ዱቢሱ፡ በርሲሰኑን፡ አፋን፡ ኦሮሞቲ** (*Ǧälqäbä bärsisa*: *ənnis mäč̣afä dubbisu bärsisänun afan Oromotti* [= *Ǧalqaba barsiisaa*: *innis mač̣aafa dubbisuu barsiisanun afaan Oroomotti*], 'The Beginning of Teaching, that is the Book of Reading and Teaching in the Oromo Language'), Moncullo [Ǝmkullu] 1894; Onesimos Näsib, **መጫፈ፡ ቁልቁሉ** (*Mäč̣afä qulqullu* [= *Mač̣aafa qulqulluu*], 'The Holy Book'), St. Chrischona 1899; Franz Praetorius, "Eine Galla-Fabel, aus Karl Tutscheks Nachlass mitgeteilt", *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische Sprachen* [Berlin] 3, 1889, 77–79; Id., *Zur Grammatik der Galla-Sprache*, Berlin 1893, 303–10.

Lit.: ArEvang, index; Thomas Herbert Darlow – Herbert Frederick Moole, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scripture in the Library of the British And Foreign Bible Society*, 2 vols., London 1903–11 (Lit.); Enno Littmann, *Galla-Verskunst: ein Beitrag zur allgemeinen Verskunst nebst metrischer Übersetzung*, Tübingen 1925; Mekuria Bulcha, "The Language Policies of Ethiopian Regimes and the History of Written Afaan Oromoo: 1844–1994", *The Journal of Oromo Studies* 2, 1994, 91–115; Id., "Onesimos Nasib's Pioneering Contributions to Oromo Writing", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 4, 1, 1995, 36–61; Mohammed Hassen, "A Brief Glance at the Torturous Development of Written Oromo Literature", in: Ali Jimale Ahmed – Taddesse Adera (eds.), *The Road Less Traveled, Reflections on the Literatures of the Horn of Africa*, Trenton, NJ – Asmara 2008, 207–44; Wolbert Smidt, "The Unknown First Oromo Bible Translator Christian Rufo: Some Insights from Private Missionary Archives", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 634–50; Id., "Quellenübersicht zur Biographie des ehemaligen Sklaven und ersten Oromo-Bibelübersetzers Christian Rufo", *AAP* 67, 2001, 181–97.

Wolbert Smidt

Contemporary writing in Oromiffaa

Until the mid 1970s the only writings published in Oromiffaa were a few sponsored by Christian missions (↗Aster Gannoo; ↗Onesimus Näsib) and biblical translations. Service books and hymn books still continue to be important repositories (↗Bible: Bible translation into Oromo; Anon. 2000; Anon. 2001). Some texts of stories, poems and songs appeared in overseas publications as illustrative components of ethnographies and linguistic studies, of which the best known is probably Cerulli's *Folk-literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia* (CerFolk), but they addressed Western scholars rather than Oromo readers. Such cultural studies remain important sources of texts in Oromiffaa; Van de Loo's study of the ↗Guǧǧi, e.g., is a mine of both traditional songs and locally composed Pentecostal hymns which "integrate traditional […] values and concepts with a fundamentalistic […] reading of the Bible" (1991: 291–321).

↗Oral literature has demonstrated an inexhaustible appetite and capacity for adaptation and the oral and the literary are complementary, though the words used in oral performances do not become set as written texts must do. A feature of social gatherings, rituals and political meetings is robust participation by respected locals who, to suit the occasion or their own feelings, may alter lines, reorder the narrative and make their own additions. A publication is often a piece of oral literature which happens to have been written down and subsequently published as, e.g., the poems of Ǧaarso Waaqo Qooto. Ǧaarso, a ↗Boorana, grew up as a rural herdboy but went to town as a young man where he eventually gained a reputation as a composer and reciter of verses about local politics, development and the dangers of alcohol abuse. In 1991 or 1992 Ǧaarso became an active member of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and used his poetic skills in "the war of words". He adapted the ↗*geerarsa* genre (traditionally composed by warriors in praise of their exploits) to honour the OLF and its cause. The genre had demonstrated its suitability for declamations of political and nationalistic passions in theatrical performances in Addis Abäba during the "Oromo cultural revival" of the mid-1970 (Addisu Tolesa 1990: 178). Ǧaarso recorded his poetry on cassettes which became very popular, played in public places throughout the Oromo-speaking areas. By the time of his death in 1994 Ǧaarso had come to be regarded by the southern Oromo "as the greatest poet of his time" (Abdullahi Shongollo in BHTOrom 265, 270). His unpublished poems have been transcribed and are being prepared for publication (Asafa Tefera Dibaba 2004).

Tapes of poems and songs which examine current issues in a style in which everyone, schooled or unschooled, can participate are listened to avidly whereas books have a limited readership. The innovative poet Zalaalam Abarra (2002), e.g., has published a tape of his poems as well as a book. Tapes of songs by performance groups, which tackle new issues in a partly traditional style, have contributed to the creation of a common Oromo literary and political consciousness: indeed *Oromiyaa*, as sung by Ali Birraa and Magi Harun (1992), has become an "unofficial national anthem" which "expresses the common experience of disconnectedness felt by Oromo exiles throughout the world" (Gow 2002: 57).

Oromo scholars turned to the scholarly exegesis, translation and publication of their shared store of oral literature (Addissu Tolesa 1990, Fuglich Wako 2002, Tegegn Nuresa Wako 1993, 1994, Sahlu Kidane 2002, Tamene Bitima 1983, 1986). They, like the new novelists and poets, relish the literary worth of the oral sources and utilize the representations which they give of an idyllic, precolonial past for "creating and advancing self and cultural awareness" (Zelealem Aberra 2003: 133). Literary and national feelings reinforce each other and those intellectuals who write in English or French also draw strength from oral sources (Mekuria Bulcha 1993; Ficquet 1997).

When the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) eased restrictions on vernacular publications, as long as the Ethiopian script was used, there was a brief blossoming of Oromo written literature. Dafaa Ǧammoo's didactic allegory *Huursaa* (named after the Hursa River in ↗Wälläga), e.g., contained Oromo characters and backgrounds. The most influential publication in Oromiffaa was the newspaper ↗*Bariisaa* which published the revolutionary poems of Mahdi Hamid Muudee. For a brief period it seemed that the new ↗language policy would favour the spread of ↗literacy in Oromiffaa. At the same time, some Oromo expatriates published literary texts abroad in different Latin orthographies (e.g., Taammanaa Bitimaa 1986).

Publications using the Latin alphabet in the orthography called *qubee* only began to appear in Ethiopia after the fall of the *Därg*. Official recognition of *qubee* produced a torrent of officially sponsored educational publications; e.g., 83 "items of school material" were produced in 1992 and 29 school textbooks were published in 1995 and 1996 (Tamene Bitima 2000: 12–19). The Regional Administration continues to publish extensive collections of oral literature from across Oromiyaa. A succession of magazines, often short lived, also appeared: *Biiftuu*, *Gadaa*, *Ichima*, *Kiilolee*, *Madda Walaabuu*, *Odaa*, *Qabee*, *Simbirtu*, *Urjii* published locally, and *Ejersa*, *Qunnamtii Oromiyaa*, *Finfinnee* and *Sagalee Waldanso* overseas. Tamene Bitima (2000: 18–22), himself a poet and writer of stories, has published a comprehensive list of journals and books published up until the end of 1997.

Most stories and novels show political concern and tend to take a rather bleak view of contemporary life. Ḍaaba Wayyeessaa is probably the most prolific and best established author (Kifle Djote 1993). His play *Dukanaan Duuba*, which depicts what used to be the harsh lot of Oromo tenants, was first performed at the National Theatre in 1991. Despite harassment and eventual exile he has had other plays performed on the radio and stage and has published two novels. *Godaannisa* (1992) is the story of the tribulations of a student who is trying to realize his talents, and his fraught, but eventually happy, love affair. *Gurraacha Abbayaa* (1996), originally serialized on national radio, is set among the ↗Gumuz. It is a tragic story of the sufferings of two star-crossed lovers named Teeto and Yenče. They are prevented from marrying by the traditional rules of sister exchange marriage which give preference to the marriage of a brother and a sister to a sister and a brother (Arsi Oromo practice a similar form of exchange). The heroine Yenče is forced by her kinsfolk to marry a man who, when he discovers she is not a virgin, beats her and rejects her and shoots her lover Teeto dead. Yenče drowns herself in the Blue Nile just as Teeto's sister had done, rather than be married to Yenče's brother.

Gaaddisaa Birruu's *Kuusaa Gadoo* (1991), a novel of suspense, describes the corruption and nepotism of officials who take bribes, send people to the front and misuse their power to seduce their victim's wives. *Suuraa Abdii* (1993) by Kumsaa Braayuyu tells the story of a young high school graduate who comes to Addis Abäba in search of a better life. Takilee Qinaaṭṭii's *Dirmammuu* (1995) is a dramatized call for Oromo unity. Daraaraa Maati's novel *Gaaf Tokko* is concerned with the life stories of some Oromo young men and women after the OLF's withdrawal from the transitional government in 1992.

There has been neither sufficient time nor the proper conditions for the creation of an aware and reactive Oromo "reading public", and there is not an established market for books nor a literary journal. These limitations are particularly constricting for reflective poets, such as Asafaa Tafarraa Dibaabaa, Taha Abdi and Zalaalam Abarra, who explore personal feelings and responses. Not surprisingly most writings in Oromiffaa still "fall short of meeting the qualitative standards of modern literature" (Ḍaaba Wayyeessaa quoted in Kifle Jote 1993: 23).

Src.: ABARRAA HAMBISAA TIIN, *Booree Boorana Ti* ('The Revenge of Borana'), Finfinnee 1993; ABDULLAHI A. SHONGOLO, "The Poetics of Nationalism: a Poem by Jarso Waaqo Qoot'o", in: *BHTOrom* 265–90; ALI BIRRAA – MAGI HARUN (tape), *Oromo Relief Association*, Addis Ababa 1992; ANON., *Sunday Lectionary in Borana*, Marsabit 2000; ANON., *Galata Waakayoo*; *Macaafa Iffaa* ('God's Prases; Book of Life'), Minneapolis, MN 2001; ASAFAA TAFARRAA DIBAABAA, *Edas-Edanas* ('Poems'), Addis Ababa 1997; ID., *Anaan'yaa* ('Poems'), Addis Ababa 1998; ID., *Danaa*, Addis Ababa 2000; DAFA JAMMO, *Huursaa*, Addis Ababa n.d.; DARAARA MAATI, *Gaaf Tokko* ('One Day'), Kista 2001; DHAABAA WAYYEESSAA, *Godaannisa* ('The Scar'), Finfinnee 1992; ID., *Gurraacha Abbayaa* ('Blue Nile'), Washington, D.C. 1996; GAADDISAA BIRRUU, *Kuusaa Gadoo* ('A Heap of Sorrow'), Finfinnee 1991; ID., *Dhaamsa Abbaa* ('A Father's Will'), Finfinnee 2002; HAYILUU BANTII, *Coraa Aadaa* ('The Health of Custom'), Finfinnee 1997; KUMSA BURAAYYUU, *Suuraa Abdi* ('Picture of Hope'), Finfinnee 1993; MAHDI HAMID MUUDEE (ABBAA BARRIISAA), *Walaloo Warraaqsa Oromoo. Oromo Revolutionary Poems*, poems published by *Bariisaa* during 1975–77, Atlanta, GA 1996; MANGASHAA RIQITUU, *Biiftuu Diiramaa* ('Morning Sun'), Addis Ababa 1978, London ^{2}1999; ID., *Na Agartaa Maaf Dabartaa*? ('You Saw me so Why Pass by?'), London 2000; MAARAMEE HARQAA KAASAA, *Gundoo Booree*, Finfinnee 1993; TAAMMANAA BITIMAA, *Majaa fi Garee*; *The Hyena and the Party*, Berlin 1986; TAHA ABDI, *Billiqa* ('A Twinkle of Light'), Khartoum 1981, London ^{2}1993; TAKILEE QINAAXXI, *Dirmammuu* ('The Weal'), Finfinnee 1995; TEGEGN NURESO WAKO, *Mammaakaaf Weelluu* ('Proverbs and Love Songs from Arssii'), Addis Ababa 1993; ID., *Suunsuma*: *Geerrarsa* ('War Songs: Songs of a Hero), Addis Abeba 1994; ZALAALAM ABARRA, *Malli Maalii*? *Fi Akkasumas Walaloota Kaan* ('What is the Solution? and Other Poems'), Tampere, Finland 2002.

Lit.: ADDISU TOLESA, *The Historical Transformation of a Folklore Genre*: *the 'Geerarsa' as a National Literature of the Oromo, in the Context of Amhara Colonization*, Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University 1990; ASAFA TEFERA DIBABA, *Theorising the Present. Towards a Sociology of Oromo Literature*: *Jaarso Waaqoo's Poetry*, Addis Ababa 2004; CerFolk; ELOI FIQUET, *Les Intellectuels Oromo en exil*, M.A. thesis, University of Paris X-Nanterre 1997; FUGLICH WAKO, *Qoosaa-Taapaa as an Oral Literary Genre among the Borana*: *Mediating Social Relationships in Joke and Play*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg 2002; GREG GOW, *The Oromo in Exile*: *from the Horn of Africa to the Suburbs of Australia*, Melbourne 2002; KIFLE DJOTE, "A Glance at Oromo Arts and Literature; the Story of Dhaaba Wayyessaa – a Young Playwright", *The Oromo Commentary* 3, 2, 1993, 20–23; MEKURIA BULCHA, "Language, Ethnic Identity and Nationalism in Ethiopia …", *ibid*. 3, 1, 1993, 8–16, 2, 5–18; MOHAMMED HASSEN, "A Brief Glance at the Torturous Development of Written Oromo Literature", in: ALI JIMALE AHMED – TADDESSE ADERA (eds.), *The Road Less Traveled*: *Reflections on the Literatures of the Horn of Africa*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2008, 207–70; SAHLU KIDANE, *Borana Folktales*: *a Contextual Study*, London 2002; TAMENE BITIMA, "On

Some Oromo Historical Poems", *Paideuma* 29, 1983, 317–25; ID., *A Dictionary of Oromo Technical Terms – Oromo-English*, Köln 2000; JOSEPH VAN DE LOO, *Guji Oromo Culture in Southern Ethiopia*, Berlin 1991; ZELEALEM ABERRA, "Transition from Oral to Written Oromo Poetry", *Journal of Oromo Studies* 10, 1–2, 2003, 119–34.

Paul T.W. Baxter – Gaddisa Birru

Orthodox Students Association ↗Haymanotä Abäw

^{c}Oṣ

Abba ^{c}O. (ዖጽ, also ዖፅ ^{c}Oṣ́, ኦጽ Oṣ, ኦፅ Oṣ́) was a monk allegedly from K^{w}əzara, "Caesarea" (Marrassini 1990: 35f.). He is connected with the hagiographic cycle of the ↗Nine Saints, but his role within this group is still unclear. The evidence about him is quite scanty:

1) his name appears in the *Gädlä Gärima* as a substitute for that of ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi, on account of which Conti Rossini surmised a hostile relationship between ↗Däbrä Damo (founded by Zämikaʾel Arägawi) and the clergy of ↗Aksum or Däbrä Mädära, the monastery founded by *abba* ↗Gärima (↗Ǝndä Abba Gärima; Conti Rossini 1897: 174, vs. 109);
2) his name also replaces that of *abba* ↗Ṣəḥma in two mss. exemplars of the *Gädlä Liqanos*, from Aksum Ṣəyon and Däbrä Q^{w}änaṣəl respectively;
3) at least two hymns, in the 18th-cent. ↗*Zəmmare* in ms. BN Éth. 372 (GrébGriaule III, ms. no. 68), fols. 44vb–45ra and in the 18th-cent. ↗*Zəmmare* in ms. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Aeth. 280, fol. 43v (van Lantschoot 1962: 483) are dedicated to ^{c}O.;
4) a fragment of his *Gädl*, translated by Cerulli, is included in a Paris ms. of the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* (CerLett 76f., probably ms. BN Éth. 130, 18th cent., ZotBNat 62–67, esp. 65 n. 73);
5) he is mentioned as *mänäkos romawi zäsəmu ^{c}Oṣ bädäbrä Kuraza* ('the Roman monk whose name is ^{c}Oṣ from Däbrä Kuraza') in the *Täʾammərä Maryam* in mss. EMML 2058, fol. 11v, 18th cent. (EMML VI, 71) and Lund, Universitätsbibliothek 61, fols. 197ra–198va (LöfUpp 150) and as ^{c}O., the Roman monk from Däbrä K^{w}əzara in a miracle in the *Täʾammərä Maryam* ms. EMML 2800, fol. 96v, 19th cent. (EMML VII, 142).

Kinefe Rigb Zelleke (KinBibl 90, no. 141) seems to assume that ^{c}O. and Ṣəḥma are one and the same person, while according to Getatchew Haile (1991: 1047), ^{c}O. could be another name of either ↗Alef or Ṣəḥma. Much earlier, Mendes (BecRASO VIII, 70 [I, 7]) and Ludolf (LudHist III, 3) had identified him with *abba* ↗Guba.

In the Ethiopian ↗*Sənkəssar* a certain "*abba* ^{c}O. and the virgins" are mentioned on 4 *Taḫśaś*, but the identification of the former with *abba* ^{c}O. of the Nine Saints is uncertain.

Src.: BecRASO VIII, 70 (I, 7); BudSaint 321f.; CerLett 76f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'Omilia di Yohannes, vescovo d'Aksum, in onore di Garimâ", in: *Actes du XI Congrès des Orientalistes. Section Sémitique*, Paris 1897, 139–77; BRUNO DUCATI (tr.), *La grande impresa di Amda Sion re d'Etiopia, romanzo storico del XIV secolo. I miracoli di Abbā Garimā, omelia del XV secolo*, Milano 1939; EMML VI, VII; *Gädlä Liqanos*, ms. from Däbrä Q^{w}änaṣəl; *Gädlä Qəddusan*, ms. from Aksum Ṣəyon; *Zəmmare*, GrébGriaule III, 217, no. 36 (ms. 68 = éth. 372, fol. 44vb–45ra); GréSyn IV, 46; ARNAULD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "Inventaire sommaire des mss. vaticans éthiopiens 261–299", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi H. Card. Albareda* I, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e Testi 219), 453–512; LöfUpp; LudHist III, 3; ZotBNat.

Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "Ethiopian Saints", in: *CE* vol. 4, 1045–56, here 1047; ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "^{c}Oṣ", in: *DicEthBio* 128; KinBibl 90, no. 141; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Some Considerations on the Problem of the 'Syriac Influences' on Aksumite Ethiopia", *JES* 23, 1990, 35–46, here 35f.; OSVALDO RAINERI, "^{c}Oṣ di Quezarà", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 725f.

Antonella Brita

Osgood, Wilfred Hudson

O. (b. 8 December 1875, Rochester, New Hampshire, d. 20 June 1947, Chicago) was a zoologist educated at Stanford University and the University of Chicago. During 1897–1909, O. worked as a biologist in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. From 1909–21, he was Assistant Curator of Mammalogy and Ornithology at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, Illinois. O. then became the museum's Curator of Zoology until his retirement (1941). He conducted biological explorations and surveys throughout North and South America and in Indo-China.

In 1926–27, O. led the Field Museum – *Chicago Daily News* Abyssinian Expedition, whose other members included Louis Agassiz Fuertes, Jack Baum, Alfred M. Baily and C. Suydam Cutting. During the seven month, 2,000-mile expedition, O. and his team travelled throughout southern and northern Ethiopia and collected examples of nearly 2,000 mammals and 2,000 birds.

Lit.: "Osgood, Wilfred", in: *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, vol. 36, New York 1950, 544–45; LOUIS AGASSIZ FUERTES – WILFRED HUDSON OSGOOD, *Artist and Naturalist in Ethiopia*, New York 1936, vii–viii.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Ossola, Giacomo Leone

O. (b. 12 May 1887, Vallò di Caluso, Turin, d. 17 October 1951, Brescia) was the Vicar Apostolic of ↗Harär from 1937 to 1943 (↗Catholicism).

O. attended the Seraphic College of Sommariva Bosco. In 1909 he graduated in Literature at the Apollinare and was ordained priest in Turin. In 1919 he was appointed to the office of the Secretary General of the ↗Capuchin Order and in 1922 he was called to Rome as parish priest of San Lorenzo al Verano.

In 1937, O. was appointed by Pope Pius XI as titular bishop of Salona and was summoned to manage the apostolic Vicariate of Harär, previously run by the French Capuchins under ↗Jarosseau. O. settled in Harär officially on 1 January 1938, when the mission had already transformed itself into a colony. In his published writings, he welcomed the creation of the fascist empire, firmly convinced of the close relationship between the "Italianization" of the region and the promotion of the Roman Catholic faith. However, his unpublished writings reveal cautiousness regarding Fascism. In the first three years of his apostolate in Ethiopia O. restored some missionary structures damaged by Italian military operations, among which were the orphanage of Sofi, and the Lazarist printing press; he undertook the construction, financed by the Italian government, of the cathedral of Harär; promoted the publication of the Italian–↗Oromiffaa dictionary (da Thiene 1939) and the Harär parish bulletin *Il Seminatore*. O. dedicated particular attention to professional schools and to the formation of the indigenous clergy and nuns, for which reason he ordered the construction of an episcopal seminary and a monastery. The British intervention in Ethiopia interrupted the activities of the Vicariate. O. was deported together with other Italian missionaries and repatriated at the beginning of 1943.

In October 1943 O. became Apostolic Administrator of the diocese of Novara. He helped the anti-Fascist resistance, and after the war Novara conferred on him honorary citizenship and the title of "Defensor Civitatis". On 19 September 1945 he was appointed bishop of Novara. He retired on 12 June 1951.

Src.: *Bollettino delle parrocchie di S. Lorenzo al Verano e di S. Ippolito* 7, Roma 1937 [Archivio Generale dei Cappuccini]; Agatangelo da Cuneo, *Nelle terre d'Etiopia. Quasi cent'anni di storia missionaria*, intr. by Leone Ossola, Roma 1939; Gaetano da Thiene, *Dizionario della lingua galla con brevi notazioni grammaticali …*, Harar – Padova 1939; Giacomo Leone Ossola, *Apostolato missionario*, Roma 1938.

Lit.: "Ossola, Leone", in: *Lexicon capuccinum (1525–1950)*, Romae 1950, 1254; *Analecta ordinis fratum minorum capuccinorum* 67, 10–11, 1951, 263; *ibid.* 68, 1–2, 1952, 25–26; Mauro Begozzi, "Ossola Giacomo Leone", in: Francesco Traniello – Giorgio Campanini (eds.), *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico*, III/2, Genova 1984, 613–14.

Lucia Ceci

Ottoman Empire, relations with the

First contacts

The O.E. started influencing North-eastern Africa directly during the sultanate of Selim I Yavuz. In 1517 this sultan conquered ↗Egypt and the Ottomans rapidly extended their control over the African coast of the ↗Red Sea. At an unknown date (but probably around 1527/28; Orhonlu 1974: 10, n. 54) they managed to enter ↗Sawākin (Turkish: Sevakin). At the same time the O.E. expanded also in the Ḥiǧāz and in 1538/39 the ↗Yemen was eventually occupied, including ↗Zabīd and Aden (Ṣanʿāʾ only in 1547). The conquest of Yemen put the O.E. in contact with Ethiopia and also confronted it with the simultaneous maritime expansion of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea [note on the transliteration: in this entry Ottoman Turkish is transliterated from the Arabic script; in some cases modern Turkish spelling is added].

In a sort of indirect war against the Ethiopians but especially their Portuguese allies, the new Ottoman *beylerbeyi* ('governor') of Zabīd, Muṣṭafā *pasha*, repeatedly supported the army of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") with ↗fire-arms, cannons and artillery soldiers. After the Ethiopian prince ↗Minas had been captured (and apparently forcefully converted to ↗Islam), he was sent in ca. 1541/42 as a captive to the Ottoman "*pasha* in Arabia" (BTafA 950), i.e. Muṣṭafā, and was released only in 1544 in an exchange of captives. The victories of the *imām* were apparently well known in Istanbul where a *kanunname* (decree) was issued in an uncertain year (most likely 1541–42) in which Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm was called *sulṭān* Ahmed *el-hākim be-vilāyet-i habeš*, ('*sulṭān* Aḥmad the ruler in the province of Habeš [= ↗Abyssinia]'; Orhonlu 1974: 27).

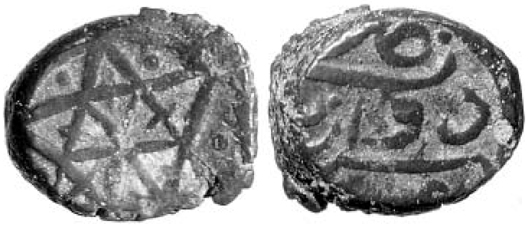
In the hinterland south of Egypt, the O.E. penetrated into Nubia where ↗Özdemir *pasha* occupied Qaṣr Ibrīm and ad-Darr during the campaign in Upper and Lower Nubia in ca.

1540/41. In 1554 Sawākin was declared a *sanǧak* (‘province’, Turkish: *sancak*) within the Ottoman Egyptian administration. The following year, however, all the areas of “black people” (considered to be part of a “greater Abyssinia”) around Sawākin were unified under one new administrative unit, the ↗Habeš *beylerbeylik* (Turkish: Habeš *beylerbeyliği*, ‘the governorship of Habeš’), which was officially created on 15 July 1555 and given to Özdemir’s rule (Orhonlu 1974: 37). The necessity to counterbalance the Portuguese presence in the Red Sea and in the Indian Ocean pushed the O.E. to launch a full-fledged military initiative on the Eritrean shore. Özdemir headed a large army which managed to occupy ↗Massawa (Turkish: Massava) on 2 April 1557. Subsequently, ↗Ḥərgigo was also seized, becoming a *sanǧak* for its own in 1580 (Orhonlu 1974: 113f.). Also the ↗Dahlak islands which were originally under the control of the Yemen *beylerbeyi* were annexed to Özdemir’s Habeš *eyaleti* (ibid. 43f.). Further south, ↗Zaylaᶜ was occupied in 1559 and became a *sanǧak* within Habeš *eyaleti* (at times including ↗Berbera), which became the basis for later Ottoman claims over the northern Somali coast (ibid. 44). Also ↗Zanzibar south of the Red Sea accepted Ottoman sovereignty. However, Zaylaᶜ seems to have been at least de facto independent soon thereafter; in 1581 it was ruled by *imām* Aḥmad. In Lower Nubia, Ibrīm (before administrated under Ottoman Egypt) was integrated into Ḥabeš *eyaleti* in 1573 until it was again reassigned to Egypt in 1589 (in 1584–85, however, it was an *eyalet* for its own; Orhonlu 1974: 113f.).

Habeš *eyaleti* and the Turkish–Abyssinian war

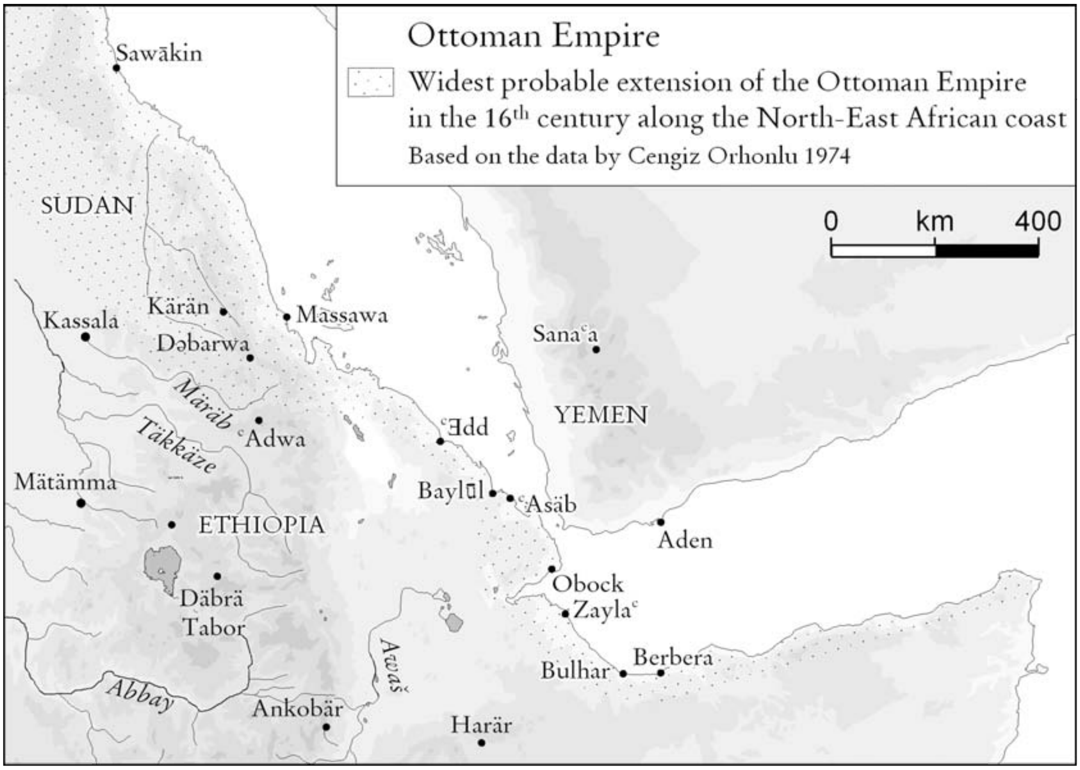
Massawa became the administrative and economic centre of the new Ottoman province. Starting from this base, Özdemir moved towards the interior and clashed several times with the armies of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos and of *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq. He conquered ↗Dəbarwa and sacked surrounding areas (including the monastery of ↗Matyas of ᶜAddäqe and ↗Däbrä Damo). At a certain point he also obtained the support of ↗Gaᶜəwa, the queen of ↗Mäzäga.

There were counteroffensives by *baḥər nägaš* Yəsḥaq, who, for some time, pushed the Ottomans back down to the coast (Marrassini 2003: 598ff.). However, under *aṣe* ↗Minas and even more frequently during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣa Dəngəl, the Ottomans again managed to extend their rule over the northern highlands, exploiting the harsh rivalry between the *baḥər nägaš* and the Ethiopian ruler (for details s. Conti Rossini 1921–22, 1922–23; Marrassini 2003: 600–07); the *baḥər nägaš* Yəsḥaq changed sides and accepted Ottoman overrule.



Copper coin minted in Dəbarwa during Ottoman domination, 16th cent., diameter ca. 16 mm; Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen; photo courtesy of Lutz Ilisch

The epicentre of this lasting conflict was Dəbarwa. In 1562 the town was once again under Ottoman rule. Dəbarwa became the centre of a new *sanǧak* (called Dawarya [Devarya]). A fortress was constructed with a main ↗mosque (*ǧāmiᶜ*) and some smaller mosques were also built. The importance of the *sanǧak* of Dawarya is demonstrated by the fact that coins were struck there (two well-preserved coins are dated 974 H. [1566–67 A.D.], the year of *sulṭān* Selim II’s accession; Kabaklarlı 2007). Dəbarwa was eventually lost by the O.E. in December 1578 (*Muḥarram* 987 H.; February/March 1579 according to some Ottoman sources) in the aftermath of the battle of ᶜAddi Qorro where the Ottoman *pasha* Ahmed fell as martyr (*şehit*) and his ally *baḥər nägaš* Yəsḥaq was killed fighting against Śärṣa Dəngəl’s troops (Conti Rossini 1922–23: 55; Orhonlu 1974: 56–60). Also other areas in the highlands were temporarily made *sanǧak*, such as Bor (↗Bur), and given to local vasals of the Ottomans (Orhonlu 1974: 57, 109f.). In the following years, only partially successful attempts to reaffirm the rule of the O.E. on the highlands were carried out by Hızır *pasha* (1579–82) and his successor Hüdaverdi (1588–93; in Ethiopian sources known as ↗Kädawərd; cp. BTafA 932). By the beginning of the 17th cent. the O.E. eventually desisted from trying to expand its territory in the interior and limited its control to the Red Sea shores. In this first period, Habeš *eyaleti* developed a complex internal system of government which can be partially reconstructed on the basis of the available Ottoman archive sources (Orhonlu 1974: 93–128). Es-


Ottoman Empire
Widest probable extension of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century along the North-East African coast
Based on the data by Cengiz Orhonlu 1974
0 km 400
Sawākin
SUDAN
Kassala
Kärän
Dəbarwa
Massawa
Märäb
Täkkäze
ʿAdwa
Mätämma
ETHIOPIA
Däbrä Tabor
Abbay
Ankobär
Awaš
Harär
ʿƎdd
Baylul
ʿAsäb
Sanaʿa
YEMEN
Aden
Obock
Zaylaʿ
Bulhar
Berbera

pecially noteworthy is the presence of a *qāḍī* appointed for Habeš who basically resided in Sawākin (ibid. 1974: 114f.). Most probably these judicial administrators were instrumental in the spread of the ↗Ḥanafism on the shores of Eritrea (later a *qāḍī* was appointed also in Massawa, assuming probably the same role).

The decline of the ↗Portuguese presence in the area helped consolidate the position of O.E. in its relation with the Ethiopian Empire; from the 16th cent. onwards the Ottomans controlled the trade routes from the sea to the highlands. Over the following centuries, the Ottoman-controlled ports of Massawa and Sawākin remained important for the trade with inner Ethiopia (also for the import of fire-arms). They were the most important slave markets at the Red Sea coast (↗Slavery); slaves from inner Ethiopia were exported to many regions within the O.E., including Istanbul. Black slaves coming from North-east Africa (called Habeši, but more often also Zenği and Arap) were well present in Ottoman society: their most renowned representatives were the black eunuchs (Turkish: *kızlar ağası; kara ağalar*) in service in-side the harem of the Topkapı sarayı (Goodwin in EI^2 vol. 19; Jennings 1987; research on Ottoman slave biographies confirms the Ethiopian background of many, cp. the 19th cent. slave Sarah La Preta in Jerusalem, Glass – Kark 2008; also cp. the biographies of Pauline ↗Fathme, Karl ↗Habasch, ↗Maḥbūba).

17th to 19th century: administrative changes

Following the loss of the highlands and the parallel loss of the Yemen (1636), Massawa and Ḥərgigo remained the only important towns under Ottoman administration. For obvious commercial reasons, the Ethiopian state sought good relations with the O.E., but at the same time attempted to avoid Ottoman-controlled ports. Between 1642 and 1647 *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs made direct contact with the Yemenite Zaydī *imām* to try to gain his support in fostering the port of ↗Baylūl as an alternative to Massawa (DonHaySirat; van Donzel 1994). In 1672–73 ↗Evliya Čelebi visited the *eyalet* of Habeš and was a guest of the Ottoman ↗*nāʾib* in Ḥərgigo (Prokosch 1994).

The peripheral position of the Habeš *eyaleti*, which did not contribute sufficient revenue in the 17th cent., and the necessity to strengthen the role of Jeddah in the control of the maritime movements in the Red Sea (especially in connection with the pilgrimage caravans) led to an administrative reform in 1701. Habeš formally remained an *eyalet*, but was put under the administration of the *šeyhü'l-haremlik* of Mecca and the *sanğak* of Jeddah. The new administrative entity thus encompassed three units, Habeš, Jeddah and ↗Mecca under the full name [in Turkish] *Habeş eyaleti ilhakı ve Cidde-i maᶜmûre sancağıla Mekke-i Mükerreme Şeyhü'l-haremliği* ('The province of Habeš together with the *šeyhü'l-haremliyi* of the glorious Mecca and the *sanğak* of the prosperous Jeddah'; Orhonlu 1974: 96, 132ff.). When the *vilayet* system was introduced in the mid-19th cent., it was mostly called Hiğaz *vilayeti* ('the governorate of the Ḥiğāz'). In the official titulature of the Ottoman *sulṭān*, however, Habeš is still proudly mentioned in the 18th cent. to magnify the extent of Ottoman rule in the world (e.g., a letter to Frederick the Great of Prussia, 1763, Scheel 1950: 31; later, the *sulṭān* shortened his titulature, and this territory disappeared, s. Kütükoğlu 1994: 149).

Throughout the 18th and 19th cent. Massawa and Sawākin were the only two *sanğak* belonging to Habeš *eyaleti* (Birken 1976: 254f.). The *beylerbeyi* now resided most of the time in Jeddah and entrusted the administration of Habeš to two deputies (one for Massawa and one for Sawākin), the *mütesellim* ('tax collector'). At Massawa, the *mütesellim* controlled only the port itself, while the administration of the hinterland, still formally Ottoman, was in the hands of indigenous administrators, the *nāᵓib* at Ḥərgigo controlling the whole coast adjacent to Massawa (cp. Miran 2009: 33–64), and the Təgrəñña-speaking ↗Ṣänᶜadäglä of the ↗Akkälä Guzay highlands still receiving an Ottoman rent (*sandık*) until 1846 (AbbGeogr 330), but keeping full autonomy. Descendants of the contingent of Ottoman troops from Bosnia intermarried with coastal ↗Təgre families and became a Təgre subgroup, the ᶜAd Bušnaq̠.

Contrary to their claims, the Ottomans did not control the whole Red Sea coast. Already in the 17th cent. their control did not extend beyond ↗ᶜƎdd. To the south lay the small ↗ᶜAfar emirate of Baylūl which had allied itself to the Zaydītes (Kropp 1994; Orhonlu 1974: 79, 215) of Yemen, who were struggling against the Ottomans and preventing them from further expansion southwards. Claims of Ethiopian rulers over the whole coastal territories were regularly repeated, especially after the Ottoman-Egyptian control over the coastal strip of Ḥərgigo was reinforced in 1847, and the *nāᵓib* stopped paying tributes to Təgray (e.g., *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam in a letter to the French President, 1849, RubActa I, 174, asking for support to make the *sulṭān* of "Ǝsṭənbul" evacuate the coast; cp. RubActa I, 128, 158f.). Again, such claims were reinforced, unsuccessfully, by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV.

Starting from the early 19th cent. Ottoman Egypt's expansion into Africa helped to renew Ottoman claims; first Kordofan and ↗Sinnār were annexed in 1821, in 1840 the province of ↗Taka at the northern borders of Ethiopia was occupied. At the coast, Egyptian influence was rising starting from the 1810s, and ↗Ibrāhīm, the son of Egypt's ruler ↗Muḥammad ᶜAlī, was made Ottoman governor of the Ḥiğāz (i.e. including Sawākin and Massawa), and the Yemen was also occupied (Orhonlu 1974: 142, 258). The Ḥiğāz *vilayeti* and Yemen were under Muḥammad ᶜAlī's control until 1840, when Egypt was obliged by the Treaty of London to give up these and other territories. However, in 1841 the Sudan was officially made his personal possession under the O.E., and in 1846 Habeš *eyaleti* was broken off the Ḥiğāz and transferred as *salyane* ('tributary fiefdom') to Muḥammad ᶜAlī (but given back to the Ottoman Ḥiğāz after his death in 1849; Orhonlu 1974:147, 263f.). In 1865/66, Sawākin and Massawa were finally transferred by the O.E. to the now largely independent *ḫidīw* dynasty of Egypt (Turkish: *Hidiviyet-i Mısriyye*) and a new governorate-general was created in 1869, the "Governorate of the Red Sea Coast and Eastern Sudan". Habeš *eyaleti* thus ceased to exist. In 1873 Werner ↗Munzinger *pasha* was nominated Egyptian–Ottoman governor-general of this Governorate; however, after his death in 1875 the new administrative unit was integrated into the administrative structures of the Egyptian–Ottoman Sudan and ceased to be of any importance. Still, the Ottomans continued to claim a formal sovereignty over the coast. The Egyptians then also tried to occupy large parts of the highlands, which caused the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war, 1875–76, ended only by the Anglo–Egyptian–Ethiopian ↗Hewett Treaty of 1884. In 1872 the Ottomans defeated the Zaydī *imām* and conquered the Yemen once again.

At the Somali coast, Muḥammad ᶜAlī successfully took over control of Zaylaᶜ in ca. 1823 (until 1841), with the local governor ᶜAlī Šarmarke. It then became Ottoman, but Egyptian expansion starting from the 1860s again led to the inclusion of the northern Somali coast into Ottoman Egypt. First in 1867 ↗Berbera was annexed (Orhonlu 1974: 150), in 1867/68 the Egyptian Ǧa^{c}far *pasha* hoisted an Ottoman flag in Ras Hafun (repeated by McKillop *pasha* in 1875), and in 1875 Zayla^{c} was included into the African empire of Egypt, and from here the Emirate of ↗Harär was occupied. In a treaty of 1877, Great Britain recognized these new possessions by Egypt, and the Ottoman cabinet transferred the northern Somali coast to Egypt under Ottoman suzerainty in 1880 (ibid. 154f., 269f.). When Egypt de facto lost its independence, however, the O.E. ordered its administration in Yemen in 1884/85 to take over Zayla^{c} and Berbera, and Harär was to be given back to its hereditary rulers; however, the British then had already taken over northern Somalia (ibid. 270, 273f., 284), and the Italians Massawa, without Ottoman consent. This caused a harsh confrontation with Italy, which increased when it proclaimed the Colonia ↗Eritrea, and lasted through the Italian–Turkish War of 1911–12 (Labrousse in PICES 13, vol. 1) until ↗World War I (Lenci 1990). The last territory in the region which could be regarded as Ottoman were the ↗Ḥaniš (Ḥunayš) islands, which were formally given up by the O.E. only after World War I. In the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne the O.E. renounced sovereignty over all territories in the Red Sea region. Since then, however, the sovereignty of the Ḥaniš islands had remained in suspense, being finally settled in 1998 only.

Ottoman relations with Ethiopia from the 19th century to *ləǧ* Iyasu

In the mid 19th cent., the O.E. and Ethiopia established direct diplomatic contacts, first through the exchange of letters. The question of the control of ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān in Jerusalem was the main reason for the two countries to come closer (e.g., in April 1848 the king of Ethiopia, *aṣe* ↗Śahlä Dəngəl, sent a letter to *sulṭān* ^{c}Abd ül-Meǧīd of "the kingdom of Islam" asking him not to allow the "Greeks" to take possession of this Ethiopian convent; RubActa I: 144). The status of the Ethiopian pilgrims and monks in Jerusalem was another point of discussion (Orhonlu 1974: 163f.). Moreover, the fact that the metropolitans of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church traditionally came from Egypt, which made gifts to the Ottoman governor of Egypt necessary, was interpreted by the Porte as a proof of suzerainty (Beke 1867: 16).

A change in the general attitude towards Muslims in Ethiopia under Mənilək helped to increase contacts with the O.E. For example, *näggadras* ↗Muḥammad Obaker, one of the richest merchants in Addis Abäba (and the son of the *pasha* of Zayla^{c}, ↗Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šaḥīm), in the foremath of the Battle of ↗^{c}Adwa successfully organized the delivery of weapons to Mənilək via Zayla^{c} from Ottoman merchants.

An Ethiopian official mission was sent to Jerusalem in O.E. territory in 1902 to inquire about the ownership of the Ethiopian monastery, and to hire Ottoman and other citizens as craftsmen for the Ethiopian court (e.g., Jakob Hall, cp. ↗Wälättä Iyäsus). The first Ottoman diplomatic envoy to visit Ethiopia was ↗Ṣādiq *pasha* al-^{c}Aẓm, who was sent to Ethiopia in 1904 by *sulṭān* ^{c}Abd al-Ḥamīd at the head of a mission which lasted three months. Once back, he published a travelogue in Ottoman Turkish, later translated into Arabic. The first Ethiopian diplomatic mission to the O.E. was dispatched in 1904, with the Harari merchant ↗^{c}Abdullahi ^{c}Alī Ṣādiq as the official envoy. He was, however, dismissed and replaced by another mission in 1905, led by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Mäšäša Wärqe. He soon returned for a second mission in 1906/07, accompanied by *grazmač* ↗Yosef Nəguśe, Ethiopian consul at ↗Djibouti, and the interpreters Jakob Hall and and "Gabrihet Soernej", an Ethiopian from Austria (s. Smidt 2005a: 50; 2005b: 200, 217); both interpreters were Germanophone, as the mission was to proceed to ↗Germany (in 1907), where they hoped for an intervention of Emperor Wilhelm II in the question of Ethiopian ownership of Dayr as-Sulṭān (the latter interpreter later became famous under the name ↗Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ, s. Fasil Täšomä – ^{c}Alämu Täbäǧǧä 1981: 41). A permanent Ethiopian representation in the O.E. was not established. The mission first visited ↗Jerusalem and then Istanbul; on their way back (in 1907 until early 1908) they again visited Istanbul, but still without reaching a positive conclusion for the Dayr as-Sulṭān affair (s. letter from Istanbul, Smidt 2005b: 214–21).

However, as the number of Ottoman citizens in Ethiopia increased quickly (including Christian ↗Armenians, such as Sarkis Terzian, close to Mənilək; cp. Smidt in PICES 16), the O.E. was pushed to open a fixed diplomatic representation in Ethiopia. The German legation, established in 1906, first took over care for the Ottoman citizens in Ethiopia. To this aim a German consulate in the Muslim city of ↗Harär was built up in 1910 by Lorenz ↗Jensen. In the same year the Austrian Franz Kaden was nominated Ottoman honorary consul in Harär. In 1912 *ḥāǧǧī* Naǧīb (Necip *haci efendi*), the first official Ottoman consul sent to Harär, with his secretary Michel Ackad, established a general-consulate (*baş şehbenderlik*) in the town (ZerÉth 490; Orhonlu 1974: 166). Necip died shortly thereafter in Harär and was replaced in early 1913 by Consul Aḥmad ↗Maẓhar *bey*. Consul Maẓhar *bey* acquired an influential position, as the heir-to-the-throne *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu used his advice to develop a new policy towards Ethiopian Muslims. In 1915 Maẓhar *bey* moved the consulate to Addis Abäba. His greatest success was reached in 1916, when Iyasu handed over the "jurisdiction over Muslims" to the O.E., which was understood by Iyasu's adversaries as "selling out Ethiopia to the Turks" (or even, wrongly, as the acceptance of the *sulṭān*'s claim over entire Ethiopia, but above all meant the recognition of the Sublime Porte's religious jurisdiction over Muslims, as practised in some other countries; for a popular interpretation cp. Greenfield 1965: 138). Iyasu hoped to profit from World War I without directly participating in the war itself. He sent weapons (and a German weapons instructor) to the rebellious Somalis, who were trying to establish links with the O.E.; in turn, the O.E. as a member of the "Axis" promised to hand over parts of the African coast to Ethiopia (now under control of Italy in Eritrea and France in Djibouti, the adversaries of the Axis powers, but still claimed by the O.E.) in case of victory (Erlich 2010: 43–92; BZHist 127; s. also Tepedelen 2007). Iyasu's political proximity to the Ottomans decisively contributed to his overthrow in the ↗Coup d'état of 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081). Maẓhar then moved back to Harär and run the consulate until the end of 1919. *Ḥāǧǧī* Tawfīq (Tevfik) *bey*, his deputy and the consulate's *imām* since 1913, entertained close relations with several influential Muslims in Ethiopia, such as the trader Muḥammad as-Saqqāf (i.e. perhaps the abovementioned Maḥammad Obakar, who was an important contact person with the O.E. and grandfather-in-law of *ləǧ* Iyasu); Tawfīq also stayed for a longer period with the Islamic leader *šayḫ* ᶜIsa b. Ḥamza of ↗Qätbare in Qabeena and married a lady of the Wäläne Gurage. Tawfīq continued the consulate's administration as chargé d'affaires even after the dismemberment of the O.E. of 1920, and finally closed the consulate in 1921/22 (Kadir Dikbaş 2007). After that the consulate remained vacant, until being reopened in Addis Abäba by the new Republic of ↗Turkey in 1926.

The Ottomans were also active in other regions of the Horn of Africa during World War I. The Ottoman commander-general of the Yemen, ᶜAli Saᶜīd *pasha*, in 1916 signed a protectorate contract with ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdullāh Ḥasan, who had parts of Somalia under his control; due to the defeat of the O.E. in the War, it became obsolete (Hess 1964).

Ottoman Empire in Ethiopian culture and literature

Ottomans are well documented in ↗Gəᶜəz literature where they are characterized especially as valorous fighters and well armed soldiers (Marrassini 2003: 614ff.). Ottoman superior military power was apparent in their use of ↗fire-arms and artillery: the fighting capability of the army of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī was highly improved by the supply of Ottoman fire-arms and cannons. After the fall of Dəbarwa in December 1578 Śärṣä Dəngəl incorporated the remnants of the Ottoman garrison in his own army and created a special artillery corps with the *turk* ↗*bašša* at its head (Marrassini 2003: 607). The influence of Turkish military organization on the Ethiopian ↗army is most probably also evident in the rank terminology (e.g. ↗*Šaläqa*, *mäto aläqa*) which is following the model of the Egypto-Turkish one (*binbaşı*; *yüzbaşı*). Also the colonial administration of Eritrea took over several Ottoman administrative and military terms in the beginning of Italian rule (cp. ↗*Šumbaš*[*i*]). Some Ethiopian terms from the economic sphere are influenced by the Ottoman contacts; the Amharic term of measurement *oka* (for weight) is derived from Ottoman *okka* (1283 g); a specific kind of cloth is called *azmir* after the city of Izmir (Knüppel 2009: 66f). The name Afändi (after Ottoman *efendi* 'Mister') is found among Muslims in Ethiopia and Eritrea (ibid. 67).

The term *Turk* usually meant people from the O.E., including Egyptians, who were under Ottoman rule; both Ethiopian documents and oral tradition call the Egyptians of the Egyptian–Ethiopian war of 1875–76 as "*Turk*" (cp. BZHist 26, 36; KolTrad). The term sometimes extended to mean people coming from other regions. In the mid-19th cent., light-skinned individuals were often referred to as *Turkočč* (instead of the then still less known ↗*Färänǧ*), such as the Protestant missionaries who settled in western Ethiopia in 1856–62. Among Muslim states south of Christian Ethiopia, the Ottomans often enjoyed a very high reputation; e.g., in the late 19th cent., king ↗Abba Ǧifaar II of ↗Ǧimma believed that “Stambul [i.e., the O.E.] was the most powerful state of the world” (Bulatovich 2000: 199). The Islamic element of the Ottoman identity is on the contrary less underlined in the Ethiopic sources even if it is always present in the background (Marrassini 2003: 611f.). In some Arabic sources, however, the religious aspect of the first Ethiopian–Ottoman clashes is somewhat highlighted (Nahrawālī 1967: 120).

Src.: AbbGeogr 330; Charles T. Beke, *The British Captives in Abyssinia*, London ^{2}1867, 16; BTafA 931, 950; Alexander Bulatovich, *Ethiopia Through Russian Eyes, Country in Transition 1896–1898*, Lawrenceville, NJ 2000, 199; Fasil Täšomä – ^{c}Alämu Täbäǧǧä, **ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፡ ባይከዳኝ፡ የሥልጣኔ፡ ግንዛቤያቸው** (*Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ yäśələṭṭane gənəzzabeyaččäw*, ‘Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ’s View of Civilization’), *Yäʾityoṗya sayensənna teknoloǧi mäṣḥet* [Addis Abäba] 2, 1, *Yäkkatit* 1981 A.M. [1989 A.D.], 41–45, here 41; William Foster (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century …*, London 1949 (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society ser. 2, 100); GueCopMen; KolTrad; Erich Prokosch (tr.), *Ins Land der geheimnisvollen Func. Des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliya Çelebi Reise durch Oberägypten und den Sudan nebst der osmanischen Provinz Habeş in den Jahren 1672/73*, Graz – Wien – Köln 1994 (Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, Neue Folge 3); Quṭbaddīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nahrawālī al-Makkī, *al-Barq al-Yamānī fī l-fatḥ al-^{c}Uṯmānī* (‘The Yemen Lightning about the Ottoman Conquest’), ed. by Ḥamad al-Ǧāsir, Riyāḍ 1967, here 119f.; RubActa I, 128, 158f., 174; *Tigrinya–Arabic, Tigrinya–Turkish Glossary*, ms., British Library, 17th–18th cent. [StrBritLib 102f.; ed. Enno Littmann, *ZA* 21, 1908, 50–109].

Lit.: AbSea; Ralph A. Austen, “The Islamic Red Sea Slave Trade: an Effort at Quantification”, in: *PICES* 5b, 443–67; BZHist 26ff., 35ff., 51, 127; Andreas Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976 (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B Nr. 13); Alessio Bombaci, “Notizie sull’Abissinia in fonti turche”, *RSE* 3, 1, 1943, 79–86; Ali Cevad, *Memâlik-i Osmaniye Tarih ve Coğrafıya Lugatı, Kısm-ı evvel, Lugat-ı Coğrafıya* (‘Historical and Geographical Wordbook of the Ottoman Countries, First Part: Geographical Wordbook’), Dersaadet (Istanbul) 1313 H. [1895/96 A.D.], 760; Carlo Conti Rossini, “La Guerra turco-abissina del 1578”, *Oriente moderno* 1, 1921–22, 634–36, 684–91; *ibid*. 2, 1922–23, 58–57 [offprint: Roma 1923]; Joseph Cuoq, *L’Islam en Ethiopie des origines au XVI^{e} siècle*, Paris 1981, 219–73 and passim; Longworth M. 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TALHAMI, *Suakin and Massawa under Egyptian Rule 1865–1885*, Washington, DC 1979; KENAN TEPEDELEN, "Birinci dünya savaşının unutulmuş bir diplomatik cephesi" ('A Forgotten Diplomatic Front of World War II: Ethiopia'), *Belleten – Türk Tarih Kurumu* 71, 2007, 745–68, TrIslam 76f., 97f. and passim; ZerÉth 490f.

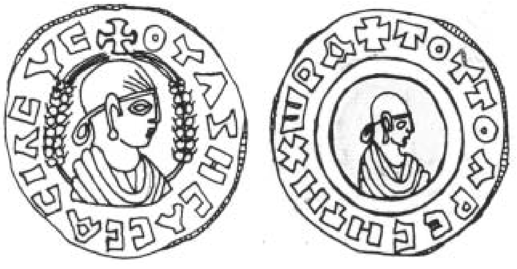
Wolbert Smidt – Alessandro Gori

Ouazebas

Ou. (Gr. ΟΥΑΖΗΒΑϹ, i.e. Οὐαζηβας, *Ouazēbas*) was a Christian king of ↗Aksum in the late 4th or early 5th cent. ("385 ca./400?" for Pedroni 1997: 44f., 62, 80, within a controversial reconstruction of the royal succession). Possibly an immediate predecessor rather than a successor of ↗Eon, he is known from his ↗coinage alone, which is all copper and seems to have been extensive, as suggested by the number and diffusion of surviving examples, found not only at Aksum and Adulis, but as far as ↗Lalibäla (yet, with no archaeologically attested context: s. MHAksum 183). Only a few of these examples are in good conditions.

Ou. is portrayed on the two sides of his coins, within a beaded or ribbed or, respectively, plain border, head and shoulders profile bust facing rightwards, wearing a head cloth, with a rounded ribbon behind (Types 54–58 Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995). On the obv., the bust is framed by two curved wheat stalks (as on the gold Aksumite issues) and a cross at the top, which also appears on the rev., along with a feature new to copper: a halo of gold around the king's head. On the rev., a similar but smaller bust is backed by an overlay of gold. Gr. legends, with slight vars. and many incomplete or badly formed letters, run all-round: on the obv., ΟΥΑΖΗΒΑϹΒΑϹΙΛΕΥϹ, i.e. *Ouazēbas basiléus*, 'King Ouazebas'; on the rev., ΤΟΥΤΟ ΑΡΕϹΗ ΤΗ ΧѠΡΑ, i.e. *Toûto arésē tê chora*, 'May this please the country'.

The name *Ouazēbas* [Ouazibas], as inscribed in Greek, is but a calque of an original Ethiopic *W^{c}zb* or rather *Wzb*, both known for Aksumite kings: ↗W^{c}ZB and ↗Wazeba, vs. whom Ou. should then be Wazeba II.



Copper coin of Ouazebas, diameter ca. 17 mm; drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

At Aksum, coins of Ou. were found in association with the fallen fragments of the great stele, which might indicate that the latter fell during his reign (de Contenson 1959: 29–32; Munro-Hay 1989: 151; Id. in AfrZion 109, no. 28; Phillipson 2000: 160).

Src.: ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica axumita", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3^{a}, 3 [39], 1926, 5–110, here 27, 33, 62f. [nos. 71–80], 101, pl. C; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Monete aksumite", *Africa Italiana* 1, 1927, 179–212, here 197f. [§ 16: "Wazēb II"], 210; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, "Ouazebas AE 1", in: *AfrZion* 109, no. 28; ID., *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999, 34f., nos. 256–89, pls. 22–27; ID.–BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 147–52.

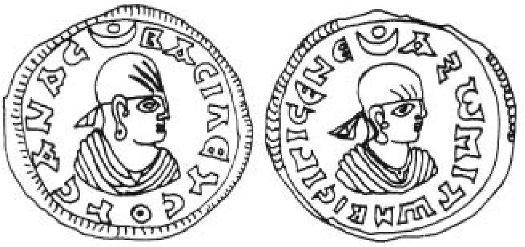
Lit.: DAE I, 55, no. 7 ["Wazēnā (?)"]; CRStor 167, 216; HENRI DE CONTENSON, "Les fouilles à Aksum en 1957. Rapport préliminaire", *AE* 3, 1959, 25–42, here 29–32 [repr. ID., *Antiquités éthiopiennes d'Axoum à Haoulti*, Paris 2005 (Bibliothèque Peiresc 16), 15–32, here 23–27]; SerHist 109; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Wäzéba II", in: *DictEthBio* 173; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurg. u. theolog. Anhang)", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 164, no. 26, pl. 13 ("Wazebas II"); ID., "Registrierung von Fundmünzen aus Äthiopien", *Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte. Mitteilungsblatt* 35, 2007 [2008], 25; ERIC GODET, "Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite", *Revue numismatique* 6^{e} sér., 28, 1986, 174–209 (pl. VIII), here 191, 209 (F); VINCENT WEST, "A Variety of King Ouazebas of Aksum", *Spink Numismatic Circular* 95, 2, 1987, 39; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Excavations at Aksum – An Account of Research at the Ancient Ethiopian Capital Directed in 1972–74 by the Late Dr. N. Chittick*, ed. by DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, London 1989 (Memoirs of the British Institute in Eastern Africa 10), 151; MHAksum 171f., 183; BrakKirche 78 and n. 383; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica*, ser. I, 15, I–II [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 44f., 62, 80, 102–05, nos. 101–30; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–7*, vol. 1, London 2000 (Memoirs of the British Institute in Eastern Africa 17/Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Report 65), 160.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

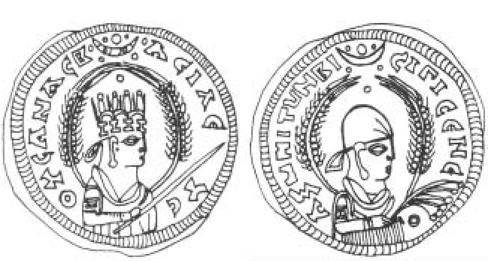
Ousanas I

Ou. I (Gr. ΟΥΣΑΝΑϹ, i.e. *Οὐσανᾶς, **Ousanâs*) was a king of ↗Aksum of the early 4th cent., possibly a son of ↗Ǝllä ʿAmida and a(n elder) brother and immediate predecessor of ↗ʿEzana, whose figure ended by dimming Ou.'s in literary sources (↗Historiography).

In fact, Ou. is chiefly known from his ↗coinage, where his "clan-name" appears: ΒΙϹΙ ΓΙϹΕΝΕ, *bisi Gisene*, in Greek, i.e. **bəʿəse gəšän* (or *gəšən*), 'man of Gəšän', in Ethiopic – likely to be connected with ↗Amba Gəšän in Ambassäl (Fiaccadori 2004: 110). Yet, he was also responsible for a royal Aksumite inscription usually attributed to ʿEzana: DAE IV 8 = RIE no. 186, in pseudo-Sabaic script, concerning an expedition against north-western people, from which the victorious king returns to Aksum via ↗Səmen. The name of such king is missing at the top of the text, but in the first surviving line he is called [*w*]*l*[*d*^{m}] *ʾl*^{m} *ʿmd*^{m}, 'son of Ǝllä ʿAmida', and his "clan name" also occurs that can be better restored to *bʾs*[*y*^{m} g]*śn*^{m}, i.e. **bəʾəs*[*yä gə*]*šän*, 'man of Gəšän', as suggested by the Greek legend above (Schneider 1987: 614f.; s. Fiaccadori 2004: 109f.). This would set definitely aside the previous identifications of Ou. with ↗Sembroutes and/or ʿElla Amida himself (cp. ↗*Monumentum Adulitanum*). In the coin hoard from Mangalore, on the south-west Indian coast, 17 pieces of Ou. (including a contemporary forgery) are symptomatically associated with six of ʿEzana (s. ↗India, relations with).



Silver coin of Ousanas I, diameter ca. 16 mm; drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn



Gold coin of Ousanas I, diameter ca. 19 mm; drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

Ou.'s gold coins, with disc and crescent at top, have his portrait on both sides, half-length bust rightwards, wearing a quadruple-ended arcaded tiara or a head cloth respectively, a rounded ribbon falling behind; the bust descends to the base of the coin. His figure, robed in a garment with a round collar (sometimes doubled on the rev.) and curved-v shape above it (and below the second collar) is flanked by two small wheat stalks (in a few instances with three additional intermediate spikes) and contained in border of often elongated pellets; his arm, with armlets and bracelet, is holding a spear. The obv. is inscribed in Greek all round: ΟΥϹΑΝΑϹ ΒΑϹΙΛ(Ε)ΥϹ, i.e. *Ousanas basil*(*é*)*us*, 'Ousanas king'; continued likewise on the rev.: ΑΞΩΜΙΤΩΝ ΒΙϹΙ ΓΙϹΕΝΕ, i.e. *Axōmitôn bisi Gisene*, 'of the Aksumites, man of Gəšän' (Types 20–24 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995: 103ff.; AfrZion 106, no. 21).

His silver issues display on both sides the king in a (plain) beaded border, head and shoulder profile bust rightwards, wearing headcloth with ribbon behind (Types 25–28, ibid. 106–12; AfrZion 107, nos. 22–23); only in some cases the bust extends to the base of the coin (Type 27 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995: 109; AfrZion 107, no. 22). Greek legends like the previous ones are found (Types 25, 27 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995: 106), occasionally with abbreviations (Type 24, ibid. 105) or such vars. as ΑΞΩΜΙΤΩΝ, i.e. *Axōmitôn*, 'of the Aksumites', on the obv., ΟΥϹΑΝΑϹ ΒΑϹΙΛ(Ε)ΥϹ, i.e. *Ousanas basil*(*é*)*us*, 'Ousanas king', on the rev. (Type 28, ibid. 110). Silver exemplars without religious symbols are also known, labelled ΟΥϹΑΝΑ(Ϲ), i.e., 'Ousana(s)', on the obv.; ΒΑϹΙΛΕΥ(Ϲ), *basiléu*(*s*), 'king', on the rev. (Types 32–33, ibid. 115ff.). Differing in weight, they might represent another denomination.

The same iconography and legends are repeated, with minor changes, on Ou.'s copper coins (Types 29–31, ibid. 112ff.), among them an issue without religious symbols as well (Type 34, ibid. 117f.).

Src.: ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica axumita", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3a, 3 [39], 1926, 5–110, here 29f., 53f., no. 194; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Monete aksumite", *Africa Italiana* 1, 1927, 179–212, here 190f. (§ 4); STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, "Ousanas AV 1, AR 2, AR 1", in: *AfrZion* 106f., nos. 21–23; ID., *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999, 29ff., nos. 26–51, pls. 3–5; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 103–18; DAE IV 8 = RIE no. 186.

Lit.: CRStor 130, 216; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 109f., 125 (Lit.); ERIC GODET, "Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite", *Revue numismatique* 6^{e} sér., 28, 1986, 174–209 (pl. VIII), here 180, 187, 191; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurg. u. theolog. Anhang)", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 119, 124, 160, nos. 12–14; ID., "Further Reconsiderations on the Chronology of the Coinage of Aksum", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 34, 1984, 127–34, here 128ff.; MHAksum 57, 76f., 155ff., 160, 190f., 204; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ousanas I", in: *DictEthBio* 128f.; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica*, ser. I, 15, I–II [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 34–40, 75, 80, 93–97, nos. 35–69 (pls. 7–8); ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Notes sur les inscriptions royales aksumites", *BiOr* 44, 1987, 599–616, here 614f.; SerHist 82f.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

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Ousas s. EAE vol. 5

Oviedo, Andrés de

O. (b. 1518, Illescas, Toledo, Spain, d. 19 September 1577, Fəremona) was a Jesuit missionary. Born to a noble family, he studied Philosophy at the University of Alcalá. On 19 June 1541 he joined the ↗Jesuits. Subsequently, he studied in Paris and Leuven. In 1544, O. was ordained priest in Coimbra and the next year was appointed as the first rector of the college of Gandia, where his mystical inclination caused controversy among the Jesuit superiors (cf. Ruiz Jurado 1974). In 1549 he made the profession of four vows and in 1550 obtained a doctorate in theology. One year later, he was sent to open a new college in Naples.

In 1554, O. was appointed for the mission to Ethiopia and was nominated bishop of Hierapoli with rights to succeed to the patriarchate of Ethiopia (Bull *Cum nos nuper* by Julius III, in BecRASO X, 39ff.). In 1556 he left Lisbon for India and with five other companions reached ↗Ḥərgigo in early April 1557, shortly before the ↗Ottoman occupation of ↗Massawa. In 1562, at the death of João Nunes ↗Barreto, O. succeeded as Catholic Patriarch of Ethiopia.

In Ethiopia, O. and his companions initially lodged at the *kätäma* of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos, where they led theological discussions with Ethiopian monks. Reportedly, O. also wrote a treatise against the Ethiopian errors, today lost (cf. ARSI). Soon the Jesuits had to abandon the royal camp and to move to Təgray, where they had the protection of *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq. Towards 1565, after a stay in ↗Dəbarwa, O. and his companions settled in ↗Fəremona. News of the difficulties in Ethiopia convinced the Jesuit authorities in Europe and India to request O. to abandon the mission and go to Japan, but he refused (cf. Wicki 1958: 163, 521, 585, 667, 669). He died without having accomplished any of the objectives determined by ↗Ignatius of Loyola. At his death the Catholic Patriarchate remained vacant for several decades until the nomination of Alfonso ↗Mendes.

According to the missionary record, O. was highly esteemed by the local population, his burial place being the object of a pilgrimage (BecRASO XI, 115; Arana 1631: 153ff.). In 1605, Pedro ↗Páez exhumed his "relics" and sent them to ↗Goa (BecRASO XI, 14, 58) and on 8 June 1630 his cause of beatification was promoted. A history of his life was written by the Spaniard Antonio de Arana (1631).

Src.: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [ARSI], Goa 39 I bis, 106v; ANTONIO DE ARANA, *Historia de la Santa vida, muerte y virtudes de el Santo P. Andres de Oviedo* …, ms., 1631, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, "Reservados" códice 4473, 153ff.; BecRASO V, 445ff.; X, 39ff.; XI, 14, 58, 115; IOSEPHUS WICKI (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 6, Romae 1958 (Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu), 163, 521, 585, 667, 669.

Lit.: EDUARDO JAVIER ALONSO ROMO, "Andrés de Oviedo, patriarca de Etiopía", *Peninsula. Revista de Estudios Ibéricos* 3, 2006, 215–31; ANTONIO ASTRAIN, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, vol. 2: *Laínez – Borja, 1556–1572*, Madrid 1905, 413–17; MANUEL RUIZ JURADO, "Un caso de profetismo reformista en la CJ. Gandia 1547–1549", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 43, 1974, 217–66; MARIO SCADUTO, *L'epoca di Giacomo Lainez: Il governo (1556–1565)*, Roma 1964, 112.

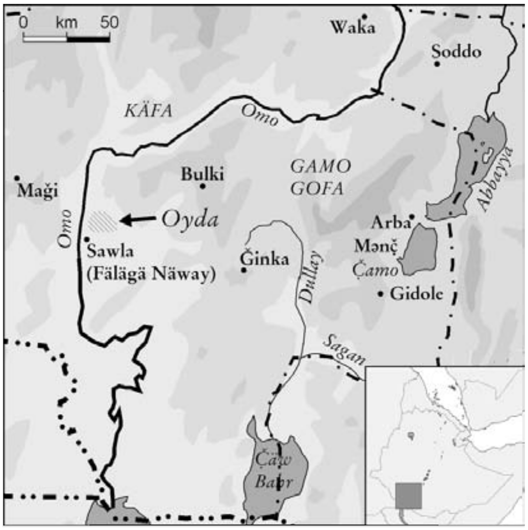
Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Oyda

Oyda language

The O. language is classified under the ↗Ometo subgroup within the ↗Omotic language family. Together with ↗Wälaytta, ↗Dorze, ↗Daç̣e, ↗Gamo, ↗Gofa, ↗Kullo, ↗Malo, ↗Maale, and ↗Basketo, O. belongs to the North Ometo (Fleming in BendLang 47), called Northwest Ometo by Bender (2000: 7). The O. people are located north-east of Sawla (Fällägä Näway) in Gamo-Gofa Zone in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region. Their population is estimated to be 16,597.

The consonant inventory of O. contains: stops *p, b, d, t, g, k*, ejectives *p̣, ṣ, č̣, q*, implosives *ɓ, ɗ*,



sibilants *z, s, š*, affricates *ğ, č, ʣ, ʦ*, nasals *m, n*, liquids *r, l*, glides *w, y*, glottals *ˀ, h.* O. has a five-vowel system: *i, e, u, o, a.* Major phonological processes in O. include assimilation, insertion, deletion and vowel harmony.

Simple nouns in O. are mainly disyllabic and terminate in a vowel. Polysyllabic nouns are uncommon and are either compounds such as *woosa-ˀas* (lit.: 'beg-man') 'beggar' or ideophones such as *č̣alqič̣alqo* 'bat'. Nouns are inflected for number (sg. and pl.), gender, definiteness and case. Morphology in O. is suffixal. Terminal vowels of nouns are deleted during suffixation. Plurality is indicated by the element *-uns*, as in *kana* 'dog' (sg.) – *kan-uns* (pl.), *tolko* 'hyena' (sg.) – *tolk-uns* (pl.). Definiteness (def.) is marked via portmanteau morphemes that co-mark gender: *-z-* (def., masc.); *-t-* (def., fem.). Nominative (nom.) and accusative (acc.) cases are also marked via gender sensitive elements: *-a* (nom., fem.); *-e* (nom., masc.); *-a* (acc., masc.); *-o* (acc., fem.). E.g., *kan-z-e* 'dog' (def., nom.); *kan-t-a* 'bitch' (def., nom.); *kan-z-a* 'dog' (def., acc.); *kan-t-o* 'bitch' (def., acc.).

O. has two sets of subject pronouns: full and reduced forms. These are: *tani/ta* 'I', *neni/ne* 'you (sg.)', *ezi/e* 'he', *iza/i* 'she', *nuni/nu* 'we', *yinti/yi* 'you (pl.)', *unti* 'they'. Object pronouns have full form: *tana* 'me', *nena* 'you (sg.)', *eza* 'him', *izo* 'her', *nuna* 'us', *yintan* 'you (pl.)', *untan* 'them'. Demonstratives distinguish three degrees of distance: *ha* 'this', *senda* 'that', *sekka* 'that farther away'. Like other North Ometo languages, O. has a quinary numeral system (Hirut Woldemariam 2008).

Verbs in O. are inflected for aspect, subject agreement and mood. In the indicative, an aspectual distinction between the imperfect (impf.) and perfect (perf.) is drawn. The imperfect is marked by suffix *-ne* or *-oda*, e.g., *eke-ne/ekk-oda* 'takes, will take'. The perfect is marked by *-en*(*e*) or *-ida*, as in *dos-en*(*e*)/*dos-ida* 'have loved', *ekk-en*(*e*)/*ekk-ida* 'have taken'. Further moods are imperative, negative and interrogative. The imperative markers are *-o* (sg.) and *-oyta* (pl.), e.g., *yeˀ-o* 'Come!' (sg.), *yeˀ-oyta* (pl.). Negation is expressed via suffixes *-os* or *-am*(*a*) in the imperfect and -*kay*(*a*) in the perfect, e.g., *tani kara yeˀ-os/-ama* 'I don't (I will not) come home', *tani kara yeˀ-kay*(*a*) 'I didn't come home'. The prohibitive is indicated by *-ippe* (sg.), *-ippe-te* (pl.) as in *yeˀ-ippe* 'Don't come!' (sg.), *yeˀ-ippe-te* (pl.). Converbs (CONV) are derived by suffixing *-i*: *tani očč-i ye-en* (I work-CONV come-PERF) 'Having worked I came'.

Passive, causative and frequentative stems are formed from verb roots by attaching the suffixes *-int, -iz,* and *-iʦ* resp. E.g., *ekk-int-* 'be taken', *ekk-iz-* 'cause to take', *ekk-iʦ* 'take frequently'.

O. is a Subject-Object-Verb, head final language: *tolk-uns-i kan-z-a da-en* (hyena-PL-NOM dog-DEF-ACC bite-PERF) 'The hyenas bit the dog'.

The copula verbs are *bee* and *yezin* for present and past tenses resp. The former is optional and can be dropped: *tani wooʦ-ˀas* (*bee*) 'I am a farmer'.

The ten-word list is as follows: *petto* 'one', *namˀi* 'two', *hayʣi* 'three', *tama* 'fire', *haʦi* 'water', *awa* 'sun', *agina* 'moon', *suʦ* 'blood', *ilanʦ* 'tongue', *ač̣č̣i* 'tooth'.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ¹⁵2005, 118.

Lit.: MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19); HAROLD C. FLEMING, "Cushitic and Omotic", in: *BendLang* 34–53; TIM GIRARD, "Lexico-Phonostatistical Analysis of Alemayehu Abebe's Ometo Word Lists", *SIL Electronic Survey Reports 2002–051*, 2002 (*www.sil.org*); HAILE EYESUS ENGDASHET, *A Descriptive Grammar of Oyda*, Addis Abäba 2003 (ms.); HIRUT WOLDEMARIAM, "Historical Notes on Numerals in Ometo: the Obsolete Quinary System", *JES* 38, 2008, 1–2, 131–50.

Hirut Woldemariam

Oyda ethnography

The O. live in Gofa Zuria *wäräda* in the North Omo Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region. Their territory is bordered by the ↗Gofa to the north and north-east, the country of the ↗Aari in the west and of the ↗Maale in the South. They inhabit a mountainous region which is part of the southern Bakko mountain ranges and rises as high as 3,000 m A. S.L. The 1994 census estimates the population at 16,000 (CSA 1996).

Agriculture and artisanship are the mainstays of the O. economy. The majority of the population cultivates various types of crops: grains, coffee and oil seeds. Six different kinds of crafts are practiced: carpentry, masonry, weaving, pottery, tannery and blacksmithing. The first three crafts provide the most lucrative off-farm income generating activities. However, potters, tanners and blacksmiths are discriminated against and have a low social status.

O. tradition recognizes two categories of people subsumed under the ethnonym O.: Gezo and Zazo. The term Gezo designates the earlier inhabitants of the region and includes the Uba, Mello and the O. proper. Zazo connotes the later immigrants who are associated with the Gofa. The Gezo/Zazo division is also made on the basis of topography, language and cultural practices. The Gezo are highlanders and the Zazo are lowlanders. In cultural terms, the Zazo are distinguishable from the Gezo by the fact that they practice circumcision. Within the Gezo the O. recognize close affinity with the Mello and the Uba, whose dialects are spoken near Dime and Gofa, respectively. They also recognize close cultural links with the Aari.

On the basis of traditional ritual practices O. society is also divided into two groups called Gamitse and Area. One of the main differences between the Gamitse and the Area is that the latter, who are believed to have come from Aari (as the name suggests), practise an elaborate seclusion rite during child birth. The name Gamitse might have connections to ↗Gamo country, whence the O. kings (*kati*) claim to have come. Furthermore, O. society consists of three hierarchically ordered social groups: the *Maala, Ṣoma* and *Männa*. The Maala are the traditional ruling families, the Oydina and the Debina clans. Ṣoma is a cluster of clans that form the bulk of the farming population. The Männa are marginalized occupational groups (↗Marginalized people, s. EAE vol. 5) consisting of largely the Otto (potters) and Kotsi (blacksmiths).

The O. have developed a political system which is less authoritarian than that of their neighbours. The O. *kati* ('king, chief') resembles the ↗Gamo *haleqa* who are selected, "caught" in local terms, for a position of authority (Dereje Feyissa et al. 1995). The *kati*-capturing ceremony is called *katsida*. The O. *kati* could be readily deposed if he failed to protect the people from misfortune (*tonimiča*) or lacked charisma and valour (*aštime*). Although the office of *kati* is not hereditary he is nevertheless "caught" only from the Oydina clan. The principle of selection is also determined by personality traits (such as wisdom and prudence), confirmation by an haruspicium (intestine reading) ↗oracle (*mirka adde*) and by the candidate's economic status. A *kati* needs to be wealthy enough to sponsor the installation feast and the accompanying ritual raiding. A *kati* is expected to observe food taboos (pig, wild goat, chicken, eggs and cabbage); avoid *tuna* (i.e., 'impurity', such as contact with mourners or women during seclusion periods); hold the annual rain sacrifice; and organize a collective sacrifice (*tumea*) in order to ensure the well-being of the people (↗Kingship, divine). A *kati* is also responsible for maintaining law and order through the institution called *buča*, a sacred place where justice is served.

The O. belief system recognizes two divinities: the sky-god Ṣozi and an earthly spirit called Ṣelahe. Having created the universe, Ṣozi is believed to have ceased direct communication with his creatures. He rather manifests himself through proxies and through a religious office called *zorsi*. The O. belief system is embedded in a customary law called *zaga woga* (↗Law: traditional legal institutions; ↗Wäğ). *Zaga woga* was first challenged by a local religious reformist movement called called *Esa woga*, named after the person who initiated the movement. There are also followers of the ↗Qalä Ḥəywät church, an offshoot of the Sudanese Interior Mission, and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

O. society has undergone tremendous changes since its incorporation into the Ethiopian state in 1894 following the imperial conquest. Most importantly, the traditional political system was altered, whereby the *kati* was transformed into a ↗*balabbat* (imperial agent or representative) and the onerous *gäbbar* system was introduced. The social organization of the O. was further affected during the *Därg* period. The 1974 revolution and its egalitarian ideology undermined the local social hierarchy. Traditional office holders were dishonourably deposed and occupational groups were "liberated".

Making use of the institutionalization of ethnic rights in 1991 the O. have been involved in what could be described as re-traditionalization and a political struggle for recognition. A political organization called the Oyda Nationality Democratic Organization was established to fight for the political autonomy of the O. from their dominant neighbours, the Gofa.

Src.: BZHist; DEREJE FEYISSA, *The Oyda of Southwestern Ethiopia*: *a Study of Socio-economic Aspects of Village Inequality*, M.A. thesis, Department for Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University 1997, passim; DEREJE FEYISSA et al., *Ethiopian Village Studies*: *Doᵓoma, Gamo, North Omo*, Addis Ababa 1995; CSA 1996.

Lit.: HAROLD C. FLEMING, "Omotic Overview", in: *BendNonSlang*, 299–323; FRIEDRICH KLAUSBERGER, *Woga*: *Recht und Gesellschaft in Süden Äthiopiens*, Frankfurt 1981.

Dereje Feyissa

Özdemir

Ö. *pasha* (in Ethiopia **ዑዝድሜር**, 'ᶜUzdəmer', **ዝሙር**, 'Zəmur', cf. ConzGal 164 [text]; d. 1559, Dəbarwa) was the first governor of the ↗Ottoman province of Ethiopia. An Egyptian military slave of Circassian origin, his date of birth is not known. He entered service with the Ottomans after their conquest of Egypt in 1517 and, in 1538, joined the naval expedition of Süleyman *paṣha* to Gujarat. Upon the latter's return, he remained in ↗Zabīd with the rank of ↗*amīr*. In 1547, Ö. took part in the capture of Taᶜizz and, elected locally as deputy commander, conquered the Zaydī capital Sanᶜāᵓ. In 1549 he was appointed governor of the Yemen, and, in 1552, concluded a peace treaty with the Zaydī *imām* al-Muṭahhar b. al-Mutawakkil ᶜAlāᵓllāh (r. 1548–72).

Dismissed from the Yemen in 1554, Ö. persuaded *sulṭān* Süleyman I the Magnificent (r. 1520–66) to conquer the western coastlands of the Red Sea in order to protect the access of Muslim pilgrims to Mecca and to check Portuguese ambitions (↗Portugal). The *sulṭān* agreed, though reluctantly. A first attempt to reach Ethiopia with 3,000 men through the Nile valley failed. The second started from ↗Sawākin, which, in 1555, was made capital of the ↗Ḥabeš *eyaleti* with Ö. as *beylerbeyi* ('governor'). The new province further included the ports and districts of ↗Zaylaᶜ, ↗Massawa, ↗Ḥərgigo, and, on the Arabian coast, Jeddah.

In 1559, Ö. marched against ↗Dəbarwa, governed by *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq, who was then campaigning with *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos against ↗Harär. In Dəbarwa Ö. built a defensive wall, a mosque and a tower, said to be filled with costly valuables, looted or extracted as taxes. Yet the Turkish position was precarious. The local peasantry annihilated a Turkish contingent sent to the coast in search for water and provisions and the heads of the commander and his officers were sent to Gälawdewos (ConzGal 165 [text]). When the Ottomans massacred the monks of ↗Däbrä Damo and desecrated its church, the Təgrayans gathered around Yəsḥaq who had then returned. He defeated the Turkish troops sent to occupy the ↗Buri peninsula, and moved against the independent tribes of ↗Mäzäga in ↗Wälqayt, united under a Muslim queen called ↗Gaᶜəwa. Her forces were defeated, and she fled to Dəbarwa. Allured by the treasures she had left behind, Ö. invaded her country, but during his absence the Ethiopians took Dəbarwa. Suffering severely from the heat, Ö. and the remainder of his army withdrew to Sawākin. Ö. is said to have died of sunstroke (ErlEth 34) in 1559 in Dəbarwa (al-Nahrawālī 1967: 129) and to be buried there. His remains, al-Nahrawālī adds, were later transported to Massawa, where his son ᶜUṯmān erected a *qubba* for him. After his death, the Turkish presence was limited to Sawākin, Massawa and Ḥərgigo.

Src.: BassHist 431; ConzGal 74–78, 80 (text) = 164–68 (tr.); JOÃO DE BARROS, *Da Asia*, *decada* III, *livro* IV, ch. I, Lisboa 1777, 371; DIOGO DE COUTO, *Da Asia*, *decada* VII, *livro* VII, ch. IV, Lisboa 1778, 91ff.; QUṬBADDĪN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-NAHRAWĀLĪ AL-MAKKĪ, *al-Barq al-Yamānī fī-fatḥ al-ᶜUṯmānī* ('The Yemen Lightning about the Ottoman Conquest'), ed. by ḤAMAD AL-ĞĀSIR, Riyāḍ 1967, 98–120.

Lit.: J.R. BLACKBURN, "Özdemir Pasha", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 8, 235–36; ErlEth 34; ALESSANDRO GORI, "L'Etiopia nei testi ottomani", in: UGO MARAZZI (ed.), *Turcica et Islamica*: *Studi in Memoria di Aldo Gallotta*, Napoli 2003, 623–35; CENGİZ ORHONLU, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti. Habeş Eyaleti*, İstanbul 1974 (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları 1856), 33–48; ID., "Osmanlıların Habeşistan siyaseti 1554–1560", *Tarih Dergisi* 15, 1965, 39–54; TrIslam 92.

Emeri van Donzel

P

Pachomius

P. (Eth. ጳኰሚስ, Ṗakʷəmis; Copt. ⲡⲁϩⲟⲙ, *Paḫom*, lit. 'The Falcon'; Gr. Παχόμιος, *Pachómios*; b. 294, Šneh, south of Thebes [Luxor], d. 346 or 347) is considered the father of coenobitic ↗monasticism (s. EAE vol. 5). He is commemorated by the ↗Coptic Church on 14 *Bašans*, corresponding to 14 *Gənbot* for the ↗calendar of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (cp. the ↗*Sənkəssar,* BudSaint 887f.; ColSyn XIII, 260–63).

The main source for P.'s biography is his Vita. Several Greek versions are known, as well as a Latin one, translated from Greek, and two Coptic (Saidic and Bohairic) ones; a few Arabic recensions also survive that are translated from either Greek or Coptic. No Ethiopic translation is known for the entire Vita, but P. is featured prominently in several classical collections of Ethiopian ↗monastic literature. The *Asceticon* (*Zena zäʾəmʾabäwinä qəddusan*, ed. Arras 1984, §§35, 37) and *Geronticon* (*Gädlä abäw qəddusan*, ed. Arras 1986, §§99, 141, 142, 169, 352) include both texts from the *Lausiac History* by Palladius and passages occurring in Greek and Coptic versions of P.'s Acts. The collection published as *Quadraginta historiae monachorum* (Arras 1998, "stories" nos. 6, 32, 33) presents a number of stories on Pachomian monks.

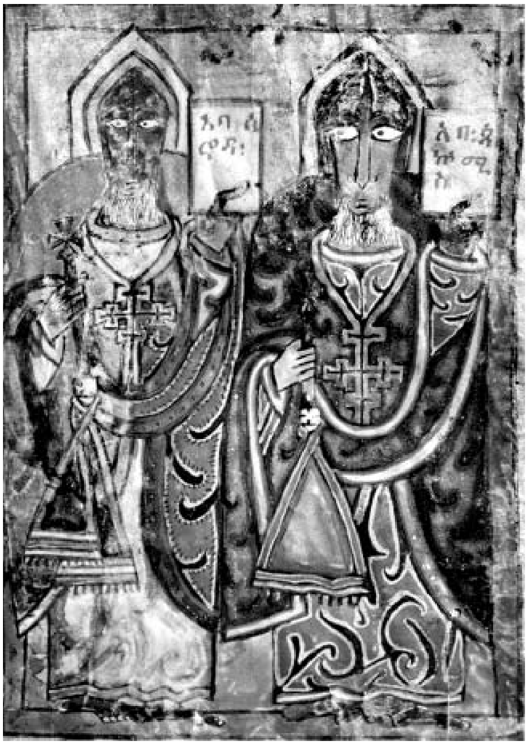
The catechism of P. has been translated into a number of languages but no complete Gəᶜəz translation is known. The *Geronticon* (ed. Arras 1986, §§223, 228, 231, 235, 261–62, 414–42, 445, 484) contains texts attributed to P. and possibly harking back to his own works.

The so-called *Rules of P.* consist of four parts, fully extant in a Latin version as, namely, *Praecepta*, *Praecepta et Instituta*, *Praecepta atque Iudicia*, *Praecepta ac Leges*. The partial Ethiopic translation (ሥርዐተ፡ ማኅበር, *Śərᶜatä maḫbär*, 'The Rules of the [Monastic] Community') depends on a Greek *Vorlage*. It has two parts: the first are the so-called *Rules of the Angel* (from the *Lausiac History* by Palladius), the second is a text based upon the Greek *Excerpta*; following these a third part is a late Ethiopian compilation attributed to P., but unknown in other languages. The Gəᶜəz of the first parts is additionally not always faithful to the original either (Veilleux 1968: 119).

Ethiopian tradition attributes the translation of the *Rules of P.* to the ↗Nine Saints. The first two parts were most probably translated in the Aksumite period. The Ethiopic version was published by Dillmann (DillmChr 57–69) and then translated into German (König 1878), English (Schodde 1885), French (Basset 1896) and Swedish (Löfgren 1948). A partial Italian translation of the third part exists (Cerulli 1968: 24ff.). Another text was edited by Arras as part of the *Collectio monastica* (1963, § 9).

Whilst in Egypt Pachomian monasteries did not survive long beyond the Arab conquest (639–40), the coenobitic ideals continued to the north, in the West, and to the south, especially in Ethiopia, whose monasticism is rooted in Egyptian Pachomian tradition. Ethiopian monastic ↗genealogies list St. ↗Anthony, Macarius, P., and only after them the Ethiopian founders of monasticism. The Acts of *abba* ↗Libanos claim that the saint was the first disciple of P., sent to Ethiopia by his teacher himself (Bausi 2003, §§26, 130, 302, 306, 412, 524; s. CRStor 157, and also Marrassini 2003: XXXIX). ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi, another disciple of P., is believed to have reached Ethiopia after his teacher's death, in the time of Emperor Theodore (Guidi 1894:58; CRStor 158f.). According to his Acts, however, the Saint flourished in the age of St. ↗Yared and King ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, i.e. around the mid 6th cent. (cp. CRStor 161). According to tradition, each of the Nine Saints founded a monastery in Ethiopia organized according to Pachomian *Rules*.

Coenobitism being the most wide-spread monastic form in Ethiopia, it is no wonder that references to P. and his *Rules* appear in numerous Ethiopian ↗hagiographies: e.g., the Acts of the 14th-cent. saint ↗Samuʾel of Däbrä Halleluya (Colin 1990: 18, 46) and of the 15th-cent. ↗Giyorgis of Sägla (Colin 1987: 45). He is mentioned several times in the Acts of the 17th/18th-cent. *abunä* ↗Abranyos (Raineri 1983: 446, 466), credited with the foundation of a commu-



Abba Shenute and *abba* Pachomius, illumination from a 15th-cent. *Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat* manuscript, fol. 29v, from Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa monastery, Šire, Təgray; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

nity “like those of Macarius and P.” (ibid. 450). Introduced as a disciple of all three Egyptian fathers, i.e. ↗Anthony, Macarius and P., Abranyos is known, however, for having experienced different forms of monastic life: anchoretic (like Paul the Hermit), vagrant (like Paul of Tamma) and coenobitic (like P.). In the Vita of the 18th-cent. ↗Säyfä Mikaᵓel, P. is evoked together with Anthony and Arsenius of Scetis (Ayele Teklahaymanot 2003: 82, 116).

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the *Rules of P.* are really applied in Ethiopia, for this matter has not been thoroughly investigated (s. Cerulli 1958). The Lives of the aforementioned saints show, however, distinctive traits of Pachomian coenobitism. Such founders of ↗monasteries, in fact, did feel the need to teach their disciples through catechism and homilies; sometimes, also, dependent ↗nunneries were opened adjacent to male monasteries. Finally, we find traces of the three principal activities according to P.: prayer, work and study. Nevertheless, the spirit of these Ethiopic hagiographies seems closer to ↗Shenute’s than P.’s, that is more democratic and moderate.

Src.: for mss. of the *Rules* s. ↗Monastic literature; Victor Arras (ed., tr.), *Asceticon*, Lovanii 1984 (CSCO 458, 459 [SAe 77, 78]), §§ 35, 37; Id. (ed., tr.), *Geronticon*, Lovanii 1986 (CSCO 476, 477 [SAe 79, 80]), §§ 99, 141–42, 169, 223, 228, 231, 235, 261-62, 352, 414, 445, 484; Id. (ed., tr.), *Quadraginta historiae monachorum*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 505, 506 [SAe 85, 86]), nos. 6, 32, 33; Ayele Teklehaymanot, “Il «Gadla Sayfa Mikāᵓēl» di Endā Śellāsē in Ṣāᶜdā Embā (Eritrea). Contributo all’agiografia etiopica del XVIII secolo”, *OrChrP* 69, 2003, 73–123, here 82, 116; René Basset (tr.), *Les apocryphes éthiopiens traduits en français*, VIII. *Les règles attribuées à saint-Pakhöme*, Paris 1896; Alessandro Bausi (ed., tr.), *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596, [SAe 105, 106]), §§ 26, 130, 302, 306, 412, 524; BudSaint 887f.; Gérard Colin, *Vie de Georges de Saglā,* Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]), 45 (text) = 33 (tr.); Id., *Vie de Sāmuᵓēl de Dabra Hāllēluyā*, Lovanii 1990 (CSCO 519, 520 [SAe 93, 94]), 18, 46 (text) = 15, 37 (tr.); ColSyn XIII, 260–63; DillmChr 57–69; Ignazio Guidi, “Il ‘Gadla ᵓAragâwî’”, *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1894, 54–96, 57 (text) = 88 (tr.); François Halkin, “Une vie inédite de saint Pachôme BHG 1401a”, *ABoll* 97, 1979, 5–55, 239–87; Id., *Le corpus athénien de saint Pachôme avec une traduction française par A.-J. Festugière*, Genève 1982 (Cahiers d’Orientalisme 20); Id., *Sancti Pachomii vitae Graecae*, Brussels 1932 (Subsidia Hagiographica 19); Louis Th. Lefort, *S. Pachomii vita bohairice scripta*, Louvain 1925 [repr. 1953] (CSCO 89 [Scriptores Coptici 7]); Id., *S. Pachomii vitae sahidice scriptae*, Louvain 1933–34 [repr. 1952] (CSCO 99, 100 [Scriptores Coptici 9, 10]); Id., *Les vies coptes de saint Pachôme et de ses premiers successeurs*, Louvain 1943 (Bibliothèque du Muséon 16); Id., *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, Louvain 1956 (CSCO 159, 160 [Scriptores Coptici 23, 24]); Eduard König, “Die Regeln des Pachomius”, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 51, 1878, 328–32; Oscar Löfgren, “Pakomius’ etiopiska klosterregler. i. I svensk tolkning”, *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 48, 1948, 163–84; Id., “Zur Kritik der äthiopischen Pachomiusregeln I, II”, *Le Monde Oriental* 30, 1936, 171–86; Paolo Marrassini (ed.), «*Vita*», «*Omelia*», «*Miracoli*» *del santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 597, 598 [SAe 107, 108]), xxxix; Osvaldo Raineri, “Atti di *abuna* Abrānyos, santo eritreo (1633–1718)”, *MRALm* ser. 8ª, 26 [4], 1983, 435–530 (text) = 562–622 (tr.), here 446, 450, 466 = 569, 572, 581; George H. Schodde, “The Rules of Pachomius translated from the Ethiopic”, *Presbyterian Review* 6, 1885, 678–89.

Lit.: Heinrich Bacht, “Pachôme”, in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 12–2, Paris 1986, 7–16; Enrico Cerulli, ”Il monachismo in Etiopia”, in: *Il monachesimo orientale*, Roma 1958 (OrChrA 153), 259–78; CerLett 23, 137; CRStor 157ff., 161; GuiSLett 17, 41; Peter H. Görg, *Die Wüstenväter – Antonius und die Anfänge des Mönchtums*, Augsburg 2008, 121–29; Paulin Ladeuze, *Etude sur le cénobitisme pakhômien pendant le IVᵉ siècle et la première moitié du Vᵉ*, Louvain – Paris 1898 [repr. 1962]; Gianfrancesco Lusini, “Tradizione e redazione delle regole monastiche etiopiche (Parigi, B.N., ms. Éth. 125, fols. 160ᵛ–162)”, in: Delio Vania Proverbio (ed.), *Scritti in memoria di Emilio Teza*, Venezia 1998 (= *Miscellanea Marciana* 12), 53–66 (Lit.); Mario da Abiy-Addì, “Monachesimo, Etiopico”, in: Guerrino Pelliccia – Giancarlo Rocca (eds.), *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, vol. 3, Roma 1976, 1330–39; Philip Rousseau, “The successors of P. and the Nag Hammadi codices. Exegetical Themes and Literary Interpretations", in: James E. Goehring – Janet A. Timbie (eds.), *The World of Early Egyptian Christianity: Language, Literature, and Social Context* (*Essays in Honor of David W. Johnson*), Washington, DC 2007, 140–57; Jean Simon, "Notes sur les textes de la «Chrestomatia Aethiopica»", *Orientalia* nova ser. 10, 1941, 285–311, here 300–03 (Lit.); Armand Veilleux, "Pachomius, Saint", in: *CE* vol. 6, 1859–64 (Lit.); Id., "Pacomio di Tabennisi", in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 10, Città del Vaticano 1964, 10–20 (Lit.); Id., *La liturgie dans le cénobitisme pachômien au quatrième siècle*, Roma 1968 (Studia Anselmiana 57), 119; Id., *Pachomian Koinonia*, 3 vols., Kalamazoo, MI 1980 (Cistercian Studies 45–47); Amos Schmidt, "Pachomius", in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 6, Nordhausen 1993, 1413–19 (Lit.).

Awad Wadi – Red.

Páez, Pedro

P. (also Pais, Paes; b. 1564, Olmeda de las Cebollas [today Olmeda de las Fuentes], Spain, d. 20 May 1622, Gorgora) was a Jesuit (↗Jesuits) missionary. Allegedly the son of Juan Páez Xaramillo and Elvira Campuzano (Alcázar [1710]), he had two sisters, Maria and Isabela, and a brother, Juan. A cousin, Esteban Páez, was Jesuit Provincial Superior in Mexico and later Peru (BecRASO II, ix).

On 18 June 1584, P. was admitted into the Society of Jesus at the Probation House in Villarejo de Fuentes, Cuenca. From about 1584 to 1587, he studied Philosophy at the Jesuit college of Belmonte, Cuenca, where he befriended one of his teachers, the Navarrese theologian Tomás de Ituren (Pérez 1931; for possible studies of P. at Coimbra, cf. Tacchi Venturi 1905: 563). In 1588, he was sent to India and in ↗Goa he pursued studies in Theology. In January 1589, the Jesuit Provincial in India, Pedro Martínez, chose him as the companion of the Catalan Antonio de Montserrat to be sent to Ethiopia. Soon afterwards he was ordained a priest and made the profession of four vows.

The two missionaries then travelled to ↗Diu via Chaul and Baçaim. Having abandoned a plan to reach Ethiopia by land through the Arabian Peninsula, at the end of 1589 they finally set sail for Zaylaᶜ from Muscat, then a Portuguese port. However, on 14 February 1590, soon after their ship had left the Khuriya Muriya Islands they were captured by Arabs from Dhofar and were taken to al-Balīd (today Salalah). From there they were forwarded to the Kaṯīrī *sulṭān* ᶜUmar b. Badr Bī Ṭuwayriq: they were taken by boat to the ↗Ḥaḍramawt coast, landed probably near Aš-Šiḥr and then proceeded by foot to Tarim and Haynīn (BecRASO III, 164–70; Beckingham – Serjeant 1950). After four months at Haynīn under the custody of *sulṭān* ᶜUmar, the Ottoman *baša* called them to Ṣanᶜāᵓ, which they reached crossing the Ḥaḍramawt desert and ↗Marib. The two Jesuits remained in Ṣanᶜāᵓ until mid-1596, when they were taken to Mocha. They spent some months there before being ransomed by ↗Banyan merchants at the prize of 500 *cruzados* each. Somewhere in late 1596 they reached Goa, although Montserrat was to die shortly after as a consequence of the long captivity.

In Goa P. studied for a short time Theology at the College of São Paulo and, between 1597 and 1600, worked at the Jesuit residences of Assalona (Salsette) and Chaul (Wicki-Gomes 1979: 24 [introduction]). In early 1599, P., who by then had some command of Arabic and Persian, failed to be sent to the Mughal mission to erect there a church (BecRASO XI, 28). In 1600, he moved to Diu, where he helped found the residence and might have taken part in the early stages of construction of its college and church of São Paulo (BecRASO XI, 30).

Finally, on 22 March 1603, P. set sail for Ethiopia aboard a Banyan ship. On 26 April he arrived at Massawa and on 15 May, accompanied by João ↗Gabriel and other Ethio-Portuguese (↗Portugal, relations with), reached ↗Fəremona. Thereby started the second and most fruitful period of the Jesuit mission. P., who was soon joined by four other companions, initially followed a prudent strategy, ministering to the Ethio-Portuguese and trying to approach powerful figures in the kingdom. In this way he met *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl shortly before the latter's death, *ras* ↗Atnatewos, *ətege* ↗Maryam Śəna (Mäläk Mogäsa) and *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob (BecRASO XI, 63ff., 235, 248).

When ↗Susənyos came to power, a friendship soon developed between him and P. Under the patronage of the ruler and his brother ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos, P. reorganized the residence of ↗Gorgora ("Velha"), which was to become his main base, and expanded the mission's scope and infrastructure. As the head of the mission until 1618, when he was replaced by António ↗Fernandes, he was the one responsable for the policy of concealed opposition to Orthodoxy and the introduction of Catholicism into the royal court (e.g. BecRASO XI, 324–28; PerChron ch. 48). From at least the early 1610s until his death, P. also became a close adviser to Susənyos and took part in important political decisions (e.g. BecRASO XI, 236, 376).

P. contributed to the early building projets of the mission. In 1614, he allegedly built a "palace" for Susənyos at Gorgora, which was to be later used in the church of Iyäsus erected by João Martins at Gorgora "Nova" (BecRASO VI, 293f.; VIII, 105; XI, 305; XII, 273f.; ARSI, Goa 39 II, 423r). In 1618, at the expense of Susənyos and Səᶜəlä Krəstos he constructed the first European-style church of the mission at Gorgora "Velha", made of ashlar masonry and clay and on lands that had belonged to ↗Fasilädäs (BecRASO III, 496; XI, 403, 406f., 413–16, 484f.). In 1621, he began working on a similar building at ↗Gännätä Iyäsus, the capital he had helped to found (BecRASO VI, 357, 387f.; PerChron ch. 65). The church in Gorgora soon collapsed due to its weak structure and the one in Gännätä Iyäsus was continued by Luís de ↗Azevedo and Manuel Magro (BecRASO VI, 390; XII, 449; ARSI, Goa 39 I, 223v). P. died in Gorgora of a violent fever.

P. authored several letters addressed to fellow Jesuits, friends and relatives in India and Europe, which for the most part have been published (cf. BecRASO XI, index). In 1615, he also began to compile sources for his *História da Etiópia* (BecRASO XI, 359), which he completed in 1621. The *História* was initially conceived to challenge Luis de ↗Urreta's treatise and turned out as a pioneer work in the ethnography and ↗historiography of Christian Ethiopia (for the sources used by P. s. BecRASO II, xxx–xlvi; III, iii–xi). It contained translated excerpts of such works as the ↗*Haymanotä Abäw*, the chronicles of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (MarAmdS 13ff.), ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, ↗Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl and Susənyos as well a version of the Vita of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot. Although the *História* remained unpublished until the 20th cent., it was quoted and used by a number of authors. Manoel de ↗Almeida used most of P.'s text in his own *História de Etiópia a alta*, removing most of the references to Urreta and extending the narrative to the fall of the mission. Scholars such as the Jesuits Athanasius Kircher and Kaspar Schott used P.'s description of the sources of the Blue ↗Nile (↗Abbay), which is considered the earliest reliable account of this river (Kircher 1652–54; Schott 1663).

Src.: Bartholomé Alcazar, *Chrono-historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia de Toledo. Decada V*, [ca. 1710], Madrid, Universidad Complutense, Biblioteca Histórica, Ms 559, ch. V, §1; Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (ARSI), Rome, Goa 39 I, 220r–30r; Goa 39 II, 418r–41r; BecRASO II, III [= *História da Etiópia*, ed. by Lopes Teixeira, Porto 1945; *História da Etiópia*, ed. by Isabel Boavida – Hervé Pennec – Manuel João Ramos, Lisboa 2008]; VI, 293f., 357, 387f., 390; VIII, 105; XI, 28, 30, 235f., 305, 324–28, 359, 376, 403, 406f., 413–16, 484f.; XII, 273f., 449; Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipus Aegypticus* …, Romae 1652–54, vol. 1, 56–59; PerChron chs. 48, 65; Kaspar Schott, [*Anatomia physico-hydrostatica fontium ac fluminum*] …, Herbipoli [Würzburg] 1663, 425–33; Luis de Urreta, *Historia eclesiastica y politica, natural y moral, de los grandes y remotos Reynos de la Etiopia* …, Valencia 1610; Id., *Historia de la sagrada orden de Predicatores en los remotos reynos de la Etiopia* …, Valencia 1611; Iosephus Wicki – John Gomes (eds.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. 14, Romae 1979, 24 (introduction).

Lit.: Charles Fraser Beckingham – Robert Bertram Serjeant, "A Journey of Two Jesuits from Dhufar to Sanᶜa in 1590", *The Geographical Journal* 115, 1950, 194–207; Leonardo Cohen-Shabot – Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner "The Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia: an Analytical Bibliography", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 190–212 (Lit.); MarAmdS 13ff.; Antonio Pérez Goyena, "Un eximio teólogo y escritor navarro, Tomás de Ituren", *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos = Revue Internationale des Etudes Basques* 22, 1931, 16-33, here 31f.; Pietro Tacchi Venturi, "Pietro Paez, apostolo dell'Abissinia al principio del sec. XVII", *Civiltà Cattolica* 3, 1905, 560–81.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Ṗagʷəmen/Ṗagumen ↗Calendar

Painting

This article covers the following aspects of painting:

I. Technical aspects of painting
II. Main subjects of Ethiopian painting
III.Miniature painting
IV. Monumental painting
V. Painting on wood
Other aspects s. also ↗art (s. EAE, vol. 5)

I. Technical aspects of painting

A P., regardless of its materials is composed of two essential elements: a prepared foundation, followed by an application of paint. P. may also be finished with a sealant.

Parchment foundation

For decorative headings and miniatures in ↗manuscripts, the foundation is parchment, the material from which the entire manuscript is composed. In Ethiopia, parchment is generally produced from the skin of goats, although bovine parchment may be used for large manuscripts, such as *de luxe* ↗Gospel books. (Bovine parchment is distinguishable by its visible subcutaneous vein patterns on the flesh side; all types of parchment are generally identifiable.) After soaking in a lime bath for several days, both sides of the skin are carefully scraped; the skin is then mounted for drying upon a vertical wooden frame. Parchment leaves for a manuscript are cut to a given uniform size, scored with lined columns for texts or simple frame outlines for full-page miniatures. Priming the parchment is unnecessary; the text is copied by a scribe and the illuminations are executed by a painter directly upon the parchment. When the work of the scribe and painter is complete, the leaves are gathered into quires and bound, i.e. sewed together within wooden end-boards.

Mural foundation

The preparation of wall surfaces in churches excavated from living-rock (cp. ↗Rock-hewn churches) consists of smoothing and then coating the walls with a layer of chalk or gypsum. The paint is applied al secco. Round churches (cp. ↗Church buildings) are constructed either of stone or wattle-and-daub; the interior walls, finished with plaster or clay, are prepared for P. by the application of a sized fabric, sized with chalk or with a slick, sticky substance prepared from grain. The fabric is then glued to the wall with a mixture of casein and ox blood. The point at which the primed fabric was painted varies – the painter may choose to execute the P. on the sized fabric before gluing the fabric to the wall. This latter procedure is presently favored. Since the mid-20th cent., undecorated walls of Ethiopian Orthodox churches may be hung with framed icons and other religious P., painted upon prepared canvas mounted upon wooden stretchers.

Wood panel foundation

Portable P. on wood panels (known as icons) were evidently not produced by Ethiopian painters until the early or mid-15th cent. (Heldman 1994:165-68; Ead. in StudAeth 447ff.), although this form of P. was popular in Byzantine Church practice by the 6th cent. The average size of the Ethiopian icon board ranges from ca. 65 x 50 cm to 25 x 13 cm; lateral panels of the standard triptych are narrower by half. Panels of personal icons may be as small as 9 x 9 cm.

Various kinds of wood were used, primarily *wanza* (*Cordia abyssinica*). The icon board was hewn from a log with an adze (*mäṭräbiya*); the adze and a rasp or file were used for the final dressing of the surfaces. (Saw-marks are not observed until the 18th cent.) The panel may be absolutely flat, but more often is carved with an engaged frame. In the case of older icons, panels to be prepared for a diptych or triptych were cut from a single board. (Recent icons may be composed of different pieces of available wood, even salvaged shelves and ledges.) Before being primed for P., the freshly cut board was dried, usually by burial in the earth, for up to a year. The process of preparing the wooden ↗*tabot* board is identical to the preparation of the icon panel.

If, during the drying process, a crack parallel to the grain of the board developed, the crack was repaired by drilling a pair of holes on either side of the crack in order to sew or tie the crack together with a string of cotton, a thread of animal tendon, or leather thong. This repair would be covered by the primer and the P. (In later times, iron clamps might be used.)

Because Ethiopian icons are usually composed of two or three attached panels, i.e. in the form of a diptych or triptych, the final step in the preparation of the wood foundation is joining the panels with cords threaded through two or three sets of holes bored diagonally through the edge of each panel. The panels may have been painted before they were joined together. (From the 17th cent. onward, metal hinges have also been used.) The exterior sides of small late-17th and early-18th cent. pendant icons of wild olive wood (*Olea europaea subsp. cuspidata*) are carved with intricate cruciform designs.

Priming the foundation

Mural surfaces of churches are primed with a thin layer of chalk or gypsum, or sized fabric, depending upon the construction material. Wood icon panels are first covered with a thin cloth (*šaš*) that serves as a stabilizing element, to which gesso (a mixture of glue and gypsum or chalk) is applied. Icons are often primed and painted on the external sides. 19th-cent. icons are sometimes primed with thicker cloth, which may prevent the glue from adhering effectively to the wood panels.

Paint: pigments and binding agents

Ethiopian painters have, until the 20th cent., used tempera paint, i.e. pigments combined with a protein or vegetal binder. The tempera medium was well adapted to the formal style of Ethiopian P., which may be characterized as two-dimensional forms, flat areas of colour, sometimes overlaid with linear geometric and floral patterns. Limited modeling of the human figure, primarily the face, was introduced by court painters around 1725; such modeling became a typical attribute of the Second Gondärine style. Presently Ethiopian painters work predominantly with commercially prepared paints.

Pigments

Recent scientific development of sensitive non-destructive analytical methods, such as Raman

Laser Microspectrometry (Wion 2004), have allowed a more precise identification of the pigments used by Ethiopian painters. The following mineral and organic pigments have been identified scientifically: gypsum ($CaSO_4$) for white. Various kinds of ochre (iron oxide); cinnabar (HgS), in artificial and in natural form for red; orpiment (As_2S_3) for yellow, also the orange pararealgar (AsS); indigo ($C_{16}H_{10}N_2O_2$), often mixed with white lead ($C_2H_2Pb_3O_8$) for blue, also smalt (cobalt coloured glass = SiO_2K_2OCoO) and *Lapis lazuli* (natural ultramarine), small quantities of Prussian blue have been found; since the middle of the 19th cent. synthetic ultramarine has been imported. For green a mixture of orpiment and indigo was used, as well as plant extracts, but also green earths and malachite for a turquoise green; red lead was used for orange. In addition to simple extracted organic paints dyes were also used: a dark red transparent similar to madder (an anthraquinone dye) and a very pure yellow (not yet identified). Soot and a mixture of burned cereals, plants and other organic material were used for black, also for the preparation of inks. Gold was not used in P. except in some miniatures.

Although it is assumed that most pigments used by Ethiopian painters were imported, proof of these assumptions awaits further application of modern scientific testing of the inks as well as of a larger sample of P. ↗Schimper (1877) reported deposits of natural cinnabar in ↗Təgray, geological deposits predict the occurrence of orpiment and Ethiopian flora allows the preparation of many organic pigments locally. There are various reports on locally produced paints and dyes. The relatively standard palette of colours used by Ethiopian painters increased significantly during the 17th and 18th cent. 17th-cent. painters, working in the First Gondärine style, introduced a dark red transparent dye similar to madder, which, when applied over a light opaque cinnabar, created a mulberry red. Around 1725, a distinctive rich green colour was created by applying a transparent dark green over a layer of malachite green. This colour is typical of royal manuscript illuminations painted in the Second Gondärine style.

Binding agents

Binding agents, obtained locally from plant and animal sources, were mixed with pigments so that the colours would adhere to the prepared foundation. Determining the correct binding agent and mixing it in the correct proportions was a special skill. A weak binding agent results in a loose bonding of paint to the foundation. An overly strong binding agent will cause the paint to peel off after drying. (In some P., black painted outlines and pupils of eyes have broken away because of the excessive use of a binding agent.) Animal protein binding agents include egg, animal-skin glue, and casein. Plant derived binding agents include vegetal gums, oils, and resins. Scribes and painters would also add certain vegetal ingredients to prevent insect infestation. P. were sometimes covered with a varnish to act as a sealant; aloe sap is also mentioned.

Lit.: Edgar Denninger, “Naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen an einer äthiopischen Wandmalerei”, *Maltechnik* 1, 1959, 17–19; Robert Fuchs – Christiane Meinert – Johannes Schrempf, *Pergament: Geschichte, Material, Konservierung, Restaurierung*, München 2001 (Kölner Beiträge zur Restaurierung und Konservierung von Kunst- und Kulturgut 12); Marilyn E. Heldman, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Seyon. A Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6); Ead., “A Transformed Tablet and an Ethiopian Triptych”, in: *StudAeth* 443–51; Erica E. James, “Technical Study and Conservation of Ethiopian Icons, National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution”, *Journal of the American Institute of Conservation* 44, 1, 2005, 39–50; Hermann Kühn et al., *Reclams Handbuch der künstlerischen Techniken*, vol. 1: *Farbmittel, Buchmalerei, Tafel und Leinwandmalerei*, Stuttgart 1984; Annegret Marx, “Indigo, Smalt, Ultramarine – a Change of Blue Paints in Traditional Ethiopian Church Paintings in the 19th Century Sets a Benchmark for Dating”, in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 215–32; Ead., “Wo Rot «Blut Christi» und Blau «Mantel Mariens» heißt – Die traditionelle Malerei in Äthiopien”, in: Girma Fisseha (ed.) *Äthiopien – Christentum zwischen Orient und Afrika*, München 2002, 70–83; Walter Raunig, “Zwei Ikonen aus der Äthiopien-Sammlung des Völkerkundemuseums der Universität Zürich”, *Ethnologische Zeitschrift Zürich* 1, 1975, 151–79; Wilhelm Schimper, “Die geologischen und physikalischen Verhältnisse des Districts Arrho und der Salzhandel in Abyssinien”, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 12, 1877, 109–16; János Alexander Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, Aldershot 1999, 45–50; Taye Wolde Medhin, “La préparation traditionelle des couleurs en Éthiopie”, *Abbay* 11, 1980–82, 219–24; Patricia Irwin Tournerie, *Colour and Dye Recipes of Ethiopia*, London 1986; Kurt Wehlte, “Rettung einer äthiopischen Wandmalerei”, *Maltechnik* 1, 1959, 1–17; Fritz Weihs, “Einige technische Details zu äthiopischen Ikonen”, in: Walter Raunig (ed.), *Religiöse Kunst Äthiopiens. Religious Art of Ethiopia*, Stuttgart 1973, 298–308; Anaïs Wion, “An Analysis of 17th Century Ethiopian Pigments”, in: *PICEA* 5, 101–12.

Annegret Marx

II. Main subjects of Ethiopian painting

Whilst Ethiopian imagery is not different from what was current in the other Oriental Christian communities, there are certain particularities as to which subjects were preferred. A universal pictorial repertory dominated when the choice of representation was dictated by liturgical or theological needs; when popular devotion was taken into consideration, holy figures and religious themes favoured by the people were displayed. A constant requirement for protection, the call for the miracles, an apotropaic way of thinking, all deeply rooted in Ethiopian religious spirituality, resulted in an active cult of holy figures known for their beneficiary actions toward believers, and stimulated a constant demand for their images and illustrated life-stories. The motifs, scenes and pictorial cycles once introduced and accepted were copied and endlessly repeated thanks to the pronounced traditionalism characteristic of Ethiopian art. The wide spectrum of the most popular representations is evident from the universally applied patterns established for monumental P. in the second half of the 17th cent. and finalized during the 18th cent. The pictorial repertory spread mostly through those illuminated ↗manuscripts that were frequently used either during the liturgy or in private devotion.

O.T. manuscripts were never illustrated with narrative scenes. The customary decoration system of O.T. books with its selection of single or grouped figures inserted into the relevant parts of text, often as full-page, frontispiece miniatures (e.g., ms. BritLib Orient. 481, 17th cent., *Maṣḥafä ↗ṭefut*) promoted their popularity. The variant with groups of figures is typical of the manuscripts produced in the Stephanite scriptoria, primarily in ↗Gundä Gunde. Miniatures representing ↗Moses, ↗David and ↗Solomon regularly illustrated 15th- and 16th-cent. ↗Psalters. Enthroned O.T. kings first appeared in the wall-paintings of the 17th-cent. churches (e.g., ↗Däbrä Sina, ↗Qoma Fasilädäs).

Narrative O.T. scenes also appear in monumental P. In the 13th- and 14th-cent. churches (e.g., ↗Gännätä Maryam, ↗Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm, ↗Qorqor Maryam), the focus is on the episodes that transmit the idea of divine deliverance (the Sacrifice of Abraham, the Three youths in the furnace, Daniel in the lion's den, etc.). Less popular during the following two centuries, these scenes reappear at the end of the 17th cent. (Däbrä Sina, ↗Wəqro Mäsqäl). Larger cycles illustrating Genesis (e.g., the Creation of Man, the Original Sin) and Exodus (the story of Moses) were first incorporated in the extensive 19th-cent. programmes and became a regular feature (e.g., churches of Lake ↗Ṭana).

The standardized illustration of early ↗Gospels was also transferred to Ethiopia. In the 14th and 15th cent., the popular sets contained, beside the ↗Canon tables and the portraits of the ↗Evangelists, one of the two types of Christological cycles: the short (three miniatures of the Passion) and the developed (ca. a dozen episodes covering the whole life of Christ). At the end of the 17th cent., a large group of *de luxe* Gospels was produced and illustrated with miniatures copying Western European models. Each Gospel was supplied with an extensive Christological cycle which included a large selection of the miracles of Jesus, previously omitted, and various episodes drawn from the Passion (e.g., ms. BritLib Orient. 510). From the late 18th cent., this cycle enters the programme of monumental P. alongside the large composition of the Last Judgement conceived as the Second Coming (Mt 23; ↗Eschatology; ↗*Dagəm məṣᵓatu lä-Krəstos*). On wood (panels, diptychs and triptychs), the most frequent images were the Christological scenes transmitting pivotal theological messages: the Nativity, ↗Crucifixion and Anastasis often combining the elements of the Resurrection. The beheading of ↗John the Baptist depicted in some old manuscripts (e.g., *Məṣlä Fasilädäs*, Ṭana, 15th cent.) was chosen to join the standard series of the ↗martyrdoms of the saints, set up in the second half of the 17th cent., within the programmes for monumental P. In the 18th cent., this was extended by scenes depicting the death of each apostle based on the apocryphal Acts.

The most popular depictions of the apocryphal stories concern St. ↗Mary. The ↗*Nägärä Maryam* was extensively illustrated at the end of the 18th cent. (up to 250 miniatures, e.g., ms. BritLib Orient. 607). This set, reduced to ca. 20 episodes but extended by a group of apocryphal miracles of the Child Jesus and scenes connected to the death of St. Mary, was added to the pictorial programme designed for 18th-cent. monumental P. There, the representation of Hell inspired by different apocryphal texts was juxtaposed with a depiction of the Last Judgement. The collection of ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam*, illustrated in the second part of the 17th cent. with a set of 32 narrative scenes, gained particular popularity due to wide distribution of the manuscripts. Two of the miracles, the story of the "cannibal of Qəmər" (*Bäläᶜe säbəᵓ*) and the Apparition of Mary at

↗Däbrä Məṭmaq, entered the programmes of monumental P. in spectacular form: the former was displayed on the southern sanctuary door, the latter was placed above, on the tambour.

Similarly favoured was the pictorial story of the Archangel Michael composed in the second half of the 18th cent., as an illustration to the *↗Dərsanä Mikaʾel*. One of the stories (Crossing the Red Sea) was equally selected to join the 18th-cent. wall-P. programmes and reappears in almost every church on the main, western entrance to the sanctuary.

Among ecumenical saints, the martyrs enjoyed particular veneration and were frequently represented. Heading the list in popularity were always the ↗Equestrian saints, especially the representation of St. ↗George killing the dragon. When, in the 18th cent., the text on his martyrdom and the collection of his miracles received an extensive pictorial version, the abbreviated variants were almost immediately introduced into monumental P. and P. on wood. The scenes depicting the martyrdoms of St. ↗Qirqos and his mother Julitta, St. Stephen and the story of St. Alexis (↗Gäbrä Krəstos) became, from the second half of the 17th cent., recurrent elements in the mural programmes.

Five Ethiopian saints regularly reappear in almost any kind of painting: ↗Täklä Haymanot, ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba and ↗Ewosṭatewos. When, in the second half of the 17th cent., their representations became a part of mural programmes, *abba* ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi was added to the group. Since the ↗Nine Saints were usually also depicted as a group in the same programme, Zämikaʾel appeared twice. The extended programme of the second half of the 18th cent. introduced St. ↗Yared to the group, where he is shown singing in front of king ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl.

The special place of ↗Angels in Ethiopian spirituality is reflected in the popularity of their representations. Besides Michael, closely followed by Gabriel, other angels, single and in groups, were always present in any kind of Ethiopian P.

Amongst subjects with a specific theological concept, the *↗Maiestas Domini* dominated in the 14th and 15th cent., and was replaced in the late 15th cent. by the Ancient of Days and later on by the ↗Trinity. The popularity of representations of the *↗Kidanä məḥrät* was reinforced by the cult of Mary. The same factor is true for the uniquitous production of iconic pictures of St. Mary with Child, appearing in many iconographical variants and in innumerable copies (↗Mary in art).

The specific origin of the representation known as the *↗Kʷərʿatä rəʾəsu* explains the particular popularity of the subject, esp. between the late 16th cent. and the end of the 19th cent.

The longstanding popularity of exclusively religious subjects was changed in the 18th cent., when murals started to include a very large scene depicting a royal or aristocratic procession, iconographically standardized but always enriched with individual historical details (including representations of the ↗donors). Another secular theme which appears from the 19th cent., mostly in murals, is the allegory of human vanity originating from the text of Barlaam and Josaphat (*↗Bärälam wäyəwasəf*).

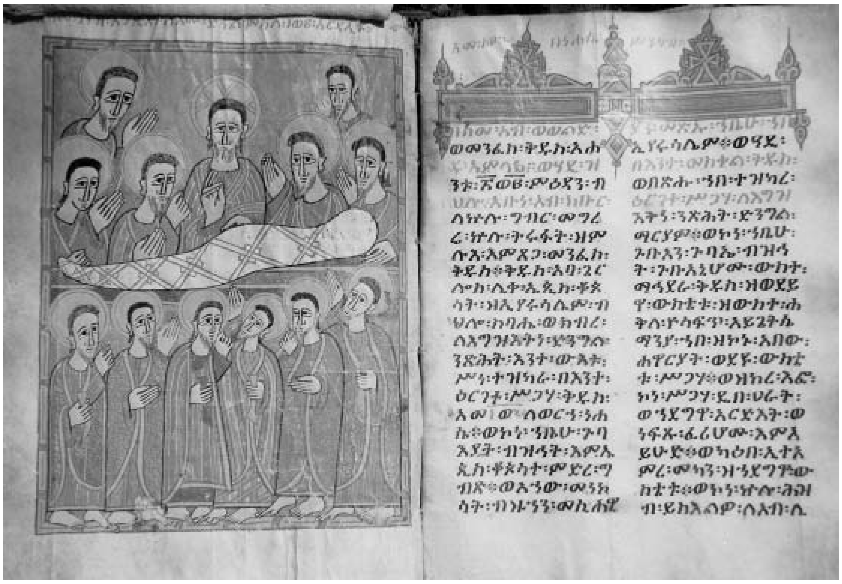
Lit.: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, “Wandmalerei – die unbekannte Welt der Äthiopischen Kunst”, in: Annegret Marx (ed.), *Steh auf und geh nach Süden. 2000 Jahre Christentum in Äthiopien*, Frankfurt a.M. 2007, 79–92; Claire Bosc-Tiessé, *Les îles de la mémoire. Fabrique des images et écriture de l’histoire dans les églises du lac Ṭānā, Éthiopie, xvii^e-xviii^e siècle*, Paris 2008; Ead. – Anaïs Wion, *Peintures sacrées d’Éthiopie. Collection de la Mission Dakar–Djibouti*, St-Maur-des-Fossés 2005, 63–122; ChojPaint; Jules Leroy, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gonder Dynasty*, London 1967; Wilhelm Staude, “Étude sur la décoration picturale des églises Abbā Antonios de Gondar et Dabra Sinā de Gorgora”, *AE* 3, 1959, 185–235; Anaïs Wion, *Tombeau pour une reine. Le monastère de Qoma Fasilädäs* (*Éthiopie, XVII^e s.*). *Essai de micro-histoire*, Paris 2009.

Ill.: AfrZion; Stanisław Chojnacki, *Ethiopian Icons. Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University*, Milan 2000; GerKir^2; Ewald Hein – Birgitte Kleidt, *Ethiopia. Christian Africa*: *Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1999; Claude Lepage – Jacques Mercier, *Art éthiopien. Les églises historiques du Tigray*, Paris 2005; Jules Leroy – Stephen Wright – Otto Jäger, *Éthiopie*: *Manuscrits à peinture,* Paris 1961; Walter Raunig (ed.), *Etiopia*: *storia, arte, cristianesimo*, Milano 2005; Jacques Mercier, *Les Vierges d’Éthiopie*, Montpellier 2004; Mario Di Salvo, *Churches of Ethiopia. The Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

III. Miniature painting

Christianity was introduced in Aksum in the first half of the 4th cent. (cp., e.g., Hahn in PICES 15), but it was evidently not until the 6th cent. and the translation of the ↗Gospels and the Septuagint into Gəʿəz (cp. ↗Bible) that the tradition of illustrating ↗manuscripts with painted miniatures was introduced to the Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. The historical record of highland Christian Ethiopia is discontinuous because of periods of external and internal de-



"Assumption", frontispiece miniature of the Homily for the Feast of the Assumption (ʿƎrgäta), *Dǝrsanä Maryam*, fol. 136v–37r, Betä Lǝḥem, ca. 1400; photo courtesy of Stefan Bombeck

struction (Heldman 2007: 86f.; Getatchew Haile 1985: 41, 47 n. 2; Chernetsov in PICES 11, vol. 1, 87). Few extant Ethiopic manuscripts are earlier than the 14th cent. Nevertheless, a small family of ↗Gospel manuscripts produced in northern Ethiopia in the 14th cent., which includes the ↗Däbrä Mäʿar Gospels, provides insights into Ethiopic decorated Gospels of the 6th cent. These manuscripts are decorated with a frontispiece of three full-page miniatures, the iconography of which reflects the Early Byzantine cult of holy places in ↗Jerusalem. Their prototypes were introduced to Ethiopia during the 6th cent. (Heldman 1979; Lepage 1987; AfrZion nos. 54ff.). Their decorated ↗Canon tables follow a 6th-cent. Greek prototype.

Several Gospel manuscripts at the ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima monastery contain miniatures of decorated ↗Canon tables and ↗Evangelist portraits dating to the Late Antique period, the agency by which they were brought to Ethiopia is unknown. The miniatures were inserted some time later into these two Ethiopic Gospel manuscripts, the dates of which have not been established with any precision (cp. Mercier 2000: 35–45; Leroy 1960, 1968).

The earliest extant manuscript decorated with miniatures by an Ethiopian painter(s) is the Four Gospels of ↗Iyäsus Moʾa, dated 1280/81 (EMML V, 293–301; Heldman 2007: 97ff.). These miniatures reflect visual models that were Copto-Islamic in style, brought to Ethiopia by a metropolitan bishop who had been sent to Ethiopia by the Patriarch of Alexandria (Heldman 2007: 97–100). The pattern of illumination is typical of Ethiopic *de luxe* Gospel manuscripts produced during the 14th, 15th and early 16th cent. (UNESCO 1961; AfrZion nos. 65, 69). The text is preceded by decorated Canon tables and an extensive Christological frontispiece; each of the four Gospels is introduced by a full-page portrait of the Evangelist. Miniatures are not inserted within the Gospel texts. This pattern of frontispiece decoration may represent a tradition inherited from 6th-cent. Aksum (Heldman – Devens in VarAeth 77–82; Lepage 1987). Most Ethiopic Gospel manuscripts of this period have no decoration, others have Canon tables with simple arcade frames and full-page author portraits that introduce each respective Gospel text.

This frontispiece pattern of manuscript illumination is typical of all Ethiopic illustrated manuscripts produced during the Early Solomonic period (1270–1529). Full-page miniatures in a beautifully copied manuscript of the ↗*Dǝrsanä Maryam* from the church of ↗Betä Lǝḥem function as a frontispiece for each of the different homilies (Bombeck 2007). The manuscript probably dates to ca. 1400. A unique miniature of the Assumption of the Virgin, inspired by a Byzantine representation of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, introduces the "Homily of the Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem on the Assumption of the Virgin" (Heldman 2007: 101–04). The opening shows the miniature on the verso page, paired with the text that begins on the facing recto (s. ill). The decorative headpiece in the form of a ↗*ḥaräg* marks the text *incipit*. This pattern of introductory frontispiece appears in a manuscript of the ↗*Gädlä sämaʿǝtat* (EMML 7602); a full-page portrait introduces each martyr's and saint's Vita (AfrZion no. 70).

Monasteries were important centres of training for painters and scribes during the early Solomonic period, although identifying the site of a specific style or workshop – monastery or royal court – is rarely possible. The illuminated manuscripts of the *Dərsanä Maryam* of Betä Ləḥem and the ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam* of ↗Amba Gəšän were created at the court of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II (Heldman 1974: 101–08; 2007: 101–05).

Two monastic houses located in northern Ethiopia developed distinctive styles of manuscript illumination in the late 15th cent., the ↗Stephanites (at ↗Gundä Gunde) and the ↗Ewosṭateans (at ↗Däbrä Maryam Qʷäḥayn). The Gundä Gunde style (Heldman in PICEA 1, 8–14, figs. 11–27) is best illustrated by Gospel books with *ḥaräg*-decorated Canon tables and a distinctive frontispiece with portraits of St. ↗Mary and the Christ Child accompanied by the Twelve ↗Apostles and occasionally O.T. figures (Leroy 1967, pls. 4–7; Horowitz 2001: 104–07). The Ewosṭatean "workshop" (Heldman in PICEA 1, 5–8, figs. 1–10) decorated a variety of *de luxe* manuscripts. Full-page miniatures in a manuscript of ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat* serve as frontispieces to each homily or major sections of Biblical texts (AfrZion no. 89). A ↗Psalter with additional prayers produced for the private use of ↗Bəlen Sägäd (BN, d'Abbadie 105) is decorated with a frontispiece composed of scenes of the life of Christ, and single full-page miniatures introduce certain text sections. A full-page miniature of Mary with the Christ Child (Heldman 1994, fig. 41) introduces the ↗*Anqäṣä bərhan*. The impact of the style of ↗Fəre Ṣəyon, a painter at the court of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, is seen in an illuminated *Gəbrä ḥəmamat* (BritLib, Orient. 597) copied for *abunä* ↗Märḥa Krəstos, abbot of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, probably produced at his monastery (Heldman 1994: 65ff.).

There appears to have been a hiatus in the production of *de luxe* illuminated manuscripts from ca. 1530 until the early 17th cent., when production was revived at the new capital of ↗Gondär. Miniatures in the manuscripts commissioned by Gondärine rulers (cp. ↗Gondärine kingdom) display new styles and new iconography. Patterns of illumination also changed, and Canon tables are no longer added to Gospel books. Narrative images are placed beside and within text pages of 17th-cent. religious manuscripts, not only in manuscripts of the Gospels, but also in a variety of popular religious texts, such as the *Täᵓammərä Maryam* and the ↗*Dərsanä Mikaᵓel*, as well as small prayer books for private devotions, the latter were very popular in the 18th cent. (AfrZion nos. 116, 117).

Two styles dominate manuscript illumination, icon, and monumental painting during the Gondärine period (Leroy 1967): the so-called First Gondärine style developed there in the 17th cent. (Annequin 1972) and the Second Gondärine style which appeared in the early 18th cent. The latter came to be recognized as the "royal style", and as such it continued to be predominant during the period of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. In northern Ethiopia, it continued to be the preferred style for religious art until the late 20th cent. (Leroy 1967, pl. 59).

Some dramatic changes in manuscript illumination were inspired by the introduction of Western European prints by the ↗Jesuits in the early 17th cent. (Buchthal in PICES 1). The woodcut illustrations in the *Evangelium arabicum* (Rome 1590) inspired the illumination of the large Gospel books, such as mss. BritLib Orient. 510 and 508, with illustrations placed above or below the text which they illustrate (Leroy 1967, pls. 31–34). The vivid narrative illustrations by Jerome Nadal in the *Evangelicae historiae imagines* provided inspiration as well as visual models for painted murals as well as manuscripts (Mercier 1999; Bosc-Tiessé in PICEA 5).

Texts that had not previously received painted miniatures were decorated with numerous narrative images. This is true of the manuscripts of the *Täᵓammərä Maryam* produced during the 17th and early 18th cent. at Gondär for the private devotions of the ruling elite (Annequin 1972; Berzock 2002).

Manuscripts of the *Täᵓammərä Maryam* with miniatures painted in the Second Gondärine style display a greater variety of narrative images. Indeed, the development of narrative cycles for religious texts rapidly expanded during the 18th cent., not only for Gospel books, but also for the *Gädlä Giyorgis* (St. ↗George, the earliest ms. being Ṭānāsee 17; s. HamTana pls. 10–12), as well as the *Dərsanä Mikaᵓel* (AfrZion no. 121), the *Nägärä Maryam*, and the *Dərsanä Maryam* (ibid. 249f.). Unique illuminated manuscripts of the 18th cent. include the ↗*Revelation* (BritLib Orient. 533, cp. McEwan 2005) and the *Gädlä* ↗*Walättä Peṭros*, which is illustrated with remarkable scenes of monastic life at Lake ↗Ṭana

(Bosc-Tiessé in PICES 15). Later in the century, narrative miniatures were added to the *Gädlä ↗ Täklä Haymanot* (BritLib Orient. 723; s. Budge 1906). Ethiopian rulers continued to commission manuscripts copied on parchment and decorated with miniatures until the late 19th cent.

Src.: BauEr III, figs. 2ff.; BecRASO XI, 209; Stefan Bombeck, *Die Geschichte der heiligen Maria in einer alten äthiopischen Handschrift*, 2 vols., Bottrop 2007; Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (ed., tr.), *The Life and Miracles of Tâklâ Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Libânôs …*, London 1906; Id., *One Hundred & Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London 1928; CRAbb 45–48, no. 19 [ms. Abbadie 105]; EMML nos. 22, 1414, 1832, 7602; HamTana I, 121ff., ms. Ṭānāsee 17 = Kebrān 17; UNESCO (ed.), *Ethiopia*: *Illuminated Manuscripts,* Greenwich, CN 1961; WrBriMus 24f., no. 35 [ms. Orient. 510]; 29f., no. 44 [ms. Orient. 508]; 39, no. 60 [ms. Orient. 533]; 136ff., no. 207 [ms. Orient. 597].

Lit.: AfrZion 179f., nos. 12, 54, 56, 65, 69f., 89, 91, 99, 115ff., 120; Guy Annequin, "L'illustrations des Taʾamra Maryam de 1630 à 1730: Quelques remarques sur le premier style de Gondar", *AE* 9, 1972, 193–226; Kathleen Bickford Berzock, *The Miracles of Mary*: *a Seventeenth-Century Ethiopian Manuscript*, Chicago, IL 2002; Claire Bosc-Tiessé, "Creating an Iconographic Cycle: The *Acts of Wälättä Ṗeṭros* and the Emergence of Q^{w}äraṭa as a Place of Asylum", in: *PICES* 15, 409–16; Ead., "The Use of Occidental Engravings in Ethiopian Painting in the 17th and 18th Centuries", in: *PICEA* 5, 83–102; Ead., *Les îles de la mémoire. Fabrique des images et écriture de l'histoire dans les églises du lac Ṭānā, Éthiopie, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 2008; Ead. – Anaïs Wion, *Paintures sacrées d'Éthiopie,* St-Maur-des-Fossés 2005; Hugo Buchthal, "An Ethiopic Miniature of Christ Being Nailed to the Cross", in: *PICES* 1, 331–35; Sevir Chernetsov, "The Crisis of Ethiopian Official Royal Historiography and its Consequences in the 18th Century", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 87–101; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Prototipi miniati dell'Ottateuco etiopico", *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 8, 1994 [1995], 69–102; Getatchew Haile, "Who is who in Ethiopia's Past, Part II: the Zag^{w}e Royal Family after Zag^{w}e", *NEASt* 7, 3–4, 1985, 41–48; Wolfgang Hahn, "Ezanas and Caleb, the Pair of Saintly Kings", in: *PICES* 15, 260–65; Marilyn E. Heldman, "An Early Gospel Frontispiece in Ethiopia", *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 48, 1979, 107–21; Ead., "An Ēwosṭāthian Style and the Gunda Gundē Style in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Manuscript Illumination", in: *PICEA* 1, 5–14, 135–39, figs. 1–29; Ead., *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon*: *a Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6); Ead., "Metropolitan Bishops as Agents of Artistic Interaction between Egypt and Ethiopia during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", in: Colum Hourihane (ed.), *Interactions. Artistic Interchange between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period*, Princeton, NJ 2007, 84–105; Ead. – Monica Devens, "The Four Gospels of Däbrä Mäʿar: Colophon and Note of Donation", in: *VarAeth* 77–99; Deborah Ellen Horowitz (ed.), *Ethiopian Art. The Walters Art Museum*, Baltimore, MD 2001; Claude Lepage, "Reconstitution d'un cycle protobyzantin à partir des miniatures de deux manuscrits éthiopiens du XIVe siècle", *Cahiers archéologiques* 35, 1987, 159–96; Jules Leroy, "L'évangéliaire éthiopien du couvent d'Abba Garima et ses attaches avec l'ancien art chrétien de Syrie", *ibid.* 11, 1960, 131–43; Id., "Un nouvel évangéliaire éthiopien illustré du monastère d'Abba Garima", in: *Synthronon*, Paris 1968 (Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 2), 75–87; Id., *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and during the Gondar Dynasty*, New York 1967; Robin McEwan, *Picturing Apocalypse at Gondar …*, Torino 2005; Jacques Mercier, "Les sources iconographiques occidentales du cycle de la vie du Christ dans la peinture éthiopienne du 18ème siècle", *JA* 287, 2, 1999, 375–94; Id., "La peinture éthiopienne à l'époque axoumite et au XVIIIe siècle", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris) 144, 2000, 35–71, here 35–45.

Marilyn E. Heldman

IV. Monumental painting

Monumental P. is one of the lesser known branches of Ethiopian art due to its limited accessibility, generally poor condition and unprofessional restorations. Its origins must be connected with the introduction of ↗ Christianity into Ethiopia, although known works do not date from before the 12th–13th cent.

Until the beginning of the 17th cent., murals had been designed for basilica or hall churches, constructed or cut into the rock, mainly in ↗ Tǝgray and ↗ Lasta. They were painted with organic and mineral pigments, probably locally produced, in the *fresco al secco* technique. The pictorial programmes were similar to those applied elsewhere in the Christian Orient. The distribution of scenes had a clear liturgical connotation: in the sanctuary (↗ *Mäqdäs*) and its vicinity (or on the northern wall), scenes and figures from the O.T. and N.T. expressing the idea of God in majesty (↗ *Maiestas Domini*, Entry into Jerusalem etc.) or connected to the ↗ Eucharist (the Sacrifice of Abraham, ↗ Melchizedek) were displayed; Christological scenes were placed along the central nave; the saints and ↗ angels covered the walls of the aisles, some of them as guardians of the sanctuary or the church (↗ Equestrian saints).

Murals may be supplied with inscriptions, identifying the depicted figures and scenes, and also containing invocations or prayers (e.g., ↗ Waša Mikaʾel). Dedications from before the 17th cent. are rare (e.g., ↗ Gännätä Maryam, Baharä Maryam in ↗ Amba Sänayti). Written sources rarely mention the origin of murals, and the majority can only be dated with approximation on the basis of iconographic and stylistic comparison with dated manuscript illuminations.

The style and iconography of the oldest murals, dated to the late 12th and 13th cent. (e.g., ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, Betä Maryam, ↗Däbrä Sälam, ↗Mikaʾel Amba, ↗Qorqor Maryam) show close parallels with contemporary or slightly older Coptic murals and suggest in several cases the participation of either Coptic workshops or masters. P. from late 13th to 15th cent. (e.g., ↗Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ʿAläm, ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon, Qorqor Danəʾel) represent an artistic approach typical for old Ethiopian P. (conceptualism, lack of feeling for organic forms, rigidity of the figures, and limited variation of poses). These features intensify between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 17th cent. when narrative scenes were almost completely replaced by sequences of stereotyped Biblical figures and saints (cp. ↗Gʷəḥ Yəmʾata, Abba Yoḥanni in Tämben). This thematic monotony was compensated by skilful use of colours, ornaments and, in the 16th cent., by realistic rendering of garments and everyday objects (Gʷəḥ Yəmʾata, ↗Yadəbbä Maryam).

In the first quarter of the 17th cent., the circular church with a square sanctuary in the middle became the dominant form of ↗church building. Large canvas P. were glued to the exterior surfaces of the sanctuary (ca. 8 m x 6 m), the plinth and the tambour, and, in some richly decorated churches, also to the walls of the *qəne maḫlet*. For this vast space, an extensive iconographic programme was designed – a genuine Ethiopian creation, displaying originally composed thematic units distributed according to strictly defined rules.

Most commonly, on the western upper wall of the sanctuary, in front of which part of the holy liturgy is performed, the History of Salvation was depicted (Annunciation, Nativity, ↗Crucifixion and *Anastasis*), extended in the 18th cent. by the Passion cycle including the ↗*Kʷərʾatä rəʾəsu*, with the ↗*Kidanä məḥrät* above; on the tambour, the *Maiestas Domini* (as the Ancient of Days) featured, replaced in the 18th cent. by the ↗Trinity; the main intercessors, St. ↗Mary with the Child and St. ↗George killing the dragon framed the door. On the southern wall, facing the women's entrance, scenes of the Nativity, Jesus's infancy and public life appeared, with the apparition of St. Mary at Məṭmäq on the tambour. In the 18th cent., the Christological scenes were extended by the apocryphal miracles of the Child (↗*Täʾammərä Iyäsus*), scenes from the life of St. Mary (↗*Lədäta*, ↗*Ǝräfta*, ↗*Fəlsäta*) as well as the Last Judgement rendered as the Second Coming. The programme of the eastern wall intended to demonstrate the unity of sacred history. It showed the O.T. prophets and kings (replaced by O.T. scenes beginning with the Original Sin in the 18th cent.) alongside with scenes of deliverance (Three youths in the furnace, Sacrifice of Abraham, etc.), and the Ascension on the tambour. The northern side, facing the "male" entrance, showed the Transfiguration on the tambour and scenes of martyrdom on the wall (Beheading of ↗John the Baptist, Death of the Apostles, Stoning of St. Stephen, Burning of St. ↗Qirqos); the Equestrian martyrs occupied the upper part of the wall. The double doors of the sanctuary, four or eight in number, were each guarded by a pair of armed archangels (↗Angels). In the 18th cent., the southern door was framed by one of St. Mary's miracles (the "cannibal of Qəmər" [*Bälaʿe Säbəʾ*]), and a large dedicatory scene appeared on the south side of the plinth: the king associated with the church approaching the building in a procession, welcomed by the clergy. The figures of ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, ↗Täklä Haymanot, ↗Ewosṭatewos and ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba were painted on the western plinth, other saints appeared around the frames of the entrances or anywhere an empty space remained.

With some small changes and additions, this arrangement is still observed in the decoration of contemporary round churches. Some basilica and hall churches (hewn and constructed) adopted the new iconographical programme (e.g., ↗Maryam Dəngəlat, ↗Mäʿaquddi Yoḥannəs, ↗Ṣəraʿ Abrəha wä-Aṣbəha, ↗Wəqro Mäsqäl), but with few exceptions (e.g., ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase, Maryam Ṗappasäyti) the effect was inadequate.

Whether strict iconographical rules were also imposed on the decoration of *qəne maḫlet* is not clear, usually it is covered with scenes depicting the history of biblical figures, hunting scenes with Ethiopian kings and nobles and, in some churches, the ↗Revelation (↗Č̣äläqot Śəllase, ↗Däbrä Marqos).

Wall P. in the First Gondärine style appeared from the first quarter of the 17th to the beginning of the 18th cent. Some of the pigments were imported. The portraits of ↗donors and church benefactors are rare, sometimes their names are known from the accompanying inscriptions (e.g., ↗Däbrä Sina) or church documents (e.g., ↗Qoma Fasilädäs).

From the beginning of the 18th cent., the murals follow the Second Gondärine style. Donors identified by the inscriptions are frequently depicted; in addition to the narrative scene on the southern plinth they appear as supplicants in several pictures of St. Mary, in the Crucifixion and in the representations of the most venerated saints and archangels. At that time the social status of painters rose, and their names and sometimes even portraits also appear in the P. (e.g., ↗Ǝstäzya in Təgray, Ḫəruy in Šäwa, Täwäldä Gäbrä Bərhan in Ṭana region).

P. on canvas can easily become damaged: the ground layer of gypsum is too thin leading to poor adhesion of pigments; the glue is uneven and sometimes unsuitable and the canvas may detatch from the wall. Complete and relatively well preserved P. from the 17th cent. are very few (e.g., Däbrä Sina, Qoma Fasilädäs). Even 18th-cent. and early 19th-cent. P. are rare. Original painted decoration in most churches has been replaced by sets of very recent date. These usually follow the 18th-cent. iconographic programme but are executed with acrylic paints.

Lit.: Guy Annequin, “De quand datent l’église actuelle de Däbrä Berhan Sellase de Gondar et son ensemble de peintures”, *AE* 10, 1976, 215–25; Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, “Les peintures murales de l’église rupestre éthiopienne Gännätä Maryam près Lalibela”, *Arte Medievale* ser. 2a, 12–13, 1998–99, 193–209; Ead., “The Paintings of Yəmrəhannä Krəstos. A Preliminary Report”, *Africana Bulletin* 59, 2001, 9–48; Ead., “The Wall-Paintings of Wuqro Mäsqäl Church near Sokota”, *ibid.* 50, 2002, 115–33; Ead., “The Wall-Paintings in the Church of Mädhane Aläm near Lalibäla”, *ibid.* 52, 2004, 9–29; Ead., “The Wall-Paintings in the Sanctuary of the Church of Gännätä Maryam near Lalibäla”, in: *PICEA 7*, 119–32; Ead., “Wandmalerei – die unbekannte Welt der Äthiopischen Kunst”, in: Annegret Marx (ed.), *Steh auf und geh nach Süden. 2000 Jahre Christentum in Äthiopien*, Frankfurt a. M. 2007, 79–92; Claire Bosc-Tiessé, *Les îles de la mémoire. Fabrique des images et écriture de l’histoire dans les églises du lac Ṭānā, Éthiopie, xviie-xviiie siècle*, Paris 2008; Ead. – Anaïs Wion, *Peintures sacrées d’Éthiopie. Collection de la Mission Dakar–Djibouti*, St-Maur-des-Fossés 2005, 63–122; GerKir^2; Jules Leroy, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gonder Dynasty*, London 1967; Michael Gervers, “The Rock-Cut Church of Maryam Dengelat, Haramat, Tigray”, in: *PICES* 15, 435–45; Claude Lepage, “Peintures murales de l’église Betä Maryam à Lalibäla, Ethiopie (rapporte préliminaire)”, *Comptes rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 3, 1999, 901–66, here 908–31; Jacques Mercier, “Peintures du XIIIe siècle dans une église de l’Angot (Éthiopie)”, *AE* 18, 2002, 143–48; Wilhelm Staude, “Étude sur la décoration picturale des églises Abbā Antonios de Gondar et Dabra Sinā de Gorgora”, *AE* 3, 1959, 185–235; Id., “Die ikonographischen Regeln in der äthiopischen Kirchenmalerei”, *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 13, 1958, 236–308; Anaïs Wion, “Un nouvel ensemble de peintures murales du premier style gondarien: le monastère de Qoma Fasilädäs”, *AE* 27, 2001, 279–308; Ead., “Analysis by Raman Spectrometry of Ancient Ethiopian Pigments”, in: *PICEA 5*, 103–12; Ead., *Tombeau pour une reine. Le monastère de Qoma Fasilädäs (Éthiopie, XVIIe s.). Essai de micro-histoire*, Paris 2009.

Ill.: Ewald Hein – Birgitte Kleidt, *Ethiopia. Christian Africa: Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1999; Claude Lepage – Jacques Mercier, *Art éthiopien. Les églises historiques du Tigray*, Paris 2005; Walter Raunig (ed.), *Etiopia. Storia, Arte, Cristianesimo*, Milano 2005; Mario di Salvo, *Churches of Ethiopia. The Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999; Thomas Pakenham, *The Mountains of Rasselas*, London 1959.

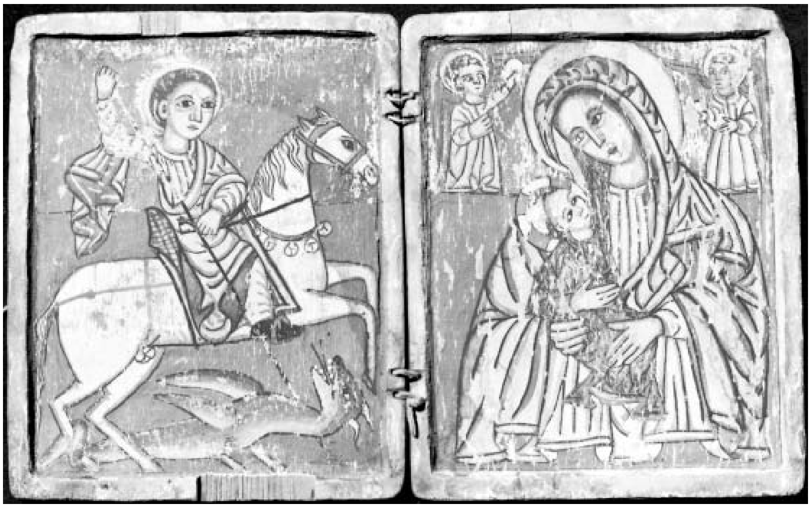
Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

V. Painting on wood

P. on wooden panels within the context of the Eastern Churches, including the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC), are devotional images. The term “icon” may also be used for such devotional images or portable panel P. The primary subject matter is portraits of St. ↗Mary, Jesus, the ↗Trinity, and ↗saints, either as a single portrait or in combination with others, painted often in smaller scale. These portraits are the focus of the prayers of the faithful. In addition, formal rituals of devotion were performed in church before the Marian icon displayed upon an icon stand, including the burning of candles and ↗incense, the recitation of prayers and the singing of praises (Heldman 1994: 165–72; Getatchew Haile 2005: 57, 72–75).

In Ethiopia, the practice of P. the portraits of saints on portable wooden panels dates to the first half of the 15th cent. However, indirect evidence suggests that at least a few imported Byzantine icons of the Virgin had been available as models for Ethiopian painters a century earlier. A miniature of the Virgin and Child in the Gospels of abbot Krəstos Täsfanä of ca. 1320 (Addis Abäba, National Library, ms. 28, fol. 20r) is modeled after a Byzantine icon in the type of the Virgin Eleousa (Heldman 1994, fig. 44). Furthermore, pre-15th-cent. saints’ portraits with prayers of supplication are found in the murals of churches (Heldman – Getatchew Haile 1987: 7, fig. 2); and miniatures of saints in Ethiopic ↗manuscripts also functioned as devotional images. A supplicatory prayer of Krəstos Täsfanä addressed to St. Mark Evangelist appears at the feet of the Mark’s portrait within the abbot’s Gospel manuscript (AfrZion no. 65, p. 176).

The introduction of devotional images in the form of portable wooden panels is directly related to the development of the cult of St. Mary in the Ethiopian church, *Aṣe* ↗Dawit II had a Marian



St. George of Lydda, St. Mary with her Son, dyptich, early 16th cent.; from the collection of the IES (no. 4769)

icon in his palace before which he prayed each day (Getatchew Haile 1983: 29, 31). His son, *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, mandated the display of an icon of Mary upon an icon stand (*mänbär*) accompanied by a ritual of veneration in each church of the realm during the Sunday service and on Marian feast days (Heldman 1994: 165–68). Painter(s) of Marian icons working under the sponsorship of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob combined borrowed elements from Byzantine and Italian painting, thereby creating a new Marian iconography as well as a new Ethiopian style of P. (ibid. 137f.).

The early 16th cent. saw the development in Ethiopia of a new sensibility toward the icon, focused towards the imported post-Byzantine Cretan icons in the type of the Madre della Consolazione which had been acquired for *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl. Several of these icons received an attribution to the hand of St. Luke the Evangelist, thus endowing them with a reputation of inherent sanctity and the power to work miracles. These and other Cretan icons of St. Mary are the treasured property of the monastery of Däbrä Wärq and the churches of Getesemane Maryam, Tädbabä Maryam, and Zämäddo Maryam (Heldman 2005).

Post-Byzantine icons continued to be of interest to royal patrons at ↗Gondär. An Ethiopian 18th-cent. triptych (AfrZion no. 110; Chojnacki 2000, no. 84) takes the form of certain Post-Byzantine Cretan triptychs made for personal devotions. The distinctive central panel is shaped with a semicircular arch and its base allows the icon to be free-standing, following the form of certain Post-Byzantine Cretan triptychs made for personal devotions (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1988, nos. 69–70; *Post-Byzantium* 2002, no. 22).

By the 17th cent., iconographic schemes of Ethiopian icons had become quite complex, inviting the contemplation of the theologically sophisticated worshippers upon the meaning of the scheme; other supplicant could limit their focus to addressing prayers to Jesus Christ or Mary or the saints. In order to accommodate a large portrait of Our Lady Mary with Her Son or Jesus Christ, accompanying portraits of numerous saints and abbreviated images of the Crucifixion and Resurrection were rendered in a reduced scale; and also the triptych became the most popular form of icon (AfrZion no. 104).

Less common are the 17th- and 18th-cent. diptych and triptych icons dedicated to narrative themes – the Passion and Resurrection of Christ (Bosc-Tiessé – Wion 2005: 44–47; Chojnacki 2000, no. 232) or the ↗*Nägärä Maryam* (Chojnacki 2000: 129). This innovation is related to the development of narrative schemes of Ethiopian illuminated manuscripts and to the narrative iconographies of murals painted upon the sanctuary (*mäqdäs*) walls of the ↗churches.

This period also witnessed the introduction of small double-sided pendant diptychs worn suspended by a cord around the neck. The most popular include portraits of Mary with her Son paired with St. ↗George, and the ↗Crucifixion paired with Ethiopian saints. The exquisitely carved cross designs upon the exterior surfaces of these pendant diptychs undoubtedly had an apotropaic function (AfrZion no. 102).

Examples of these double-sided pendant diptyches and other icons discussed in this essay may be seen in the museum of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University. The museum of the Cultural Association of Təgray, located at Mäq̱älä, also has an important collection of icons. Icons are stored in the treasuries of certain monasteries and churches in Goǧǧam, Wällo, and Təgray, but are not accessible to the public.

Lit.: MYRTALI ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU (ed.), *Holy Image, Holy Space: Icons and Frescoes from Greece*, Athens 1988; AfrZion nos. 102, 104; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ – ANAÏS WION, *Peintures sacrées d'Éthiopie. Collection de la Mission Dakar–Djibouti*, St-Maur-des-Fossés 2005; ChojPaint; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons. Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University*, Milan 2000; *Éthiopie millenaire: préhistoire et art religieux*, Paris 1974; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI et al. (eds.), *Nigra sum sed Formosa. Sacro e bellezza dell'Etiopia cristiana*, Vicenza 2009; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Documents on the History of Aṣé Dawit (1382–1413)", *JES* 16, 1983, 25–35; ID., "The Works of Ras Səmʿon of Hagärä Maryam", *JES* 38, 1–2, 2005, 5–95; GIRMA FISSEHA (ed.), *Äthiopien. Christentum zwischen Orient und Afrika*, München 2002; ID., *Äthiopien – Kunst und Geschichte eines Landes. Katalog*, Lindau 1988; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon: a Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6); EAD., "Saint Luke as Painter: Post-Byzantine Icons in Early Sixteenth-Century Ethiopia", *Gesta* 44, 2, 2005, 125–48; EAD. – GETATCHEW HAILE, "Who is Who in Ethiopia's Past, Part III: Founders of Ethiopia's Solomonic Dynasty", *NEASt* 9, 1, 1987, 1–11; DEBORAH ELLEN HOROWITZ (ed.), *Ethiopian Art. The Walters Art Museum*, Baltimore 2001; ELIZABETH LANGMUIR et al. (eds.), *Ethiopia, the Christian Art of an African Nation: the Langmuir Collection*, Salem, MA 1978; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting*, New York 1967; JACQUES MERCIER, *L'arche éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Éthiopie*, Paris 2000; ID., *Les Vierges d'Éthiopie*, Montpellier 2004; *Post-Byzantium: the Greek Renaissance. 15th–18th Century Treasures from the Byzantine & Christian Museum*, Athens 2002.

Marilyn E. Heldman

Palaeography

P. (from Greek παλαιός, *palaiós*, 'old' and γράφειν, *gráphein*, 'write') is the study of ancient writing systems considered in their internal development and changes. The origin and mutual relationships of scripts, especially as far as epigraphic writings (↗Inscriptions) are concerned, are more properly the subject of linguistics.

Substantially shaped at the turn of the 17th/18th cent. in the field of Classical and Medieval studies as the science of dating and deciphering ancient Latin and Greek scripts (the fundamental works *De re diplomatica* by Jean Mabillon dating to 1681, and *Palaeographia graeca* by Bernard de Montfaucon to 1708), P. is one of the various disciplines focusing on ↗manuscript studies. Instrumental to dating manuscript witnesses and to ascertaining the reliability of acts and documentary writings (properly, a subject of diplomatics), P. is of central importance for Ethiopian ↗philology. In its broader sense it can also include the study of writing materials (better termed codicology, or even manuscript archaeology) on the one hand, and writing practice considered both as a historical and a social phenomenon on the other, as underlined in more recent trends (cp. Bausi in StudAeth, 2008).

In ↗Ethiopian studies, P. has essentially been applied in its narrow sense of establishing correlations between graphic shapes of signs and dating of Gəʿəz (and later Amharic) manuscripts, and as such, it has always been considered a fundamental discipline for dating manuscripts and texts. It was already employed for this purpose by the authors of the first catalogues of Ethiopian manuscripts, including ↗Platt, ↗Dillmann, ↗Wright, or ↗Zotenberg, when the text itself provided no hint (such as a colophon, additional notes, etc.) as to the time of writing. The first attempts consisted in empirical comparison of the graphical elements of undated manuscripts to those of already dated or otherwise dateable manuscripts. The number of known manuscripts at that time being limited, the task was difficult (s. UhPal 41ff.). The material basis became larger with the reproduction of sample folios and photographic publication of original texts, as well as with the acquisition of a variety of non-manuscript sources (inscriptions, even on *mänabərtä tabotat* (↗Tabot), but also captions on ↗paintings, such as the exceptionally important ones in the church of ↗Gännätä Maryam).

As compared to other ancient writings, the almost total absence of cursive forms till very recent times, the rarity of monograms (attested on coins, seals and as epigraphs, or as abbreviations on the margins of manuscripts, such as the *qom*-sign, probably from Greek *kómma* [cp. Zuurmond 1989, part I, 34]) and tachygraphic forms (essentially limited to the use of the monogram *-gzi-* in *Ǝgziʾabḥer*, 'Lord' [according to Nöldeke 1907, by imitation of an attitude of the Copts], of the graphic form ፳ኤል for እስራኤል, *Ǝsraʾel*, 'Israel' [i.e. '20' *əsra* plus *-ʾel*], and of the first one or two letters to abbreviate words such as *qəddus* [*qə*], *sälam* [*sä*], and proper names, including *nomina sacra*, while a more extensive use is to be found in the ↗*andəmta* literature) severely limit the most evident palaeographic variations which can be observed in Ethiopian manuscripts to very few phenomena (for the exceptional occurrence of extremely rare abbreviated forms in ms. BN Éth. 34 s. ZotBNat 32f.). Among the most conspicuous features, one may mention the archaic forms of numerals 'one' (፩, narrow and slightly downwards-oriented triangular) and 'four' (፬, also triangular, but larger and upwards-oriented); numerals 'six' (፮, compressed and lower, with no ring) and 'seven' (፯, narrow and higher, also with no ring); 2nd and 6th order of *w* (2nd order [ዉ] with horizontal stroke by the side in the middle, not in the lower end as in later mss.; 6th order [ው] with stroke at the top, not in the middle). In very archaic manuscripts (such as the Abba Gärima Gospels) the real value of these signs cannot be exactly perceived in terms of shape, neither rightly understood but in the context and within an opposition system; the same happens for other signs (*s*, *t*, *ḫ*) in 1st, 4th, 6th orders opposing correlations (cp. Zuurmond 1989, part I, 303). Numeral 'ten' (፲) also occasionally exhibits a peculiar rare form with a ring on the right side of the leg (cp. Dillmann 1907:33, n. 1; Leroy et al. 1961:20ff.; UhPal 212).

Attempts at introducing special diacritical marks for noting gemination are also sporadically attested (by using a sign similar to Arabic *tašdīd*, cp. CRAbb 16f.). The study of normal punctuation is also part of P., yet, in the absence of reliable editions which also take punctuation into consideration, no correlation has been consistently established with manuscript dating (cp. Marrassini 1992; Bausi 2008:537, n. 105). What mainly remains to be studied is the correlation between linguistic developments (determining the phonetic, and, consequently, graphic merging of *ä*/*a* after laryngeals, as well as the interchange within the laryngeals and sibilants series) and the prevailing of certain graphic forms over their homophones (4th over 1st morphological order in some cases, 1st over 4th in others), which have been only marginally studied so far (cp. CRAbb 18).

As far as the development of graphic shapes is concerned, for dating purposes the characters can be classified in terms of size, angularity or round shape, and systematically compared to those of other carriers. Besides punctuation and paragraph marks, also the typology of ornaments (↗*Ḥaräg*) has to be considered. Other parameters such as folio format, number of folios per quire, size of margins (*mise en page*) and other physical parameters are usually considered common aspects of manuscript studies, and of codicology in particular.

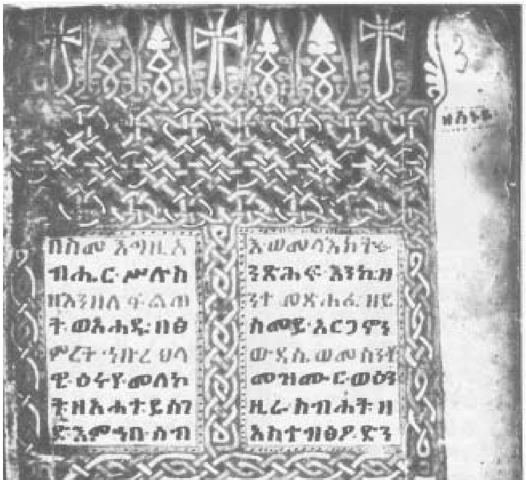
For the ↗script of Ethiopic manuscripts, the following periods can be roughly identified:

1. Monumental script; the earliest manuscripts until the second half of the 14th cent. (cp. UhPal 73–176, s. ill. 1).

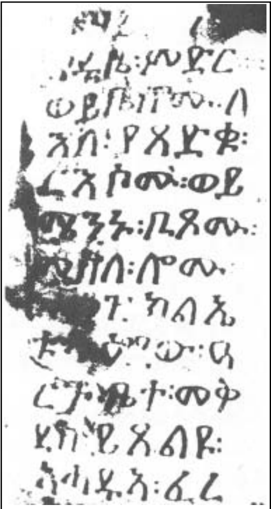
The characters appear to be considerably influenced by epigraphic style. They are characterized by tall and slender proportions resulting from the use of pointed pens as well as strictness and rigidity. The centre of gravity of the characters is in their upper part, the heads are pulled down (s. ill. 2); punctuation marks seem overdimensional; the characters appear in trapezoid or triangular shape (s. ill. 3).

2. Square script, second half of the 14th to mid-15th cent. (cp. UhPal 177–300; s. ill. 4).

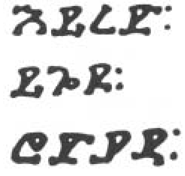
The script shows more variability and appears less monumental. The size, slant and distance between the characters vary, making the writing appear irregular. The basic forms become wider and more rounded, the curvatures and crosses go beyond the letter limit (s. ill. 5), and the point of gravity moves towards the centre of the symbol. The number of caesura symbols grows, and the *crux ansata* is used as macrocaesura (s. ill. 6). Larger ornaments feature at the beginning of the codices, or of each literary unit (s. ill. 7).



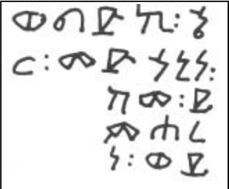
Ill. 7: Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin Or. oct. 1266, 3r; from UhPal 200



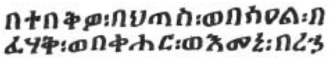
Ill. 1:
ANLin Conti Rossini 135, detail; from Uhlig 1990: 36



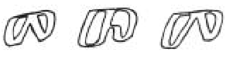
Ill. 2:
AbbGar I, detail; from UhPal 86



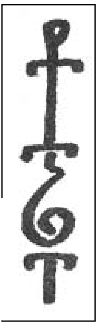
Ill. 3:
from UhPal 86



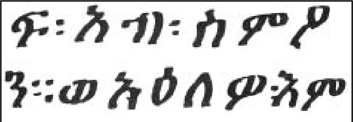
Ill. 4:
VatLib Borg. Aeth. 26, detail; from Uhlig 1990: 46



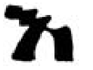
Ill. 5:
from Uhlig 1990: 45



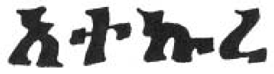
Ill. 6:
ANLin CR 134, fragm. 2 – Tanasee 1; from Uhlig 1990: 44



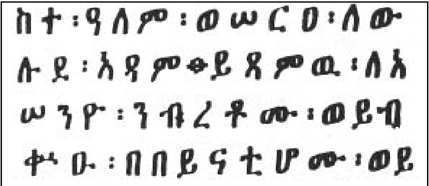
Ill. 8:
BritLib Or. 706; from Uhlig 1990: 57



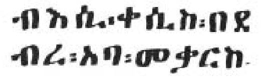
Ill. 9:
UhPal 364



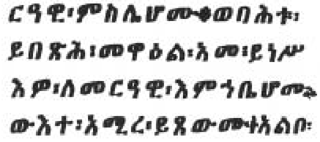
Ill. 10:
BN Abb. 74; from Uhlig 1990: 58



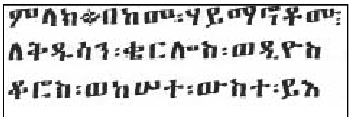
Ill. 11:
BN Abb. 124, detail; from UhPal 426



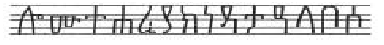
Ill. 12:
Uppsala O. Etiop. 11, detail; from UhPal 438



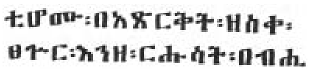
Ill. 13:
BritLib Or. 732, detail; from UhPal 476



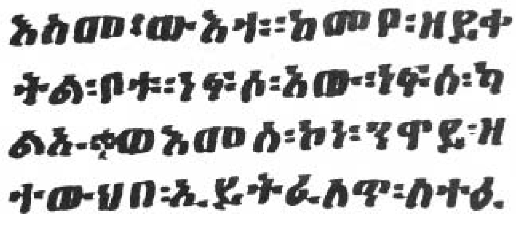
Ill. 14:
BritLib Or. 608, detail; from UhPal 554



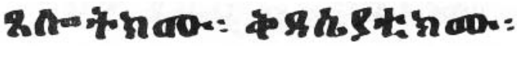
Ill. 15:
from UhPal 553



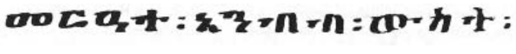
Ill. 16:
BritLib Or. 656, detail; from UhPal 650



Ill. 17:
BritLib Or. 808, detail; from Uhlig 1990: 104



Ill. 18:
BN Abb. 39; from UhPal 676



Ill. 19:
BN Abb. 39, detail; from UhPal 668

3. Rounded script, mid-15th to mid-16th cent. (cp. UhPal 300–424; s. ill. 8).

The copyists take the effort to produce more pleasing shapes; at the same time, the tendency for standardization and mechanical handwriting appears (s. ill. 9), as revealed by the initial cross stroke (s. ill. 10). The letters are maximally rounded. Typical for the period are developed ornaments (s. ill. 7) and open vocalization loops of the 5th order.

4. Compressed slender script, mid-16th to mid-17th cent. (cp. UhPal 425–544; s. ill. 11).

The proportions change again, the letters becoming taller; the lines are even and dense, often drawn with pointed pens. The characters are of uniform height, and the strokes run parallelly (s. ill. 12). From this time on, the text usually appears in three columns; the number of characters per line increases considerably (s. ill. 13); the ornaments become simpler again.

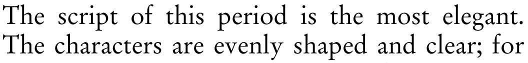
5. *Gʷəlḫ* script, mid-17th to the second half of the 18th cent. (cp. UhPal 545–653; s. ill. 14).

The script of this period is the most elegant. The characters are evenly shaped and clear; for their size they can be said to be of uncial type. This is the script of the luxury manuscripts of the ↗Gondärine kingdom period (s. ill. 15). The impression created is that of a certain artfullness (s. ill. 16).

6. *Räqiq* script, mid-17th to mid-19th cent. (cp. UhPal 654–826; s. ill. 17).

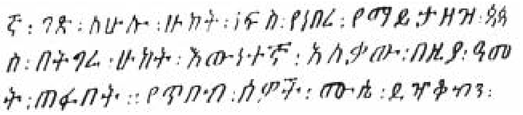
The period, running in part parallelly to the previous one, is characterized by low regularity and a careless hand (s. ill. 18), smaller size of characters and the tendency to a certain clumsiness (s. ill. 19). Cursive slant becomes another trend; caesura marks disappear; different writing styles often appear side by side in the same manuscript.

7. The bulky and the cursive script, 19th to 20th cent. (s. ill. 20).



Ill. 20:
BritLib Or. 828, detail; from UhPal 809

The characteristics of different periods gradually disappear; along with irregular (clumsy) handwriting cursive forms with a right slant appear (s. ill. 21).



Ill. 21:
ANLin CR 79, detail; from UhPal 821

The material basis for manuscript studies has been steadily increasing, and in the future the periodization may be able to be refined, which will allow a more precise dating of manuscripts as well as the reconstruction of such important details as region of provenance and scriptorial style.

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, "Il testo, il supporto e la funzione", in: *StudAeth* 7–22; Id., "La tradizione scrittoria etiopica", *Segno e Testo* 6, 2008, 507–57; Marcel Cohen, *Traité de langue amharique* (*Abyssinie*), Paris 1936 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 24), 17–28; CRAbb 11f.; August Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar*, ed. by Carl Bezold, tr. by James A. Crichton, London ^{2}1907, 21ff., 32ff. (§§11, 16); Abraham Johannes Drewes, "Problèmes de paléographie éthiopienne", *AnnEth* 1, 1955, 121–26; Adolf Grohmann, "Über den Ursprung und die Entwicklung der äthiopischen Schrift", *Archiv für Schriftkunde* 1, 2–3, 1914–18 [1915], 57–87; Jules Leroy – Stephen Wright – Otto Jäger, *Ethiopia*: *Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York 1961 (UNESCO World art series), tr. ital. *Etiopia. Codici miniati*, Milano 1961 (Collezione UNESCO dell'arte mondiale), here 20–25; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Questioni di paleografia etiopica", *Scrittura e civiltà* 23, 1999, 407–17; Jean Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, Luteciae Parisiorum 1681; Paolo Marrassini, "Interpunzione e fenomeni demarcativi nelle lingue semitiche", in: Emanuela Cresti – Nicoletta Maraschio – Luca Toschi (eds.), *Storia e teoria dell'interpunzione. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze, 19–21 maggio 1988*, Roma 1992, 501–20, here 513ff.; Bernard de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia graeca*, Parisiis 1708; Theodor Nöldeke, [private letter of 22nd December 1907], *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 17, 1908, 672–73; Roger Schneider, [review of UhPal], *AE* 15, 1990, 149–53; Eugenius Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientalium*, Bonnae 1914 (Tabulae in usum scholarum editae sub cura Iohannis Lietzmann 8); UhPal; Siegbert Uhlig, *Introduction to Ethiopian Palaeography*, Stuttgart 1990 (AeF 28); Edward Ullendorff, [review of UhPal], *JSS* 36, 1991, 128–34; ZotBNat 32f.; Rochus Zuurmond, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: The Synoptic Gospels*, Part I: *General introduction*, Part II: *Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27), I part, 34, 44ff., 303ff.

Siegbert Uhlig – Alessandro Bausi

Palaeontology

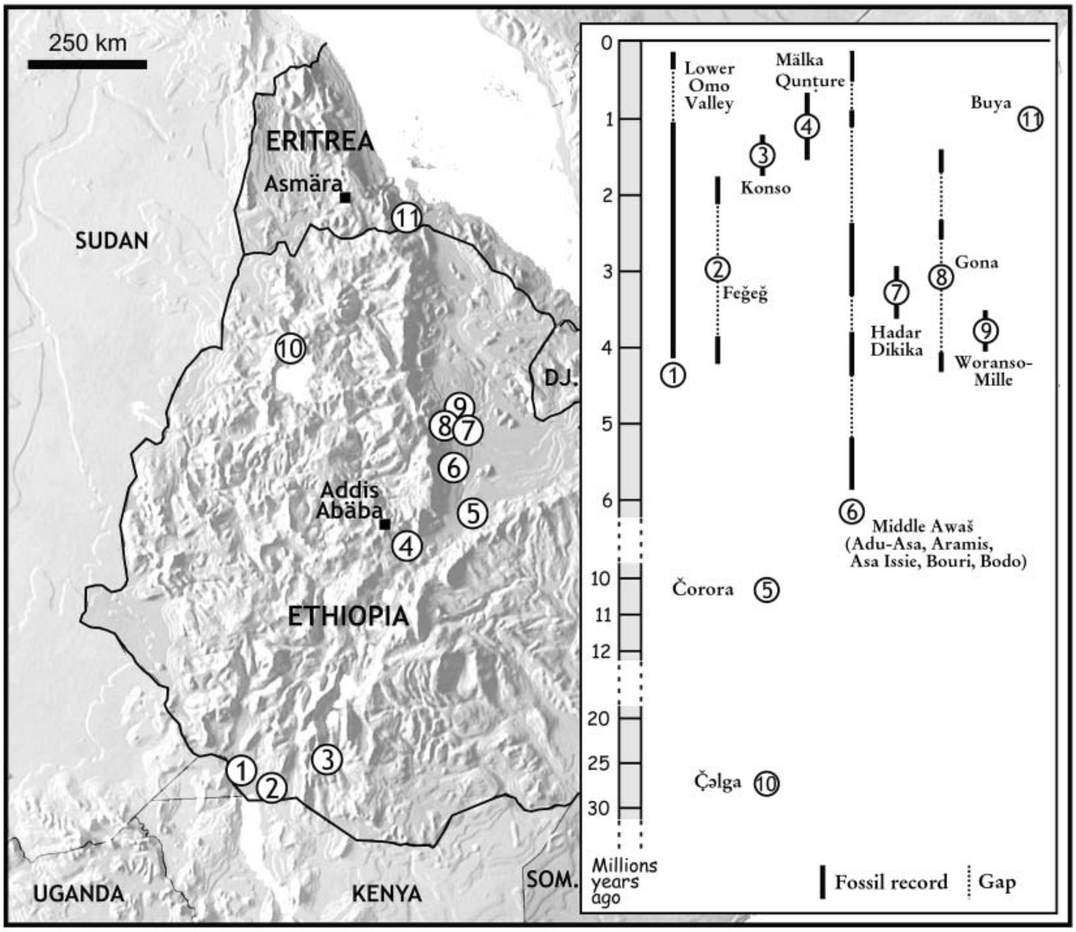
Palaeontological research in Ethiopia and Eritrea mostly focuses on deciphering ↗hominid evolution, i.e. on deposits of the late Tertiary age (Neogene), from 6 million years ago (Ma) to the present. Localities of this age are particularly abundant in the Ethiopian ↗Rift, where sedimentation and abundant volcanic deposits favoured the trapping and preservation of vertebrate fossils (Giday WoldeGabriel et al. 2000). Main research areas notably include the Lower ↗Omo Valley, ↗Konso, and Feǧeǧ (Fejej) in south-western Ethiopia; the Middle ↗Awaš Valley, ↗Hadar, and ↗Gona in the ↗ᶜAfar, north-eastern Ethiopia; ↗Buya (Buia) in Eritrea.

Intensive palaeontological researches were first launched in the Lower Omo Valley by the French Camille Arambourg in 1933. Basing his research on information collected in 1902 by the transcontinental expedition of ↗Bourg de Bozas, Arambourg collected numerous fossils of vertebrates in sedimentary deposits found near the village of Šungura (Shungura), on the western bank of the Omo River (Arambourg 1947). Abundant suids, bovids, hippopotamids allowed Arambourg to date most of the Šungura Formation deposits to the Pliocene age (5.3–1.8 Ma) – a critical time for early hominids.

During the following decades, the Omo sediments were visited several times, notably by collaborators of the Anglo-Kenyan Louis Leakey, with results similar to those produced by Arambourg's work. In 1967, the International Omo Research Expedition (IORE) started its work. It included a French team led by Arambourg (d. 1969) and by the palaeontologist Yves Coppens; an American team under palaeoanthropologist F. Clark Howell; and a Kenyan team headed by Richard Leakey. The latter transferred his focus to the eastern bank of Lake Turkana in Kenya in 1968. In nine years of work (1967–74 and 1976), the French and American teams unearthed more than 50,000 fossils of vertebrates in the Omo, this time including about 230 specimens of ancient hominids (Howell 1978). With decisive input from Howell, the work focused on a detailed understanding of the geological framework of the Omo fossils. This meticulous approach combining absolute and relative dating, nowadays a classical approach in P., allowed the precise dating of every collected fossil, notably in the Šungura Formation, dated between 3.6 and 1 Ma. The Omo fossil collections became a major reference on faunal and environmental evolution in Africa. Fieldwork on the Omo deposits was reinitiated in 2006 by the French palaeontologist Jean-Renaud Boisserie.

Whilst the IORE was working in south-western Ethiopia, Jean Chavaillon, a French geologist, was excavating at ↗Mälka Qunṭure (Melka Kunturé) in the Upper Awaš Valley. In order to study and describe the Awaš Valley deposits for his doctoral dissertation, Maurice Taieb from the same team explored vast portions of the ᶜAfar region (north-eastern Ethiopia), leading to the discovery of the Pliocene Hadar Formation in 1972. The Hadar deposits, mostly dated between 3.4 and 2.9 Ma, were exceptionally rich. Taieb organized an international team of geologists and palaeontologists following the IORE model: the International ᶜAfar Research Expedition (IARE). Coppens and Donald Johanson, also from the IORE, became co-directors of the team, and were joined by the American geologist Jon Kalb. The first mission (1973) discovered AL129-1, the articulated knee of a bipedal hominid. In 1974, the IARE was even more successful, with the discovery of the partial skeleton of a female australopithecine dated to 3.2 Ma (Johanson – Taieb 1976), nicknamed Lucy in English, Dənqənäš in Amharic. The description of the Hadar remains as ↗*Australopithecus afarensis*, then the oldest known and the most complete Pliocene hominid remains, had a huge impact on eastern African palaeontology (Johanson–White–Coppens 1978). At that time, the features of the species – small braincase, strong jaws and biped limbs – were not really expected. In the following years and in the 1990s–2000s, Johanson and the American palaeoanthropologist William Kimbel continued to work at Hadar, discovering further *Australopithecus afarensis* remains.

Kalb initiated independent research south of Hadar in the Middle Awaš Valley, a fossil-bearing area also identified by Taieb. At Bodo, Kalb and colleagues found a human cranium dated to ca. 500,000 years (Kalb et al. 1980). As at Hadar and the Omo, his work was stopped before the end of the 1970s, notably because of increasing political instability in Ethiopia. Researches resumed in this area briefly at the beginning of the 1980s under the supervision of British archaeologist Desmond Clark and Californian palaeoanthropologist Tim White. In 1992, an Ethio–American team, led by White, Clark, the palaeontologist Bərhane Asfaw (Berhane Asfaw), the geologist Giday Wäldä Gabrəᵓel (Giday Wolde Gabriel), and the archaeologist Yonas Bäyyänä (Yonas Beyene), again resumed palaeontological research in the Middle Awaš. Major discoveries of hominids were quickly accumulated: ↗*Ardipithecus ramidus* (4.4 Ma, publ. 1994),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Millions years ago
Lower Omo Valley
Mälka Qunṭure
Buya
Konso
Feğeğ
Gona
Hadar Dikika
Woranso-Mille
Middle Awaš (Adu-Asa, Aramis, Asa Issie, Bouri, Bodo)
Čorora
Ç̣əlga
Fossil record
Gap

Space and time distribution of the main Ethiopian and Eritrean palaeontological sites cited in the text; table courtesy of the author, CNRS, Paris

↗*Australopithecus garhi* (2.5 Ma, publ. 1999), ↗*Ardipithecus ramidus kadabba* (5.8–5.2 Ma, publ. 2001), *Homo sapiens idaltu* (0.16 Ma, publ. 2003). Alongside these new hominids, the team also found previously known hominids (*Australopithecus afarensis*, *Australopithecus anamensis*, *Homo erectus*) and many other fossil vertebrates in the Middle Awaš, which is currently the most productive area for research on human evolution in the last 6 million years.

During the 1990s and the 2000s, palaeontological research on hominid evolution was not restricted to the Middle Awaš and Hadar areas. Outstanding discoveries of Plio-Pleistocene hominids and other vertebrates were made: (1) in southern Ethiopia at Feğeğ by an Ethio–French team directed by Henry de Lumley (de Lumley – Yonas Beyene 2004) and at Konso by an Ethio-Japanese group directed by Gen Suwa and Bərhane Asfaw; (2) in central ᶜAfar at Gona, Woranso-Mille, and Dikika by teams respectively led by Ethiopian scientist Səläši Səmaw (Selashi Semaw) , Yoḥannəs Ḫaylä Śəllase (Yohannes Haile-Slassie), and Zäräsänay ᶜAlämsägäd (Zeresenay Alemseged); (3) in northern ᶜAfar, at Buya in Eritrea, by an Eritreo–Italian team led by Ernesto Abbate.

The results obtained by all these research groups provide a relatively detailed, though still incomplete, picture of the last 6 million years of evolution in the ↗Horn of Africa. Older sediments have rarely been preserved and/or little research was performed on them. The oldest most important locality is ↗Ç̣əlga (Chilga), near Lake Ṭana, of the late Paleogene age, discovered in the early 2000s by an American team.

This team found that, around 27 Ma, the Ethiopian highlands were characterized by a warm and humid climate, a dense vegetation, and an endemic African fauna of primitive proboscideans (early elephant relatives) and large-sized hyraxes (Kappelman et al. 2003). There is no known fossil record in Ethiopia for the period between 27 and 11 Ma. Major changes occurred in Africa during this time period: the junction with Eurasia, the initiation of the ↗Rift Valley, the invasion of Eurasian fauna, cooling and an increase in aridity. The fragmentary fossil fauna found at Čorora (Chorora, southern ^{c}Afar) exhibit marked differences with that of Č̣əlga: it is dominated by equids, ruminants, rhinocerotids – all taxa unknown in Africa before the Neogene. Incomplete environmental reconstruction indicates the existence of rather open environments (Geraads – Zeresenay Alemseged – Bellon 2002). Recently, a fossil hominoid possibly related to gorillas was unearthed at Čorora (Suwa et al. 2007).

The late Neogene fossil record in Ethiopia becomes significant in the Adu-Asa Formation, Middle Awaš, ^{c}Afar region, dated between 5.8 Ma and 5.2 Ma. The oldest known Ethiopian hominid, *Ardipithecus kadabba*, was found in this formation (Yohannes Haile-Selassie – Gen Suwa – White 2004). *Ardipithecus* species were found with various mammals, notably small antelopes (kudus) and monkeys (colobines). These mammals and other characteristics indicate rather wooded and wet habitats at high altitude. After 3.0 Ma, the climate experienced further cooling and an increase in aridity. The fauna included more species adapted to drier, open and grassy landscapes, notably bovids such as alcelaphines (wildebeests, hartebeests). At the same time, a dramatic change affected human evolution: the development of stone tool technologies, known first ca. 2.6 Ma from Gona (Sileshi Semaw et al. 2003). The first stone tool makers are not clearly identified, but *Australopithecus garhi* from Buri (Bouri) in the Middle Awaš, *Paranthropus* from Šungura, and *Homo* from Šungura and Hadar are all possible, non-mutually exclusive candidates. *Homo* experienced further environmental changes through the Pleistocene (after 1.8 Ma), with increasing aridity and climate instability. In this context, development of always more advanced stone tool technologies were in part related to predation on large grassland herbivores.

Lit.: Camille Arambourg, *Mission Scientifique de l'Omo 1932–1933, Mission Scientifique de l'Omo 1932–1933*, Paris 1947; Raymonde Bonnefille – Annie Vincens – Guillaume Buchet, "Palynology, Stratigraphy and Palaeoenvironment of a Pliocene Hominid Site (2.9–3.3 M. Y.) at Hadar, Ethiopia", *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology* 60, 1987, 249–81; Desmond Clark et al., "Stratigraphic, Chronological and Behavioural Contexts of Pleistocene *Homo sapiens* from Middle Awash, Ethiopia", *Nature* 423, 2003, 747–52; Denis Geraads – Zeresenay Alemseged – Hervé Bellon, "The Late Miocene Mammalian Fauna of Chorora, Awash Basin, Ethiopia: Systematics, Biochronology, and the 40K–40Ar Ages of the Associated Volcanics", *Tertiary Research* 21, 2002, 113–22; Giday WoldeGabriel et al., "Volcanism, Tectonism, Sedimentation, and the Paleoanthropological Record in the Ethiopian Rift System", in: Floyd McCoy – Grant Heiken (eds.), *Volcanic Hazards and Disasters in Human Antiquity,* Boulder, CO 2000, 83–99; Jean de Heinzelin et al., "Environment and Behavior of 2.5-Million-Year-Old Bouri Hominids", *ibid.* 284, 1999, 625–29; Clark Howell, "Overview of the Pliocene and Earlier Pleistocene of the Lower Omo Basin, Southern Ethiopia", in: Clifford Jolly (ed.), *Early Hominids of Africa*, London 1978, 85–130; Donald Johanson – Maurice Taieb, "Plio-Pleistocene Hominid Discoveries in Hadar, Ethiopia", *Nature* 260, 1976, 294–97; Donald Johanson – Tim White – Yves Coppens, "A New Species of the Genus *Australopithecus* (Primates: Hominidae) from the Pliocene of Eastern Africa", *Kirtlandia* 28, 1978, 1–14; Jon Kalb et al., "Preliminary Geology and Paleontology of the Bodo D'Ar Hominid site, Afar, Ethiopia", *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology* 30, 1980, 107–20; John Kappelman et al., "Oligocene Mammals from Ethiopia and Faunal Exchange between Afro-Arabia and Eurasia", *Nature* 426, 2003, 549–52; Henry de Lumley – Yonas Beyene, *Les sites préhistoriques de la région de Fejej, sud-Omo, Ethiopie, dans leur contexte stratigraphique et paléontologique*, Paris 2004; Sileshi Semaw et al., "2.6-Million-year-old Stone Tools and Associated Bones from OGS-6 and OGS-7, Gona, Afar, Ethiopia", *Journal of Human Evolution* 45, 2003, 169–77; Gen Suwa et al., "The First Skull of *Australopithecus boisei*", *Nature* 389, 1997, 489–92; Id. et al., "A New Species of Great Ape from the Late Miocene Epoch", *ibid.* 448, 2007, 921–24; Tim White – Gen Suwa – Berhane Asfaw, "*Australopithecus ramidus*, a New Species of Early Hominid from Aramis, Ethiopia", *ibid.* 371, 1994, 306–12; Yohannes Haile-Selassie – Gen Suwa – Tim White, "Late Miocene Teeth from Middle Awash, Ethiopia, and Early Hominid Dental Evolution", *Science* 303, 2004, 1503–05.

Jean-Renaud Boisserie

Pan-Africanism

Considering native Africans and the descendants of Africans as part of a global African Community, P.-A. (lit. 'all-Africanism') serves as a general term for various movements that had hoped to overcome the legacy of ↗colonialism and white supremacy by uniting a fragmented Africa. P.-A. is marked by a great diversity of trends – there were political, literary, musical, cultural, and evangeli-

ETHIOPIAN
VOLUNTEERS
REGISTER
HERE!
A.R.A.

African-Americans in New York in front of a poster of the Pan-African Reconstruction Association, Harlem; photo 1935, courtesy of CORBIS (BE 051805)

cal movements and projects (e.g., the "Ethiopian" churches; ↗Ethiopianism) within P.-A.

Having its historical roots in the ↗diaspora of the ↗United States of America and the Caribbean (↗Jamaica etc.), P.-A., as much as a passion as a way of thinking, drew inspiration from classical and modern Ethiopia as a symbol of black power and pride. Many Pan-Africanists supported Ethiopia to the extent that they believed a new state encompassing the whole of Africa should be created on the basis of Ethiopia – the only major African country to withstand colonization attempts. By virtue of Biblical symbolism and racial identification, Ethiopia is a major symbolic land for P.-A. (with Haiti and Liberia). In addition, after the victory of ↗^{c}Adwa (1896), Ethiopia represented the only sovereign state in Africa. Even today some Pan-African movements use the colours of the Ethiopian flag, attesting this age-old independence from European supremacy – the red standing for the blood men must shed for their redemption and liberty, the green for the vegetation of the African motherland and the gold representing the mineral wealth of Ethiopia/Africa.

Pan-Africanist ideas led to quite early and sometimes important contacts between the Black diaspora in the West and Ethiopia. For example, Benito Sylvain, a Haitian, established Pan-African links with *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. Then, Dr. Joseph ↗Vitalien, born 1868 in Guadeloupe, became the trusted personal physician to Mənilək II from 1899. In 1911, heartened by the victory of ^{c}Adwa, the Gold Coast intellectual Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford published his novel *Ethiopia Unbound* dedicating it to the "sons of Ethiopia the world wide over". An early Ethiopian Pan-Africanist was ↗Mälaku Amanu'el Bäyyän. The First Pan-African Conference was held in London in 1900, followed by others in Paris (1919), London and Brussels (1921), London and Lisbon (1923) and New York City (1927). The most important leaders of the early years were William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868–1963), Marcus Mosiah Garvey (1887–1940) and George Padmore (1903–59). Like other members of the North American and West Indian black intelligentsia, although opposing colonialism and racism, they did not favour immediate African independence but rather gradual self-government and "interracialism", on which the leading Pan-Africanists, such as Du Bois, Garvey and Padmore, however, had quite contrasting positions.

P.-A. remained a popular political idea in the interwar period and during World War II. Besides ↗Rastafarianism, a religion that considered the Ethiopian emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I to be divine, another important strand of P.-A. was *négritude*. Propounded by Aimé Césaire and Léopold Sedar Senghor in Paris in 1933, the key idea was that all Africans, be it in exile or at home, shared an "African personality". Motivated largely by racial identification with the Ethiopians and the long-standing symbolic importance of that country, a considerable number of protests against the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 emanated from black communities in the United States. Hundreds enlisted as volunteers for the war in Ethiopia, among them an important contingent of pilots (for some accounts on black American involvement s. Recking 1936). At the same time Jomo Kenyatta (↗Kenya), then a student in London, became the secretary of a pro-Ethiopian Pan-African society in England ("The International Friends of Abyssinia") hoping to assist and maintain the integrity and independence of Ethiopia. With many Ethiopians finding asylum in Kenya over time the support for Ethiopia somewhat decreased but still remained strong.

Around the same time, however, some African leaders wanted to liberate themselves instead of being liberated by Ethiopia and were afraid of becoming mere vassals of Ethiopia. In the light of these developments, Ethiopia and some other countries established the "African Alliance", a Pan-Africanist organization encompassing most of the independent African states (excluding the north African states – the Kingdom of Egypt, Libya and the Maghreb). This was primarily meant to coordinate the war effort and was basically ruled by Ethiopia as the most powerful member state.

After assembling in London in 1944, several organizations went on to form the Pan-African-Federation, which for the first time demanded African autonomy and independence. In the aftermath of the Sixth Pan-African Congress convened in Manchester in 1945, and attended by political figures such as Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Kwame Nkrumah (Gold Coast), Samuel Ladoke Akintola (Nigeria), Wallace Johnson (Sierra Leone) and Ralph Armattoe (Togo), P.-A. turned from a rather cultural into a more political movement now stressing the nationalistic character of anti-colonial ambitions, accompanied by a change of perspective, from a racial basis to a continental or regional (political/economical) basis (cp. the book of "Ras Mekonnen" 1973, a Pan-Africanist named after *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel).

When African independence had been achieved in most of the former European colonies, the P.-A. movement was no longer dominated by Americans and West Indians. After the First Conference of Independent African States in Ghana in 1958, followed by an All African Peoples' Conference held in December of the same year, P.-A. turned into an intergovernmental movement – pursuing the aim of national independence. In that period Ḫaylä Śəllase, besides assuming a leading role in the ↗Non-Aligned Movement, also became a diplomatic key-figure in Africa's liberation from colonialism; his speeches were strongly marked by Pan-Africanist rhetoric (Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information 1967). In 1963 the ↗Organization of African Unity was founded to promote unity and cooperation among all African states. In 1974 and 1994 two Pan-African Congresses were held in Tanzania and Uganda, with Ethiopian participation. In addition, new trends in Pan-African culture and practices emerged; there were for example the Arts congresses, showing a strong interest in Ethiopia (Paris 1956, Dakar 1966, Lagos 1977); Rastafarianism evolved strongly as a Pan-Africanist religion.

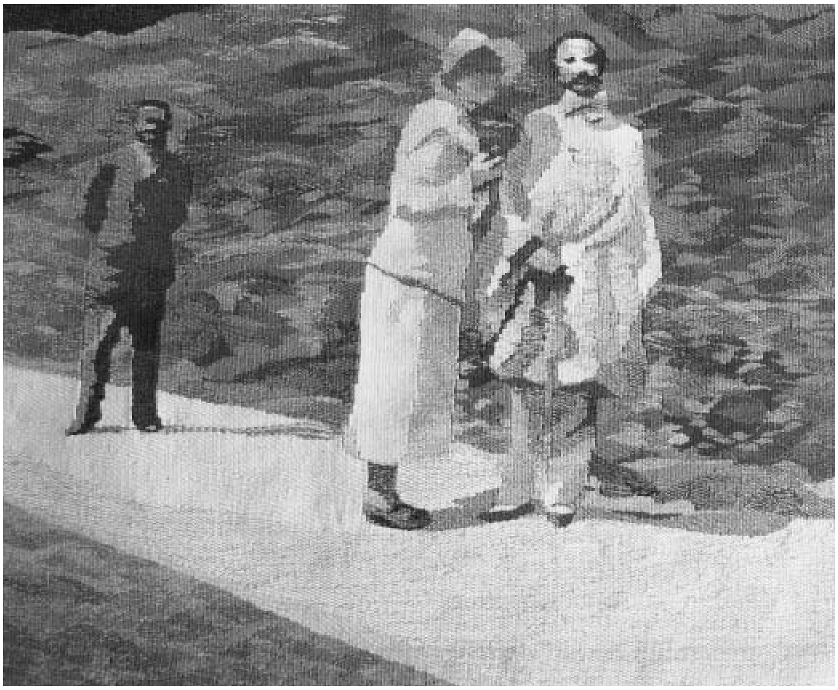
Currently there are Pan-Africanist political parties in most African states (legal or banned), including Ethiopia, but they are mostly not very popular and in several cases considered to be radical. Often criticized for overlooking cultural and ethnic differences as well as socio-political differences among the Blacks worldwide, P.-A., helping people who identify emotionally with black Africa, has remained an idealized wish.

Lit.: Kinfe Abraham, *The Politics of Black Nationalism: From Harlem to Soweto*, Trenton, NJ 1991; E.F. Adler [= Ruppert Recking?], *Die Front der Farbigen*, München 1958; C.O.C. Amate, *Inside the OAU: Pan-Africanism in Practice*, London 1986; William R. Scott, *Malaku E. Bayen, Ethiopian Emissary to Black America*, ms., s.l., n.d.; Philippe Decraene, *Le panafricanisme*, Paris 1959; Immanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, London 1974; Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information, *Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty Haile-Selassie I [1918–1967]*, Addis Ababa 1967; J. Ayodele Langley, *Pan-Africanism and Nationalists in West Africa, 1900–1954: a Study in Ideology and Social Classes*, Oxford 1973; Oruno Denis Lara, *La naissance du panafricanisme. Les racines caraïbes, américaines et africaines du mouvement au XIX^{e} siècle*, Paris 2000; Colin Legum, *Pan-Africanism: a Short Political Guide*, New York 1962; P. Olisanwuche Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: the Idea and Movement, 1776–1991*, Washington, D.C. 1982; Anon. [= Ruppert Recking], *Die farbige Front. Hinter den Kulissen der Weltpolitik*, Berlin 1936; Ras Mekonnen, *Pan-Africanism from Within*, Nairobi 1973; Georges Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa*, London 1956; Sim Mi Nsonkon Rémy, *Panafricanisme: Les Nouvelles Perspectives*, London 2003; Jon Woronoff, *Organizing African Unity*, Metuchen 1970.

Stefan Brüne

Pankhurst, Estelle Sylvia

P. (b. 5 May 1882, Manchester, d. 27 September 1960, Addis Abäba) was a 20th-cent. British artist, suffragette, anti-fascist, and friend of Ethiopia.



Woven tapestry by Berit Sahlström, 2006, portraying Sylvia Pankhurst in conversion with Ḫaylä Śəllase I in Bath; no. 6 in a series of seven tapestries showing Sylvia Pankhurst, wool on linen warp, 67 x 82 cm, property of Richard Pankhurst

P. was the daughter of Richard, a radical lawyer (d. 1898), and the feminist Emmeline (d. 1928). She studied at Manchester School of Art (1900–02), in Venice (1903–04) and at the Royal College of Art in London (1904–06). A convinced socialist and a tireless advocate of women's suffrage, she designed the logo for the Women's Social and Political Union founded by her mother in 1903 and was active in its headquarters after it moved to London in 1906. In 1909 she visited the working-class districts of northern England and Scotland to paint and describe the conditions of women workers. In 1912 she moved to London's East End and organized suffrage work there. In 1914 she formed the East London Federation of Suffragettes. She was imprisoned, went on hunger-strike, and was forcibly fed. Her organization vigorously opposed World War I, and supported socialist causes, including the Russian Revolution. After the war P. briefly immersed herself in communist politics, before devoting the remainder of her life to anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and Ethiopian causes.

In 1932 P. founded the Women's International Matteotti Committee (called after an Italian parliamentarian assassinated on ↗Mussolini's orders); and in 1934 became Treasurer of the International Women's Committee against War and Fascism. After the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 P. wrote in support of Ethiopia to the British and international press. In 1936 she launched a weekly newspaper, ↗*New Times and Ethiopia News*, which appeared for 20 years. It published news of Ethiopian ↗resistance, critiques of fascism and nazism, and defence of the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War. She was placed on a list of persons to be arrested after a Nazi occupation of Britain. When in 1940 Italy declared war on Britain, she urged that Ethiopia be accorded the full status of an ally; and the BBC was induced, largely through her pressure, to play the Ethiopian national anthem. In 1941 Ethiopia was liberated by the Allies, but much of the country remained under British occupation. P. opposed British proposals for the partition of Ethiopia, or its conversion into a protectorate. She also opposed Italy's return to its former colonies, supported Eritrean demands for "reunion" with Ethiopia, and denounced British dismantlement of the Eritrean ports. When princess ↗Ṣäḥay Ḫaylä Śəllase, a trained nurse who had wanted to establish a modern hospital, died in 1942, P. raised the funds for its establishment, in 1950. She visited Ethiopia twice, in 1944 and 1950, and described her impressions in *New Times and Ethiopia News.* Her research on Ethiopian art and culture was reflected in her *Ethiopia*: *a Cultural History* (1955).

In 1956 P. with her son Richard moved to Ethiopia, where she founded and edited a monthly journal, ↗*Ethiopia Observer* and helped to establish a social services society. She was buried in Qəddəst Śəllase cathedral.

Src.: Estelle Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, London 1931; Ead., *The Home Front*, London 1932; Ead., *Why are we Destroying the Eritrean Ports?*, Woodford Green, Essex 1952; Ead., *Ethiopia: a Cultural History*, London 1955.
Lit.: Ian Bullock, *Sylvia Pankhurst: From Artist to Anti-Fascist*, ed. by Richard Pankhurst, London 1992; Mary Davis, *Sylvia Pankhurst: a Life in Radical Politics*, London 1999; Richard Pankhurst, *Sylvia Pankhurst: Artist and Crusader*, London 1979; Id., "Sylvia Pankhurst and the Italian Anti-Fascist Movement", *Socialist History* 19, 2001, 1–28; Id., *Sylvia Pankhurst, Counsel for Ethiopia*, Hollywood, CA 2003.

Mary Davis

Ṗänṭälewon

Abba Ṗ. (called **ጰንጠሌዎን፡ ዘጸማዕት**, *Ṗ. zäṣomaᶜət*, 'Ṗ. of the cell') is known in Ethiopic tradition as one of the ↗Nine Saints, a group of non-Ethiopian monks who purportedly evangelized the Aksumite population in the 5th–6th cent.

According to his Acts (*Gädlä Ṗänṭälewon*; ed. Conti Rossini 1904; critical ed. Brita 2008: 293–351), Ṗ., son of a dignitary of the king of "Rom" (cp. EAE vol. 5), spent his childhood in monasteries. He came to Ethiopia with his fellows during the reign of ↗Ǝllä ᶜAmida. Under King ↗Tazena, the Nine Saints parted company and Ṗ. settled on the top of a bare hill not far from ↗Aksum (today known as Däbrä Ṗänṭälewon, or Ǝndä Abba Ṗänṭälewon where the church of Betä Ṗänṭälewon is located). There he built a small cell (*ṣomaᶜt*) without any door or window, but fitted with a hole only, through which he interacted with the outside world. In that cell he lived as a recluse mortifying his body until his bones lost their flesh through fasting. In particular, he practised the ancient form of asceticism known as *statio* (which consists in standing upright day and night not moving, in devotional posture, without eating or sleeping), well-known among the monks of the Syrian tradition, as witnessed by Theodoretus of Cyrrhos (*Historia Religiosa* ch. IV, VII, XVII, XXIV, XXVI; Brita 2008: 184–97).

Ṗ. remained in his cell for 45 years, working many miracles. Before leaving for ↗Naǧrān to avenge the martyrs slaughtered by D̠ū Nuwās (↗Yūsuf Asᵓar Yat̠ᵓar), King ↗Kaleb visited Ṗ. to ask for spiritual support. The monk blessed Kaleb and, during the battle, miraculously appeared before the army, helping the Aksumites at decisive moments. Many monks came to his cell to ask for Ṗ.'s advice, including Kaleb's brother ↗Muse, whom Ṗ. urged to go to ↗Jerusalem and to report about its "regulations and dimensions".

Ṗ. passed away on 6 *Ṭəqəmt* (18 *Kanun* in the Byzantine calendar), in the 236th "year of Diocletian" (520 A.D.). After his death, *abba* ↗Gärima was informed by the Holy Spirit and came to Ṗ's. cell to bury his bones.

Some information contained in the *Gädl* may hint at a later date for his death: Ṗ. and ↗Liqanos settled at the same time on their respective hills; Liqanos passed away 21 years later, during the reign of Kaleb, but before the latter left for the war in South Arabia in 524 (or 518) A.D. Assuming that the Naǧrān's incidents occured soon after Liqanos' death, it follows that the saints must have separated in 503 (or 497; i.e. 21 years earlier) and Ṗ. would thus have died in 548 (or 542, i.e. 45 years later; cp. discussion in Brita 2008: 85–92).

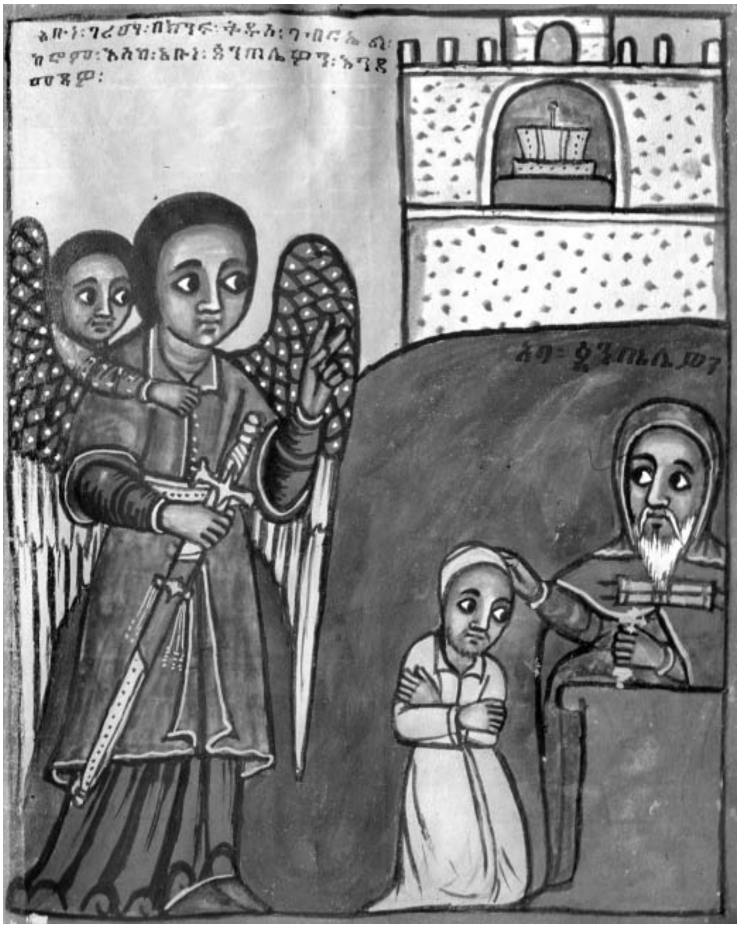
Ṗ.'s Acts were published, with a Latin translation, by Conti Rossini (1904) from the ms. Paris, BN, d'Abbadie 110, 18th cent. (AbbCat 125; ChAbb 69; CRAbb 176). Today, six more complete mss. are known:

> EMML 7602, fols. 83^{ra}–89^{ra}, 1379/80–1413; Ṭānāsee 177 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 66, fols. 81^{ra}–97^{ra}, 15th or 16th cent. (SixTana III, 233–37); EMML 1479, fols. 64^{ra}–72^{va}, 1459/60 (EMML IV, 593ff.); ms. Aksum, Betä Ṗänṭälewon, fols. 1^{ra}–19^{va}, 15th cent. (cp. Brita 2008: 156, ms. GP9); Aksum, Betä Ṗänṭälewon C_2 IV 522, fols. 1^{ra}–28^{va}, 16th cent. (Brita 2008: 156, ms. GP8); Aksum, Betä Ṗänṭälewon, fols. 7^{ra}–22^{va}, 19th–20th cent. (Brita 2008: 156f., ms. GP10); Aksum, Maryam Ṣəyon, fols. 58^{ra}–67^{rb}, 20th cent. (Brita 2008: 157, ms. GP11).

Two more fragments of the Acts are included in the ms. ANLin, Conti Rossini 134, 16th cent. (StrANLin 327ff.; Conti Rossini 1940: 45ff.). The *Gädla Ṗänṭälewon* is mentioned in the lists of mss. of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ham (BauEr III, 29ff.) and ↗Gundä Gunde (Mordini 1953: 50).

The *Gädlä Ṗänṭälewon* is the oldest among the Lives of the Nine Saints known until now. The most ancient ms. is EMML 7602. Notwithstanding the mention of a *Gädlä Ṗänṭälewon* in the list of books given by ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa to the monastery of Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (prior to Iyäsus Moᵓa's death in 1291/92), included in ms. EMML 1832, fol. 25 (EMML vol. V, 293ff.), there is no reason to believe that the protagonist is Ṗ. *zäṣomaᶜt*; it is rather much more plausible to identify him with St. Pantaleon martyr of Nicomedia [d. 303]).

Several hymnological compositions are dedicated to Ṗ.: two ↗*mälkəᵓ* (mss. Paris, BN Éth. 350, fols. 30^{v}–40^{r}, 18th cent. [GrebGriaule II, 60] and London, BritLib Orient. 577, fol. 32r, 1721–30 [WrBriMus 128f.]), two hymns (mss.



Abba Gärima transported by the Archangel Gabriel from "Rom" to St. Ṗänṭälewon, from a 19th-cent. *Mäṣḥafä śəllase*, Č̣äläqot, Təgray; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Paris, BN Éth. 372, fols. 14va–15ra, 18th cent. [GrebGriaule III, 117] and Roma, VatLib, Aeth. 280, fols. 13r–14r, 18th cent. [van Lantschoot 1962:483ff.], one ↗*sälam* (ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orient. 1304, fols. 66va–67vb [HamSixBerl 159ff.]), and a blessing (ms. VatLib Aeth. 231, fol. 18, 18th cent. [GréTisVat 704f.]).

The ↗*Dərsanä Gabrəᵓel* in the mss. EMML 2958, fols. 81va–82ra, 20th cent. (EMML VII, 271ff.), EMML 4937, fol. 58r, 1930–62 (X, 363f.) and ANLin, Conti Rossini 40, fols. 64rb–vb, 19th cent. (StrANLin 118ff.) gives an account of *abba* Gärima's visit to the hermitage of Ṗ. Ṗ.'s name also appears in the *Gädlä Märḥa Krəstos* (Kur 1972), in the *Gädlä Samuᵓel of Däbrä Halleluya* (Colin 1990), and in the *Gädlä Filmona* (De La Fuÿe 1958).

Ṗ. is mainly remembered in Ethiopic tradition for the role he played in the war waged by Kaleb against D̲ū Nuwās. The account of the prayer that the Emperor adressed to the Saint and Ṗ.'s intervention in South Arabia are a central chapter in the narrative of the *Gädlä Ṗänṭälewon*, which shows peculiar affinities with a tradition different from that transmitted by the Ethiopic version of the *Martyrdom of* ↗*Arethas* within the ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*, and closer instead to the Greek-Arabic version of the *Martyrdom*. In particular, (a) the mention of a certain "Gabrəᵓel" as a name given to Ṗ when he appears on the battlefield in the *Gädl* and in two invocations in the Greek *Martyrdom* and (b) the episode of the horse speared by the saint in the *Gädl* and by a soldier in the Greek *Martyrdom* are evidence for the hypothesis (Nosnitsin in StudAeth; Bausi in Bausi – Gori 2006:5, 106–10, 244–91; Brita 2008:161–84, 340–46; Fiaccadori 2006:65f., and n. 108). In the Greek *Martyrdom* the name of the saint and patron of the military expedition is "Zonaios": a monk living "in the Ethiopian town of Sabi" and native of Aila, a place identified by Fiaccadori (2006:65) with Elat, on the eastern slopes of Sinai (Détoraki 2007:266f.). His name is omitted in both Arabic versions of the *Martyrdom of Arethas* (while he is identified with Ṗ. in the Ethiopic version of the *Martyrdom*) as well as in the *Gädlä Ṗänṭälewon.*

The developments of the story, after the triumph of the Ethiopian army in South Arabia, narrated in the Ethiopic *Martyrdom*, although remembered to some extent in some narratives on the Nine Saints, are omitted in the *Gädl* (Brita 2008:162f.).

The passage in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, which commemorates Ṗ.'s death on 6 *Ṭəqəmt*, includes the episode about the ordination of Kaleb at the hands of Ṗ. lacking in the *Gädl* (BudSaint 117;

ColSyn VII, 24). P̣. is also mentioned in the readings for 17 *Säne* (GuiSyn VIII, 626ff.), 26 *Ḫədar* (ColSyn VII, 375ff.) and 20 *Gənbot* (BudSaint 299ff.).

Src.: AbbCat; BauEr III, 29–32; Alessandro Bausi – Alessandro Gori (ed., tr.), *Tradizioni orientali del «Martirio di Areta». La prima recensione araba e la versione etiopica*, Firenze 2006 (Quaderni di Semitistica 27); Antonella Brita, *I racconti tradizionali sulla cristianizzazione dell'Etiopia: il «Gadla P̣anṭalēwon» e il «Gadla Liqānos»*, Ph.D. thesis, Università degli Studi di Napoli «L'Orientale» 2008, 155–98, 293–351; BudSaint 115ff., 299ff.; Carlo Conti Rossini, "L'Omilia di Yoḥannes, vescovo di Aksum, in onore di Garimā", in: *Actes du XI Congrès des Orientalistes. Section Sémitique*, Paris 1897, 139–77; ChAbb; Gérard Colin, *Vie de Sāmuʾēl de Dabra Hāllēluyā*, Louvain 1990 (CSCO 519, 520 [SAe 93, 94]), 75f. (text) = 60f. (tr.); ColSyn VII, 24; VIII, 375ff.; CRAbb; Karolus Conti Rossini, *Acta Yārēd et P̣anṭalēwon*, Paris 1904 (CSCO XVII [SAe s.2]), repr. Lovanii 1961 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]); Id., "I. Pergamene di Dabra Dāmmo", *RSO* 19, 1940, 45–57; Marina Detoraki (ed.) – Joëlle Beaucamp (tr.), *Le Martyre de saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons* (*BHG 166*), Paris 2007 (Collège de France – CNRS, Centre de recherche, d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance, Travaux et Mémoires – Monographies 27); EMML IV, V, VII, X; Alotte de la Fuÿe (ed., tr.), *Actes de Filmona*, Louvain 1958 (CSCO 181, 182 [SAe 35, 36]), 44, 51ff. (text) = 41, 48ff. (tr.); GrebGriaule II, III; GreTisVat; HamSixBerl; Stanislaw Kur, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 18, 97, 115 (text) = 17, 88, 104 (tr.); Arnold van Lantschoot, "Inventaire sommaire des mss. vaticans éthiopiens 261–299", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi H. Card. Albareda* I, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e Testi 219), 453–55; Enno Littmann, *The Legend of the Queen of Sheba in the Tradition of Axum*, Leyden 1904, 17–31; Antonio Mordini, "Il convento di Gunda Gunde", *RSE* 12, 1953, 29–70; SixTana; StrANLin; Théodoret de Cyr, *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. tr. by Pierre Canivet – Alice Leroy-Molinghen, Paris 1977–79 (Sources Chretiennes 234, 257); WrBriMus.

Lit.: BHO 183f., no. 838; CRStor 156ff.; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, II: La seconda migrazione Agaw dell'Eritrea (Zaguà e Adchemè Melgà)", *RSO* 4, 1911–12, 599–651; DAE I, 30; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: Albrecht Berger (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar,* Berlin – New York 2006 (Millennium-Studien 7), 48–82; KinBibl 86, no. 124; Eric Godet, "Abba Pantaléon", *Abbay* 8, 1978, 165–68; Friedrich Heyer, "Der Asboberg des Heiligen Pantalewon und der Qanazel des Heiligen Liqanos in den 1970er Jahren", in: *AfrHorn* 199–202; Arthur K. Irvine – Seifu Metaferia, "P̣anṭaléwon", in: *DicEthBio* 130–31; Henri Leclercq, "Stylites" in: *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, vol. 15/2, 1953, 1707; Denis Nosnitsin, "Gädlä P̣äntälēwon: die literarische Verwandlung einer Episode aus dem aksumitisch-ḥimyaritischen Krieg", in: *StudAeth* 91–108; PG no. 82, 1283–1522; Osvaldo Raineri, "P̣anṭalēwon", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 764.

Antonella Brita

Papal States ↗Vatican; ↗Italy

P̣ap̣p̣as

The term P̣. (**ጳጳስ**, from Gr. Πάππας 'father, priest') refers to the "bishop" or Metropolitan who headed the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) and ranked just below the *liqä p̣ap̣p̣as*[*at*] (Patriarch; cp. ↗*Liq*), who, until 1959, was the head of the ↗Coptic Church. Thus, throughout most of Ethiopian history there was a single P̣. in the country. He was also commonly referred to by the title *abun* (↗*abunä*). Whilst the latter is a term of honour, which may be applied regardless of an individual's rank in the Church hierarchy, "P̣." has a clear technical meaning and can be acquired only through consecration and formal elevation to this status.

The unusual arrangement whereby the head of the EOTC was a bishop who came from outside the country is traditionally traced to the introduction of ↗Christianity in the 4th cent. and the consecration of Frumentius (*abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) by ↗Athanasius of Alexandria. Ms. EMML 1763 (first half of the 14th cent.) contains several homilies attributed to P̣. ↗Minas, who in the traditional lists of Ethiopian metropolitans was Frumentius's successor (s. Getatchew Haile in TedEthPrel I, 1000f.). As this example indicates, many of the texts which identify early metropolitans with the title P̣. date some centuries after the lives of the figures they record and must be viewed with some caution. Nevertheless there are a multitude of such cases, including, e.g., P̣. ↗Giyorgis, who is mentioned in a land charter granted by *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla to the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana (CRDLib 190; s. also the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, BezKebr 172 [text]).

Until the end of the 19th cent. Ethiopia was not divided into ecclesiastical provinces or dioceses, and hence the Metropolitan was usually the only P̣. in the country, initially residing in ↗Aksum, where the royal palace was (his title was ↗*eppisqoppos zäʾaksum*) and later in ↗Nazret, ↗Bugna, Ḥaqqalet (s. Guidi 1899:2f., 8) and a few other places (e.g., in ↗Gondär/↗Azäzo during the ↗Gondärine kingdom, and under the auspices of some regional rulers during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*). Thus, despite his place at the head of the local hierarchy, he was not an Archbishop (*liqä p̣ap̣p̣as*[*at*]) in the conventional sense of the term. Nor was he allowed to ordain other clergy as bishops, although he did ordain priests and deacons (Paulos Tzadua 1968:27f.). The P̣. could have an auxiliary bishop, called ↗*eppisqoppos*, to help him.

In those rare cases in which an emperor was able to receive more than one bishop from Egypt, both held the title of P̣. Thus, when two bishops, ↗Gäbrəʾel and Mikaʾel, arrived ca. 1440 they were co-adjucators with the rank of P̣. (CerMaria 117). This also appears to be the case with ↗Marqos and ↗Yəsḥaq who came in 1480/81 (Kur 1972: 88 [text]).

In 1881, after the death of *abunä* ↗Atnatewos, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV managed to receive four Egyptian bishops: metropolitan (**ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት**, *liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat*) *abunä* ↗P̣eṭros IV and three bishops (P̣.): ↗Luqas in Goǧǧam, Marqos in Bägemdər and Səmen and ↗Matewos in Šäwa (BTafY 153). The latter became Metropolitan, when his patron *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa became emperor.

During the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, as part of the programme to dissolve the historic ties with the Coptic Church and create an autocephalous Ethiopian Church, a local cleric, P̣. *abunä* Abrəham was elected Archbishop and, upon the latter's death, another Ethiopian cleric, P̣. *abunä* Yoḥannəs. Both of these claimed the title of *liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat* and ordained others with the rank of P̣. (Shenk 1972: 132–49.)

After the ↗Liberation and imperial restoration, the Coptic *abunä* ↗Qerəllos returned to Ethiopia and only a few of the P̣. consecrated during the Italian period remained in office. In September 1951 ↗Basəlyos I became the first legitimate Ethiopian Archbishop (*liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat*) with the power to ordain bishops (*p̣ap̣p̣asat/ep̣p̣isqop̣p̣osat*). On 28 June 1959 he became the first Ethiopian patriarch (**ፓትሪያርክ፡ ርእሰ፡ ሊቃነ፡ ጳጳሳት**, *patriyark rəʾəsä liqanä p̣ap̣p̣asat)*. Since then, the title of Archbishop (*liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat*) has been given to all diocesan bishops (P̣.). The second Ethiopian P̣., *abunä* ↗Tewoflos, was consecrated in 1970. In 1976 *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot was installed; after his death in 1988 *abunä* Märqorewos was installed, but he had to abdicate in 1991, with the fall of the *Därg* regime, and went in exile. Installed in 1992, the current P̣. of the EOTC is *abunä* P̣awlos.

Src.: EMML no. 1763; BTafY 153, CerMaria 117; CRDLib 190; Ignazio Guidi (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei Re", codice ecclesiastico e civile d'Abissinia*, Napoli 1897, 21–52 (text), Roma 1899, 26–73 (tr.); Id., "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* ser 1ª, 6, 1899, 1–16; BezKebr 172 (text) = 138 (tr.); Stanislas Kur (ed., tr.), *Actes de Marḥa Krestos,* Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 88 (text) = 80 (tr.); HuntLand 44, 58ff., 71; Paulos Tzadua (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast*. **ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት**: *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 17–42.

Lit.: Andemariam Tesfamichael, *Il Metropolita copto-alessandrino della Chiesa Ortodossa Tawāḥdo. Il sacerdozio ministeriale presso i Cristiani Abissini*, Gorle (BG) 2003, esp. 73–127, 177–219; Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopien: Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden 1960, 85, 99, 116ff., 124f.; Friedrich Heyer, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens: eine Bestandsaufname*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), s. index; MHAlex I, II; Calvin E. Shenk, *The Development of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and its Relationship with the Ethiopian Government from 1930 to 1970*, Ph.D. thesis, New York University 1972; TedEthPrel I, II.

Steven Kaplan

Parchment ↗Manuscripts

Paribeni, Roberto

P. (b. 19 May 1876, Rome, d. 14 July 1956, Rome) was an Italian archaeologist and historian. He began work in the civil service in 1902 and in 1919 he was director of the Museo Nazionale Romano. From 1928 to 1933 P. was head of the regional office of the Ministry of Culture for Rome and the Latium. Further on he became General Director of the Ministry of Culture for Antiquities and Fine Arts. He taught archaeology and history of Graeco-Roman art at the Catholic University in Milan and was member of the Accademia dei Lincei.

P. wrote several books on Greek and Roman history and archaeology. He was also interested in the archaeology of Malta and conducted archaeological excavations outside Italy, in Libya, Egypt, Turkey and Eritrea. In 1906–07, he was appointed by the Italian Government to conduct together with Francesco ↗Gallina an archaeological expedition at the site of the ancient port of ↗Adulis, on the Eritrean coast (cf. Gallina – Paribeni 1907).

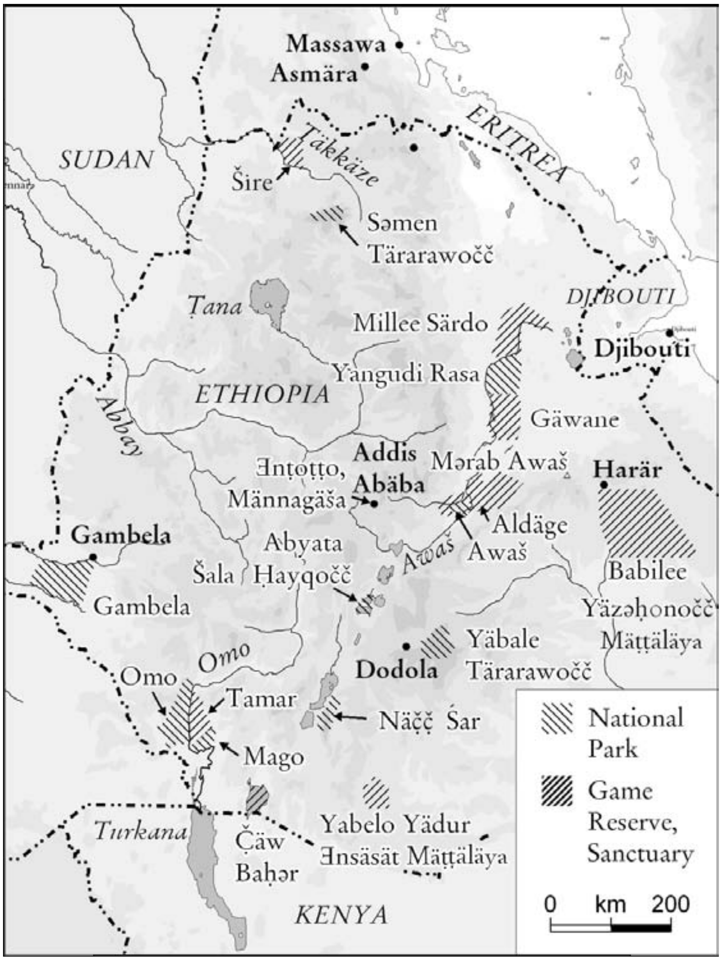
Src.: Francesco Gallina – Roberto Paribeni, "Scavi della missione archeologica in Zula (antica Adulis)", *Bollettino Ufficiale della Colonia Eritrea* 16, 1907, 111f.; Roberto Paribeni, "Ricerche sul luogo dell'antica Adulis (Colonia Eritrea)", *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* 18, 1908, 436–572.

Lit.: ErDizBio *ad nomen* Paribeni, Roberto; Lucilla De Lachenal, "Roberto Paribeni. Brevi cenni biografici", *Bollettino d'Arte* 92, 2007, 5ff.; Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, "Ricordo di Roberto Paribeni", *ibid.* 2007, 3f.

Andrea Manzo

Parks, National

National P., conceived as extended natural heritage areas of a country open for ↗tourism and with special protection rules, were established in Ethiopia in the years 1966 to 1979. Similarly, game reserves and sanctuaries started in the 1980s.


Massawa
Asmära
SUDAN
Täkkäze
ERITREA
Šire
Səmen
Tärarawočč
Tana
Millee Särdo
DJIBOUTI
Djibouti
Yangudi Rasa
ETHIOPIA
Abbay
Gäwane
Addis
Abäba
Ǝnṭoṭṭo,
Männagäša
Mərab Awaš
Harär
Aldäge
Awaš
Awaš
Gambela
Abyata
Šala
Ḥayqočč
Babilee
Gambela
Yäzəḥonočč
Mäṭṭäläya
Omo
Yäbale
Tärarawočč
Dodola
Omo
Tamar
Näčč Sar
Mago
Yabelo Yädur
Ǝnsäsät Mäṭṭäläya
Turkana
Čaw
Baḥər
KENYA
National Park
Game Reserve, Sanctuary
0 km 200

The origins of the idea of P. in Ethiopia may be seen in the policy of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II to safeguard forests for fuel production and even for environmental reasons when he established churches in ↗Männagäša and on ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo. Traditionally, ↗trees and bushes growing around churches and sacred grounds are not cut. The ↗Awaš P. was first a royal game reserve, before being established as a P. in 1966.

The Ethiopian P. conform to the official definition established in 1969 by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, the defining elements being the protection of the ecosystem(s) of a P. from human exploitation and excessive human settlement, and restricted entry, for recreational, educational and scientific purposes. A state-funded P. staff is supposed to guard the P., enforce these conditions and further the development of the P. as a natural reserve.

Most P. are located in sparsely settled lowlands in the border areas of Ethiopian peripheries, but none of the designated areas were unused by native peoples. Even the typical natural features of the P. areas, such as grass plains, are the result of age-old human activity (periodic burning). The P. contain important numbers of common African species, including birds, plants, reptiles and mammals, that it is deemed important to protect. The native animal and vegetal species of the highest and lower highlands are protected only in the ↗Bale and ↗Səmen P. Southern P.s contain numerous other native species. UNESCO listed the Səmen Mountains as a World Heritage Site in 1978.

The Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organisation plays an important role in the management of wildlife in the P. Occasional, restricted hunting by foreign, big-game hunters ("sport hunters", paying a substantial sum of money) seems to be still allowed. Traditional ↗hunting by local people has, over the past few hundred years, kept the numbers of game animals fairly constant. In the past two decades this trend was somewhat reversed.

In some areas, P. are now problematic because of the eviction of local populations and also due to growing pastoral and hunting pressure on the P.; e.g., there are at least eleven ethnic groups that partly live in or use the southern P. (↗Meʾen, ↗Aari, ↗Mursi, ↗Hamär, ↗Bäšada, ↗Guǧǧi, ↗Koorete, ↗Suri, ↗Kara, ↗Ñaŋatom and ↗Dizi), and also several in the north-eastern P. (↗ᶜAfar, Karrayyuu). Since it was prohibited for them to enter, some pastoralists and cultivators who traditionally used the P. areas (also for some hunting), started violent resistance, among them Karrayyuu and ᶜAfar, raiding in the P. and killing game. In addition, since the 1970's, many ᶜAfar have been evicted due to the establishment of mechanized farms in their traditional territories in the vicinity of the Awaš P.

Herd of *Oryx beisa* in the Awaš National Park; photo 1982, courtesy of Michael Gervers

In the 1990s, the P. in southern Ethiopia were given a boost by the EU-funded "National Parks Rehabilitation in Southern Ethiopia Project" (1993–98), whereby park development was to go hand in hand with the development of infrastructure, services and school-building for local people, whose cooperation was sought. The project ran fairly successfully at first, but declined when project funding came to an end in 1998 and institutional structures did not function properly. Despite all efforts, there is at present no well-supported or sustainable P. management in Ethiopia. This in the long run will endanger the wildlife, the landscape and the chances of the local populations, which continue to increase in number.

In 2004 the Dutch-based "African Parks Foundation" (AFP) signed an agreement with the Ethiopian government to manage the P. of ↗Omo, Näč̣č̣ Śar and Mago and develop them for conservation and wildlife tourism. For this purpose the boundaries of these P. were legally established (gazetted) for the first time, and the aim of keeping the local population out was clearly set. Controversies surrounding the government's handling of the local people led the AFP to prematurely withdraw in 2008. Currently, the issue of developing a more community-based protection area strategy instead of an exclusionary protected-area approach to the P. is being discussed.

Today, it is mainly foreign tourists who visit the Awaš P., to watch wild ↗animals. The P. can be reached relatively easily from Addis Abäba. In recent years, safaris have been organized to show the flora and fauna and populations of the more remote regions of the Omo, Bale and Səmen Parks. Tourism to the Omo P. has become more popular because of the presence of the "colourful" Kara, Suri and Mursi peoples in its vicinity – popular objects of tourist ↗photography.

Due mainly to insecurity and civil war in the 1970-80s, as well as lack of tourist infrastructure, the Ethiopian P., while long established, have never attained the fame of the well-known large natural reserves in Kenya, Tanzania or South Africa which were, to some degree, similar to Ethiopia.

Ethiopian National Parks	**Founded**	**Surface area**	**Region**
Awaš	1966	756 km^2	ᶜAfar and Oromiyaa
Səmen Tärarawočč (Səmen Mountains)	1969	179 km^2	Amhara
Abyaataa Šaalaa Hayqočč (Abyaataa-Šaalaa Lakes, also Rift Valley Lakes)	1971	887 km^2	Oromiyaa
Omo	1966	4,068 km^2	South
Yäbale Tärarawočč (Bale Mountains)	1970	2,471 km^2	Oromiyaa
Yangudi Rasa	1977	4,731 km^2	ᶜAfar
Mago	1979	2,162 km^2	South
Näč̣č̣ Śar	1974	514 km^2	South
Gambela	1974	5061 km^2	Gambela
Game Reserves/ Wildlife Reserves			
Mərab Awaš	1981	1,781 km^2	Oromiyaa & ᶜAfar
Aldäge	1981	1,832 km^2	ᶜAfar
Bale	1981	1,766 km^2	Oromiyaa
Č̣äw Baḥər	1981	4,212 km^2	South
Gäwane	–	2,439 km^2	ᶜAfar
Millee Särdo	–	8,766 km^2	ᶜAfar
Ṭama Wildlife Reserve	–	3,269 km^2	South
Šire	–	5,000 km^2	Təgray
Sanctuaries			
Babilee Yäzəḥọnočč Mäṭṭäläya	–	6,982 km^2	Somali and Oromiyaa
Yabelo Yädur Ǝnsäsat Mäṭṭäläya	–	2,537 km^2	Oromiyaa
Sənq Yäqorkewočč Mäṭṭäläya	–	54 km^2	Oromiyaa

↗Animals; ↗Environment; ↗Forest(s)/Forestry

Src.: CSA 2004; Ethiopian Mapping Agency, *Ethiopia Tourist Map, 1:2,000,000*, Addis Ababa 1981 [1982]; EMAtlas; Ethiopian Tourism Commission, *Ethiopia Tourist Map, 1:2,000,000*, Addis Ababa 1987; Ethiopian Tourist Organization, *Awash National Park, 1:100,000*, Addis Ababa [before 1972]; European Union, *Final Report, National Parks Rehabilitation in Southern Ethiopia Project,* Brussels 1998.

Lit.: Ayalew Gebre, *Pastoralism under Pressure. Land Alienation and Pastoral Transformations among the Karayu of Eastern Ethiopia 1941 to Present*, Maastricht 2001, 213–20; GasEth 63, 100; François Piguet, *Des nomades entre villes et les sables. La sédentarisation dans la Corne de l'Afrique*, Paris – Genève 1998, 90–93; Michael Stahl – Adrian Wood, *Ethiopia*: *National Conservation Strategy, Inception report*, Gland 1989; David Turton, "The Mursi and National Park Development in the Lower Omo Valley", in: David Anderson – Richard Grove (eds.), *Conservation in Africa*: *People, Policies and Practice*, Cambridge 1987, 169–186; Id., "The Mursi and the Elephant Question", in: Dawn Chatty – Marcus Colchester (eds.), *Conservation and Mobile Indigenous Peoples*: *Displacement, Forced Settlement and Development*, New York – Oxford 2002, 97–118.

Alain Gascon – Jon G. Abbink

Parkyns, Mansfield

P. (b. 16 February 1823, Caen, Normandy, France, d. 19 January 1894, Woodborough Hall, Notts) was an English traveller – and amateur artist – from a Nottinghamshire landed family, who lived in ↗Təgray from 1843 to 1845, and fathered a son prominent in Ethiopia during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV.

Mansfield Parkyns in the conservatory of Woodborough Hall in 1890; photo courtesy of the author

P. was a son of Sir Thomas Boultbee Parkyns, and younger brother of the 5th Baronet, Thomas George Augustus Parkyns of Bunney Park. P. was educated at Uppington public school and enrolled in Trinity College, Cambridge, but was involved in a brawl obliging him to leave. He then conceived the idea of seeking the source of the White ↗Nile and of walking across Africa from east to west. He duly sailed to Alexandria, and made his way by dhow from Suez to ↗Massawa, which he reached in 1843. Learning of the presence in the interior of two other Englishmen, John ↗Bell and Walter ↗Plowden, he proceeded inland. He visited *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam's camp, as well as ↗ᶜAdwa, where he resided in the Muslim quarter; in ↗Aksum, he sketched the standing stelae and adjacent sycamore tree. He also encountered the ↗Nara people, and collected information on them; he travelled to Roḥabäyta, where he married a local woman. Variously remembered by her Ethiopian descendants as being called Kaśa or Kaśäč (daughter of Kidane, of Aksum, son of *nəburäʾəd* Zämäday), she bore him a son, John. Later, P. lived in the Sudan, among the nomadic Kababiš in the area around al-ᶜUbayd, also visiting Khartoum, where he met the local chief *al-makk* ↗Nimr. P. obtained a copy of the ↗*Funǧ Chronicle* (↗Sinnār) but did not realize his plan to write a history of the Sudan (Holt 1988: 245).

Learning that he had inherited considerable wealth, P. decided to return to Britain in 1848, after a stay of several months in Cairo. On reaching Britain in 1849 he wrote his two-volume work *Life in Abyssinia* (1853), which is illustrated with his sketches – and is his main claim to fame, remarkable for its impartiality. Much more than a travelogue it contains an account of the history of Təgray, as well as detailed descriptions of the people, their system of government and law, social customs, clothing, weapons, food and drink, religious beliefs, foreign missionary activities, etc. His paintings and sketch books are still kept by descendants and in a public collection (Pankhurst, in preparation).

In 1854 P. married a British woman, the daughter of the later Lord Chancellor Westbury, Emma Bethell, by whom he had an English family. He later refused to participate in the British expedition against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, on the grounds that he had Ethiopian friends (Cumming 1977: 161). His Ethiopian son John Parkyns (also known as Ǧəhon), being regarded as a foreigner, was detained at ↗Mäqdäla, but subsequently released with other foreign captives. The inclusion of his name among the list of those released by the British expedition was the first public knowledge in Britain of P.'s Ethiopian family. Later, *fitawrari* Ǧəhon, then resident in ʿAdwa, became an officer (*bašša*) in the services of the Təgrayan governor *ras* Mängäša; after 1896 he settled in the Italian colony of ↗Eritrea and became a *məsläne* in ↗Säraye. He had numerous descendants, many of whom played a role in Ethiopian politics (Smidt in preparation).

Src.: MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia: being Notes Collected During Three Year's Residence and Travels in that Country*, 2 vols., London 1853, ²1968; ID., *Abyssinia journal*, University of Nottingham, King's Meadow Campus, Manuscripts and Special Collections, (MS 1751).

Lit.: DUNCAN CUMMING, *The Life of Mansfield Parkyns 1823–1894. The Gentleman Savage*, London 1987; P. M. HOLT, "Mansfield Parkyns's Manuscript of the Funj Chronicle", *Die Welt des Islams* 28, 1/4, 1988, 244–63; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Mansfield Parkyns and his Unpublished Drawings: Glimpses of Northern Ethiopia Half a Century Before Enno Littmann", in: WOLBERT SMIDT – STEFFEN WENIG (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second International Littmann Conference, Aksum*, Wiesbaden, in preparation; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Tigray – Eine historische Landschaft als Netzwerk von Bauern, Fürsten und Kriegsherren: Die äthiopischen Nordprovinzen in der lokalen Tradition", in: *WenDae* II, in preparation; G.O. WHITEHEAD, "Mansfield Parkyns and his Projected History of the Sudan", *SNR* 23, 1, 1940, 131–38.

Richard Pankhurst

Parliament

Representative political institutions have no antecedents in pre-modern imperial Ethiopian governance. The country's P. (Amh. ምክር፡ ቤት, *məkər bet*) have all therefore derived from the desire of successive rulers to put in place institutions derived from favoured external models. A P. was first introduced by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I under the Constitution of 1931 (↗Constitutions; ↗Crown Council). This had two legislative chambers, the Chamber of Deputies whose members were chosen by provincial notables under the aegis of provincial governors, and the Senate whose members were directly appointed by the Emperor. The two chambers had equal powers, but were required only to discuss legislation rather than approve it. Following the Italian occupation, P. was reconvened in November 1942, with five deputies from each of the twelve provinces. Five Eritrean deputies were added under the ↗Ethiopian Eritrean Federation of 1952. There were about 30 senators, drawn largely from the nobility. Although the executive could override any changes to draft legislation, a number of instances are recorded in which P. amended laws presented to it.

Both the powers and the composition of P. were significantly changed under the Revised Constitution of 1955. Though members of the Senate were still appointed by the emperor, deputies were elected by popular suffrage, and elections were held at four-year intervals from 1957 until the ↗Revolution of 1974. Since there were no political parties, candidates stood for election on the basis of their local connections. This led to a high proportion of local notables securing election, especially in the northern provinces, and to a high turnover at elections, since deputies tended to move to Addis Abäba, and lose contact with their local roots. Especially from the 1965 elections onwards, deputies became increasingly critical of the government, and in addition to amending or sometimes rejecting government proposals, took advantage of their power to summon ministers for questioning. Under the 1955 Constitution, moreover, P. was required to approve legislation, though this requirement could be circumvented by provisions enabling the emperor to legislate by decree when P. was not sitting, subject to subsequent confirmation by parliament. Decrees were widely used, even in cases where there was no plausible case for urgency. The Senate was used as a place of quasi-retirement for noblemen and senior officials without a current position, and was sometimes derisively referred to as the "garage", where such notables could be parked when not in use. On occasion, however, it also provided a forum for criticising, amending or even rejecting government proposals.

P. was abolished at the ↗Revolution in 1974, and Ethiopia remained without legislative or representative institutions until the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in September 1987, under which supreme state power was formally vested in the ብሔራዊ፡ ሸንጎ (*bəḥerawi šängo*, 'National Council [Assembly]'), the Ethiopian equivalent of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union (↗Russia). This was a single chamber, single party P., with 835 members who had to be nominated by the Workers' Party of Ethiopia or other approved organizations.

The Ethiopian Parliament in the 1950s, with the Crown-Prince Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase (left balcony, first from right); from Ursin 1958:98

Though members were drawn proportionately from different areas of the country, and were generally selected from indigenous peoples, the process was entirely stage-managed. Leading party figures and some other notables including religious leaders were also chosen, but the *šängo* itself was a rubber-stamp body, and disappeared with the regime that created it less than four years after its formation.

Following its seizure of power in May 1991, the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) established a "Peaceful and Democratic Transitional Conference of Ethiopia" to oversee the creation of a new system of government. This formed a Council of Representatives from its own members to serve as an unelected transitional P., and a Constitutional Assembly was elected in 1994. The constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE), established in 1995, provided for a bicameral P., in which the House of People's Representatives was elected from single-member constituencies distributed according to population on a country-wide basis, while the House of the Federation contained representatives chosen by the legislatures of the individual regional states. Since the constitution placed supreme power in the House of People's Representatives, and the prime minister was chosen by and responsible to it, P. lay, formally at least, at the heart of the new constitutional order.

Since the formation of the FDRE, elections to the House of People's Representatives have been held at five-year intervals, in 1995, 2000, and 2005. These have been the first elections in Ethiopian history in which candidates from rival parties have been able to compete for election. The first two of these elections were very heavily dominated by the ruling EPRDF and its affiliated parties. While the first elections held on 7 May 1995 were almost entirely monopolised by the EPRDF, those held on 14 May 2000 were contested by a large number of opposition parties, many of which were however small and locally based. Parties belonging to the EPRDF won 481 (or 88 %) of the 547 seats, while affiliated parties took a further 18 seats, leaving only 28 in the hands of independents or opposition parties; the remainder were in the Somali region, where the election was postponed for security reasons.

The third elections, on 15 May 2005, were contested by two major opposition groupings, the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) and the Union of Ethiopian Democratic Forces (UEDF), in addition to the government parties and other opposition groups. The CUD won every seat in Addis Abäba and a significant number elsewhere, and the UEDF also won seats especially in parts of Oromia and the Southern Region. The announcement of results was then aborted by the federal government, and official results were released indicating that the EPRDF had retained a majority. There were subsequent controversies over contested elections, whether opposition members would take their seats, and the manipulation of parliamentary procedures by the government majority. There is little available published information on the working of P. under the FDRE, and the extent to which it exercises its power to amend or reject legislation, or to hold the executive branch of the federal government to account.

Lit.: CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1988; ClapHS; SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG et al., *Ethiopia since the Derg*, London 2002; MAX URSIN, *Äthiopien: Impressionen aus einem altchristlichen Land*, Mannheim 1958, 98 (ill.).

Christopher Clapham

Pasha ↗Bašša

Pastoralism

The terms P. and pastoralist (from Lat., 'herdsman') refer to the economic activity of keeping herds of graminivorous animals which have been domesticated since the so-called Neolithic revolution starting about 10,000 years ago. In north-east Africa, cattle, sheep, goats and ↗camels (s. also ↗Animals, domestic) were of particular importance. To a considerable extent they are kept by sedentary peasants – just like ↗horses, donkeys, ↗mules and poultry – or by agro-pastoralists, whose livelihood is based on ↗agriculture and livestock-breeding as almost equally important pillars. With ca. 30 million head of cattle Ethiopia possesses the seventh highest livestock population in the world, and with ca. 6 million in Somalia and ca. 1 million in Ethiopia and Eritrea the Horn of Africa occupied a world-wide leading position in the number of camels. These statistics of the mid-1980s do, however, not differentiate between animals kept by sedentary peasants or nomadic pastoralists. The categories of pastoralists according to their mobility and their cultural status are often fluid (s. below).

Particularly in relatively arid lowland areas of north-east Africa the keeping of animals in mobile herds is a major pillar of economy. Nomadic P. as a way of life can generally be defined as movement of the residential social group in the course of regular socio-economic and political activities geared to livestock-keeping. Nomads move from one area of natural pastures to another taking all their people and their mobile homes with them.

Different categories of nomadic pastoralists can be differentiated according to the extent of mobility and to the dominant types of animals they keep. "Full" nomads exclusively depend on their livestock and do not practise any kind of cultivation. They get their grain supply, vegetable food and other necessary goods by selling or exchanging the surplus of their animal production. Representatives of this category are parts of the ↗Boorana Oromo, the ↗Somali and ↗ᶜAfar. Semi-nomads usually possess permanent settlements where they cultivate crops and where most of the population lives for several months of the year. They seasonally move in so-called cycles of transhumance to dry-season and wet-season pastures. Ethnic groups of south-western Ethiopia, such as ↗Suri, ↗Mursi, Bodi (↗Meᵓen), ↗Ṣamay, as well as parts of the ↗Guǧǧi Oromo and factions of Amharic-speaking groups such as the Sallaan in Goǧǧam (personal observation in 2002) follow this pattern. The label "agro-pastoralists" refers to people whose economy is based on the two pillars agriculture and livestock-breeding, but the animals herds do not necessarily need to be mobile over larger distances. The largest proportion of livestock in the Ethiopian highlands is kept in such semi-sedentary conditions.

Another means of classification of nomadic P. is offered by the type of animal which is predominant in its economic importance and in the value concepts of the respective groups. In this field, mainly due to ecological conditions, two major categories can be identified: cattle pastoralists and camel pastoralists. Cattle need pasture consisting of grass and daily watering, so that mobile herds cannot usually be kept to any significant extent in areas with less than ca. 400 mm of annual rainfall. Prototypes of nomadic or semi-nomadic cattle pastoralists are the Boorana and the Nilotic-speaking groups in the lowlands bordering the Sudan in south-western Ethiopia. Typical camel nomads are parts of the Saho, the ᶜAfar, the Somali and ↗Gabbra. Both categories, cattle nomads as well as camel nomads, additionally keep sheep and goats in integrated or separate herds. These animals which reproduce quickly, are economically important for market exchange and meat consumption, but generally do not figure as a core element in the cultural representations and values of nomadic pastoralists.

In Ethiopian history there has always been a deep-rooted antagonism between sedentary peasants of the highlands and mobile pastoralists of the lowlands. Camel nomads such as the Somali tried to get access from their arid environment to ecologically more hospitable zones in the interior and inevitably clashed with sedentary peasants defending their territories. The huge expansion of the Oromo in the 16th and 17th cent. towards the central and northern parts of the Ethiopian highlands was obviously carried out by groups assured of a high degree of mobility, as is characteristic for (semi-)nomadic cattle pastoralists. Anthropological researchers in the 20th cent. observed a tendency among some ethnic groups of south-western Ethiopia, such as the Ṣamay, whereby a part of the population lived in highland villages, whilst another part, predominantly young people, kept herds of cattle in the lowlands. There is a continuous exchange of social relations and economic products which, however, becomes weaker over the generations, i.e., the two factions become more and more independent of each other. This observation could give rise to the hypothesis that a specialized type of pure nomadism in those areas has evolved by such processes of fission.

Despite a permanent state of latent hostility, there have always been well-established networks of trade, particularly exchange of grain and vegetable staple foods for animal products in market places along the eastern and western escarpments of the highlands (e.g., in Aləyyu Amba, Bati, Gore, etc.). However, government authorities in Ethiopia and Somalia (as nearly everywhere in the world) have always considered nomads as a troublesome element of the population and have therefore urged their permanent settlement. This has led to an increasing marginalization of mobile pastoralists, which presently do not constitute more than a small minority in Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti. Somalia is an exception, because approximately half of the population are still nomads and nomadic P. continues to be deeply rooted in the socio-economic patterns and cultural traditions of the country. In order to settle disputes among mobile pastoralists concerning rights over pastures, wells, etc., which frequently result in the killing of people, special institutions were established. The *diya-* or *mag*-paying groups (Arab.: *diya*, Somali: *mag*, 'blood wealth') for compensation in cases of homicide has maintained a particular importance. Male display of courage and a sense of risk as well as elaborate concepts of honour have always played an important role in the cultural patterns of nomads (↗Meritorious complex). The pastoralists in this region have mostly adopted Islam – the Somali and ᶜAfar almost a thousand years ago – but they commonly do not observe it very rigidly and continue to perform various practices of pre-Islamic origin.

The economic activities of nomadic pastoralists are to a notable extent dictated by the ecology of their livestock, cattle and camels respectively. They have to follow a pattern of migration determined by a combination of seasonal and areal variability in the supply of pasture and water. The grazing resources are usually assigned in a regular fashion according to the geographical particularities and seasonal climatic conditions known through the experience of many generations. The nomadic movements are therefore not performed at random but follow more or less standardized cycles, to be changed only under extraordinary circumstances, such as drought, persistent conflict or political insecurity. The establishment of national boundaries at the end of the 19th cent. inevitably exerted a negative impact on nomadic-pastoral or transhumant movements. An example are the northern Somali, who were increasingly deprived of their traditional wet-season pastureland in the Haud, which became part of the Ethiopian ↗Ogaden region. The cycles of transhumance of mobile cattle keepers in savannah areas with a higher grazing capacity are usually much shorter than those of camel herdsmen.

A basic prerequisite of nomadic P. is the formation of herding units manageable by teams of herders in accordance with the households and camp units. According to general information and personal observation from different parts of Africa, the average size of animals which can be mastered by one adult person may roughly amount to 40 camels, 70 cattle or 200 sheep. The material culture of pastoralists has to be restricted to items fitting the mobile life-style and are mostly made, instead of clay, of more durable materials such as wood, metal and fibres. In most areas, e.g., among the Somali, the Gabbra and ᶜAfar, the dwelling/hut consists of a circular cupola-shaped skeleton of bent wooden branches covered with water-proof mats. Their erection and dismantling is women's work. The whole equipment is transported by camels or donkeys. Pack-oxen went out of use after the huge rinderpest epidemic (↗*Kəfu qän*) of the 1890s, which destroyed most of the cattle population and forced many groups to abandon nomadic P. in favour of agro-pastoralism or sedentary farming.

The staple food of north-east African livestock keepers consists of cereals, millet, maize and barley, which are mostly bought from farmers in exchange for animals and their products. ↗Milk and butter are important for local use, whereas blood taken from living animals, being tabooed by Islam and Christianity as an impure foodstuff, is presently consumed only by a dwindling minority of religious "traditionalists". Meat is not frequently eaten by the herdsmen, because the animals are needed for reproduction and for acquiring exchange food products. The reluctance of slaughtering animals apart from ceremonial occasions is partly rooted in concepts of the "cattle complex", implying a highly emotional or culturally valued attitude towards cattle that in many respects exceeds the sphere of economic rationality. The term and the idea of "cattle complex", although by now rather controversial, derive from the work of Melville Herskovits (1926) on the East African cattle area. Although this territory, extending on his map from the Nilotic Sudan to the Cape region, excludes the Horn of Africa, most of its peculiar ethnographic criteria are well documented there. Cattle dominate the value concepts of people and play a central role in their imaginative and social world. Individuals sometimes have their "favourite beasts" with which they are symbolically associated and preserve close "emotional" bonds throughout their lifetimes (e.g., via naming, sacrifice, and song culture). In the sociopolitical sphere cattle serve as means for paying the bride-price in order to establish kinship or affinal ties and for the blood-wealth as compensation in cases of homicide. Cattle are the most honourable gift to the ancestors and they are offered as sacrifices in all important ceremonial performances and religious rituals. Most importantly, cattle hold a position as property of the highest prestige and are esteemed as mobile capital.

Among the ↗Hamär, rites of the passage for young men are associated with cattle (e.g., the "leap across the cattle"). In parts of southern Ethiopia (e.g., among the ↗Hadiyya), if a person's herd reaches 100 or 1,000 head of cattle, "feasts of merit", by which the owner is ritually exalted in social rank and status, have been performed until the present. For the Somali and related groups, the term "camel complex" is employed in order to signify the central role of this animal in their material as well as spiritual culture.

↗Agriculture; ↗Economy

Lit.: ABDI GAILEH MIRREH, *Die sozialökonomischen Verhältnisse der nomadischen Bevölkerung im Norden der demokratischen Republik Somalia*, Berlin 1978; CLAUDIA CARR, *Pastoralism in Crisis: the Dassanetch and their Ethiopian Lands*, Chicago, IL 1977; BERNARD FAYE, *Eleveurs d'Ethiopie*, Paris 1990; MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, "The Cattle Complex in East Africa", *American Anthropologist* 28, 1926, 230–72, 361–88, 494–528, 633–64; RICHARD HOGG (ed.), *Pastoralists, Ethnicity and the State in Ethiopia*, London 1996; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Pastoral Democracy. A Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa*, London 1967; LewPeople; JOHN MARKAKIS (ed.), *Conflict and Decline of Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa*, Houndmills [etc.] 1993; KARIM SADR, *The Development of Nomadism in Northeast Africa*, Philadelphia, PA 1987; GÜNTHER SCHLEE, *Identities on the Move: Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, Manchester 1989; VSAe II.

Ulrich Braukämper

Patriarch ↗Abunä; ↗Ṗappas

Patriots ↗Resistance

Patrologia Orientalis

The series P.O. has its origins in the growing interest in Christian literature in Europe at the end of the 19th cent. The project was created by Abbé – later Mgr. – René Graffin (1858–1941), a professor of Syriac at the Institut Catholique de Paris. In 1894, Graffin started a *Patrologia Syriaca*, inspired by the famous Latin and Greek *Patrologiae* of Abbé Jacques-Paul Migne. However, as the project remained dormant (from 1894 to 1927 only three vols. appeared), in 1897, on the occasion of the Orientalist Congress in Paris, Graffin announced the creation of the P.O., which was to include all the Oriental Christian traditions: Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian, Georgian and Syriac, as well as texts in Greek, Latin and Slavonic languages. The critical editions were to be accompanied by translations, which were largely in French. Some authors, however, also translated into Latin, English and, more recently, Italian. In 1896, Graffin also founded the journal *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*.

For many years Graffin was assisted by François Nau and Max, Prince of Saxony. At the death of Mgr. Graffin the running of the P.O. was assumed by his nephew François Graffin (1905–2002). In 1992, the project relocated to the Pontificio Istituto Orientale in Rome, where it has since been under the editorship of the Jesuits René Lavenant and, more recently, Philippe Luisier, still according to the traditional editorial methodology (cp. Bausi in PICES 15).

The first vol. of the P.O. (*Livre des mystères du ciel et de la terre*, *Mäṣḥafä ↗məśṭirä sämay wämədr*) received its imprimatur on 13 July 1903. Since then about 50 vols. have appeared, each one comprising a number of fascicles. Largely a product of the Institut Catholique de Paris, the P.O. has enjoyed the collaboration of a number of professors from this institution. In the Ethiopian section, Sylvain ↗Grébaut edited the *Miracles of Jesus* (*↗Täʾammərä Iyäsus*; vol. 12), Bernard Velat the *↗Ṣomä dəggʷa* (vol. 32) and the *↗Məʿəraf* (vol. 34) and Gérard Colin completed the last of the volumes of the *↗Sənkəssar* (vols. 43–48), started by Ignazio ↗Guidi and continued by ↗Grébaut.

Src.: PO.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Current Trends in Ethiopian Studies: Philology", in: *PICES 15*, 542–51; CASPAR DETLEF GUSTAV MÜLLER, "Patrologia Orientalis", in: JULIUS ASSFALG – PAUL KRÜGER (eds.), *Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients*, Wiesbaden 1975, 293–95; PHILIPPE LUISIER, "Pour un centenaire" (Preface to the general catalogue of P.O., years 1903–2003); LOUIS MARIÈS – FRANÇOIS GRAFFIN, "Monseigneur René Graffin (1858–1941): histoire de sa famille, de sa Patrologie et de ses collaborateurs", *OrChrP* 67, 2001, 157–78.

Gérard Colin

Paul, Apocalypse of

The A.P. is a N.T. apocryphon of the 2nd–3rd cent. A.D., documented in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, and Old Slavonic versions. From its chapters 13–44, through an Arabic intermediate stage, the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of ↗Mary* (A.M.) was produced, though in a very abridged and differently arranged way.

The first obvious external difference is the protagonist. According to a kind of later introduction, the A.P. was contained in a writing discovered in about 450 A.D., after repeated orders by an angel, by a man living in Paul's former house. This man sent this writing to the Emperor Theodosius, who in turn sent a copy of it to Jerusalem. The subsequent narration is by Paul himself, guided and instructed in his journey (which starts from the third heaven) by his guardian angel. In the A.M. it is the Virgin who tells John, the son of Zebedee, of the journey she began from the third heaven, guided and instructed by her son Jesus Christ.

The general contents are roughly the same for both texts, beginning with a vision of the righteous souls, and of those of the sinners, accompanied by their guardian angels and brought before God by Archangel Michael; unlike in the A.P., in the A.M. the Virgin obtains from Jesus some rest for one of them. The angels who bring the damned to their condemnation are Tartaruchos and Temelouchos in the A.P. (as in the *Apocalypse of ↗Peter*), but only the latter (*Ṭəmləyakos*) in the A.M. Whilst in the A.M. everyone in heaven is sad at the moment of condemnation, in the A.P. there is general approval at the justice of God.

Differences can also be traced in the vision of Paradise, where Enoch and Elijah are encountered, and the respective protagonist sees four rivers (the first of wine, representing those who had loved strangers, pilgrims, the thirsty, the hungry and the naked; the second of honey, representing those who had loved the poor; the third of milk, representing those who had remained pure; and the fourth of oil and butter, representing the martyrs and the apostles).

In both works, the visions are accompanied by appropriate O.T. and N.T. quotations, and by the presence of patriarchs and prophets (indicated by name in the A.M.). After a vision of men (the insolent and the haughty) trying in vain to get fruit from branches of a tree, Paul/Mary comes across (in a different order in the A.P. and in the A.M.) a magnificent house (for those who have not commited adultery), and the "City of God" ("built like a rose" in the A.M.), the heavenly Jerusalem (↗Zion). When Paul/Mary asks the angel/Jesus about the meaning of "alleluia" sung by David, the A.M. stresses that this word is not valid if pronounced with an impure heart, whereas the A.P. seems more interested in its ritual implications. The vision of the punishments then follows (usually, immersion in a river of fire followed by torture): the sacrilegious, homosexuals, the incestuous, idolaters, and those who have committed bestiality (in the A.M. including Muslims as well as those who married to Muslim or Jewish women). Whilst the A.M. ends here, the A.P. proceeds with a much shorter visit to Paradise, involving meeting the Virgin Mary as well as Prophets and Patriarchs, many of whom were encountered with at an earlier stage in the A.M. The ending of the A.P. is more abrupt.

Both works feature Jesus's final partial act of mercy for the damned. In the A.P., thanks to the insistence of Michael, the angels and Paul (who until that moment had insisted that "it would have been better for men if they were not born", as in the *Apocalypse of Peter* and other pseudo-Clementine works), Jesus grants to the damned "the rest of one night", to refresh them, the day of his resurrection, forever. In the A.M., Mary asks for mercy twice: first, for those who interrupted fasting, Christ answering that he will have mercy "if they repent even for one day" (in the A.P. they can be pardoned if they repent in their last year); the second, in the final part of the work, Christ consenting a two-day respite "from Friday evening until Monday morning".

Src.: s. *Mary, Apocalypse of*; CLAUDE-CLAIRE KAPPLER – RENÉ KAPPLER (tr.), "Apocalypse de Paul", in: FRANÇOIS BOVON – PIERRE GEOLTRAIN (éd.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 1, Paris 1997, 775–826.

Lit.: s. *Mary, Apocalypse of*.

Paolo Marrassini

Paulitschke, Philipp Victor

P. (b. 25 September 1854, Czrmakowitz [formerly Austria], d. 31 December 1899, Vienna) pioneered the ethnography of the Horn of Africa. He studied philology, geography and history at Graz and Vienna. In his published Ph.D. thesis (1879) he summarized the history of the exploration of Africa from the ancient Greeks, the Arabs, and the Portuguese to the European explorers of the 19th cent. He found that several regions, e.g., the Horn of Africa towards the Nile, including the "Galla-Somaliländer", had been little studied by scholars up until then. From 1882 he was "Privatdozent" (i.e. associate professor) for geography at the University of Vienna. In the summer of 1880 he undertook his first journey, beginning his research in southern Egypt and Nubia. He had to give up his plans to go further south because the ↗Mahdist movement made travelling difficult. Therefore, he turned to North-east Africa after 1884, where he became a pioneer with his profound geographic and ethnographic studies. It was due to this second research that he was recognized as the authority of that region for many years.

Philipp Paulitschke, photo 1897; from the Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Wien

At ↗Zaylaᶜ P. was able to befriend Governor ↗Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šaḥim who supported and facilitated his journey into the hinterland. He went via Hennsa and Ǧaldessa to ↗Harär. From there he made several longer excursions mainly to various sections of the ↗Oromo.

P. collected material on geology, physical anthropology, history (e.g., of the Oromo expansion and historical documents on Harär), language, cultural features, such as agriculture, arts, poetry, social order (investigating the ↗*gadaa* system) law and religion. He also gathered information from traders of various Cushitic-speaking groups living in areas not visited by Europeans until then.

During the following years P. published many books and articles in German, Italian and other European languages. Outstanding are his two volumes of the ethnography on the ↗Somali, Danakil (↗ᶜAfar) and Oromo, his book about Harär and publications on the poetry of the Oromo.

P.'s work was a rich source for many authors in the first decades of the 20th cent and remains an important source for the cultural history of the Eastern Oromo and Harari in particular. His work is significant for the history of the period beginning with the Egyptian occupation, to the Ethiopian conquest and until the time when Mənilək II used the town as a military base for defeating the Eastern Oromo and other ethnic groups in the south-east.

After his return to the University of Vienna he shifted from geography to ethnology holding only lectures in the latter field. He was eager to establish an institute of ethnology, but died before it was constituted.

Src.: Philipp Victor Paulitschke, *Erforschung des afrikanischen Kontinents von der ältesten Zeit bis auf unsere Tage*, Wien 1879 (repr. 1968); Id., *Harar. Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888; Id., *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, vol. 1: *Die materielle Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1893; vol. 2: *Die geistige Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1896; Id. – Antoine d'Abbadie (eds.), *Futūḥ el-Habacha*, Paris 1898.

Lit.: Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopia and Austria*: *a History of their Relations*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 35), s. index; WagHar [Lit.].

Hermann Amborn

P̣awli

P̣. (**ጳውሊ**; fl. mid-16th cent.) was a traditional scholar active during the reigns of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos and *aṣe* ↗Minas. In the sources, he is frequently mentioned alongside his colleague Zəkre (short for Zəkrä Maryam, hereafter Z.).

P̣. and Z. were famous teachers of Biblical interpretation and appear as such in spiritual genealogies of several prominent religious leaders (s. Cowley 1989). According to these sources, P̣. and Z. were educated by a foreign teacher, or by an Ethiopian who had studied abroad (Syria, Egypt), or studied abroad themselves (s. Cowley 1989; s. also GuiIyas 17).

According to the Chronicle of Minas, Z. was sent to announce the death of Galäwdewos at the court (Esteves Pereira 1888: 766; KrLebD 52f.). This text, although probably compiled during *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl's reign, indicates Z.'s proximity to the royal power.

A tradition recorded by ↗Täklä Iyäsus Waqǧira and ↗Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya (TSTarik III, 56, 64, Täklä Iyäsus [here referred to as Täklä Śəllase] tr. in Cowley 1989: 392ff.) claims that Z. and P̣. took the side of *ətege* ↗Säblä Wängel in her quarrel with her son Minas, excommunicating the latter, who later had them imprisoned and blinded as a result. P̣. died in prison, while Z. was released and even made royal counsellor. Z. took his revenge by giving wrong advice that, according to some traditions, eventually led to Minas's death (the Chronicle, however, says that he died of an illness). Z. himself probably died during Śärṣä Dəngəl's reign.

The "short chronicles" as well as some other historical traditions depict P̣. and Z. as opponents to European missionaries (e.g., ↗Oviedo, s. Cowley 1989, n. 33). The text called, in Goǧǧam, **መጽሐፈ፡ ምሥጢር** (*Mäṣḥafä məśṭir*) and also referred to as the **ገድለ፡ ዝክሬ፡ ወጳውሊ**, (*Gädlä Zəkre wä-P̣awli*, 'The Contendings of Z. and P̣.') is attributed to P̣. and Z. It contains the history of the ↗*Qəbat* movement.

P̣. and Z. taught mainly in Goǧǧam. The Chronicle of ↗Iyasu II mentions them as priests of Mängəśtä Sämayat, a church founded by Säblä Wängel. The Goǧǧame *Mäṣḥafä məśṭir* indicates Däbrä Ṣəmmuna as their place of origin. They may have composed several ↗*mälkəʾ* (Cowley 1989: 395) as well as some of the hymnological compositions today preserved in Däbrä Ṣəmmuna.

Cowley raises the possibility of P̣. being identical with the contemporary monk ↗P̣awlos, but they are probably two different persons.

Src.: BassÉt I, 334 (text), II, 107 (tr.); CRAxum 69 (text) = 84 (tr.); FotCr 103; Ignazio Guidi, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 2ª, 8, 1893, 579–605, here 585; GuiIyas 17 (text) = 16 (tr.); Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira (ed., tr.), **ዜና፡ ሚናስ።**, *Historia de Minás, 'Además Sagad, rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888, 766; interviews with *qes gäbäz* Ṣägga Ṭərunäh Əneyäw and *qes* Gädamu Gässäsä of Däbrä Ṣəmmuna, March 2004; TSTarik III, 56, 64.

Lit.: Roger Cowley, "Zəkre and Pawli – Ethiopic Bible Translators or Interpreters?", *JSS* 34, 2, 1989, 387–98 (Lit.); Kindeneh Endeg, *The Role of Qebatoč in the Christological Controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (1620–1764)*, M.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 2004; KrLebD 52 [text], 52–53 [tr.].

Anaïs Wion

P̣awlos

P̣. (**ጳውሎስ**; b. ca. 1510, d. ca. 1578) was a 16th-cent. Ethiopian monk known from marginalia he left in a unique manuscript with a ↗*säwasəw* (BN éth. 107 [ZotBNat no. 160]), dating to 1552/53. He should not be confused with his homonymous contemporary, the opponent of Andrés de ↗Oviedo and prominent Goǧǧame traditional scholar ↗P̣awli (but s. Cowley 1989: 395).

Some of the notes could be classified as a sort of "autobiography" (fol. 9v, also 67v, 68–74, 84v–88) since they describe events in his personal as well as political life from ca. 1531 to 1578. As such, these notes are an early example of historiographic and autobiographic writing in Ethiopia (↗Historiography).

P̣. received the monastic habit in 1531/32 in the monastery of Abba Samuʾel in Šire (↗Däbrä Abbay). After travelling around to different places, including Aksum and Däbrä Damo, he settled in the monastery of ʿAyda, in Agot (possibly Angot). Some dialectal forms suggest that P̣. was a native Təgrəñña speaker. The notes also indicate P̣.'s acquaintance with the ↗*Fisalgos*.

Among the historical events P̣. mentions is, in the first place, the war of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī and its attendant circumstances, including, e.g., the capture of ↗Minas, the death of ↗Fiqṭor, the incursions of the Oromo, the death of ↗Gaʿəwa, the campaign of ↗Ḥamälmal against the Adalites, the landing of the Turks, etc., providing reliable dates for each event. ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl's campaigns against the ↗Betä Əsraʾel also get P̣.'s attention.

Src.: ZotBNat 264, no. 160 [ms. éth. 107]; Carlo Conti Rossini, "L'autobiografia di Pāwlos, monaco abissino del secolo XVI", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 27, 1918, 279–96 (Lit.).

Lit.: Roger Cowley, "Zekre and Pawli – Ethiopic Bible Translators or Interpreters?", *JSS* 34, 2, 1989, 387–98, here 395; GuiSLett 93.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

P̣awlos Ñoñño

P̣.Ñ. (**ጳውሎስ፡ ኞኞ**, birth name Amare; b. 20 November 1933, Qulləbi, Harärge, d. 6 June 1992, Addis Abäba) was a popular journalist and writer. He was the only son of his mother Təbälç̣alläš Andarge. His mother divorced from his father when Amare was two years old. She took him with her wherever her restless life led her. This life style hindered Amare from receiving a formal education beyond the skills of reading and writing Amharic and the fourth grade of elementary school.

At a very young age Amare assisted his single mother in earning some income. Among the several means he employed to do this was the painting of angels, saints, patriots and warriors for sale. To solve the problem of his buyers' varying preferences he added the appropriate name only when a buyer was found and his wishes ascertained.

Amare's lack of formal education was made up for by his mother, who at first read the Bible to him and later made him read it himself. It was during this period, too, that she changed his name to P̣awlos. This habit of reading the Bible appears to have turned P̣.Ñ. into the omnivorous reader he later became. As a young man P̣.Ñ. not only read but also began writing and sending articles to newspapers. These pieces of writing landed him a job at the Amharic newspaper called **ድምፅ** (*Dəmṣ*, 'Voice') of the Ethiopian Patriotic Association. He became a popular journalist, known not only for the sensational titles of some of his articles but also for the caustic content of quite a few of them. Later, he became the editor of *Dəmṣ* and his fame grew.

His first published work, **በሴቶቹ፡ አምባ** (*Bäsetočču amba*), was a collection of interviews with some of the well known women of the red light districts of Addis Abäba in the early 1960s. This was followed by a succession of short fictional works **የአራዳው፡ ታደሰ** (*Yäʾaradaw Taddäsä*), **የጌታቸው፡ ሚስቶች** (*Yägetaččäw mistočč*) and **ድብልቅልቅ** (*Dəbləqləq*), respectively. The first two are novels and the third is a collection of short stories. These and his seven other works were very popular. His fictional stories ring so true to life that they looked like thinly veiled true stories of actual people.

P̣.Ñ. produced six works of historical nature. Only three of these, entitled, **የኢትዮጵያና፡ የኢጣልያ፡ ጦርነት፥ አጤ፡ ምኒልክና፡ አጤ፡ ቴዎድሮስ** (*Yäʾityop̣yanna yäʾiṭalya ṭorənät, aṭe Mənilәkənna aṭe Tewodros*, all three in P̣awlos Ñoñño 1988) are published. Of his unpublished works, the two volumes correspondence between Mənilək II and Ethiopian dignitaries are of great historical interest.

Src.: P̣awlos Ñoñño, **በሴቶቹ፡ አምባ** (*Bäsetočču amba*, 'In the Neighbourhood of the Women' i.e. 'In the Red Light District'), Addis Abäba, n.d.; Id., **የአራዳው፡ ታደሰና። የጌታቸው፡ ሚስቶች** (*Yäʾaradaw Taddäsänna. yägetaččäw mistočč*, 'Taddäsä from Arada [and] the Wives of Getaččäw'), Addis Abäba 1975; Id., **ድብልቅልቅ** (*Dəbləqləq*, 'Shaked Many Times'), Addis Abäba; Id., **የኢትዮጵያና፡ የኢጣልያ፡ ጦርነት፥ አጤ፡ ምኒልክና፡ አጤ፡ ቴዎድሮስ** (*Yäʾityop̣yanna yäʾiṭalya ṭorənnät, aṭe Mənilәkənna aṭe Tewodros*, 'The Ethio-Italian War and *aṣe* Mənilək and *aṣe* Tewodros'), Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.].

Lit.: Ǝsra Mǝᶜǝt, **ዐውደ፡ ዕለት** (*ᶜAwdä ᶜəlät*, 'The Circle of Days'), Addis Abäba 2000 A.M. [2008 A.D.]; **ሩሕ** (*Ruḥ*, 'Spirit'), vol. 1, no. 3, *Säne* 1984 A.M. [1992 A.D.].

Asfaw Damte

P̣awlos Ṣadwa

Abba P̣.Ṣ. (**ጳውሎስ፡ ጻድዋ**; b. 25 August 1921, ᶜAddi Fənniᶜ, Sägänäyti, Eritrea, d. 11 December 2003, Rome) was a Catholic prelate and scholar. He pursued his priestly studies at the Catholic Seminary of ↗Kärän and at the Italian school Ferdinando Martini in Asmära. In 1944, he was ordained priest. Thereafter, he carried out pastoral work in Asmära and worked in a mission in the ↗Gurage area. From 1949 to 1953 he pursued further studies in Asmära and in 1953 went to Italy as a doctoral student. He obtained two doctorates, in Political Science and Law, from the Catholic University of Milan.

At his return from Italy, P̣.Ṣ. became secretary to the Bishop of Asmära and later to the archbishop of Addis Abäba. In 1968, his English translation of the ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* was published. The translation responded to his desire to present a sound research in English to scholars who did not know Gəᶜəz. The work, of which a new edition appeared in 2009, is still the standard for those who study Ethiopian ↗law. In 1973, P̣.Ṣ. was appointed Auxiliary bishop in the Archdiocese of Addis Abäba and shortly after he was consecrated Archbishop. In 1977 he was appointed as Metropolitan Archbishop of Addis Abäba and President of the Catholic Episcopal Conference of Ethiopia, a position he held until 1999.

Cardinal P̣awlos Ṣadwa; photo from an anonymous collection

In May 1985, P̣.Ṣ. was created the first Cardinal of the Ethiopian ↗Catholic Church. As a member of the College of Cardinals in Rome, he served in several committees dealing with administrative and judiciary matters. Moreover, he participated in the edition of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches for the Eastern Catholic Churches, promulgated in Rome in 1990. P̣.Ṣ. worked to defend the integrity of the Church without a hint of compromise even at the time of trials and political upheavals. Throughout his career he was a respected researcher. He died in Rome but was buried at the Catholic cemetery in Addis Abäba.

Src.: P̣AWLOS ṢADWA, "Un manoscritto etiopico degli Evangeli", *RSE* 11, 1952, 9–28; ID., "Maria nella Messa in rito alessandrino-etiopico", *Marianum* 16, 1954, 362–73; ID., "Maria SS. e l'Eucarestia nella liturgia etiopica", *Vita e Pensiero*, 28 May 1955, 269–73; ID., *La prevalenza giuridica delle grandi potenze nell'organizzazione delle Nazioni Unite*, Ph.D. thesis, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano 1956; ID., *L'organizzazione amministrativa centrale dell'Impero Etiopico*, Ph.D. thesis, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano 1957; ID. (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast.* **ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት**. *The Law of the Kings*, ed. PETER L. STRAUSS, Addis Ababa 1968, Durham, NC ^{2}2009 (Lit.); ID., "The Divine Liturgy According to the Rite of the Ethiopian Church", in: JOHN MADEY (ed.), *The Eucharistic Liturgy of the Christian East*, Kottayam – Paderborn 1982, 37–68; ID., "Le diverse forme del matrimonio e il loro carattere dissolubile e indissolubile nella tradizione della Chiesa d'Etiopia", *QSE* 6–7, 1985–86, 5–30.

Lit.: TEDROS ABRAHA, "In memoriam P̣awlos Cardinal Ṣadwa (1921–2003)", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 210–13.

Tsegaye Keneni – Miguel Angel García

Peace Corps

On 22 September 1961, the ↗United States Congress established the P.C., a major U.S. bilateral aid programme, to promote world peace and friendship by making available to interested countries volunteers willing to serve overseas who would help the people of those countries meet their needs for trained manpower. Ethiopia was among the first countries to request such volunteers. In February 1962 Harris Woffard, Special Assistant to President John F. Kennedy for Civil Rights and the P.C., went to Ethiopia to appraise *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's proposal for from 500 to 1,000 P.C. volunteers (PCV) and to discuss details with officials of the Ministry of Education. The Emperor's request was influenced by enthusiastic support for the P.C. by *ləǧ* ↗Kaśa Wäldä Maryam, Bäräkät Habtä Śəllase, Donald E. Paradis, legal adviser to the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Bascom Storey of USAID. The Emperor's request was accepted by the P.C., and on 23 May 1962 a country agreement was signed between the Ethiopian government and the United States to provide 300 PCV to teach in the Secondary Schools of the Empire. By September, 277 PCV (known as "Ethiopia I") were at work in Ethiopia – at that time the largest P.C. group ever to come to any country at one time. Woffard served as the first Director of P.C. Ethiopia. The Emperor held a reception for the PCV at ↗Jubilee Palace where he thanked them for coming to "help drive out ignorance". During the next eleven years, more than 2,500 PCV were to serve in Ethiopia in various capacities with various ministries and agencies.

The largest numbers were in education projects. Over 1,500 PCV worked in the secondary school system where they instructed over 300,000 students. They taught nearly all the subjects offered in secondary schools, and in reality they all taught English, as native speakers of the language of instruction. The PCV worked in 80 locations, many in middle-sized towns and rural areas in addition to those in large cities. The number of PCV teachers, almost all with university degrees, brought a significant increase in the number of general secondary school instructors, frequently improved the quality of instruction, and hastened the opening of new schools in the provinces. In the first two years of the programme alone, the PCV brought a 59 % increase to the ranks of secondary school teachers. Outside of classroom, contact between PCV and students was extensive too in extra-curricular activities such as sports, school newspapers, science clubs, and hobby clubs of various types. PCV established libraries and reading rooms in their homes; assisted in local hospitals, leprosariums, and community centres; and held informal discussions in the playgrounds. A research project sponsored by the Ministry of Education found that such PCV activities activated higher academic achievement and a positive attitude change in students.

Some Ethiopians criticized PCV for being inexperienced teachers, but state representatives, like Minister of State for Education and Fine Arts Gäbrä Mäsqal Kəfläʾəgziʾ and Director General of Secondary-Special Education Zäwdä Bägrä Mädḫən fully acknowledged the volunteers' enthusiasm and willingness to work.

PCV also served on the faculty of Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (where in 1965 they were 20 % of full-time and part-time faculty), notably in the College of Business Administration, Faculty of Law, Laboratory School, the Faculty of Arts programme to improve English skills of first-year students, and University Extension. P.C. medical projects were staffed by medical doctors and other highly-trained health-care professionals, and in addition to operating several new provincial hospitals and establishing a paediatrics clinic, they worked in smallpox eradication and in the training of nurses, para-medics, and laboratory technicians. Some 250 PCV were involved in projects designed to improve Ethiopia's agricultural sector in extension work and in the resettlement of previously landless farm families.

The usual PCV assignment was for two years. Beginning in September 1964 groups of PCV were replaced each year by a new cohort through 1974 when 55 volunteers arrived as "Ethiopia XX" (the last group to serve in the country until the program was resumed in 1995). The PCV ranged in age from 20 to 73 when they arrived in Ethiopia. In September 1965 there were 590 PCV throughout the Empire, the largest number serving in the country at one time. Until 1967 volunteers were trained for service in Ethiopia at U.S. universities, including Georgetown, University of California Los Angeles, University of Utah, and Radcliffe. Later groups received training in-country and with Educational Services, Inc., and at the P.C. Training Center in the Virgin Islands. Instructors included noted Semitic language scholars, Wolf ↗Leslau, and distinguished Ethiopians: Abraham Dämoz, Asmarom Läggäsä, Taddäsä Bäyyänä, Ḫaylu Fulas, and Ḫaylä Mikaʾel Məsgana.

After coming back to the United States, the returned PCV try to promote a better understanding of Ethiopia and its people on the part of Americans. In 1991, an organization of former volunteers, "Ethiopia & Eritrea R[eturned] PCV", was organized and holds annual meetings providing education about and opportunities for service in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Src.: MAKONNEN DESTA, *The History of Peace Corps/Ethiopia 1962–1975*, (ms.), n.d.; ID., *A Brief History of the Peace Corps in Ethiopia*, Washington, D.C., February 1968 (ms.). **Lit.:** GARY D. BERGTHOLD – DAVID C. MCCLELLAND, *The Impact of Peace Corps Teachers on Students in Ethiopia*, Bangkok December 1968 (Peace Corps Contract – P.C. 80–1531, Task Order 2); PEACE CORPS, *A Survey of Peace Corps Accomplishments,* vol. 1: *By Region and Country, Africa*, Washington, DC 1973; THEODORE M. VESTAL et al., "The Work of the Peace Corps in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 9, 1965, 9–49.

Theodore M.Vestal

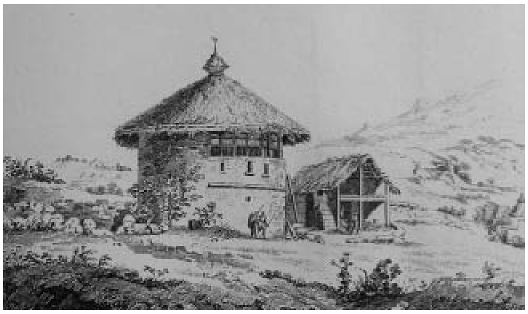
Pearce, Nathaniel

P. (alias Clark, b. 1779, Acton, Middlesex, d. 1820; Amh. **ናትናኤል፡ ፔስ**, Natnaʾel Pes), an Englishman of humble origins, resided in northern Ethiopia for almost 15 years. He was the first foreign resident, since James ↗Bruce, to write about his experiences in detail (↗United Kingdom, relations with).

P. attended a religious school in Yorkshire, after which he became a sailor. Reaching the ↗Red Sea in 1804 he defected at Mocha to embrace Islam, but, allegedly tired of that religion, he again escaped to join a British cruiser, the Panther, on which Lord ↗Annesley, Viscount Valentia, was sailing on his mission to offset French influence in Egypt by befriending Ethiopia. In 1805 Annesley dispatched his secretary-draftsman Henry ↗Salt from ↗Massawa inland to Ḥənṭalo (↗Anṭalo), then capital of Təgray, to open talks with the region's ruler *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase – and it was agreed that the enterprising P. should accompany the party.

Salt duly won the chief's friendship, so it was decided that on Salt's departure P. should stay behind to help the ruler and serve British interests. At first greatly respected P. later lost influence, but learnt ↗Təgrəñña and ↗Amharic and supported the ruler in his diplomatic correspondence with Great Britain (RubActa I, 6f., 17), P. married Tərungo, with the baptismal name Ǝssetä Kidan, daughter of *sīdī* Paulos, a wealthy Greek at ↗ʿAdwa (ibid. 11, 16). P. produced an English–Təgrəñña–Amharic vocabulary (preserved in the British Library), and also made exploration journeys inland; he visited Amba Hay in the ↗Səmen mountains.

P.'s continued presence in Ethiopia (where he had the opportunity of inspecting from close, and often recording, the antiquities of the country, among them a Greek inscription, RIÉ no. 274) proved helpful to Salt when he re-visited Təgray in 1809, after which it was decided that P. – with another Englishman, William ↗Coffin – should again be left behind. P. remained in the country



House of Nathaniel Pearce in Č̣äläqot, Təgray; etching from SalTrav, Atlas, pl. 16

until 1819 when he left to visit Salt, then British consul in Cairo. Dressed in an Ethiopian sheepskin he created a sensation in the Egyptian capital.

He then wrote a perceptive account of Ethiopian customs for the Bombay Literary Society, and attempted some Biblical translations, but died shortly afterwards. He left his two-volume memoirs for Salt to publish, but the latter died in 1827. P.'s *Life and Adventures*, which included Coffin's account of an expedition to ↗Gondär (Pearce 1831, vol. 1, 194–269) was eventually edited by Halls. It included stories of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis and *abunä* ↗Qerəllos, and information on ^{c}Adwa and ↗Aksum, smallpox, ↗locusts, ↗famine and funerals, ↗taxation and soldiers' exactions (for P.'s correspondence and other documents s. Fiaccadori 2003).

Src.: GEORGE ANNESLEY, *Voyages and Travels in India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*, 3 vols., London 1909; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Un'epigrafe greca aksumita (*RIÉth* 274)", in: VINCENZO RUGGIERI – LUCA PIERALLI (eds.), Εὐκοσμία. *Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannell, CZ 2003, 243–55, here 244ff. and nos. 7–8; JOHN JAMES HALLS, *The Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt*, London 1834; NATHANIEL PEARCE, "A Small but True Account of the Ways and Manners of the Abyssinians", *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* 2, 1820, 15–60; ID., *Life and Adventures in Abyssinia*, 2 vols., London 1831 (with a new introduction by RICHARD PANKHURST, London ^{2}1980, preceeded by "The Small but True Account …"); UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Aksum, Ricerche di topografia generale*, Roma 1938 (Analecta Orientalia 16), 89, no. 53; RubActa I, 3–11, 15ff., 19–23; SalTrav, Atlas, pl. 16 (ill.).

Lit.: PETA RÉE, "Pearce, Nathaniel", in: H. COLIN G. MATTHEW – BRIAN HARRISON (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 43, Oxford 2004, 284–85.

Richard Pankhurst – Red.

Peasantry

The definition and classification of rural folk in Ethiopia as "P.", or as "farmers", or as "serfs" has long been a point of contention between social scientists and historians. Those debates relate partially to the various types of states and social relations that have existed in various places and at various times over the Ethiopian historical landscape. Most often, that debate has focused on the status of rural producers in the central highlands who practised annual cereal cropping and livestock rearing at the base of a social system that included political and ecclesiastical elites that sustained themselves by collecting ↗tribute from those who farmed.

Farmers on the Ethiopian highlands historically fit two major criteria for status as "P.". The first is the classic definition of P. as farmers who produce for their own subsistence and also as tributary – in cash or in kind – to an overarching state or non-cultivating elite class. The second rubric under which Ethiopia's highland cultivators qualified as P. was in that they were part of a "great tradition" in which societal symbols of legitimacy were held by a class of literati who preserved and interpreted commonly held beliefs about the society's origins and the sources of political and religious authority. This condition thus characterized both those farmers who lived under the Christian kingdom of ↗Aksum in ancient times, but also the socio-political systems in Gondär, Təgray, Šäwa, as well as the Islamic states such as ↗Ifat and others in the south-east, and Oromo states of the west and south-west in the late 18th and early 19th cent. In this regard, it would be reasonable to argue that the adoption of ox-plough ↗agriculture among societies in the Ethiopian region meant that farmers necessarily became P. as a result of that change in farming technology. Political leaders in many areas of the south-west, such as ↗Geeraa, ↗Limmu-Ǝnnarya, ↗Käfa, encouraged the adoption of ox-plough cereal agriculture as a means of accumulating storable wealth in the form of granaries and other goods payable to the state in the form of tribute. The terms for P. in Amharic administrative documents and other languages reflected the status of rural cultivators as payers of tribute and/or taxes, ↗*gäbbar*, or in the expression አርሼ፡ በላሁ (*arəšše bällahu*, 'I ploughed and I ate you [fem. sg.]').

The process of state formation over the course of Ethiopian history, it could be argued, was also a process of peasantization. The expansion of state authority over rural areas and rural production took place not only as part and parcel of the expansion of the Solomonic state from its core in the northern highlands, but also in areas of the south, west and east where state authority and its ability to tax rural production expanded over time. The expansion of political cultures associated with both Christianity and Islam to zones on their economic margins necessarily also spread the status of rural producers as peasants.

There is, however, an important distinction to be made between the category of P. in the Ethiopian historical context and that ascribed to P. in the sense of farmers under European ↗feudalism. In the European case, the people who occupied and tilled the land and who also paid tribute to their feudal lords did not have rights over the land they tilled. Feudal lords controlled that land as their fiefdom. In the case of late medieval Veneto (northern Italy), for example, landlords issued specific orders that dictated how the land was to be managed and what crops planted. In the Ethiopian case, however, the imperial and regional elite did not control the production process directly but they extracted resources and labour from rural producers on the basis of the property institution of ↗*gʷəlt*. Local farmers (P.) were obliged to provide tribute in kind (grain, ↗honey, livestock) and labour or military service to the *gʷəlt* holder, but the Ethiopian P. household determined what crops to plant where. The concept of *gʷəlt* thus comprised a bundle of rights that could be granted by the emperor to regional lords or local officials.

What was perhaps most important about the Ethiopian peasant's distinctive relationship to land was the "moral economy" it implied. Ethiopian peasants held a strong sense of entitlement to their rights of cultivation. They were obliged to provide tribute and labour to their *gʷəlt*-holder, either a regional lord, a church/monastery, or the emperor himself, but they retained rights over management of the soil and they also expected their children to inherit their claims under the ambilineal property concept of ↗*rəst*. Moreover, their sense of entitlement also allowed them to respond to competing claims of legitimacy when there was a conflict over claims to imperial authority. This was the case during the 17th cent. when *aṣe* ↗Susənyos declared his conversion to Roman ↗Catholicism and resistance by regional lords and their P. support forced his abdication.

The concept of the P. in Ethiopia has evolved substantially over the course of the 20th cent. The expansion of the central government's control over the national ↗economy has expanded at the same time as a national commercial economy has emerged. *Aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's establishment of a political economy focused on a modernizing capital eventually created *madbet* lands, a halo of districts surrounding the new capital city whose production fed a growing urban population. In other areas ↗coffee export began to transform farm economies, even as the extraction of commodities and ↗food remained one dominated by elites. Southern farmers' transition from the status of *gäbbar* ('tribute payer') to tenant (rent payer) and the commercialization of land began in the 1920s and became the dominant trend through the 1950s. The monetarization of the rural economy in the late 1950s and into the 1960s transformed many rural producers into commercial farmers, albeit on a small scale. In areas with large commercial schemes, such as the Awaš Valley, the Rift Valley, and the Setit-Ḥumära region, farmers were drawn away from subsistence agriculture to wage-based agricultural labour. In other areas where smallholder farms still dominated the agricultural landscape, such as the central highlands of Amhara, Təgray, and much of Oromiyyaa, farmers paid land tax and increasingly engaged with local markets for grains, pulses, and oil seeds in addition to their own subsistence production.

The increasing role of the market and the formalization of state taxes in the late-20th cent. have transformed Ethiopia's rural cultivators from peasants of the classic definition to smallholder farmers. In areas like Ada, Bečo, Goǧǧam, and areas with access to road networks small farms are best described as small commercial enterprises rather than as peasant farms. Their relation to the state is mediated by formal tax structures rather than relations with a social and political elite class to whom they owe loyalty and tribute payments. That Ethiopian agriculture is now a complex mix of commercial oriented smallholder farms and marginal farms with livelihoods highly vulnerable to drought and weakly linked to market forces indicates the difficulty of what lies ahead for national food security. The term P., however, is no longer an accurate descriptor of farmer status.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, "Abyssinian Feudalism", *Past and Present* 89, 1980, 115–38; DONALD DONHAM, "Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopian Empire: Themes in Social History", in: ID. – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986, 3–48; GENE ELLIS, "The Feudal Paradigm as a Hindrance to Understanding Ethiopia", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 14, 1976, 275–95; FREDERICK GAMST, "Peasantries and Elites without Urbanism", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 12, 1970, 373–92; JAMES MCCANN, *From Poverty to Famine in Northeast Ethiopia: a Rural History, 1900–1935*, Philadelphia, PA 1987; SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG, *Peasants, Land, and Society: a Social History of Land Reform in Ethiopia*, London 1983.

James C. McCann

Pecoul, Georges

P. (b. 14 September 1883, Paris, d. 14 July 1934, Addis Abäba), French doctor of philosophy and theology, first visited Ethiopia in 1925 with the missionary ↗Jarosseau. Together with a group of prominent Ethiopians, including ↗Ayyälä Gäbre, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase, and others, P. helped initiate a project for a French-oriented university in Addis Abäba. *Ras* Täfäri Mak^{w}ännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), to whom P. was presented, welcomed the project and ordered that a committee be formed, to study its implementation.

After a brief period spent in France, resuming his philosophy classes at the Institut Catholique, Paris, P. returned to Ethiopia in 1930, this time with his wife and children, under the auspices of the Amitiés Françaises à l'Étranger. He continued his activities with apparently the first proposal for an Ethiopian university, which, however, did not materialize.

In Addis Abäba P. organized public lectures on philosophical topics and held classes in philosophy which were attended, among others, by *ras* Ǝmməru, *blattengeta* ↗Śahlä Ṣädalu, and Ayyälä Gäbre. In 1932 Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase appointed P. advisor to the Minister of Education, *blattengeta* Śahlä Ṣädalu. P. established the Ministry archives, and a library which contained several hundred printed books and manuscripts in Gə^{c}əz and Amharic, as well as about 1,000 volumes in foreign languages, mainly French, English, German and Russian. He was also responsible for creating a small museum. Its archaeological exhibits were set up in collaboration with Father ↗Azaïs.

P. died at the age of 51, and was buried in the Gulläle cemetery. His family settled in Djibouti.

Src.: letter from Raymond Pecoul (son of Georges Pecoul), 16 December 1967.

Lit.: ZerÉth 438; EPHRAIM ABERRA, *The Cradle of the Ministry of Education and its Archive*, Addis Ababa 1967 (mimeographed).

Rita Pankhurst

Penal Codes ↗Criminal codes

Penance

P. (Gə^{c}əz: **ንስሐ**, *nəssəḥa*) is one of the seven sacraments of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC). Its scriptural basis is formed by Mt 16:19, 18:18, Jn 20:21-23 and Jas 5:16. P. is likened to a second ↗Baptism (the fundamental sacrament of forgiveness) in the tears of repentance, a return to the newness of life which God gave at Baptism (Patriarchate of EOTC 1996:43f.).

The historical beginnings of the sacrament of P. are witnessed in Acts 2:38, Heb 6:4–6, Rev 21:8, 22:15 and ↗Hermas's *Shepherd*. In order to deal with the reconciliation of persons involved in a major sin (cp. Rev 22:15) despite their baptism, a one-chance P. developed in the 2nd–3rd cent. throughout Christendom, gradually becoming more organized and acquiring an ecclesiastical status at the end of the 4th cent. By that time, the duration of P. was defined; the "penitents" were required to stay in the back of the church building during ↗Eucharist and to leave before the communion rites (s. *Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, Anaphora of the Apostles §§66–70, 94ff.) until the bishop publicly absolved sinners on a few occasions in the year (Harden 1920:22). From the 6th cent. on, this discipline gave way to private P.

The ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* (ch. 51) conveys the sense of the disputes which took place in Egypt between the priest Marqos b. Qanbar and his bishop Michael of Damietta, the former teaching that the confessor is a spiritual father and that frequent confession and communion are necessary (Zanetti 1983; Burmester 1936). Because non-sacramental unions, though legitimate in society, are incompatible with the demands of Christian life, P. is often only required when people want to marry sacramentally (↗Matrimony) or are about to die; otherwise, their sins would shine before all at the Second Coming (*Śər^{c}atä betä krəstiyan*, cp., e.g., Griaule 1932:4, 13 [text]). However, the practice is increasing in Addis Abäba at least and is more and more recommended (Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh 1961:115–18), along with that of the Eucharist. People regularly ask for the blessing of their ↗*näfs abbat* with the short absolution (**ይፍቱኝ**, *yəftuñ*, 'Absolve me', the standard answer being **እግዚአብሔር፡ ይፍታ**, *əgziʾabəḥer yəfta*, 'May God absolve you'), especially if a particular event such as having eaten unlawful foods so demands. This does not preclude full P. – including the regularization of one's matrimonial situation if needed – before approaching the sacraments.

The modern procedure is as follows. First, the penitent (Gə^{c}əz **ተነሳሒ**, *tänässaḥi*, Amh. **የንስሐ፡ ልጅ**, *yänəssəḥa ləǧ*) discusses the matter with his/her *näfs abbat* (also called **ነሳሒ**, *nässaḥi*), who gives him/her an appointment and in the meantime prays and fasts for the sinner. On the day agreed, the two meet in a discreet location, usually in the compound of the church, for the three main stages of the sacrament:

1) The confession (**ኑዛዜ**, *nuzaze*).

After an introduction consisting of the sign of the cross and the recitation of the *Our Father* and the *Bäsälamä qəddus Gäbrəʾel*, the confessor addresses the penitent with "My child, it is said in the Gospel 'you who swallow a camel and strain out a gnat'" (Mt 23:24), thereby inviting the person to give a full account of his/her sins. The person, therefore, gives a detailed confession. The priest asks questions, advises, teaches and, finally, imposes the penitence.

2) The penitence (ቀኖና, *qännona*).

The penitent accomplishes the imposed penitence. This may be prostrations, a ↗pilgrimage, ↗alms-giving, ↗fasting (unless it is already a fasting day), a donation of money (divided into three equal parts as alms, donation to the church, and donation to the confessor). The indications of the ↗*Anqäṣä nəssəḥa* (AN) can hardly be applied today, but its exhortations are mostly relevant. The *qännona* is likened to a medicine chosen to assist the penitent in his/her problem and be healed.

3) The absolution (cp. also ↗*Fətḥat*).

When the *qännona* has been accomplished, penitent and priest make a new appointment and talk over issues involved in the sins as well as in the *qännona*. They may then pray the Prayer of Thanksgiving of St. Basil (s. *Mäṣḥafä qəddase* ch. 3, §§31–39) and Ps 51(50) which the penitent may repeat after the priest if he/she is not able to say it alone. Finally, both stand up and turn towards the church, and the priest gives the absolution, saying the first part of the ↗*Fətḥat zäwäld* (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase* ch. 3, §§54–65), then a "prayer of blessing" (*Ṣälotä burake*, ↗Prayers), different from that of the Missal, sometimes adding the *Fətḥat zäʾab* (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, *Anaphora of the Apostles*, §§71–88), replacing the general "your servants and handmaids" of the Missal by naming the specific "servant" by the baptismal ↗name of the person. At the end, the priest pronounces the usual dismissal absolution (*Qalä nuzaze*, or *Qalä Səret*) and *Ǝgziʾabəḥer yəfta*, and the penitent kisses the priest's hand-↗cross.

As is common in the Eastern Churches, the formula of the absolution is deprecative, i.e. it is a prayer to God, asking him to forgive the sinner (in the Latin Church it has become indicative or declarative, the priest saying "I forgive you your sins").

P. retains many ancient features: e.g., the penitents must stay outside the church building or even compound until they are reconciled through P.; the stages of P. are distinct: the absolution is given some time after the *qännona* has been fulfilled; the penitence remains difficult; frequent confession has never been known; P. is associated with spiritual direction.

The minister of P. can only be the *näfs abbat* of the person concerned, normally a presbyter appointed to the parish to which both himself and his penitent belong. Any presbyter may absolve by the fact of his ↗ordination (Griaule 1932: 15 [text]), unlike in the Roman or Greek Churches. The sacrament is characteristic in that it involves two persons, the penitent and his spiritual father, who interprets the law (↗Law and Judiciary: Canon law) and gives orientation to the individual in the private forum while the church scholars (cp. ↗*Liq*) deal with legal matters in the public one.

All Christians are expected to confess their sins, including monks (e.g., AN ed. 1986: 18), although some persons think that monks are unable to receive this sacrament since their profession assimilates them to those who have died.

Other forms of P. are:

a) the *Qedär*, or "Baptism of Penance", correponds to the *Qidra* ('Jar') of the Coptic Church (cp. *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qedär*);
b) the Eucharistic liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) includes several items which refer to P.: the *Absolution of the Son* (*Fətḥat zäwäld*), which is the ancient access to the sanctuary, is used as sacramental absolution of penitents as well as the *Absolution of St. Basil* (*Fətḥat zäʾab*). The *Inclination* (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, Anaphora of the Apostles §§66–70) and the *Prayer over the Penitent* (ibid. §§94ff.) originate in the public P. of the ancient Church. The "confession over the censer" is unknown despite the Coptic text (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, ch. 3, §§126–30).
c) after the Eucharistic Liturgy of Palm Sunday, a general absolution is given to those present who may die during Holy Week, as according to the ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat* no other Church actions but those commemorating the events of the Passion of Jesus Christ are permitted at that time. Priests may absolve again after the service of Easter (↗*Fasika*) or from the end of the service of Good Friday.
d) in the context of the ancient Church, the ↗*Senodos* witnesses to a rite of reconciliation of a penitent who offended a minister through an "anointing of the forgiveness of sins" (BauSen 302 §57).

Mäṣḥafä ↗nuzaze

Src.: አንቀጸ፡ ንስሓ (*Anqäṣä nəssəḥa*, 'The Gate of Penitence'), ed. by Gäbrä Śəllase Bərhanu, Aśmära 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.]; ed. by Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase, Addis Ababa 1986 A.M. [1994 A.D.], 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.], 1974 A.M. [1981/82 A.D.]; አንቀጸ፡ ንስሓ፡ ምስለ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ቀኖና (*Anqäṣä nəssəḥa məslä śərʿatä qännona*, 'The Gate of Penitence, together with the Order of Canon'), ed. by Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase, Addis Abäba 1974 A.M. [1981 A.D.]; BauSen 302 (text) = 116 (tr.), §57; BeckHuntAlvar 369, 511; Oswald Hugh Ewart Burmester, "The Sayings of Michael, Metropolitan of Damietta", *OrChrP* 2, 1936, 101–28; Marcel Griaule, "Règles de l'Église (Documents éthiopiens)", *JA* 222, 1932, 1–42, here 4, 13, 15 (text) = 7f., 17, 20f. (tr.); Louis Guerrier, "Canons Pénitentiels", *ROC* 21, 1918–19, 5–24, 345–55; Marcos Daoud (tr.) – Marsie Hazen, *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 1954 [Cairo 1959]; መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'Book of the Liturgy'), Addis Abäba 1918 A.M. [1925/26 A.D.] and repr.; መጽሐፈ፡ ቄደር፡ ወቀኖና፤ ጥምቀተ፡ ንስሓ (*Mäṣḥafä qedär wäqännona. Ṭəmqätä nəssəḥa*, 'Ritual of the Jar and Penance. Baptism of Repentance'), ed. by Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase, Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1970 A.D.]; Paulos Tzadua (ed., tr.), *The Fetha Nagast*. ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 310 (ch. 51); PankSoc 40, 179; John M. Harden, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London 1920 (S.P.C.K. Translations of Christian Literature, Ser. IV. Oriental Texts), 20ff., 27–30, 75f.; Kənfä Gäbrəʾel Altayyä, ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን (*Śərʿatä betä krəstiyan*, 'The Order of the Church'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.].

Lit.: Stéphane Ancel, *Épiscopat et encadrement des pratiques religieuses en Éthiopie chrétienne contemporaine: caractéristiques et évolutions*, Ph.D. thesis, INALCO, Paris 2005, 300–11, 364f., 369; Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Joachim Motovu (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox*

Church, Addis Ababa 1970, 33f.; *abba* Ghebrè-Mariàm Eman, *Il rito del sacramento della penitenza nella Chiesa etiopica,* Ph.D. thesis, Roma 1964 [summary: Tedros Abraha, *Ethiopian Review of Cultures* 1, 1991, 185–218]; *abba* Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh, ትምህርተ፡ አበ፡ ነፍስ (*Təmhərtä abä näfs*, ‘The Teaching of the Confessor’), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1961 A.D.]; Georg Kretschmar, “Le Ministère de réconciliation de l’Église: Un service envers l’Humanité à travers les âges”, *La Maison-Dieu* 171, 3, 1987, 73–97; Robert F. Taft, “La Pénitence aujourd’hui: état de la recherche”, *ibid.*, 7–35; Tecle Mariam Semharay Selam, *De ss. Sacramentis secundum ritum aethiopicum*, Romae 1931, 63–74; Patriarchate of the EOTC (ed.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church*: *Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Abäba ^{2}1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.], 43f.; *abunä* Mälkä Ṣedeq, ትምህርተ፡ ክርስትና (*Təmhərtä krəstənna*, ‘Teaching about Christianity’ = Catechism), 2 vols., Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1991/92 A.D.]; Gérard Viaud, “Le quidra dans la tradition égyptienne”, *Bulletin de la Société d’Archéologie Copte* 37, 1998, 117–20; Leslie S.B. MacCoull, “The Rite of the Jar: Apostasy and Reconciliation in the Medieval Coptic Orthodox Church”, in: Diane Wolfthal (ed.), *Peace and Negotiation*: *Strategies for Coexistence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,* Turnhout 2000, 145–62; Ugo Zanetti, “Le livre de Marc Ibn Qanbar sur la confession retrouvé”, *OrChrP* 49, 1983, 426–33; Id., “Une seconde copie du livre de Marc Ibn al-Qanbar sur la confession”, *ibid.* 55, 1989, 199–200; Id., “‘*Voici le temps de la bénédiction …*’ Origine copte d’une hymne liturgique éthiopienne”, *OrChrP* 75, 1, 2009, 25–50.

Emmanuel Fritsch

Pentecostal movement ↗Protestantism

Periplus of the Erythreaen Sea

The Greek P. (Περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης, *Períplous tês Erythrâs thalássēs*) is an anonymous seafaring and trading guide to the southern Arabian peninsula, North-east Africa and ↗India, in keeping with the Greek and Roman definition of the “Erythrean Sea” – a larger body of water, inclusive both of the ↗Red Sea and of the Persian Gulf and the Indian ↗Ocean.

The text, not always clear, has been variously dated between the 1st and 3rd cent. A.D., but only the most widely accepted chronology towards the mid of the 1st cent. matches the whole historical evidence yielded therein. The P. is transmitted in an early 10th-cent. minuscule ms. alone: Heidelberg, UB, cod. Pal. Gr. 398, fols. 40v–54v, copied into the 14th/15th-cent. London, B.L. Add. 19,391, fols. 9r–12r.

In spite of several shortcomings and problems of its narrative and lexicon, such a travel writer’s document has been of invaluable use esp. to historians and archaeologists working on the Red Sea area. It is an apparently firsthand description of the latter’s harbours and the trade of their hinterland, as well as the prevailing political situation, by a Greek of ↗Egypt – a merchant or a businessman, possibly a shipmaster, not a man of letters – who was familiar with that area. His guide, a coastal gazetteer written in the (Egyptian) *koiné* of the time, is almost unique in providing accurate insights into what was then known of those parts of the world. It offers dramatic details on the conditions – e.g., the winds (monsoons) – that make ↗trade routes viable and on the goods imported and exported and the relevant bias of local rulers.

The “western” section of the P., devoted to the ↗Horn of Africa (§§ 1–16), has no identifiable tribe names: the inhabitants of the zones between the coast of the Red Sea and the Nile Valley are conventionally styled as *Ichthyóphagoi*, ‘Fish-eaters’, *Bárbaroi*, ‘Barbarians’, *Agrióphagoi*, ‘Wild animal-eaters’, *Moschóphagoi*, ‘Calf-[or: Plant-]eaters’. The P. covers in fact the territories stretching from *Myòs Hórmos* (today’s Quṣayr [al-Qadīm] or, rather, Abū Ša^{c}r) and *Bereníkē* of the Trog(l)odites (Sikkat Bandar), near “the land of the *Bárbaroi*”, down to *Aualítēs* (modern Zayla^{c}) and *Opṓnē* (Ra^{ɔ}s Ḥāfūn), in the “other *Barbaría*” (northern Somaliland), and then to *Menouthías* (Zanzibar or Pemba) and *Rhápta*, “the last mart of *Azania*” (on the estuary of the Pangani River), and the limit of the author’s own knowledge – whence ivory, tortoise-shell and coconut were exported.

After *Ptolemáis* of the Huntings, along the coastal region known as *Trog*(*l*)*odytikḗ* (‘[that] of the Trog[l]odites’), the *empórion nómimon* or ‘port of trade’ (lit. ‘mar[ke]t [town] subject to customary agreement, convention’) of *Áduli* (↗Adulis) is mentioned, “from which to *Kolóē* [↗Qoḥayto], an inland city and the first ivory market, it is a journey of three days; and from this, another five days to the metropolis itself, which is called the Aksumite [*tòn Axōmítēn*]”, this being the first ever reference to Aksum – as the capital of an inland state vs. its “port of trade” – in a historical source. To there all the ivory is brought from beyond the Nile through the district named *Kyḗneion* [↗Q^{w}aḥayn?], and thence to Adulis. Here, it is not safe for foreign vessels to anchor in places directly accessible to the *Bárbaroi* from the Ethiopian mainland opposite the *Alalaíou* (↗Dahlak) islands. A local chief, not necessarily a king of Aksum (rather, of Adulis), named *Zōskálēs* (↗Zoskales), ruling “from the *Moschophágoi* [dwelling before Ptolemaïs] to the other *Barbaría*”, is effectively portrayed as “a miserly man, but of good character, with some acquaintance with Greek literacy".

Equally interesting is the description of the "eastern" itinerary (§§17–35), from *Leukḗ Kṓmē* (al-Wağḥ?), on the Arabian coast in front of *Bereníkē*, to such marts and harbours as *Mouza* (Mawšiğ), inside the straits and to the north of the island of *Dídōros* (Perim/Barīm), with *Okḗlis* (Šayḫ Saᶜīd) on the opposite mainland; then *Eudáimōn Arabía* ('Adan), *Kánē* (Ḥiṣn al-Ġurab) and *Móscha* (Ḫawr Rawrī), a loading point for the Sachalitic ↗incense from ↗Ḥaḍramawt – the realm of *Eleázos* (*Ilᶜazz) – that lies beyond *Sýagros* (Ra's Fartak) and the nearby island of *Dioskorídēs* (↗Suquṭrā). Two inland cities are also mentioned: *Sáuē* (Sawwā, to the south of Ṭaᶜīzz), residence of the "governor" *Chólaibos* (*Kulayb), and *Saphár* (Ẓafār), "metropolis, in which *Charibaḗl* [*Karibaᵓil (Watar Yuḥaᵓim II?)] seats as legitimate king" of both Ḥimyarites and Sabeans. Interestingly, no further harbours or mooring places are indicated until *Apólogos* (al-Ubulla), near *Chárax Spasínou* (the ancient port of Baṣra), and then *Om(m)ána* (Čāh Bahār?), "after sailing by the mouth of the Persian Gulf", where "much diving for pearl oysters" is recorded. There, the route eventually crosses to the Asian continent, i.e. to ↗Iran and India (§§36–37).

↗Historiography: Greek sources on Ethiopia

Src.: HJALMAR FRISK (ed.), *Le Périple de la mer Érythrée*, Göteborg 1927 (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 33); LIONEL CASSON (tr.), *The* Periplus Maris Erythraei, Princeton, NJ 1989 [with Frisk's text]; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, by an Unknown Author, London 1980 (The Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, 151); MICHAIL D. BUCHARIN (ed., tr.), *Neizvestnogo avtora «Peripl êritrejskogo morja»* ('Unknown Author's «P. of the Erythrean Sea»'), Sankt-Petersburg 2007 (Antičnaja biblioteka. Issledovanija).

Lit.: CRStor 114–18; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 33f. and n. 109, 57 and n. 31, 77ff.; ID., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 107–11, 113–18, 120ff., 125–40 [Lit.]; GÉRARD FUSSMANN, "Le *Périple* et l'histoire politique de l'Inde", *JA* 279, 1991, 31–38; MHAksum, s. index (292); FRITZ PAULI, "Nahapāna/Μανβαν.ς vor 78 n. Chr.? Ein epigraphischer Neufund aus Indien und seine Bedeutung für die antike Südasien-Chronologie", in: HANSJÖRG KALCYK – BRIGITTE GULLATH – ANDREAS GRAEBER (eds.), *Studien zur alten Geschichte Siegfried Lauffer zum 70. Geburtstag am 4. August 1981 dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, Roma 1986 (Historica 2), vol. 2, 743–53; MANFRED RASCHKE, "New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East", in: HILDEGARD TEMPORINI – WOLFGANG HAASE (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms in der neueren Forschung*, vol. 2, part 9, sect. 2, Berlin 1978, 604–1361, here 659 and nn. 1214–35 (954–60; Lit.); CHRISTIAN ROBIN, "L'Arabie du Sud et la date du *Périple de la Mer Erythrée* (nouvelles données)", *JA* 279, 1991, 1–30; JEAN ROUGÉ, "La navigation en mer Erythrée dans l'antiquité", in: JEAN-FRANÇOIS SALLES (ed.), *L'Arabie et ses mers bordières*, vol. 1: *Itinéraires et voisinages. Séminaire de recherche 1985–86*, Lyon 1988, 59–74, here 66ff.; IZUO SHITOMI, "On the Date of Composition of the Periplus Maris Erythraei. A Study of the South Arabian Epigraphic Evidence", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 34, 1976, 15–45.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Perruchon, Jules François Célestin

P. (b. 19 May 1853, Poitiers, d. 23 February 1907, Paris) was a French philologist of ↗Gəᶜəz. He discovered the pleasure of scholarship in his thirties whilst working as secretary for the archaeologist and philologist Monsignore Xavier Barbier de Montault. He then learnt Semitic languages under Jules Paul Deramey at the Sorbonne, Paris, and then studied Gəᶜəz under the direction of Joseph ↗Halévy at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE) at the Sorbonne.

In 1888, P.'s first academic work was the edition and translation of *Les chroniques de Zarᵓa Yâᶜeqôb et de Baᵓeda Mâryâm, rois d'Éthiopie de 1434 à 1478* (PerrZarY, published in 1893) for which he acquired his diploma at the EPHE. Over a period of 20 years, he published and translated a great number of Gəᶜəz texts into French: the *Vita* of King ↗Lalibäla with a long introduction; the "Short Chronicles" and several short historical texts published in the *Revue sémitique*, whose scientific editor was Halévy. P. completed his career with the edition of the *Mäṣḥäfä ↗məsṭirä sämay wämədr*. Because of partial blindness, he could not proof-read this last publication and entrusted Ignazio ↗Guidi with this task.

P. was a member of the Société Asiatique. He never assumed any academic position and earned his living as a postmaster.

Src.: MANOEL DE ALMEIDA (tr.), *Victorias de Amda Sion rei de Ethiopia: tradução abreviada pelo p. MANUEL DE ALMEIDA; com uma versão franceza por M. JULES PERRUCHON; memoria apresentada por F. M. ESTEVES PEREIRA*, Lisboa 1891 [Extract from "*Boletim da sociedade de geographia de Lisboa*", 9ª ser., n° 10, 11, 471–508]; JOSEPH HALÉVY, *La Correspondance d'Aménophis III et d'Aménophis IV. Lettres babyloniennes trouvées à El-Amarna,* tr. by JOSEPH HALÉVY, ed. by JULES PERRUCHON, Paris 1899; PerrAmdS; PerrEsk; PerrZarY; JULES PERRUCHON, *Vie de Lalibala, roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1892; ID., "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Lettre adressée par le roi d'Éthiopie au roi Georges de Nubie sous le patriarcat de Philotée (981–1002 ou 1003)", *RevSem* 1, 1893, 71–76, 359–72; ID., "Notes … Le Règne de Lebna-Dengel", *ibid.* 274–86; ID., "Notes … Vie de Cosmas, patriarche d'Alexandrie de 923 à 934", *ibid.* 2, 1894, 78–93; Id., "Notes … Le règne de Galâwdêwos (Claudius) ou Aṣnâf Sagad", *ibid.* 155–66, 263–70; Id., "Notes … Règne de Minas ou Admâs-Sagad (1559–1563)", *ibid.* 4, 1896, 87–90; Id., "Notes … Règne de Sarṣa Dengel ou Malak-Sagad 1er (1563–1597)", *ibid.* 177–85, 273–78; Id., "Notes… Règnes de Yaᶜqob et Za-Dengel (1597–1607)", *ibid.* 355–63; Id., "Deux notes éthiopiennes, la première indiquant les tribus auxquelles appartenaient les apôtres, la seconde donnant la généalogie des moines d'Abyssinie depuis S. Antoine (texte et traduction)", *ZA* 12, 1897, 403–08; Id., "Notes … Règne de Susenyos ou Selṭan-Sagad (1607–1632)", *RevSem* 5, 1897, 75–80, 173–89; Id., "Le Pays de Zâguê", *ibid.* 273–84; Id., "Notes … Le règne de Fasiladas (Alam-Sagad), de 1632 à 1667", *ibid.* 360–72 and 6, 1898, 84–92; Id., "Légendes relatives à Dawit II (Lebna-Dengel), roi d'Éthiopie", *ibid.* 6, 1898, 157–71; Id., "Notes … Extrait de la vie d'Abba Jean, 74e patriarche d'Alexandrie, relatif à l'Abyssinie", *ibid.* 6, 1898, 267–71, 366–72 and *ibid.* 7, 1899, 76–85; Id., "Notes … Le règne de Yohannes (Ier), roi d'Éthiopie de 1667 à 1682", *ibid.* 7, 1899, 166–76; Id., "Aperçu grammatical de la langue amharique ou ammariñña comparée avec l'éthiopien", *Le Muséon* 2, 1898, 287–96 and 3, 1899, 74–90, 195–202; Id., "Lettre adressée par les chefs chrétiens d'Ansaba, des Bogos, du mensa, de Bedjuk et d'Ad-Gaym à l'empereur Napoléon III", *RevSem* 8, 1900, 176–79; Id., "Notes … Le règne de Iyasu (Ier), roi d'Éthiopie de 1682 à 1706", *ibid.* 9, 1901, 71–78, 161–67, 258–62; Id. [– Ignazio Guidi] (ed., tr.), *Le Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre*, Paris 1903 (PO I, 1).

Lit.: Joseph Halévy, "Jules Perruchon: annexe au procès-verbal", *JA* 10, 9, 1907, 344–45.

Anaïs Wion

Persia ↗Iran

Person, Urbain-Marie

P. (b. 4 February 1906, Lanarvily, Bretagne, France, d. 9 February 1994, Angers) was a Catholic missionary and bishop. In 1929, he joined the Order of the ↗Capuchins and, in 1932, was ordained priest. In 1950, after 15 years of missionary work in India, he was assigned to Ethiopia.

On 20 May 1951, P. reached Ethiopia, and in May 1952, he was appointed apostolic administrator of the whole Latin Rite territory, i.e. the Apostolic Vicariates of ↗Harär and ↗Ǧimma, and the Apostolic Prefectures of Hossaᶜəna and Nägälli. In July 1955, he was nominated bishop titular of Cyme and Vicar Apostolic of Harär. In 1958, with the consent of the archbishop of Addis Abäba, he chose to reside in Nazret (↗Adaamaa) rather than in Harär, apparently to serve his vast Vicariate from a more central location. During this time he also attended several sessions of the IInd Vatican Council (1962–65).

P. oversaw the extensive reshaping of most of the Catholic ecclesiastical jurisdictions in Southern Ethiopia. In 1957/58 Dutch ↗Lazarists arrived in Wälläga and Mgr. ↗Janssen was nominated Apostolic administrator of ↗Ǧimma. In 1965 Comboni missionaries began to work in Sidamo and in 1972 Mgr. ↗Gasparini became the first Apostolic administrator of Awasa. In 1972, the Capuchin Mgr. Domenico Marinozzi was appointed Apostolic administrator of Soddo-Hossaᶜəna (↗Kämbata and Wälaytta) and in 1980 the Prefecture of Mäqi (↗Dänkäl), where the ↗Missionari della Consolata Order were active since 1970, was created. During this time, leprosaria in Harär, Bisidimo, Gambo and Adallo were also established.

Having a sound knowledge of Amharic, P. compiled a French–English–Amharic vocabulary, a breviary (printed twice), a small catechism, three volumes with homilies for the Sundays of the three liturgical cycles, a Latin Missal and booklets with lives of saints. However, due to the poor quality of the support for his texts most of his production has since perished. A highly gifted orator, with a good sense of humor, P. also had a skeptical attitude towards the Gəᶜəz Rite. He relinquished his post of Apostolic Vicar of Harär in 1982 but stayed on in Adaamaa until 1993, when he returned to France for health reasons.

Src.: Archives of the Provincial Curia of the Capuchin Province of Paris; *Analecta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum* 110, 1, 1994, 169.

Lit.: Giuseppe Mojoli, *La Chiesa in Etiopia. Note e ricordi di un nunzio*, Vicenza 1973, s. index.

Tedros Abraha

Peter, Apocalypse of

The A.P. (not to be confused with the homonymous Coptic work from Nag Hammadi, cp. CANT no. 324) is a title given already in antiquity to an apocryphal Greek text (CANT no. 317). Largerly lost in its original Greek (only about a quarter being left), it is preserved in its entirety only in Ethiopic. It is known from two mss. (Paris, BN Abb. 51, 15th–16th cent., from ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos, and Ṭānāsee 35, 18th cent., from ↗Kəbran Gäbrəʾel). These manuscripts contain an eschatological dossier with the treatise entitled **ዳግም፡ ምጽአቱ፡ ለክርስቶስ፡ ወትንሣኤ፡ ምውታን** (*Dagəm məṣʾatu läkrəstos wätänśaʾe məwətan*, 'The Second Coming of Christ and Resurrection of the Dead'), whose first part has been identified as the Ethiopic version of the A.P. proper. Another theological treatise, written in the same hand, is subsumed under the same title. A separate treatise **በእንተ፡ ኰነኔ፡ ኃጥአን** (*Bäʾəntä kʷənnäne ḫaṭəʾan*, 'On the Judgement of Sinners') concludes the dossier.

Grébaut's 1910 edition of the two treatises (the first one following upon the second) is poor: he did not identify the A.P., and classified the dossier as "pseudo-Clementine", because the second treatise, as well as the second part of the first, following upon the original A.P., are in the form of a teaching of Peter to his disciple Clement. James (1911) identified the first part of the first treatise as the A.P. on the basis of four Patristic quotations, of a Greek fragment found in 1892 in Panonopolis/Akhmim, and of another Greek fragment he discovered in the ↗Bodleian Library (another Greek fragment was identified in 1929 in the Rainer Collection in Wien).

Linguistic analysis reveals Arabic as the immediate *Vorlage* for the Ethiopic versions of both treaties. The A.P. is one of the first documents to describe damnation after death, and so is of paramount importance for early Christian ↗eschatology, and for the history of early Christianity in general. Due to Grébaut's faulty translation, and the fact that nearly all who have studied it were not Ethiopicists, the text has not received sufficient attention (with the exception of Duensing [1913], whose philological notes were unfortunately eliminated from the handbooks which have adopted his translation; and a new translation by Marrassini in EtRicci).

The A.P. proper is a dialogue between the Apostles (above all Peter, the first-person narrator) and Jesus, on the Mount of Olives. They ask him about the signs of his coming in the last days. After warning them against false messiahs, Jesus describes the phenomena accompanying his second coming. The longest part of the A.P. is devoted to the description of various sins and the corresponding punishments due to occur at that time, performed with the help of the angels Ezraʾel, Uraʾel and Ṭəmlakos. To the righteous, baptism and salvation are promised. Afterwards Jesus invites Peter to go to his destiny in Rome. The Apostles ask Jesus to show them some of these righteous men; two of them, Moses and Elijah, appear, shining and beautiful, and afterwards many of the others, in a magnificent garden. After some more passages in glory of God, the Apostles leave the sacred mountain. The A.P. proper ends here.

In the continuation, Peter speaks to his disciple Clement, saying that God has created everything in his glory, even the demons, who previously were angels. The central argument here is salvation after the last judgment (the "second death" in Peter's words): after the punishments following the "first" one all the sinners will be saved, if they believed in Christ; but all this (in Jesus's opinion to Peter, and in Peter's opinion to Clement) must not be divulged, except to the "wise men", because people, knowing that in the end they will be pardoned, might sin even more.

The second treatise (*Bäʾəntä kʷənnäne ḫaṭəʾan*) is also a dialogue between Peter and Clement (Peter referring what has been said to him by Jesus), stressing, through Biblical examples and a continuous glorification of God, that punishments are conceived for final repentance (like those inflicted to children), not for destroying men, who, according to the Bible, are similar to God.

↗Qälemənṭos

Src.: Eth.: DENNIS D. BUCHHOLZ (ed., tr. [A.P. proper]), *Your Eyes will be Opened. A Study of the Greek* (*Ethiopic*) *Apocalypse of Peter*, Atlanta, GA 1988 (SBL Dissertation Series 97); HUGO DUENSING (tr. [A.P.]), "Ein Stück der urchristlichen Petrusapokalypse enthaltender Traktat der äthiopischen pseudoklementinischen Literatur", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 14, 1913, 65–78; MARIO ERBETTA (tr. [A.P.]), *Gli apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, vol. 3, Torino 1968, 209–33; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed., tr. [both treatises]), "Littérature éthiopienne Pseudoclémentine", *ROC* 12, 1907, 139–51, and 15, 1910, 198–214, 307–23, 425–39; MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES (tr., Eth. and Gr. [A.P.]), *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1924, 505–21; PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr. [A.P.]), "L'Apocalisse di Pietro", in: *EtRicci* 171–232; ID. (tr. [A.P.]), "L'Apocalypse de Pierre", in: FRANÇOIS BOVON – PIERRE GEOLTRAIN (éd.), *Ecrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 1, Paris 1997 [^{2}2003], 755–74; (EDUARD HENNECKE) – WILHELM SCHNEEMELCHER (eds.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, vol. 2, Tübingen ^{6}1997, 562–78 [ed., tr. by CARL DETLEF G. MÜLLER (Eth. and Gr. [A.P.])]. Gr.: U. BOURIANT (ed., tr.), "Fragments du texte grec du Livre d'Énoch et de quelques écrits attribués à Saint Pierre", *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* 9, 1892, 142–46; MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES (ed., tr.), "A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 12, 1911, 36–54, 157, 362–83, 573–83 (cp. *ibid.* 32, 1931, 270–79); KARL PRÜMM (ed., tr.), "De genuino Apocalypsis Petri textu: examen testium iam notorum et novi fragmenti Raineriani", *Biblica* 10, 1929, 62–80; THOMAS T. KRAUS – TOBIAS NICKLAS, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung*, Berlin – New York 2004 (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte; neue Folge 11).

Lit.: RICHARD BAUCKHAM, "The Apocalypse of Peter. An Account of Research", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II, 26/5, Berlin – New York 1988, 4712–50; ID., *The Fate of the Dead*: *Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, Leiden 1998, 290–303 (Lit.); IAN N. BREMMER – ISTVÁN CZACHESZ (eds.), *The Apocalypse of Peter*, Leuven 2003 (Studies in Early Christian Apocrypha 7) (Lit.); CANT nos. 317, 324; ROGER COWLEY, "The Ethiopic Work which is Believed to Contain the Material of the Ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter", *The Journal of Theological Studies* new ser. 36, 1985, 151–53; JULIAN V. HILLS, "Parables, Pre-

tenders, and Prophecies. Translation and Interpretation in the Apocalypse of Peter", *Revue biblique* 98, 1991, 560–73; THOMAS T. KRAUS, "Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse und ihre Relation zu ausgewählten Überlieferungsträgern apokalyptischer Stoffe", *Apocrypha* 14, 2003, 73–98; ENRICO NORELLI, "Situation des apocryphes périniens", *ibid.* 2, 1991, 31–83.

Paolo Marrassini

Petraeus, Theodor

Theodor(us) P. (Petrejus, Petersen; b. ca. 1630, Flensburg, d. 21 December 1672, Copenhagen), was a German-Danish orientalist from Flensburg, son of Peter Dirksen, a citizen of Flensburg.

After visiting the old Latin-School in Flensburg, P. studied at the universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg from 1645, and then in 1647 at Jena University, focusing on oriental languages. In 1650 he became Master of Arts at the University of Leiden in Holland. At this time P. was a colleague and friend of Johann Georg Nissel(ius), with whom he founded a publishing house. From 1654 they both published Gəʿəz ↗Bible (editions) texts and translated them into Latin.

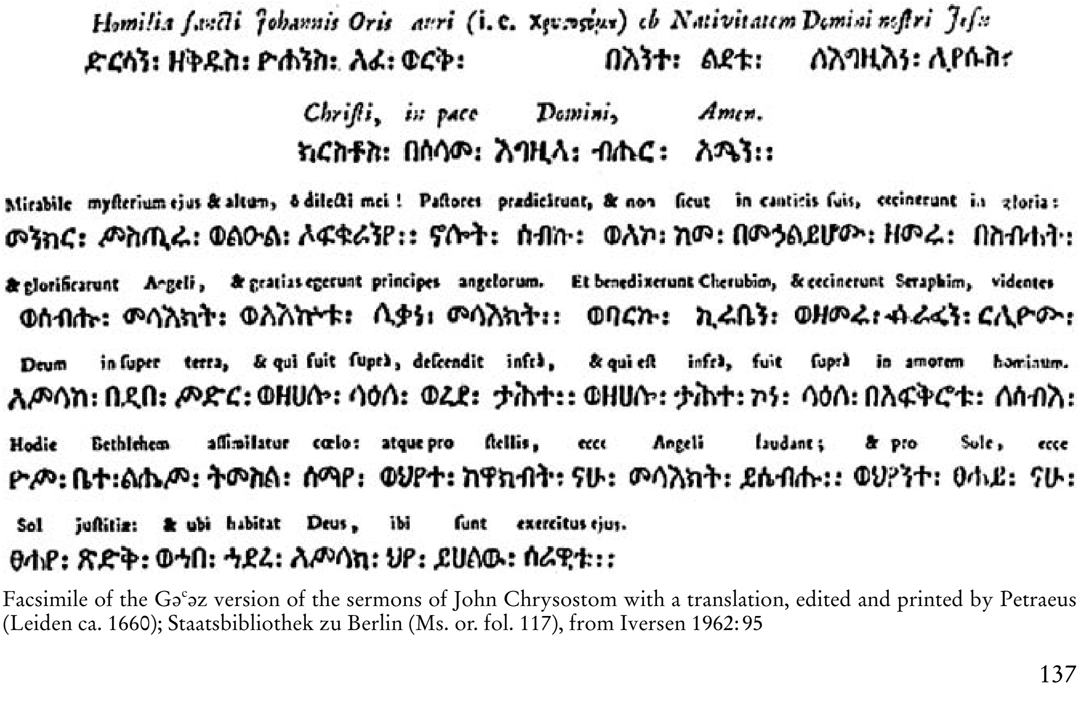
On the recommendation of Stephan Klotz, general superintendent of Frederic III, king of Denmark and Norway, between 1655 and 1659 P. travelled to the Orient. In February 1656 he arrived in Rome, and then went via Greece, Syria, Palestine, where he visited ↗Jerusalem, to Egypt, and stayed in Cairo for two years. His studies focused on many oriental languages such as Arabic, Gəʿəz, Coptic, Persian and Armenian. From this journey he brought back to Europe a large number of original manuscripts in these languages.

On 23 March 1660 P. graduated again from the University of Leiden ("humanitatis ergo"). In the same year he edited the Gəʿəz version of Jonas. There folowed a number of editions and translations of oriental manuscripts until the death of Johann Nissel in 1661. In 1662 P. is assumed to have visited London and stayed there a while, but in his notebooks with translations of Coptic texts he only named Leiden and Amsterdam. In 1664 P. graduated yet again from the University of Leiden ("honoris ergo"). In the following year he moved to Amsterdam, because of the Armenian community there. P. was taught Armenian by the priest "Dn. Garabied Warhabied", with whom he published an Armenian bible in 1666-67. In 1669 P. moved to Copenhagen, where he continued to work on oriental languages until his death.

In the years 1677–79 his Dutch widow Clara Petraeus née von Bülow (Belou) sold all his oriental manuscripts (29 notebooks and 30 printed books) to the Churfürstliche Bibliothek zu Cölln an der Spree. These manuscripts were purchased by Paul Kray, an accredited middleman in Hamburg, but were later transferred to Berlin.

↗Incunabula; ↗Potken, Johannes

Src.: "Acta wegen der von des Petraei Witwe erhandelten orientalischen Bücher", Staatsbiliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientalia, ms., 31 pages.



Homilia ſancti Johannis Oris auri (i.e. Χρυσοστόμου) ob Nativitatem Domini noſtri Jeſu
ድርሳን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ አፈ፡ ወርቅ፡ በእንተ፡ ልደቱ፡ ለእግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡
Chriſti, in pace Domini, Amen.
ክርስቶስ፡ በሰላም፡ እግዚአ፡ ብሔር፡ አሜን።
Mirabile myſterium ejus & altum, ô dilecti mei! Paſtores prædicârunt, & non ſicut in canticis ſuis, cecinerunt in gloria:
መንክር፡ ምሥጢሩ፡ ወልዑል፡ አፍቁራንየ። ኖሎት፡ ሰብኩ፡ ወአኮ፡ ከመ፡ በመኃልይሆሙ፡ ዘመሩ፡ በስብሐት፡
& glorificarunt Angeli, & gratias egerunt principes angelorum. Et benedixerunt Cherubim, & cecinerunt Seraphim, videntes
ወሰብሑ፡ መላእክት፡ ወአእኰቱ፡ ሊቃነ፡ መላእክት። ወባረኩ፡ ኪሩቤን፡ ወዘመሩ፡ ሱራፌን፡ ርእዮሙ፡
Deum in ſuper terra, & qui fuit ſuprà, deſcendit infrà, & qui eſt infrà, fuit ſuprà in amorem hominum.
እምላክ፡ በደበ፡ ምድር፡ ወዘሀሎ፡ ላዕለ፡ ወረደ፡ ታሕተ። ወዘሀሎ፡ ታሕተ፡ ኮነ፡ ላዕለ፡ በአፍቅሮቱ፡ ለሰብእ፡
Hodie Bethlehem aſſimilatur cœlo: atque pro ſtellis, ecce Angeli laudant; & pro Sole, ecce
ዮም፡ ቤተ፡ልሔም፡ ትመስል፡ ሰማየ፡ ወህየተ፡ ከዋክብት፡ ናሁ፡ መላእክት፡ ይሴብሑ። ወህየንተ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ናሁ፡
Sol juſtitiæ: & ubi habitat Deus, ibi ſunt exercitus ejus.
ፀሐየ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወኀበ፡ ኀደረ፡ እምላክ፡ ህየ፡ ይሀልዉ፡ ሰራዊቱ።

Facsimile of the Gəʿəz version of the sermons of John Chrysostom with a translation, edited and printed by Petraeus (Leiden ca. 1660); Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Ms. or. fol. 117), from Iversen 1962: 95

Lit.: Erik Iversen, "Theodor Petræus og det 17. Aarhundredes orientalske Studier", *Fund og Forskning* 9, 1962, 79–113, here 95 (ill.); Else Pauly, "Petræus, Theodor", in: *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, vol. 11, Kopenhagen 1982, 339–40; Alfred Rahlfs, "Nissel und Peträus, ihre äthiopischen Textausgaben und Typen", *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse 1917*, Berlin 1918, 267–348; Vilhelm Thomsen, "Petræus, Theodor", in: *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* 13, Kopenhagen 1899, 77–78; Id., "Petræus, Theodor", in: *ibid.* 18, Kopenhagen 1940, 292–93; Henrik Frederik Wijnman, *An Outline of the Development of Ethiopian Typography in Europe*, Leiden 1960, ix–xxviii, here xxv (repr. from *Books on the Orient*); Friedrich Wilken, *Geschichte der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1828.

Ina Hegenbarth

Ṗeṭros

Abunä Ṗ. (**ጴጥሮስ**; d. 1570?) must have arrived in Ethiopia ca. 1551 (204 of the "Era of the Martyrs", s. CRAxum 68; Conti Rossini 1918:7) as the metropolitan (↗*Ṗappas*) to succeed *abunä* ↗Yosab. However, according to a Portuguese report, Ṗ. came when *abunä* Yosab was still alive (BecRASO X, 23ff.; MHAlex II, 61); Ṗ. then became his coadjutor (cp. ↗*Eppisqoppos*), assuming at least some of the metropolitan's responsibilities and becoming metropolitan after Yosab's death (at an unknown date).

Styled in the Chronicle as *liqä pappasat* (lit. 'patriarch'), probably mistakenly or for stylistic reasons, Ṗ. was the high cleric who consecrated the church of ↗Tädbabä Maryam in the 12th year of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos's reign, i.e. in ca. 1552 (though the years given in the text result in slightly different dates, s. ConzGal 52ff.). Later, *abunä* Ṗ. celebrated the ↗matrimony of *aṣe* ↗Minas (KrLebD 52; Esteves Pereira 1888:26).

Apart from the annals, *abunä* Ṗ. appears only in one land charter of 1557 issued by Minas to the monastery of May Bärazyo (CRAxum no. 52). The date of Ṗ.'s death is unknown; however, reference is sometimes made to the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl which mentions that Yosab died on the 7th year of the former's reign (i.e. 1570). This is supposed to be a mistake or confusion, and *abunä* Ṗ., not Yosab, might be really intended in the text (TedEthPrel II, 1018f.; for the contrary view, s. MHAlex II, 63).

Abunä Ṗ. must have been active during the first years of Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl's reign. Despite the scarcity of information concerning Ṗ., one has to assume that he had his – probably not insubstantial – role in the gradual recovering of the state during the post-*ǧihād* decades, and in the consolidation of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Being a contemporary of *əčč̣age* ↗ᶜƎnbaqom, he may have been behind the unique Arabic translation of the Vita of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, prepared for the Alexandrian Patriarch Gabriel VII (1525–69), who had consecrated Ṗ. metropolitan (cp. Nosnitzyn 2000).

Src.: BecRASO X, 23ff.; Carlo Conti Rossini, "L'autobiografia di Pāwlos, monaco abissino del secolo XVI", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 27, 1918, 279–96, hier 7, 13; ConzGal 53f. (text) = 152f. (tr.); CRAxum 44, 68 (text) = 52, 82 (tr.); KrLebD 51 (text) = 52 (tr.); Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira (ed., tr.), **ዜና፡ ሚናስ።**, *Historia de Minás, 'Además Sagad, rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888, 26 (text) = 44 (tr.).

Lit.: MHAlex II, 59–64; Denis Nosnitzyn, "Zur Literaturgeschichte der Vita des heiligen Täklä Haymanot: die arabische Fassung", *AAP* 62, 93–112; Carlo Conti Rossini, "João Bermudez e la sua relazione sull'Etiopia", in: *Congresso do mundo Português*, Lisboa 1940, vol. 4, 2, 285–305; TedEthPrel II, 1017ff.

Denis Nosnitsin

Ṗeṭros

Abunä Ṗ. (**ጴጥሮስ**, or P. III; d. 10 March 1607) was the 93rd or 94th Coptic Metropolitan (↗*Ṗappas*) of Ethiopia.

Ṗ. was the successor of *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu and must have arrived in Ethiopia during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl in ca. 1590. When Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl died in 1597, a conspiracy resulted in the enthronement of his seven-year-old son ↗Yaᶜəqob, against the Emperor's will, who had planned his nephew ↗Zädəngəl as his heir.

When several years later Yaᶜəqob started manifesting an independent spirit, Ṗ. excommunicated him; in 1604 Yaᶜəqob was deposed and confined to ↗Ǝnnarya, and Zädəngəl came to power.

When Zädəngəl started showing Catholic leanings, Ṗ. excommunicated him as well. Shortly thereafter Zädəngəl was deposed and killed.

During the subsequent succession struggle between *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob and ↗Susənyos, Ṗ. was on the former's side. He accompanied Yaᶜəqob in his campaign in 1605, staying at the camp at ↗Č̣äč̣äho. There, on 23 April 1606, Ṗ. was wounded in battle. He was killed alongside his patron in Susənyos's victorious attack at Gʷäl (Gol) on 10 March 1607, by soldiers who allegedly mistook him for an Ottoman.

Susənyos later accused Ṗ. of having had an adulterous relationship with the wife of a Melchite, but there is no proofs for this allegation.

Ṗ. was succeeded by *abunä* ↗Səmᶜon.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 399; BegCron 41f.; BTafA 293, 303, 315; LudHist 182; PerCron I, 81, 92; II, 63f., 70ff., 359f.

Lit.: Sevir Chernetsov, *Efiopskaya feodal'naya monarhiya v XVII veke* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th Century'), Moscow 1990, s. index; CrumLand s. index; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 6, 1899, 1–17, here 11, n. 2; MHAlex II, 65f.; TedEthPrel 1020f. (Lit.).

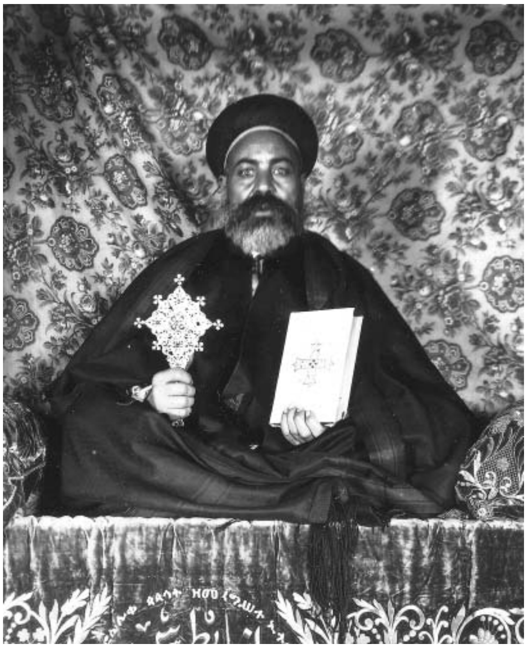
Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Peṭros

Abunä P̣. (ጴጥሮስ; d. 20 October 1917, Ǝtissa Däbrä Ṣəllaləš, Bulga) was a metropolitan (↗*P̣ap̣pas*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church; he appears as P̣. VII in the traditional lists (s. Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase 1928/29: 96; Märsəᶜe Ḫazän 1964/64: 128) and P̣. IV in the historically reconstructed lists (MHAlex I, 45, II, 4).

Because of hostilities between Ethiopia and Egypt, ↗Yoḥannəs IV could not ask for a replacement for *abunä* Atnatewos for four years after the latter had died in 1876. In January 1881, Yoḥannəs sent 12,000 Maria Theresa thalers to Cyril V, the patriarch in Egypt, followed in June by a delegation of leading ecclesiastics with rich gifts for the patriarch and for the ruler of Egypt (ZewYohan 108f.), with the request for four bishops. On 29 October, P̣. was chosen as metropolitan, and together with three bishops, ↗Luqas, ↗Marqos and ↗Matewos, arrived in ↗ᶜAdwa (BTafY 151ff.). Marqos soon died, and Luqas and Matewos accompanied ↗Mənilək II to Šäwa in 1883 after the latter had defeated *ras* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam at the battle of ↗Ǝmbabo.

P̣. set up his residence at ↗ᶜAddi Abun, but accompanied the royal court in its moves. He was in ↗Mätämma during the battle of 9 March 1889 and beside Yoḥannəs at his deathbed when the Emperor bequeathed his throne to *ras* ↗Mängäša. P̣. thus supported Mängäša against Yoḥannəs's other nephews (HerTar 186–89). When Mənilək was crowned by Matewos on 3 November 1889, P̣. was in Däbrä Tabor. On 28 January 1890 he expressed his loyalty to the new Emperor in Yäǧǧu. On his return from a campaign in Təgray (GueCopMen 284), Mənilək sent Luqas to Goǧǧam and fetched P̣. to Addis Abäba where he was to carry out his functions alongside Matewos (Caulk 2002: 253). Matewos, however, desired a higher status, which was endorsed in 1891. The country was divided between the two metropolitans, P̣. receiving Təgray, Lasta and Wag, as well as Eritrea, and Matewos the rest. P̣. had to accept this (Caulk 2002: 253) and to wait until the political problem of Təgray was settled. He returned to ᶜAddi Abun in 1903 (GueCopMen 305; Martini 1943: 309).



The metropolitan *abunä* Peṭros in the early 20th cent.; photo courtesy of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (no. 349-114)

Because of his jurisdiction over Eritrean churches, the Italians gave him their attention. On 27 April 1906, ↗Martini made a detour to call on him on his way to Addis Abäba. His diary records the negative impression P̣. produced (Martini 1943: 311f.), in contrast to positive view he gained of Matewos (s. Prouty 1986: 287).

In 1914, P̣. was brought to ↗Däse to live as the bishop at the court of *nəguś* ↗Mikaʾel Ali, his jurisdiction now including Wällo. P̣. crowned Mikaʾel on 31 May 1914. When the latter marched to Šäwa in October 1916 (after the ↗Coup d'état 1916 and the deposition of his son *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu), P̣. accompanied him with the *tabot* of St. ↗Mary. He was with the *nəguś* during the Battle of Sägäle, calling on the Wällo soldiers to fight valiantly. When the battle was lost, according to one unconfirmed tradition, Mikaʾel sent P̣. to negotiate the terms of submission (Gobäze Ṭaffätä 1996). When he surrendered together with the *nəguś*, P̣. was treated very well by the victors under *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), being transferred immediately to the care of *əččäge* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis. In Addis Abäba, he was handed over to *abunä* Matewos in whose palace he lived for some time. Finally, he was sent to the monastery of ↗Ǝtissa Däbrä

Ṣəlaleš, while fully maintaining his status as a bishop.

Src.: Carlo Annaratone, *In Abissinia*, Roma 1914, 261; BTafY 151ff.; Gobäze Ṭaffätä, አባ፡ ጤና፡ ኢያሱ (*Abba Ṭena Iyasu*), Addis Abäba 1996; GueCopMen 284, 305; Ferdinando Martini, *Il diario eritreo*, vol. 4, Firenze 1943, 309–12.

Lit.: Richard Caulk, "*Between the Jaws of Hyenas*": *a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia* (*1876–1896*), ed. by Bahru Zewde, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60), 253; HerTar 186–89; Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, ዋዜማ። በማግሥቱ፡ የኢትዮጵያን፡ ነገሥታት፡ የታሪክ፡ በዓል፡ ለማክበር (*Wazema. Bämagəśtu yäʾityoṗyan nägäśtat yätarik bäᶜal lämakbär*, 'The Eve: the Feast of the Ethiopian Kings to be Celebrated Tomorrow'), Addis Abäba 1921 A.M. [1928/29 A.D.], 96, 186-89; Märsəᶜe Ḥazän Wäldä Qirqos, የመጀመሪያው፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ፡ ፓትሪያርክ (*Yämäğämmäriyaw ityoṗyawi ṗatriyark*, 'The First Ethiopian Patriarch'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.], 128; MHAlex I, 45; II, 4; Chris Prouty, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II, Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London – New York 1986, 287; ZewYohan 108f.

Shiferaw Bekele

Ṗeṭros

Abunä Ṗ. (**ጴጥሮስ**; b. 1882, Fəčče, Šäwa, d. 30 July 1936, Addis Abäba) was one of the first four Ethiopians who were officially ordained as bishops in 1928. He became a ↗martyr of ↗Resistance against the Italian occupation (1936–41). Born as Ḫaylä Maryam to a family of farmers, Ṗ. received traditional ↗education at the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos where he took the monastic vow in 1916.

Ṗ. lived in monasteries in Wašära (↗Goǧǧam), ↗Gondär and ↗Boru Meda. He started his teaching career at the monastery of Məskabä Qəddusan in Sayənt, ↗Wällo and later he moved to Däbrä Mänkərat monastery in Wälaytta, authorized by the church as the teacher in charge. In 1924 he was assigned as the main instructor at Däbrä Maryam monastery on an island in Lake Zʷay. In 1927 he was assigned as ↗*mämhər* of Mänbärä Ləᶜul Marqos church in the compound of ↗Gännätä Ləᶜul where he became the father confessor of *däǧǧazmač* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). His knowledge, devotion and intimacy with the Imperial family led him to be one of the first four Ethiopian clerics chosen to be ordained as bishop in 1928. Ordained at St. Mark Monastery in Alexandria with the title ጳጳስ፡ ዘምሥራቀ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ተላዌ፡ አሠሩ፡ ለአቡነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ሞአ (*Ṗaṗṗas zäməśraqä ityoṗya tälawe aśäru läʾabunä Iyäsus Moʾa*, 'Bishop of Eastern Ethiopia and follower in the footsteps of *abunä* Iyäsus Moʾa'), Ṗ. was appointed over the district of ↗Mänz and in the province of Wällo. His episcopal head office was in ↗Däse.

When Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, Ṗ. like most of the high ranking church officials of his time joined *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I in his defense march to ↗May Č̣äw. When the emperor left the country, Ṗ. decided to remain with the patriots. Based in his monastery, at Däbrä Libanos, Ṗ. continued to encourage the patriots to fight for the independence of their country. On 28 July 1936 Ṗ. took part in the plotting to attack the fascist army in Addis Abäba from the four corners of the capital. He himself joined the resistance fighters of ↗Säläle from the northern side. In spite of the fierce fighting which caused great losses in the enemy's camp, the Sälale patriots led by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Abärra Kaśa (s. EAE vol. 5) and other groups had to retreat, but Ṗ. was captured by the Italians. On 30 July 1936 he was publicly executed by eight Italian Carabinieri in the centre of Addis Abäba. After the Liberation Ṗ. was officially sanctified by the church as a martyr.

As a reminder of Ṗ.'s courage of standing against the Italian opression two statues of him were erected in his memory, one in Addis Abäba (s. ill.) and one in ↗Fəčče. Since he is an officially canonized martyr a ↗*tabot* was consecrated in his name and a

Statue of *abunä* Ṗeṭros of Wällo, churchyard of the Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis cathedral, Addis Abäba; photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt church was built. Ṗ. also became the subject of at least two theatre plays. He is venerated on 22 *Ḥamle*.

Src.: Makʷännən Əndalkaččäw, **የደም፡ ድምጽ** (*Yädäm dəmṣ*, 'Voice of Blood'), 1941–42 [Engl. tr. by K.M. Simon, Addis Ababa 1948]; Claude Sumner, "Pétros", unpublished play, 1971; Tsegaye Gabre Medhen, **ጴጥሮስ፡ ያችን፡ ሰዓት** (*Ṗeṭros yaččən säᶜat*, 'Peṭros at the Hour'), unpublished play, 1969.

Lit.: Märša Alläḵäññ, **ዜና፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን** (*Zena ṗaṗṗasat ityoṗyawəyan*, 'History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 72–80; Richard Pankhurst, "Abuna Pétros: an Ethiopian Patriot Martyr in the Modern Amharic Theatre", *EthObs* 16, 1973, 118–24.

Mersha Alehegne

Ṗeṭros

Abunä Ṗ. (**ጴጥሮስ**, birth name Mäḥari Tərfe; b. 12 August 1908, Däbrä Elyas, Goǧǧam, d. 6 July 1968, Jerusalem) was an Archbishop of ↗Səmen and the ↗Bägemdər Diocese of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church.

Born to *mämhər* Tərfe and *wäyzäro* Ṭəhut, Mäḥari received traditional ↗education (including ↗*zema bet*, ↗*qəne bet* and part of the commentary) at the monastery of ↗Däbrä [Gännät] Elyas under *märigeta* Śahlu and *mämhər* Gäbrä Śəllase. On completion, he was appointed ↗*aggafari* and chief of documentation. His ↗*qəne* teacher also made him the head student.

Mäḥari Tərfe later went to Addis Abäba where he joined the ↗*mäṣḥaf bet* of *aläqa* Ḫəruy at Mäkanä Śəllase Church. Mäḥari started teaching N.T. commentary at the same parish and the Holy Trinity School (cp. ↗Holy Trinity Theological College).

As part of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's policy of church reform and modernization, Mäḥari Tərfe was one of the traditional scholars who in 1935 [1942/43 A.D.] took the English language course at the ↗Gännätä Ləᶜul palace. In 1943 [1950/51 A.D.] he was sent to Cairo to learn Arabic. After three years, on his return he became the head of Bäᵓata Maryam Monastery (Mausoleum of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) in Addis Abäba, with the title *liqä liqawənt*. While in office, he authored and published, with the help of an imperial grant, a number of books (e.g., 1953/54, 1955/56, 1958/59). For this and other contributions, he received different awards from the Emperor.

Mäḥari Tərfe built a house for the *liqä liqawənt* in the compound of the Kidanä Məḥrät church adjacent to the palace (↗*Gəbbi*). After the ↗Revolution, the house was confiscated by the *Därg* and still used as the residence of the head of state. Mäḥari Tərfe was also appointed member of the Senate. On 24 July 1960, he was ordained Bishop (↗*Ṗappas*) of Səmen and Bägemdər and assumed the name Ṗ.

Due to health problems, Ṗ. was sent to ↗Jerusalem for treatment but died there. He was buried at the Ethiopian Monastery of Täklä Haymanot in Jerusalem.

Src.: *liqä liqäwənt* Mäḥari Tərfe [*abunä* Ṗeṭros], **መጽሐፈ፡ በቍዔት፡ ዘጾም፡ ወዘበዓል** (*Mäṣḥafä bäqʷəᶜet zäṣom wäzäbäᶜal*, 'The Book on the Usefulness of Fast and [Religious] Feast'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1953/54 A.D.]; Id., **ርትዕት፡ ፍኖት፡ ዘባስልዮስ፡ በባሕረ፡ ጣና** (*Rətəᶜt fənot zäbasəlyos bäbaḥrä Ṭana*, 'The Pious Journey of Basəlyos across Lake Ṭana'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; Id., **ቃለ፡ ምዕዳን** (*Qalä məᶜədan*, 'Word of Advice'), 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; Id. (ed.), **መጻሕፍተ፡ ሐዲሳት፡ ሦስቱ፡ ንባብ፡ ከነትርጓሜው** (*Mäṣaḥəftä ḥaddisat śostu nəbab kännätərgʷamew*, 'The Three New Books of the New Testament, Text and Commentaries'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; Id., **የኦርቶዶክሳውያን፡ እምነት** (*Yäᵓortodoksawəyan əmnät*, 'The Faith of the Orthodox'), 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.].

Lit.: Märša Alläḵäññ, **ዜና፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን** (*Zena ṗaṗṗasat ityoṗyawəyan*, 'History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 176–82; Kirsten Stoffregen Pedersen, *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, Jerusalem 1983, 143 n. 261.

Mersha Alehegne

Philip

P. (**ፊልጶስ**, Filəppos) is a N.T. character (Acts 8). He rose to early prominence in the Jerusalem church. After successful preaching in Samaria, he met an eunuch through divine guidance on the Gaza road and converted him to Christianity. The Greek and the Gəᶜəz B-text of the *Acts of the* ↗*Apostles* describe the eunuch as an "official of the treasury" of ↗Candace (a Nubian regent, generically identified as the queen of Ethiopia), thus "Ethiopian" was a frequent epithet of the eunuch.

In the earliest Gəᶜəz text a mistranslation presents the eunuch as the "governor of Gaza", which subsequently influenced the ↗*Kəbra nägäśt* narrative.

P. alledgedly had four unmarried daughters who were prophetesses. In later Acta, some of these details were transferred to the story of St. Philip the Apostle (cp. *Gädlä* ↗*ḥawaryat*).

↗Bible

Lit.: Frederick Fyvie Bruce, "Philip and the Ethiopian", *JSS* 34, 1989, 377–86; Curt Niccum, *The Book of Acts in Ethiopic (with Critical Text and Apparatus) and its Relation to the Greek Textual Tradition*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Notre Dame 2000; Edward Ullendorff, "Candace (Acts viii.27) and the Queen of Sheba", *New Testament Studies* 2, 1955–56, 53–56.

Curt Niccum

Philology, research in

P. (from Gr. φιλολογία, *philología*, lit. 'love for words', then 'love for literature', more widely, 'love for culture, knowledge') has had a range of meanings corresponding to traditional fields of studies: Classical P., either as the total reconstruction of classical antiquity (according to Wolf 1807 and others) or as text-criticism and hermeneutics (according to Gottfried Hermann [1772–1848]); Romance P., altogether as the linguistics and text-criticism of Romance languages and literatures; Semitic P., either as the study of the oldest Semitic cultures or as historical and comparative Semitic linguistics; Old and New Testament P., mainly as text-critical study of the ↗Bible.

Yet, the two main focuses of P. are the study of texts in all possible senses on the one side (i.e. text-criticism and literary studies, including historical, as well as the general reconstruction of a civilization through its written culture), and the study of the language through linguistic methodology on the other (i.e. historical and comparative linguistics, including linguistic typology and linguistic palaeontology, for the analysis of a civilization and the reconstruction of its prehistory and cultural drifts: e.g., in Indo-European and Semitic studies since the 19th cent.).

The question of the relationships between P. and linguistics risks being overshadowed by the ambiguity of the definition of the former. A still tenable distinction was proposed by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1836: 202 = 1907: 173f.), according to whom the role of P., whilst not ancillary, is that of "processing" ("Bearbeitung", to be clearly distinguished from "Befund", cp. Hahn 2001: 52) the "linguistic documents" themselves, which clearly requires different skills and methods from linguistics. This "processing" is the specific feature of P. and is accomplished at the highest level by text editing, i.e. by textual criticism, whilst P. also and normally considers the whole evidence necessarily implied by textual analysis itself (not only stemmatical, or even codicological and palaeographical, but also historical, linguistic, literary, religious, institutional, social, etc.). Accordingly, with reference to the specific importance of written documents in a given scientific context or field, P. might actually pursue the same aims that are considered to be proper to such disciplines as history, linguistics, etc., depending upon the respective relevance and importance of specific sources subject to philological analysis.

In ↗Ethiopian studies, P. developed with the same degree of uncertainty in strictly defining its own field vs. linguistics and history as in other Oriental studies (no comprehensive history of Ethiopian P. has yet been written, but cp., e.g., CRStor 9–30; Kračkovskij 1955: 45–79; Hammerschmidt 1970; Marrassini 1987: 348ff., 1996: 371ff., 2008a: 268f., 272f.; for Oriental texts in general, Pfeiffer – Kropp 2007). Yet, while in the course of time some branches of Oriental P. (e.g., Indology, and to much lesser extent Islamic studies, cp. Witkam 1988) have proven more sensitive to developing a critical method akin to that brought about in Classical, New Testament, and then German and Romance studies from the Renaissance up to the 19th cent., most of the great scholars of Ethiopian studies (e.g., ↗Ludolf, ↗Dillmann, ↗Guidi, ↗Conti Rossini, ↗Littmann, with the sole exception of ↗Cerulli) had no proper editorial consciousness; they did edit texts, but usually with little effort towards theoretically defining their own P. This drawback was less pronounced in the field of Biblical studies, where the editions by Ludolf, Dillmann and even Robert Henry Charles respected the standard of coeval editions of classical texts and were methodologically far more advanced than those by some of their successors (cp. Marrassini 1999: 240f.).

Since the second half of the 19th cent. editorial reconstructive approaches (such as those currently under the name of Karl Lachmann [1793–1851], yet slowly developed over the centuries in the field of N.T. and Classical Studies, cp. Timpanaro 2006, and brought to completion by the Romanist Gaston Paris [1839–1903], cp. Fiesoli 2000) and the critical reaction to them (such as that by Joseph Bédier [1864–1938]) evolved and confronted each other. All this time, Ethiopianists neither took any explicit part in the discussion (theoretically or practically), nor examined in detail the peculiarities of Ethiopian textual tradition under a properly philological profile. For a century, "Ethiopian P." tacitly implied the study of written Ethiopian sources (with the due prominence of ↗Gəᶜəz as the essential tool for any serious approach to Ethiopian studies, cp. Conti Rossini 1937: 98f.), usually integrated with linguistic, archaeological and historical evidence, as well as oral sources, vaguely in keeping with the Wolfian tradition of Classical P. (as still maintained, e.g., by Lusini 2005), but with the addition of strong positivistic elements, also out of a colonialist attitude. Moreover, no clear distinction between P. and linguistics was applied (although with no ambiguity in "linguistics"), and comparative linguistics was systematically included under P. Conti Rossini (1914: 1ff.), e.g., dedicated his work to ↗Reinisch as the "founder of Hamito-Ethiopic philology", even opposing "philological documents" (i.e. oral sources and the evidence of historical linguistics) to "texts containing traditions or historical legends". In his panorama of philological researches, Conti Rossini (1937: 98) considered both linguistic and properly speaking text-critical studies; he repeatedly assumed P. and history as "keywords" of Ethiopian studies (this becoming in the course of time the scientific programme of the ↗*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*), P. meaning here, again, both linguistics and textual studies (Conti Rossini 1944–45: 3ff.). Still in the early 1950s, "text-critical P." was used in a rather derogatory sense as opposed to "history" (cp., e.g., Monneret de Villard 1950: 514).

This disregard for P. as text-criticism resulted in Ethiopian studies in the easier practice of the so-called "base manuscript method", with all its variants (cp. Draguet 1977; the same happened in the philological studies of the Christian Orient in general; for exceptions cp. Bausi 2008: 23, n. 14). This "method" has been by large the most frequently applied in purported "critical editions" (including the series ↗*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* and ↗*Patrologia Orientalis*), with no preliminary investigation into its adequacy for the average characteristics of text transmission in Ethiopia, which does not normally appear to exhibit the relevant peculiarities (free textual variations, fluid tradition, extreme linguistic variety, etc.) that might in some cases justify its application. On the contrary, both for Aksumite and post-Aksumite texts, notwithstanding occasional phenomena that can occur in every written tradition or very particular classes of texts, there is a sound basis for the application of reconstructive principles: different recensions of the same text frequently occur, but usually each of them has its own well-defined manuscript witnesses; scribes do not systematically change the received text, neither do they correct its errors, and above all, this phenomenon does not apply each time a manuscript is copied; the language of the Ethiopic texts is very stable compared to the linguistic variation seen in the tradition of Romance texts. All these features admit philological analysis on the basis of errors (shared innovations).

Starting from the 1980s, there have been the first attempts at applying the "neo-Lachmannian" reconstructive method to Ethiopian non-Biblical texts (punctuation being also considered in some recent editions): only a partial innovation, since the method has been used for over a century in other fields (cp. Marrassini 1981; 2008b). This method implies the tentative complete survey of all the direct and indirect witnesses of the text (*recensio*), the individuation of their genealogical relationship established on the basis of conjunctive errors (*Leitfehler*), the establishment of the text through the criterion of most manuscript families, and the assumption of the critical edition as a scientific hypothetical reconstruction of the original text as proposed by the editor (cp. Bausi 2006: 544ff., 2008: 24ff.). Other approaches (e.g., Kropp 1989), albeit not perfectly reconstructive, have given new, fresh attention to the history of manuscript tradition ("Textgeschichte").

Little is known of indigenous philological practice and terminology, the study of which is one of the most urgent desiderata of Ethiopian P. (for the field of Arabic studies cp. Gacek 2001). Some lexical elements emerge in the Roman New Testament edition of 1548 (↗Bible Gəᶜəz editions; ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon), where the manuscript exemplar and its copy are called *ab* ('father') and *wäld* ('son'), respectively (fol. 157; cp. Ludolf 1691: 297, no. xxvii, 1): a terminology with no parallel in the Humanist tradition (cp. Rizzo 1984). In turn, Dillmann seems to translate the Gəᶜəz term *ab* as 'archetype', i.e. in proper Lachmannian terminology (cp. DillmLex 754f., 1022 s.v. *ᶜasab*). The same concepts are also expressed in Gəᶜəz by *śərw*, 'exemplar', and *ᶜəlwät*, 'copy' (cp. ibid. 242, 954).

No proper philological activity (unless the term P. is very extensively applied) seems to have taken place in Ethiopia in pre-modern times or in traditional contexts. Revisions, rewriting, retranslating, conflation and contamination are attested (not only for the Bible, but also for patristic and hagiographic texts), but such procedures (of which in some cases we can guess the ideological, practical and linguistic motivations) are not to be considered P. but rather testify to the general attitude of scribes towards their texts. On the other hand, even extensive collations (necessarily implying a closer look at texts, besides pure writing, translating and copying) were not primarily intended to revise and correct the texts, but simply to collect variants: the same happens in the ↗*andəmta* commentaries, where different interpretations, as well as various readings (implied by the interpretation itself), are recorded and amassed. If philological activity was practised in Ethiopia, it was only (with the exception of the Bible and a few other cases) within the frame of traditional hermeneutics (↗Bible commentary traditions; cp. Bausi in preparation).

↗Gəᶜəz literature

Src.: DillmLex 242, 754f., 954, 1022; Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues …*, Berlin 1836 (= Albert Leitzmann [ed.], *Wilhelm von Humboldts Gesammelte Schriften*, 7, 1, Berlin 1907, 212ff.); Hiob Ludolf, *Ad suam Historiam Æthiopicam antehac editam Commentarius …*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 297, no. xxvii; Friedrich August Wolf, *Darstellung der Alterthums-Wissenschaft*, Berlin 1807.

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, “Current Trends in Ethiopian Studies: Philology”, in: *PICES* 15, 542–51 (Lit.); Id., “Philology as Textual Criticism: ‘Normalization’ of Ethiopian Studies”, *Ethiopian Philology. Bulletin of Philological Society of Ethiopia* 1, 1, 2008, 13–46; Id., “Writing, Copying, Translating: Ethiopia as a Manuscript Culture”, in preparation; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Studi su popolazioni dell’Etiopia*, Roma 1914, 1ff.; Id., “Stato attuale delle ricerche filologiche nell’Africa Orientale italiana”, in: *Atti del Terzo Congresso di Studi coloniali …*, VI (*V. sezione: Etnografica-Filologica-Linguistica*), Firenze 1937, 98–108; Id., “Pubblicazioni etiopistiche dal 1936 al 1945”, *RSE* 4, 1944–45, 1–132; CRStor 9–30; René Draguet, “Une méthode d’édition des textes syriaques”, in: Robert H. Fischer (ed.), *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus*, Chicago, IL 1977, 13–18; Giovanni Fiesoli, *La genesi del lachmannismo*, Firenze 2000 (Millennio medievale 19); Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition. A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography*, Leiden 2001 (Handbook of Oriental Studies 1. The Near and Middle East 58); Michael Hahn, “On editing codices unici”, in: François Grimal (éd.), *Les sources et le temps …*, Pondichéry 2001 (Publications du Département d’Indologie 91), 49–62; Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Ethiopian Studies at German Universities*, Wiesbaden 1970; Ignatij Kračkovskij, *Vvedenie v efiopskuju filologiju* (‘Introduction into Ethiopian Philology’), Leningrad 1955, 45–79; Manfred Kropp, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däǧǧazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main 1989 (Heidelberger orientalische Studien 13); Gianfrancesco Lusini, “Philology and the Reconstruction of the Ethiopian Past”, in: *AfrHorn* 91–106; Joanna Mantel-Niećko, “Some Thoughts on the Role of the Contemporary Philologist”, in: Tryggve Kronholm et al. (eds.), *On the Dignity of Man. Oriental and Classical Studies in Honour of Frithiof Rundgren*, Stockholm 1986 (*Orientalia Suecana* 33–35), 123–38; Paolo Marrassini, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes l’Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di Semitistica 10); Id., “L’edizione critica dei testi etiopici: problemi di metodo e reperti linguistici”, in: Giancarlo Bolognesi – Vittore Pisani (eds.), *Linguistica e filologia. Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale di Linguisti*, Brescia 1987 (Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese 18), 347–56; Id., “Problems of Gəᶜəz Philology”, in: Petr Zemánek (ed.), *Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures. Memorial Volume of Karel Petráček*, Prague 1996, 371–78; Id., “Gli Apocrifi etiopici: alcune osservazioni”, in: Nello del Gatto (ed.), *Corso di perfezionamento in Storia del Cristianesimo Antico diretto da Luigi Cirillo e Giancarlo Rinaldi. Atti*, Napoli 1999 (Serie Didattica 2), 238–66; Id., [review of Voigt 2003], *BiOr* 65, 2008a, 267–74; Id., “Salient Features of Philology: The Science of Establishing Primary Sources”, *Ethiopian Philology* [op. cit.] 2008b, 4–12; Ugo Monneret de Villard, “Sulla festa del Battesimo in Abissinia”, *RANLmor* ser. 8^{a}, 5, 1950, 513–25; Judith Pfeiffer – Manfred Kropp (eds.), *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts …*, Beirut 2007 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 111); Silvia Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti*, Roma ^{2}1984 (Sussidi eruditi 26); Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann’s Method*, ed. and tr. by Glenn W. Most, Chicago, IL – London 2006; Rainer Voigt (ed.), *Die äthiopischen Studien im 20. Jahrhundert …*, Aachen 2003 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 2); Jan Just Witkam, “Establishing the Stemma: Fact or Fiction?”, *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 3, 1988, 88–101.

Alessandro Bausi

Philostorgius ↗Historiography, Greek

Philoxenus of Mabbug ↗Filkəsyos

Phonograms, collections of

P. (phonographic sound recordings) were first produced with an Edison-Phonograph in the late 19th cent. Probably among the first P. recordings in Africa were two message from *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and his wife *ətəgə* ↗Taytu Bəṭul in 1899. The year before, Queen Victoria II had sent a personal recording to the Emperors, as well as wax cylinders and a P. for them to respond. The cyclinders form the Emperors, recorded with the help of Alfred ↗Ilg, are preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (Abraham Demoz 1969: 251).

The Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, founded in 1900, holds several collections of wax cylinders recorded in Ethiopia in the first decades of the 20th cent. These invaluable recordings represent the earliest recordings of Ethiopian music which deserve safeguarding and preservation. The first collection stems from Felix ↗Rosen, brother of the German imperial envoy Friedrich Rosen. Rosen recorded songs of ↗Amhara, ↗ᶜIssa, ↗Somali and ↗Təgrəñña ethnic groups on 45 wax cylinders in 1905. Erich Kaschke (1873–1910), a member of the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition, made phonographic recordings of Amhara and Təgrəñña music in 1906; all are, in addition, documented in writing in the original language. The German Legationsrat Fritz Weiss recorded

Max Grühl and his team recording music with a phonograph during the Käfa expedition (1925–26); photo from Grühl, 1935 pl. 31

35 cylinders during his stay in Ethiopia 1921 to 1924, and Max ↗Grühl completed seven cylinders in 1926 during the German Nile–Lake Rudolf–Käfa-Expedition. Information about these recordings is supplied in the accompanying documentation and correspondence.

The P. of Berlin focus on music. They provide a survey of traditional songs, public performances, musical instruments and short examples of texts. Today the collections belong to the Department of Ethnomusicology in the Ethnographical Museum and National Museum in Berlin, and are part of the early cylinder recordings inscribed in the UNESCO list "Memory of the World" in 1999.

Other P. collections are found in Sweden and Austria. A collection recorded by the Swedish missionary Gustaf Richard ↗Sundström comprises 30 cylinders from about 1912. The Vienna Phonogrammarchiv holds phonograms of Gə^{c}əz, recorded in 1912 in Cairo and Jerusalem by R.A. Péter and G. Klameth.

Src.: Montagu Sinclair Wellby, *'Twixt Sirdar and Menelik*, London 1901, 76ff.

Lit.: Abraham Demoz, "Emperor Menelik's Phonograph Message to Queen Victoria", *BSOAS* 32, 2, 1969, 251–56; ArEvang 357; DAE I; Max Grühl, *Abessinien ahoi*, Berlin 1935, pl. 31; Felix Rosen, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907; Wolbert G.C. Smidt, "A War-Song on Yohannes IV against the Egyptians, Recited by Ləǧ Täfäri in Aksum, 1906", *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures, Warsaw University* 41, 2007, 107–31; Timkehet Teffera, *Historische Tonaufnahmen aus Axum – Äthiopien*: *Sammlung Kaschke 1906*, ms., Phonogramm-Archiv Berlin 2002; Rainer Voigt, "Ǧärmän dägg näw 'Deutsches/Deutschland ist gut!': Ein amharisches Lied zu Ehren des deutschen Kaisers aus der Sammlung Kaschke", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 146–59; Susanne Ziegler, "Historical Sound Recordings from Ethiopia on Wax Cylinders" in: *AfrHorn* 322–43; Ead., *Die Wachszylinder des Berliner Phonogramm-Archivs* (mit CD-ROM), Berlin 2006; Ead., "Die phonographische Sammlung von Erich Kaschke (Axum-Expedition 1906)", in: *WenDAE* II, in preparation.

Susanne Ziegler

Photography, history of

Since its beginnings P. has contributed considerably to scientific research; ↗archaeology documented its findings in P. already from the late 19th cent. (e.g., DAE I–IV), and ethnographical research heavily relied on P. and still does (e.g., VSAe I–III). In recent years, historical photos have been used to trace environmental change (e.g., Nyssen et al. 2009). Especially since the 1980s photographic collections concerning Ethiopia and Eritrea have been used by researchers as historical documents and sources (Triulzi 1988; 1995).

Photographs can be traced in public and private collections in Ethiopia or abroad, especially in Italy, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the United States, Switzerland, but also in other countries. The photographers had very different backgrounds – amateurs or professionals, missionaries, craftsmen, colonialists, scientists, businessmen, Europeans, Indians, Ethiopians and others. Photographers of the Horn had various interests and cultures that led to a very diverse production.

Photos of Ethiopia can today be found in private collections, ↗museums, ↗libraries, and P. agencies. They are conserved as originals (mostly on paper but also dry plates, stereoscopic glass slides, etc.), as printed photos from books, or kept in electronic data bases. One of the most important collections belongs to the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba. The Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente in Rome and the University "l'Orien-

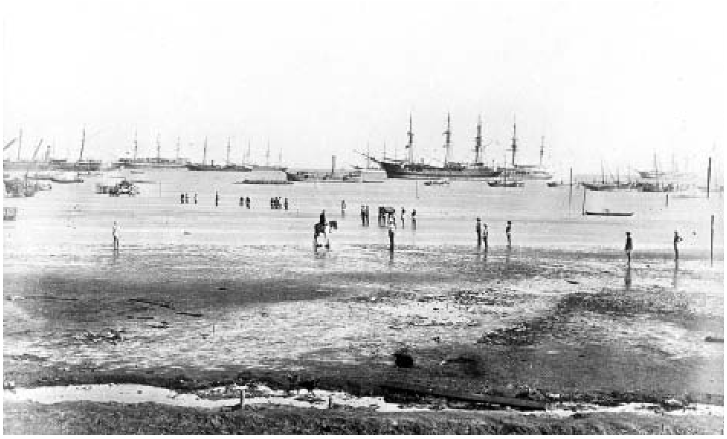


Fig. 1: Detail from a panorama photo showing the Napier expedition's fleet at Zula bay; photo 1867/68, Agfa Fotorama, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Köln

tale" in Naples possess a great number of pictures of Eritrea and Ethiopia (Palma 1996; 2005). The Völkerkundemuseum of Zurich University keeps the photographic collection of Alfred ↗Ilg of some 1,000 silver bromide gelatine dry plates and stereoscopic glass slides (Biasio 2004). In France there are numerous public and private collections, e.g., in the ↗Bibliothèque nationale (Hirsch – Perret 1995). In Germany, an important collection of ethnographic photos is kept by the Frobenius-Institut in Frankfurt/Main. The Kunstkamera of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, preserves 19th- to early 20th-cent. photos of Russian travellers. In Canada, the electronic database DEEDS conserves thousands of photographs of Ethiopian cultural sites for scholarly use.

P. was first used in Ethiopia in 1859 by Henry ↗Stern, a Protestant missionary, who took pictures of people and places. Most photos seem to have disappeared but are known from the engravings he published in 1862. The British expedition of 1867–68 next made an extensive use of the camera (cp. fig. 1). Seven professional photographers attached to the troops took pictures of military interest, but also of Ethiopian personalities (e.g., the son of ↗Tewodros II, ↗ᶜAlämayyähu), of settlements and landscapes (some of them were published in Pankhurst – Gérard 1996: 19ff.; s. also Gräber 1999). Following the advances in photographic technique, the number of amateur photographers increased in the last quarter of the 19th cent. Explorers, craftsmen, businessmen and missionaries visiting the coastal regions (↗Eritrea; ↗Djibouti) and ↗Šäwa, ↗Ogaden, ↗Käfa, ↗Ǧimma, ↗Somali, ↗Təgray etc. produced photographs, some for use in travel literature, thanks to the advance of ↗printing technology. E.g., the impressive photographs of the Italian Secondo Bertolani from the early 20th cent. were – and still are – published in many books both in Ethiopia and abroad (GueCopMen).

The young Eritrean colony witnessed the first photographic studios. The photographers Luigi Naretti, Giovanni and Francesco Nicotra or Ledru Mauro from Messina established themselves in ↗Massawa from 1885. Up to 1897 they mostly photographed military topics, following the colonial expansion of Eritrea. Sometimes authorized by the Ministry of War to follow the Italian troops inside the country, some photographers provided information about the colonial conquest, such as Luigi Fiorillo (Goglia 1989: 17). The military commanders were eager to promote propaganda about the success of their operations, or used photography to identify brigands (Palma 2005: 42). The first photographic production was therefore devoted to Italian achieve-

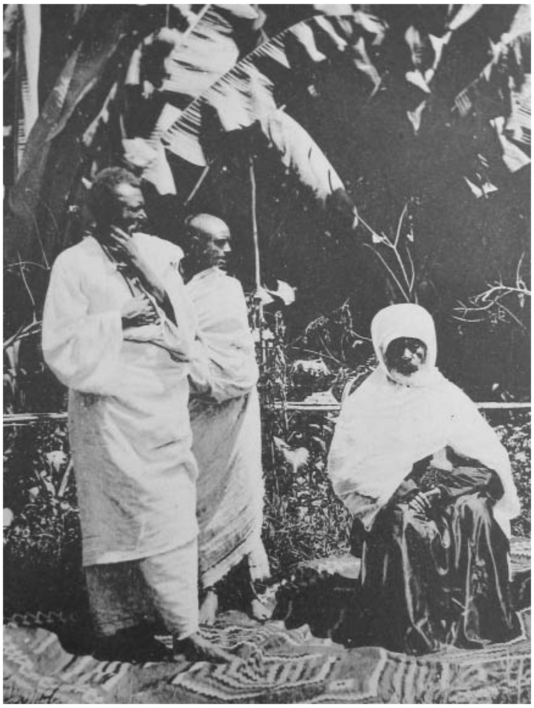


Fig. 2: A photo of the *əččäge* Tewoflos by Naretti, ca. 1880s; from GueCopMen 144

ments, views of Massawa, native troops but also to arrested persons, trials or to chiefs who allied themselves with the Italians (Palma 2005: 46). The most important photographer of this period was Luigi Naretti (cp. fig. 2). He photographed such personalities as *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs in Mäqälä (GueCopMen 1, 352), and also the palace of the ruler ↗Yoḥannəs IV, built by his cousin Giacomo ↗Naretti (Palma 2002). Like the other photographers, Naretti published his pictures as postcards for sale in the colony, or sold them to the growing Italian illustrated ↗press. P. then contributed to the construction of a greater consensus among the still very much divided public in favour of colonialism (Palma 2005: 40). After the turn of the 20th cent., new photographers arrived in Eritrea in a more peaceful context and photographed the local population, daily life and the city rather than officials. Considerable expansion of P. took place in ↗Asmära during the conquest of Ethiopia in 1936.

In Ethiopia, the first studio was opened in Addis Abäba in 1905 by Bedros Boyadjian. During a visit together with the archbishop of the Armenia Church of Jerusalem, he was asked by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II to stay in Ethiopia. The establishment of the Armenian Levon Yazidjian from the ↗Ottoman Empire followed in 1909, then that of the Indian G. Mody. P. expanded significantly in the 1920s, with the opening of several studios by foreigners, mainly along Ras Mäkʷännən Avenue (Pankhurst – Gérard 1996: 36). Some professionals also practised provisionally in the country, especially during national events such as the ↗coronation of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1930, for instance the German Josef Steinlehner. Several photographers also began offering cheap "minute photographs" in the market area (Pankhurst – Gérard 1996: 36), but P. remained a luxury product before the Italian invasion.

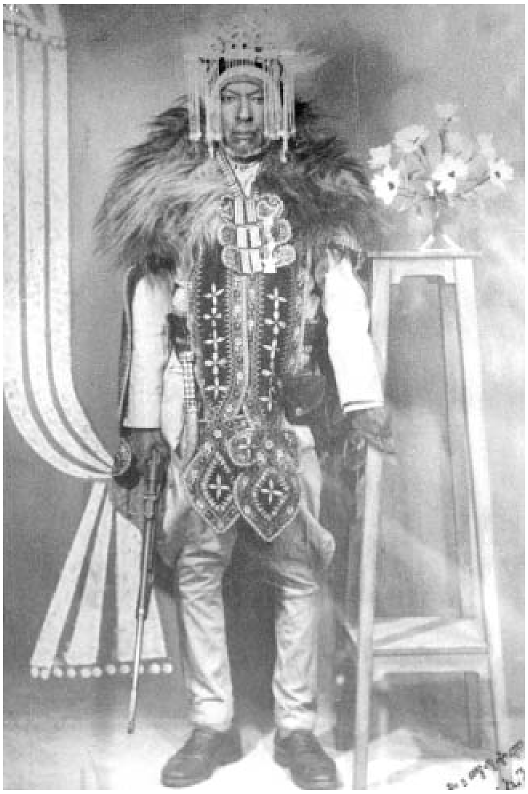


Fig. 3: *Fitawrari* "Wazazu Atefek" (Wäzäzu [?] Aṭäfk), postcard printed in Ethiopia; photo 1930s, unknown photographer, from the collection of the IES (W no. 149)

From the beginning, P. played a role in the political life of the Horn. Yoḥannəs IV was the first ruler to have been portrayed by a camera, both alone and with his son ↗Arᵓaya in the 1880s. Mənilək II and his successors then made consequent political use of the new medium, and their portraits are countless. In the beginning, Mənilək II used the skills of amateur photographers from the 1880s such as Alfred Ilg or of Secondo Bertolani, an employee of the Italian legation. After 1905 Bedros Boyadjian and his successors Haïgaz and Tony Boyadjian became the official photographers of the court for more than half a century. Photos of Mənilək II, ↗Zäwditu, and Täfäri (later *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I) also led to such by-products as postcards, coins, medals (↗Orders and decorations) and ↗stamps. They also led to a change of style in royal portraits in church ↗paintings (Sohier 2007; e.g., *nəguś* ↗Mikaᵓel Ali with an imperial crown in a miniature in a ms. of Däbrä Hayq Əsṭifanos, after a photo, s. Smidt 2008). The creation and use of these pictures were part of the sovereigns' answer to the deep political and geographical transformation of these times and to the defence of their independence from colonial conquest. The use of P. formed part of a wider symbolic policy that included other means such as texts and ceremonies (Sohier 2007). P. was also used as evidence during political or judicial problems, including for the purpose of political defamation: for example, a modified photograph of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu in Muslim dress, produced by Levon Yazedjian, contributed to his fall in September 1916 (Berhanou Abebe 2003; however, a photo

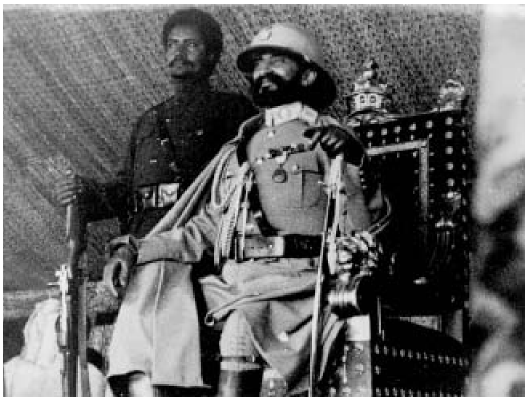


Fig. 4: Ḫaylä Śəllase's mobilization during the Italian conquest, photo 1935/36, unknown photographer, 1935–36; from the collection of the IES (S1, no. 12)

portrait of *nəguś* Mikaʾel, said to be a falsification [s. Berhanou Abebe 2003] was in fact a real photo, s. Smidt 2008). Numerous modifications were also done for purposes of layout and clarity.

Beginning with the death of *ras* ↗ Mäkʷännən in 1906, it also became customary to display a photographic effigy of the deceased during the funeral procession, whenever such a portrait was available (Pankhurst – Gérard 1996:30).

P. and its by-products were also widely used by the Italian government to legitimize the colonial conquest of Ethiopia in 1936. The Istituto LUCE was established in Asmära and transferred to Addis Abäba after the conquest. 7,000 negatives had by then been reproduced, and were distributed in 350,000 copies, 60,000 metres of film were shot and 18 documentaries produced (Goglia 1989: 34f.). P. was the tool of carefully produced propaganda and contributed to the popularity of the conquest in Italy. Erotic pictures of Ethiopian women were also designed to appeal to Mussolini's soldiers, but were withdrawn after the establishment of a policy of racial discrimination in ↗ Africa Orientale Italiana (↗ Sexuality). Alongside the official photographic production, many Italian soldiers also used their own cameras to record their adventures (e.g., Steinacher 2006). Photos of massacres were also taken, and then published after the war as evidence of the violence used by the fascist troops (Kali-Nyah 1946). But the main part of Italian photographic production during the occupation was dedicated to their huge construction works.

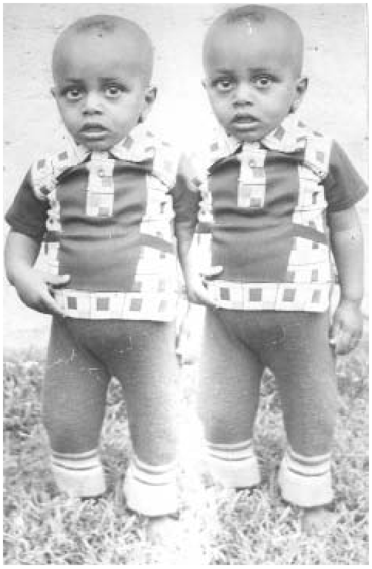


Fig. 5: Photographed on commission: Studio "Photo Matéwos", Mätähara, 1977; private collection

At the same time, the followers of Ḫaylä Śəllase also used P. to support their struggle. The Austrian Arnold Weinhold took pictures of Ethiopian ↗ resistance fighters (Pankhurst – Gérard 1998: 144), whilst British photographers documented the troops of the King of Kings and his return to Ethiopia. These images were reproduced in different mediums (books, church paintings) by the Ethiopian royalty after 1941 to justify its behaviour during the war (cp. fig. 4). Later, a defamatory photographic campaign was, in turn, used against Ḫaylä Śəllase by his adversaries during the ↗ Revolution of 1974 (Perret 1995); the distribution of photos and film material of the Wällo ↗ famine was of crucial importance for the change in public opinion towards the ruler both locally as well as internationally. Pictures of Ḫaylä Śəllase then disappeared from the public arena until 1991.

Progressive change marked photographic production in the second half of the 20th cent. Until the 1930s, only one Ethiopian photographer acquired some importance, but after the war Ethiopia's professional and amateur photographers increased. The Ministry of Information sent students abroad to study photograph-reportage; the court employed Ethiopian photographers, such as Yoḥannəs Ḫaylä (Pankhurst – Gérard 1998: 134) or later Šimälləs Dästa. Italians and Armenians opened popular photo studios (cp. fig. 3) in the capital, such as "Photalité" near the National Theatre or "Photo Jiro", but there were also Ethiopian studios, such as "Photo Berhan" or "Photo Speedy" (Pankhurst – Gérard 1998: 145). The numbers of studios increased dramatically in all the regional capitals of the country during the last quarter of the 20th cent., whilst the cost of P. became affordable to many. P. accompanied the life of urban Ethiopians (especially important for infancy, graduation ceremonies, weddings, and burials). Ethiopian photographers developed their own style from imported techniques. The retouching and colouring of photos is an Ethiopian speciality, derived from techniques introduced by Armenian photographers (Hersan 1998); the technique of duplicated or doubled portraits was used in Ethiopia and Eritrea – as in West Africa – from the 1970s (cp. fig. 5). The Ethiopian tourist information office issued postcards and made extensive use of P. to attract tourists (one photo from a 1960s touristic brochure later even served as a model for the one *Bərr* note showing a shepherd boy).

Not all inhabitants of the Horn have access to or show any interest in P. In the south of Ethiopia, e.g., the ↗Ñaŋatom still had no interest, they showed moreover some suspicion towards the camera in the 1970s (Tornay 1991). Some Muslims today refuse to be photographed, even if most did not in the past (such as in ↗Somalia). For other groups of the ↗Omo region, the photographic activities of tourists or other professionals in search of exoticism and supporters of primitivism myths are nowadays a source of income for the photographed (Tornay 2009).

Already in the 1930s and 1950s, but to a much higher degree from the 1990s, photo books attracted the interest of the public in Ethiopia and formed the image of Ethiopia in the West. Originally, photo books focused more on the Christian highlands, with some interest in Muslim areas in eastern Ethiopia (such as ↗Harär); in recent years a great number of high-quality art-print books have focused on southern populations, regarded as "exotic" witnesses of the richness of human culture, while many photo publications also uncovered the great iconographic heritage of the highlands. Due to a rising interest in historical P., there are a number of new books documenting the Ethiopia of the past through historical photo collections (e.g., Pankhurst – Gérard 1996; Biasio 2004; Steinacher 2006; Fasil Giorghis – Gérard 2007; Smidt 2009).

Lit.: BERHANOU ABEBE, "Montages et trucages photographiques dans l'Éthiopie moderne", *AE* 19, 2003, 19–41; ID., "Les Boyadjian, photographes de cour en Éthiopie", in: ALAIN METTERNICH (ed.), *Les Boyadjian, Photographes arméniens à la cour du Négus*, Paris 2007 (Connaissance des Arts, Hors-série 327), 3–13; ELISABETH BIASIO, *Prunk und Pracht am Hofe Menileks*: *Alfred Ilgs Äthiopien um 1900 – Majesty and Magnificence at the Court of Menilek*: *Alfred Ilg's Ethiopia*, Zürich 2004; ANTOINE CHERET, *Les photographies anciennes de l'Ethiopie* (*1888–1930*), M.A. thesis, Université Paris I, 1995; LUIGI GOGLIA, *Colonialismo e fotografia. Il caso italiano*, Messina 1989; FASIL GIORGHIS – DENIS GÉRARD, *Addis Ababa 1886–1941*: *the City and its Architectural Heritage/La Ville et son Patrimoine architectural*, Addis Ababa 2007; GERD GRÄBER, "Die befreiten Geiseln Kaiser Tewodros' II. Aus dem Photoalbum der Royal Engineers 1867/68", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 159–82; GueCopMen 1, 352; GUY HERSANT, "Portraits peints d'Addis-Ababa", in: *Anthologie de la photographie africaine, Revue Noire*, Paris 1998, 148–51; BERTRAND HIRSCH – MICHEL PERRET, *Ethiopie, années 30*, Paris 1989; ID., "Fonds photographiques français concernant l'Ethiopie: quelques réflexions préliminaires", in: TRIULZI 1995, 213–19; IMANI KALI-NYAH, *Italy's War Crimes in Ethiopia 1935–1941, Evidence for the War Crimes Commission*, ed. by SYLVIA PANKHURST, s.l. [Essex] 1946 (2nd ed. Chicago, IL 2000); JAN NYSSEN et al., "Desertification? Northern Ethiopia Re-photographed after 140 years", *Science of the Total Environment* 10, 1016, 2009; ADOLFO MIGNEMI (ed.), *Immagine coordinata per un impero. Etiopia 1935–1936*, Novara 1984; SILVANA PALMA (ed.), *Archivio storico della società africana d'Italia,* vol. 2: *Raccolte fotografiche e cartografiche*, Napoli 1996; EAD., "Fotografia di una colonia: L'Eritrea di Luigi Naretti (1885–1900)", *Quaderni Storici* 109, 2002, 83–147; EAD., "The Seen, the Unseen, the Invented. Misrepresentations of African 'Otherness' in the Making of a Colony. Eritrea, 1885–1896", *Cahiers d'Études africaines* 45, 1, 177, 2005, 39–69; EAD., *L'Africa nella collezione fotografica dell'IsIAO. Il fondo Eritrea–Etiopia*, Roma 2005; RICHARD PANKHURST – DENIS GÉRARD, *Ethiopia Photographed*: *Historic Photographs of the Country and its People taken between 1867 and 1935*, London – New York 1996, 27 (ill.); IID., "Photographes de cour", in: *Anthologie de la photographie africaine et de l'Océan Indien*, Paris 1998, 133–46; WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "The Coronation of *Negus* Mikael, King of Wollo and Tigray, in May 1914: New Findings", *AE* 23, 2007–08, 413–39 (Lit.); ID., *Photos as Historical Witnesses, the First Ethiopians in Germany and the First Germans in Ethiopia – the History of a Complex Relationship*, Münster – Berlin ^{2}2009; ESTELLE SOHIER, *Politiques de l'image et pouvoir royal en Éthiopie de Menilek II à Haylä Sellasé* (*1880–1936*), Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne – Università "l'Orientale" Napoli, 2007; GERALD STEINACHER (ed.), *Zwischen Duce und Negus, Südtirol und der Abessinienkrieg 1935–1941*, Bozen 2006 (Publicazioni dell'Archivio Provinciale di Bolzano 22); SERGE TORNAY, "Photographie et traitement d'autrui: réflexions d'un ethnographe", *L'Ethnographie* 87, 1, 1991, 97–112; ID., "Du corps humain comme marchandise. Mythe primitiviste et harcèlement photographique dans la Vallée de l'Omo, Éthiopie", *Afrique et histoire* 7, 2009, 331–42; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "Fotografia coloniale e storia dell'Africa", *Archivio Fotografico Toscano*, *Rivista di Storia e Fotografia* 8, 1988, 39–42; ID. (ed.), *Fotografia e storia dell'Africa*, *Atti del Convegno Internazionale Napoli – Roma 9–11 settembre 1992*, Napoli 1995; ID., "Africa: dieci anni di indagine. A che punto siamo", *Archivio Fotografico Toscano* 21, 1995, 7–11.

Estelle Sohier

Physiologos ↗Fisalgos

Piaggia, Carlo

P. (b. 4 January 1827, Badia Cantignano, Lucca, Italy, d. 17 January 1882, Karkodje, Sinnār) was an Italian traveller and explorer. After the sudden loss of his family in 1849, he travelled to Tunis in 1851 and from there to Cairo and Alexandria, where he lived for some years. In 1856 he went to Khartoum and in May 1857 to Gondokoro, on the White Nile, where he carried out ornithological research.

In the early 1860s, P. went up to the border of Niam Niam country with Orazio ↗Antinori. Towards 1872, he was living in Massawa and in October that year he participated in the expedition to the ↗Buri Peninsula led by the botanist Johann Maria Hildebrandt (1847–81). In August 1873, at the invitation of the French consul at Massawa de Sarzec, he accompanied him and the natural scientist Achille ↗Raffray to meet *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. He settled for two years in ↗Däbrä Tabor, during which time he collected information on local trade and circumnavigated Lake ↗Ṭana. In 1875, he accompanied Romolo Gessi during the latter's exploration of Lake Albert. In 1876, he went to Cairo and the next year returned to Italy. Suffering from health problems, including malaria, he died during a visit to the Sudan.

During his travels, P. assembled a collection of African weapons and domestic tools that are today kept at the Ethnographic Museum in Florence. In his writings P. provided vivid and rare descriptions of African geography and ethnography, local customs, languages, flora and fauna, especially in the Azande and Sudanese areas.

Src.: Carlo Piaggia, *Le memorie di Carlo Piaggia*, ed. by Giovanni Alfonso Pellegrinetti, Firenze 1941; Id., *Nella terra dei Niam Niam, 1863–1865*, ed. by Ezio Bassani, Lucca 1978; Id., *Due anni tra i cannibali. Autobiografia trascritta e coordinata da Giovanni Alfonso Pellegrinetti*, Torino 1981.

Lit.: Federigo Bey Bonola, *In memoria di Carlo Piaggia. Conferenza letta il 23 Settembre 1894 nella grande sala del Liceo Musicale Pacini …*, Lucca 1895; Luigi Pennazzi, *Carlo Piaggia e Romolo Gessi e la loro opera in Africa …*, Milano 1882; Eugenio Passamonti, *La vita di Carlo Piaggia*, Rocca S. Casciano 1937; Emanuela Rossi, *Carlo Piaggia: un antropologo prima dell'antropologia*, Roma 2008, 209.

Giancarlo Stella

Pierre-Alype

Pierre Marie François Jules Alype, known as "P.-A." (b. 1886, d. 1956) was a French governor of French Somaliland (↗Djibouti).

P.A. originated from La Réunion, and his colonial career ran from 1908 to 1938. He was first Commis aux Affaires Indigènes in Afrique Orientale Française (1908), a member of the higher Council of the Colonies, then governor of French Somaliland (1937–38) and finally a governor of Guadeloupe (1938). He was a freemason (↗freemasonry, s. EAE vol. 5), and as writer-in-chief of the *Presse coloniale*, he also embarked upon an administrative career. He was detached to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (1933–37) and was prefect of Bordeaux between 1940 and 1942, and then condemned to death for contumacy by the Court of Justice of Bordeaux. After escaping, he returned to France only in 1946 and was discharged by the military tribunal of Paris in 1955.

In the ministries P.A. at first worked in the office of the Under-Secretary of State for art schools (1914–16), and then for the Colonies (1916–17). P.-A. always cultivated an interest in Ethiopia. In 1922 he directed a French official economic mission aimed at providing the means for development of the agricultural and mining resources of Ethiopia. He founded the Syndicat France-Abyssinie for the study and development of Ethiopia, in order to take over half of the business of the Bank of Abyssinia (↗Banking), thus increasing the French share. The purpose of this was to make use of all concessions which were be considered useful to exploit, to fund banks, credit institutions, industrial, commercial or mining houses. With his friend and colleague ↗Lagarde he placed a commemorative plaque on Lagarde's house in ↗Obock in 1938. P.-A. wrote many articles and books in defence of Ethiopia's liberty and independence, in particular at the time of its appeal to the ↗League of Nations and during the Italian invasion.

Src.: Pierre Marie François Julien Alype, *Une route impériale française menacée en Mer Rouge. Les conversations franco-italiennes et l'Éthiopie* [Annexes: *L'Empire d'Éthiopie dans la Société des Nations*, par Pierre Alype, *L'Admission de l'Éthiopie dans la Société des Nations*, par Charles Michel-Côte, *Une menace pour l'Éthiopie*, par Paul Martin], Paris 1934, 111; Id., *Sous la couronne de Salomon. L'Empire des Négus, de la reine de Saba à la Société des Nations*, preface by Henri de Jouvenel, Paris 1935, 313; Id., *L'Éthiopie et les convoitises allemandes*; *la politique anglo–franco–italienne*, Paris 1917, 287.

Lit.: *Annuaire des préfets de France*, 443f.

Lukian Prijac

Pietromarchi, Luca

Count P. (pen-name Luca dei Sabelli; b. 8 March 1895, Rome, d. 1978, Rome) was a diplomat and writer.

In 1915 P. was sent as second lieutenant to Eritrea where from 1916 to 1919 he held the office of deputy of the Commissariato of Barca. In 1920, back in Italy, P. graduated in Law from the University of Rome. From 1923 to 1930 he worked for the secretariat of the League of Nations. In 1932 he entered the cabinet of the Foreign Minister Galeazzo Ciano and began a long service in Italian diplomacy, with only one interruption due to the fall of Fascist regime.

Luca Pietromarchi; photo courtesy of the author

In 1943, in co-operation with General Giuseppe Castellano, P. negotiated the armistice with the Allied Powers and put an end to the alliance with Germany. As a result, ↗Mussolini removed him from office, and P. had to go into hiding.

In 1947 P. moved to Brasil as a reporter for the *Osservatore Romano*. He soon recommenced his diplomatic career, serving as the ambassador to Turkey from 1950 to 1958, and to the USSR from 1958 to 1961.

In his monumental work on Abyssinia, which is fairly well-researched but which betrays the hand of an author who was not a professional historian, P. recalls the decades of peace and prosperity ensured by the centralized power and openly eulogizes the Empire founded by the Italians. Describing the formative process or Ethiopia, the author emphasizes the role of Christianity versus Islam.

In 1996 his son Antonello donated P.'s private archive, comprising ca. 5,000 private letters, documents and photographs from 1915 to 1977, to the Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, Turin.

Src.: LUCA PIETROMARCHI, *Mezzi per favorire l'opera civilizzatrice dei missionari. Relazione al 3° Congresso antischiavista nazionale*, *Roma 21–24 aprile 1921*, Roma 1921; ID., *Nazioni e minoranze etniche*, 2 vols., Bologna 1929; ID., *Comportamento delle stirpi camitiche verso la civiltà europea*, Roma 1938; ID. [LUCA DEI SABELLI], *Storia d'Abissinia*, 4 vols., Roma 1937–38.

Giancarlo Stella

Pilgrimages

Christian pilgrimages

General

P. is defined as a journey undertaken for religious purposes to a holy site. P. in Ethiopia has not yet been the subject of systematic study (cp. survey article by Pankhurst [in PICES 12, vol. 2, 933–53]). Only a few of the major P. (the residence of the ↗*Abbaa mudaa*; ↗Lalibäla; ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn; ↗Däbrä Libanos; ↗Nägaš) have been properly described, and even these have not been the subject of exhaustive analysis. The specific rituals performed at P. and the catchment areas from which they draw participants have not been adequately documented. Finally, the vast theoretical literature regarding P. (e.g., Turner 1974; Eade – Sallnow 1991) has not been rigorously applied to Ethiopian cases.

Pankhurst (in PICES 12, vol. 2, 935) suggests that P. are limited to visits to sacred places which take place at a specified time and in a group context. However, such limitations are not accepted by many scholars of religion. While both ↗Islam and ↗Judaism have set times for their annual P.'s, this is much less the case with regard to ↗Christianity. Rather, it may be useful to distinguish between P. performed only on particular dates and those undertaken by individuals. Among Orthodox Christians among the most important P. sites which are associated with particular dates are ↗Aksum (21 *Ḫədar*), Lalibäla (Christmas, the birth of Lalibäla, 29 *Taḫśaś*, and the Feast of Lalibäla, 12 *Säne*), Gəšän Maryam (21 *Mäskäräm*, s. ↗Amba Gəšän), ↗Qulləbi Gäbrəᵓel (15 *Ḥamle*), Mount ↗Zəqʷala (↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, 5 *Ṭəqəmt*). The tomb of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot at Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa is visited by great numbers of pilgrims, especially on three of the Saint's annual feasts 12 *Gənbot*, the day of the translation of his relics, 24 *Taḫśaś* (his birthday) and 24 *Näḥase* (the day of his death.) To these must be added the Muslim ↗*ḥaǧǧ* and the annual ↗*Səgd* festival among the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel. Nevertheless, there are numerous examples of Christian P. and those of other believers which are more individual in character. While both forms of practice deserve the designation of P., their social functions clearly differ.

While some scholars have emphasized the integrative role of P. and focused on its liminal aspects and the formation of special non-hierarchical communal bonds (*communitas*, Turner 1974), others have chosen to emphasize the contested aspects of P. (Eade – Sallnow 1991) emphasizing the differing experiences of different participants.

Although P. are not undertaken primarily for economic reasons, the giving of ↗alms, exchange of goods and establishment of markets play a significant role in the P. experience. The provision of goods and services to pilgrims is often a major economic boon to the residents of the

Pilgrims at the monastery of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa; photo 2002, courtesy of Alula Pankhurst

region which hosts a P. site. At Christian P. religious images, crosses and other religious items are sold. ↗Alms are given to the poor, and charity is dispersed to ↗hermits and preachers who frequent such events. ↗Gifts are also often given to the churches or monasteries. In addition to their tales of wonders and miracles, pilgrims often take water, soil or ash from the censers back with them to their homes and churches.

Multi-religiosity

P. sites often reveal several layers of symbolism recalling different stages in their historical development. P. sites often transcend the limits of one particular religious tradition. Thus, pre-Christian and pre-Muslim P. sites were often transformed into sites of veneration by the monotheistic religions. Hagiographic sources and oral traditions provide charter legends for such transformations. In some cases, the P. site becomes the exclusive focus on the new faith, but often multi-meanings result and devotees arrive from several faiths (e.g., ↗Faraqasa; ↗Momina [s. EAE, vol. 5]).

The centre of the cult of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus is at Zəqʷala. Both Oromo traditionalist P. and Amhara Christian P. take place in close proximity of each other. The former attend a ceremony in the forest, while the Christians visit the monastery. However, some followers of Oromo religion also let their children be baptized, receive blessings from priests, take home holy water (↗*Ṣäbäl*) etc. Although monks and churchmen disapprove of such folk-religious practices, Christians visit stones and bow and kiss them.

Christian and Betä Ǝsraʾel pilgrimage

For Ethiopian Orthodox Christians the highest form of P. is the journey to ↗Jerusalem on Easter. Ethiopian pilgrims to Jerusalem are mentioned in the 4th cent. letters of St. Paula and St. Eustochium, although the reference may be to Africans in general and not to Aksumite Christians. This arduous journey which in the past took several months was often accompanied by a P. to the most important Coptic monasteries and holy sites in ↗Egypt such as the monastery of Muharraq (in Ethiopia known as Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam) near Asyut (Chaillot 2002: 142). Contact with the Copts, Ethiopian monks in Jerusalem and clerics of other churches in the Holy Land were an important vehicle of cultural and religious exchange for the relatively isolated Ethiopian Church. Although many such journeys were taken on individual initiative in the past, today an association in Ethiopia (the Jerusalem Memorial Association) organizes P. to the Holy Land. The P. to Jerusalem was for Christians an archetypal P., and shorter journeys to ↗Maryam Ṣəyon in Aksum and Lalibäla were modelled on this ultimate religious journey.

An important P. site until its destruction by the armies of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in 1531 was ↗Däbrä Kol in Eritrea, south-west of Mändäfära, which is also known as Ǝnda ↗Buruk Amlak in honor of the Saint whose tomb is on the site. The site has a spring, which probably predates the Saint, but is said to have miraculously begun to flow when he was murdered by rebels. ↗Däbra Nägʷädgʷad in Dähaya rose to prominence during the reign of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, who had the remains of his father *aṣe* Dawit II transferred there and buried his mother and several church leaders at the site. He himself was also buried there.

↗Däbrä Bəśrat located in Morät holds the grave of *abunä* ↗Zena Marqos. Pilgrims flocked to his grave, often sleeping there in the hopes of receiving a vision of the saint in their dreams. P. to the site were very popular particularly on 3 *Taḫśaś*, which marked his death and on the 3rd of every month.

Most Betä Ǝsraʾel holy places are associated with the life or death of a holy man or monk.

In some cases these were monasteries; in others sites of great feats of resistance against the Christian kingdom. Although P. to such sites was more common on holidays such as the new moon, visits were by no means limited to special days. A notable exception to this pattern is *Səgd*, which took place on the 29th day of the 8th month. Although different Betä Ǝsraʾel communities had traditional locations where they celebrated this festival, such sites were not themselves holy places with deep traditions of their own. Although *Səgd* could not take place on a site contaminated by graves or animal corpses, the hilltop was not itself of special significance. Rather, the P. ritual granted sanctity to the site. Some traditions connect *Səgd* with P. to Jerusalem and others say it commemorates Ezra's proclamation against the foreign wives (Ezra 10:10–12). Yet, others associate it with Mount Sinai and the proclamation of the Decalogue.

Pilgrimage in traditional religion

As in the monotheistic religions, P. features some traditional ↗religions; the old ↗Oromo religion may be an example here. The most important P. for followers of the Oromo religion is that to the ↗*abbaa muudaa.* This takes place every eight years as part of the ↗*gaada* cycle. The ethnographic reports gathered over more than 150 years do not provide a uniform picture, but do enable us to summarize the most important features of the P. (cf. Knutson 1967). Descriptions of this P. offer striking evidence of the kinds of behaviour associated with the "liminal" period in many P. Thus, participants do not cut their hair or nails during their journey. Some traditions say they dress as women and bear no weapons even if they must pass through enemy territory; others that their head is shaved or cut to look like that of a small boy. Women do not participate, but the wives of those on P. do not oil their hair or eat bread prepared by others. Some traditions say they sleep on the ground, not in a bed. The pilgrims (known as a *ğila*) have immunity from robbers.

A crucial part of the P. is the ceremony when the pilgrims reach the P. site. During this ceremony they are anointed and given myrrh which they take home with them. When they return home, they plant a ↗sycamore tree and are forbidden to have any connection with war or weapons. They are "retired" from the *gaada* system (↗Gadaamooğği).

Lit.: SHOSHANA BEN-DOR, "Hameqomot ha-qeddoshim shel Yehudai Etiyopia" ('The Holy Places of the Ethiopian Jewry'), *Pe'amim* 22, 1985, 33–52; CerPal; CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition: a Brief Introduction to its Life and Spirituality*, Paris 2002, 142–48; JOHN EADE – MICHAEL SALLNOW (eds.), *Contesting the Sacred: the Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, London 1991; DAVID FRANKFURTER, "Approaches to Coptic Pilgrimage", in: ID. (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, Leiden 1998, 3–48; ALAIN GASCON – BERTRAND HIRSCH, "Les espaces sacrés comme lieux de confluence religieuse en Éthiopie", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 32, 128, 1992, 689–704; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, *Music, Ritual and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1989, 48ff.; KARL ERIC KNUTSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967, 147–51; WOLF LESLAU, "Taamrat Emanuel's Notes on Falasha Monks and Holy Places", in: *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume*, New York 1975, 623–37; MIRGISSA KABA, "Pilgrimage to Zeqwala Abbo", *Sociology Ethnology Bulletin* 1, 1, 1991, 3-4; ALULA PANKHURST, "Reflection on Pilgrimages in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 2, 933–53; ID., "Dabra Libanos Pilgrimages Past and Present, the Mystery of the Bones and the Legend of Saint Takla Haymanot", *Sociology-Ethnology Bulletin* 1, 3, 1991, 14–36; VICTOR TURNER, "Pilgrimages as Social Processes", in: ID. (ed.), *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, Ithaca, NY – London 1974, 166–230.

Steven Kaplan

Islamic pilgrimages

From a general point of view P. in ↗Islam may be classified under two distinct categories: *ḥağğ* (the P. performed by the faithful to ↗Mecca and its nearby sacred area) and *ziyāra* (the P. to the shrine of Prophet ↗Muḥammad in Medina and to the shrines of holy men).

Ḥağğ is one of the five pillars of Islam and it must be carried out at least once in a lifetime by the faithful who possess the economic means to do so without putting their families in distress. It must take place during a fixed time (in the twelfth and last month of the lunar Islamic calendar *ḏū l-ḥiğğa*) and it is strictly regulated by highly formalized and very detailed rules that guarantee its legal validity. It must be differentiated from the simpler *ʿumra* which is limited to the city of Mecca and has no precise period of performance (↗*Ramaḍān* is preferred but not compulsory). The rituals and ceremonies of *ḥağğ* mostly have pre-Islamic forerunners. They are reinterpreted by Islam which claims to have restored them to their original shape and meaning first established by the praxis of Prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham).

Data about the participation of Ethiopian Muslims in the *ḥağğ* in pre-modern times are very scanty. It is certain that pilgrims coming from the Horn did take part in the *ḥağğ* and

Muslims pilgrims on the way to the site of Yaᵓa in Beni Šangul; freeze image from the 2006 movie "Pilgrimage to Yaᵓa: Feasting the consumers of the sacred" by Yasuo Matsunami

stayed in Mecca looking for religious education and spiritual enrichment: al-↗Maqrīzī's *Ilmām* is partially based on information that the author probably had from Ethiopians whom he met in Mecca in 839 H. [1435/36 A.D.] (MaqIlmam 2f.; MaqIlmam^{2} 2). Pilgrims from West Africa to Mecca passed through Northern Ethiopia and Eritrea and some of them settled there on the way back from Arabia (↗Fellata; ↗Hausa). It seems, however, that the number of Ethiopian pilgrims was always limited until modern times (TrIslam 153, 229). In Ethiopian Arabic sources, one may find names of a few outstanding personages mentioned together with the honorific title *ḥāǧǧ* (e.g., *al-ḥāǧǧ* Afayzarū, WagFath 60f., passim). In more recent times, information on Ethiopian pilgrims has become more conspicuous. Some data hint at the participation of Hararis in the *ḥaǧǧ* at the end of the 19th cent. In 1874 Harari pilgrims in Mecca are said to have invited the Egyptians to protect the town from the Oromo menace (Erlich 2007:21). In two Arabic documents from Harär (the first about the battle of Č̣ällänqo, the second about the negotiations after the fall of the town in January 1887), some prominent representatives of the Muslim community are mentioned with the title *al-ḥāǧǧ* (CerIslam 387–90). In colonial times, within the frame of a policy that tended to favour Islam in their colonies, the Italian authorities strongly supported Eritrean and Ethiopian Muslims to perform the P. to Mecca. In 1917, Italy purchased hostels in Mecca, Medina and Jeddah to host pilgrims from Italian colonies (Miran 2005:201). While in 1933 eleven Ethiopians went to Mecca, they numbered 29 in 1934–35 and seven in 1936 (s. Erlich 2007:73). The Italians managed to enhance these figures drastically: in 1937, the colonial administration directly organized P. to Mecca (ibid. 69) for 1,779 pilgrims from ↗Africa Orientale Italiana; in 1938 their number was 1,110 and in 1939 it was 696. The Italian administration covered all the expenses of the sea trip and provided an equipped ship. Inhabitants of Somalia, Harärge and "Galla-Sidama" sailed from Mogadishu while people coming from Eritrea, Amhara and Šäwa embarked in Massawa. Some (275 in 1937; 230 in 1938 and 265 in 1939) managed to have their *ḥaǧǧ* fully paid by the Italian government (*Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 1940:711ff.; TrIslam 229). Pilgrims supported by the colonial administration were instrumental to Italian propaganda during the *ḥaǧǧ* in the frame of the anti-British and anti-French politics of Fascist Italy in the Muslim world (Erlich 2007:74). In 1945, the number of Ethiopian pilgrims sank back to only 57 adults and 5 children (ibid.).

No exact data are available on Ethiopian participation in the *ḥaǧǧ* in the following years. A *ḥaǧǧ* committee existed in the country and for a period it was directed by *al-ḥāǧǧ* Yūsuf ᶜAbdarraḥmān (ibid. 102). It was renewed in 1974 by the *Därg* regime and in that same year some 3,000 pilgrims left for the *ḥaǧǧ* thanks to the help of the new regime which asked them to inform their brethren in Mecca about the changes going on in Ethiopia (Hussein Ahmed in PICES 12, vol. 1, 784; Erlich 2007:136). The *ḥaǧǧ* and *ᶜumra* committee was then accused of corruption and its organizational and logistical activity was put under the direct control of the Ministry of Interior (Hussein Ahmed in PICES 12, vol. 1, 790). The number of people allowed to travel to Mecca was fixed to a maximum of 2,000 (in 1978 only 120 people went to Mecca). After the fall of the *Därg*, pilgrims from Ethiopia eventually acquired a good opportunity to go on the *ḥaǧǧ* but bureaucratic problems concerning the issue of passports and visas as well as the unwillingness of the Saudi authorities to allow people to stay in the country once the *ḥaǧǧ* is over caused several protest demonstrations in Addis Abäba (Hussein Ahmed in PICES 12, vol. 1, 794f.).

The pilgrim returning from *ḥaǧǧ* is always warmly and respectfully welcomed by his neighbourhood or village (Gibb 1996:257). The title *ḥāǧǧ* gives him high religious prestige and a socially recognized revered position.

For the instruction of the faithful, booklets explaining the correct way to carry out one's *ḥaǧǧ* have been written in local languages. In Amharic, *al-ḥāǧǧ* Kämal Ḥaǧǧ wrote *Yämäkka mädina guzo məsṭir* ('The Inner Meaning of the Journey to Mecca and Medina', Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967 A.D.]) and more recently Muḥammad Wale *Yäḥaǧǧənna ᶜumra guzo śənä śərᶜat* ('The Rituals of the *Ḥaǧǧ* and *ᶜUmra* Journey', 1412 H. [1991 A.D.]); in Təgrəñña, Ǧamāl Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ published in Riyadh *Ḥaǧǧ ᶜumran zəyaran ab təḥti ṣəlal kitabən sunnan* ('*Ḥaǧǧ*, *ᶜUmra* and *Ziyāra* According to the Book and the Sunna').

The P. to sacred places, shrines of holy men, commonly called *ziyāra* (Arab., 'visit'), has a questioned theological and legal status. To look for the intercession of saints and to ask for the bestowal of some divine grace in their name have been condemned by many scholars, in particular those belonging to the *ḥanbalī* legal school who believe *ziyāra* to be, in contrast to the prophetic *Sunna* and a manifestation of anthropolatry menacing the monotheism Islam. Moreover, some of the ceremonies held during these P. have been considered immoral and indecent. Linked as it is with the cult of the saints (↗*Walī*), *ziyāra* is seen as suspect by many theologians who fear the spread of *bidᶜa* ('harmful innovation') among the "ignorant" masses. Nevertheless, *ziyāras* are widespread everywhere in the Islamic world and are one of the most impressive manifestations of the religious life of both Sunni and Shiite Muslims (s., e.g., Meri in EI^2).

In Ethiopia as elsewhere in the Muslim world, *ziyāra* can be performed any day of the year at an individual or family level (e.g., before a marriage or after a birth, Gibb 1996: 258–61). Collective organized P. are mostly carried out on the anniversary of the death of the *walī* (sometimes called *ḥawlīya*) or on other important Islamic occasions (esp. ↗*Mawlid* and *ᶜĀšūrāʾ*). In ↗Harär a specific calendar of successive group visits to local saints is set up for different occasions (Foucher in PICES 11). Sometimes, the *ziyāra* is directed not to an actual shrine but to a cenotaph (generally called *maqām* or sometimes *galma*) or to a sacred place where a rock, a tree or another natural element is believed to represent the memory and the beneficent influential power or *baraka* of a holy man (ibid. 1994: 74f.).

In Ethiopia, every Muslim community in the country has its own cherished *ziyāras*. In ↗Wällo, the shrines of ↗Muḥammad Šāfī (d. 1806–07) in Ǧäma Nəguś, of *al-ḥāǧǧ* Bušrā (d. 1863) in Gäta, of Ǧamāladdīn in Anna (d. 1882) together with others are the main sacred places where *ziyāras* take place (HusIslam 83–91). In ↗Gurage ↗Qaṭbäre (*šayḫ* ᶜĪsā), ↗Abrät (*šayḫ* Budallā Bušrā, s. EAE vol. 5) and ↗Wäläne (*šayḫ* ᶜUmar) are the most visited shrines. In western Ethiopia it is ↗Yaʾa. In Harär, the town of the saints (*madīnat al-awliyāʾ*), among the huge number of shrines (WagFath; Foucher 1988), those of *šayḫ* ↗Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍāʾ, *amīr* ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid, *āy* ↗ᶜĀbida, ↗ᶜAlī Ḥamdūn, ᶜAbdalqādir al-Ǧīlānī and ↗Umma Koda are the destinations of the most crowded and frequent P.

Some Ethiopian *ziyāras* have a country-wide appeal: for instance, *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale whose festivals twice a year cause the gathering of several thousands of pilgrims in Anāǧina (i.e. ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn) and the grave of Aṣḥama b. Abǧar in ↗Nägaš (Təgray) to which foreign faithful are also said to flock.

A basic common rituality can be detected in most of the collective Ethiopian *ziyāras*. ↗Syncretism has been often pointed out as the main characteristic of these practices even if a sincere Islamic dimension of the rituals can almost never be denied. The chant of religious hymns (written or orally transmitted, in Arabic or in local languages) praising God and honoring the Prophet or the visited saint is perhaps the most evident feature of P. to a shrine. The chant is usually accompanied by drum beating and dancing (↗*Ḏikr*). Both sexes often freely mix during the performances. ↗Incense burning, ↗coffee drinking, ↗*č̣at* chewing, ↗sacrifices of animals and valuable goods are also part of the ceremonies that may last several days. ↗Prayers and supplications are repeatedly uttered to obtain the *baraka* of the saint or of the Prophet and their intercession before God (Hasselblatt 1974; HusIslam 84–88).

On an individual level, a person who falls in distress may be pushed to visit a holy man to find a solution to his problem. Supplications are read or simply intoned to make the *baraka* of the visited holy man. The mystical power of the saint should guarantee a miracle (Arab. *karāma*) which, from a theologically orthodox point of view, is performed by God through the saint. Prayers are often joined by vows and in this case pieces of cloth are frequently bound to the shrine as a token of the engagement of the faithful with the saint: they are untied when the vow is fulfilled (Foucher 1994: 75f.). The role of P. to the shrines of the Muslim saints has been crucial in the spread of Islam in many Ethiopian regions (cp. Braukämper 2004).

As in other cultural areas, some Ethiopian *ziyāras* have a more or less evident cross-religious aspect as both Muslims and Christians together participate at the same ceremonies; conversely, some recent Christian P. sites are visited also by Muslims (e.g., Maryam Daᶜrit of ↗Kärän, ↗Qulləbi Gäbrəʾel, ↗Faraqasa; ↗Momina [s. EAE vol. 5]).

Src.: *Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 3, 1, 1940, 711–13; CerIslam 387–90; Bernard Lewis [– Arent Jan Wensinck – Jacques Jomier], "Hadjdj", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 3, 31–38; MaqIlmam 2f.; MaqIlmam^2 2; Josef W. Meri, "Ziyāra", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 12, 567–72; *aš-šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* Muḥammad Walī, *Kitāb īqāẓ himam al-aġbiyaʾ bi-rašḥ qaṭrat min tarāǧim al-ᶜulamāʾ wal-awliyāʾ fī ǧumhūriyat Iṯyūbiyā* ('The Book of Awakening of the Aspirations of the Ignorant through Spraying a Drop of Biographies of the Scholars and Saints in the Ethiopian Republic'), Addis Abäba 2005; *šayḫ* ᶜUmär *šayḫ* Bäšər, **ጥሮና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቀደምትና፡ ታላላቅ፡ ኡለማዎች፡ ታሪክ፡ በወለኔ፡ ሸክ፡ የተጻፈ** (*Ṭərona. Yäʾityop̣ya qäddämtənna talallaq ulämawočč tarik, Bäwäläne šäk yätäṣafä*, 'Ṭərona. The History of the Ethiopian Earlier and Great [Islamic] Scholars, Written down by the *šayḫ* of Wäläne'), ed. by Abdulfetah Abdällah, Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [= 2005 A.D.]; WagFath; Yətbaräk ᶜAlämu, **ቁልቢ፡ ታላቁ፡ ተራራ** (*Qulləbi. Tallaqu tärara*, 'Qulləbi. The Big Montain'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [=2004/05 A.D.].

Lit.: Ulrich Braukämper, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia*, Münster 2004, 106–27; Haggai Erlich, *Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia. Islam, Christianity and Politics Entwined*, Boulder, CO – London 2007; Emile Foucher, "Names of Mussulmans Venerated in Harar and its Surroundings: a List", *ZDMG* 138, 1988, 263–82; Id., "The Cult of Muslim Saints in Harar: Religious Dimension", in: *PICES* 11, 1994, vol. 2, 71–83; Gunnar Hasselblatt, "Visiting a Qadiriyya Mawlid Celebration in Ethiopia", *al-Basheer* 3, 1974, 51–60; Hussein Ahmed, "Islam and Islamic Discourse in Ethiopia (1973–1993)", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 775–801; HusIslam; Jonathan Miran, "A Historical Overview of Islam in Eritrea", *Die Welt des Islams* 45, 2005, 177–215; TrIslam 153, 229; Ewald Wagner, "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 269–92.

Alessandro Gori

Pirzio Biroli, Alessandro

P.B. (b. 23 July 1877, Bologna, d. 20 May 1962, Rome) was a high ranking officer in the Italian Army and Governor of Amhara in ↗Africa Orientale Italiana. Born to a noble family, P.B. first became famous for winning a silver medal as a sabre fencer at the 1908 Olympic Games in London. He started his military career in 1918 becoming Commanding Officer of a Bersaglieri Regiment. His colonial experience began in 1936 when, as General Officer, he commanded the Corpo d'Armata Eritreo and participated in the ↗Italian War of 1935–36. P.B.'s Corps maintained a prominent role in the northern front of the campaign, defeating the Ethiopian Army in the Battle of ↗May Č̣äw (31 March 1936) and victoriously entering Däse a few days later.

In 1936 P.B. became Governor of Amhara, an Italian administrative unit which included Šäwa, Goǧǧam and Gondär. He had to face fierce resistance from Ethiopian patriots and adopted repressive policies. After an unprecedented wave of insurgency in the colony, Marshal Rodolfo ↗Graziani accused P.B. of incompetence claiming that his atrocities were responsible for the unrest. Allegedly, P.B. cruelly executed a number of Ethiopian notables having them drowned in Lake Ṭana. P.B. was also accused of *madamismo*, and the Governorship of Amhara was accordingly nicknamed "governo allegro", the rumours of P.B.'s relationships with local women reaching as far as Rome. Another accusation was that of nepotism: indeed the Italian Minister for the Colonies, Alessandro ↗Lessona, had appointed two of his first cousins, P.B and Vincenzo De Feo, as Governors of Amhara and Eritrea, fuelling an age long dispute between himself and Graziani. In December 1937 P.B. was replaced by General Ottavio Mezzetti.

P.B. was later assigned to Eastern Europe as General of the 9th Italian Army which successfully occupied Montenegro: here P.B. remained as Governor from 1941 to the end of Italian rule in 1943.

In 1947 the Ethiopian Government chose ten prominent Italian colonial officers, among them P.B., to be indicted at the UN War Crimes Commission. After protracted discussions the Commission decided to accept the charges. However, in 1948 the Ethiopian government decided to focus its limited resources on Badoglio and Graziani, abandoning attempts to prosecute P.B. and the others.

Src.: Ministry of Press, *La civilisation de l'Italie fasciste*, Addis Ababa 1948; Ministry of Justice, *Documents on Italian War Crimes submitted to the United Nations War Crimes Commission*, vol. 2, n. 3–4, Addis Ababa 1949; Reginaldo Giuliani, *Per Cristo e per la patria*: *ultimi scritti dall'Africa*, Firenze 1937; Rodolfo Graziani, *Ho difeso la patria*, Milano 1948; Id., *I primi venti mesi dell'Impero*, [ms.], Archivio centrale dello Stato, Fondo Graziani, Roma; Carlo Ronconi, *Dai primi passi alla conquista dell'Impero*, Roma 1940 (with a preface by Alessandro Pirzio Biroli), 216, 237-45; H. Arthur Steiner, "The Government of Italian East Africa", *The American Political Science Review* 30, 5, 1936, 884–902.

Lit.: Andrew J. Barker, *The Civilizing Mission*: *a History of the Italo–Ethiopian War of 1935–1936*, New York 1968, 168, 185, 236, 256, 272, 276; Angelo Del Boca, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale*: *la conquista dell'impero*, vol. 2, Roma 1976, passim; Id., *I gas di Mussolini: Il fascismo e la guerra d'Etiopia*, Roma 1996; MockWar 54, 64, 82, 114; Richard Pankhurst, "The Secret History of the Italian Fascist Occupation of Ethiopia 1935–1941", *Africa Quar-*

terly 16, 4, 1977, 1–52; Id., “Italian Fascist War Crimes in Ethiopia: a History of their Discussion, from the League of Nations to the United Nations (1936–1949)”, *NEASt* 6, 1–2, 1999, 83–140; Alberto Sbacchi, *Ethiopia under Mussolini*: *Fascism and the Colonial Experience,* London 1985, 50ff., 81, 136, 170; Id., “I governatori coloniali italiani in Etiopia: gelosie e rivalità nel periodo 1936–1940”, *Storia contemporanea* 8, 4, 1977, 835–77.

Matteo Salvadore

Piva, Abele

P. (b. 23 March 1869, Montova, d. 1953) was an Italian military officer and archaeologist.

P. took part in the ↗Italian war 1895–96. He was injured at the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, whilst fighting in General Dabormida’s brigade and subsequently returned to Italy. On recovery, P. returned to Eritrea, being assigned to a military unit of the Regio Corpo di Truppe Coloniali in the Kärän region. During 1905–06 he conducted archaeological excavations at ↗Aratu. He also recorded sites in the surrounding region, among them monolithic ↗stelae at Mamruk on the Däbrä Qəddus plateau and other ruins on the slopes of the Forum hill. P. published studies on ancient Eritrea and on its population.

P. continued to pursue a military career eventually achieving the rank of brigadier general. As such he commanded the Alpine troops from 1923 to 1934.

Src.: Anon., “Ricerche Archeologiche nel Bet Tacuè”, *Bullettino Ufficiale della Colonia Eritrea* 54, 38, 1905, 215; Anon., “Scoperte archeologiche”, *ibid.* 10, 1906, 37; Abele Piva, *Origine fisionomica e storia delle antiche genti dell’Eritrea*, Roma 1907; Id., “Una civiltà scomparsa dell’Eritrea e gli scavi archeologici nella regione di Cheren”, *Nuova Antologia* 128, 1907, 323–35.
Lit.: ErDizBio s.v.; Rufino Da Albino, “Abele Piva”, *Bollettino. Istituto di Studi Etiopici* [Asmara] 1, 11 September 1953.

Andrea Manzo

Plagues ↗Diseases

Plant, Ruth Isabella

P. (née Churchill, b. 1912, d. 17 April 1988) was a British architect who studied the architecture of ↗Təgray. The daughter of Sydney Churchill and of Stella Churchill, she was trained at the British Architectural Association. She first married a fellow architect, Donald Craik; after his death she married William Plant.

Visiting Ethiopia as a tourist in the mid-1960s, P. developed a passionate interest in the ↗rock-hewn churches of Təgray. Making the Abraha Castle Hotel in ↗Mäq̱älä her base, she carried out numerous expeditions, inspecting, photographing, and making detailed architectural sketches of 141 churches, mostly rock-hewn, but also some with stone, in ↗Ǝndärta, ↗Kələttä Awləᶜalo (s. EAE vol. 5), ↗Tämben, and ᶜAgamä, as well as the ↗Aksum and ↗ᶜAdwa area, and other parts of Təgray. She wrote up all her findings and speculations in numerous publications, the most definitive of which was her *Architecture of the Tigre* (1985; largely a reedition of Plant 1970). In 1972 P. was awarded a M. Litt. for a thesis on the same subject.

Though mainly involved in her own research P. also served as architect and surveyor for the British Institute in Eastern Africa’s first dig at Aksum in 1973 (Chittick 1974:162, 205). The Ethiopian civil war prevented her from continuing her work in Təgray. P.’s photographs are preserved in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries in London.

Src.: Ruth Plant – David Buxton, “Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province”, *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–268; Ruth Plant, “Notes on Seventeen Newly-Discovered Rock-hewn Churches of Tigre”, *ibid.* 16, 1, 1973, 36–53; Ead., “Painter’s Pattern Book, Mäkelle, Tigre Province, Ethiopia”, *ibid.* 16, 1973, 133–40; Ead., “A Hypothesis on the Origins of Ethiopian Architecture”, *Abbay* 9, 1978, 21–24; Ead., “The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of Tigre Province in the Light of Present Evidence”, in: *PICES* 5b, 315–27; Ead., “Greek Altar Cloth and Other Objects at Maryam Dengeleat (Edage Hamus Woreda, Agame Awraga, Tigre Province, Ethiopia)”, *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 157–62; Ead., *Notes on the Architecture of Aksum, Tigre, Ethiopia*, ms., Nairobi 1983; Ead., *Architecture of Aksum*, Report to the B.I.E.A., Nairobi 1983; Ead., *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985.
Lit.: David Buxton, *The Abyssinians*, London 1970, 103–18; Neville Chittick, “Excavations at Aksum: a Preliminary Report”, *Azania* 9, 1974, 159–205; MHAksum 169; Richard Pankhurst, “Ruth Plant (1912–1988)”, *JES* 21, 1988, 215–18; Stewart Plant, “Obituary of Ruth Plant”, *The Independent*, 22 April 1988; Tewelde Medhin Joseph, “Introduction générale aux églises monolithiques du Tigrai”, in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 83–98.

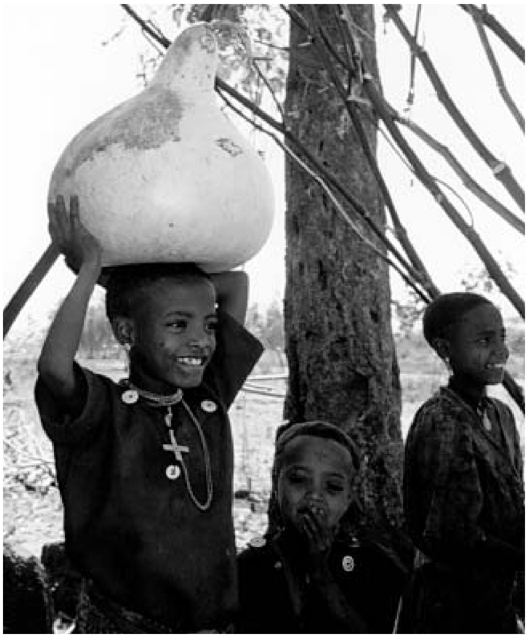
Richard Pankhurst

Plants

Cultivated plants

Ethiopia is a country renowned for its rich genetic resources of cultivated P. Since antiquity new crops have been adopted from either wild species or external sources. In the long process of experimenting, innovating, domesticating and introducing useful P., a wide range of P. taxa was selected. This process has produced a collection of ancient crop varieties referred to as farmers’ varieties or landrace varieties.

Some of the crops that were introduced to the Ethiopian environment extremely early (5,000–



Girl carrying a pumpkin; photo 2000, courtesy of Jürgen Beil

7,000 years ago), have diversified considerably so that the country is known to be a secondary centre of diversification or gene accumulation. Other cultivated P. have been introduced during the last 100 years or so. The process of introduction of new P. still continues as can be seen in the recent proliferation of the avocado pear (*Persea americana*) and casmir (*Casimiroa edulis*).

Ethiopia is in fact known as a Vavilovian center of origin and diversity of crop P. This diversity in cultivated P. is largely ascribed to the differences in biophysical as well as socio-cultural factors. The highly dissected highlands and ravines act as barriers to the spread of particular crops. Topographical isolation, the diversity in agro-ecological conditions and the unique sets of agricultural and socio-cultural systems in various parts of the country – a diversity which has persisted for a long time with little or no change – are usually held responsible for the many varieties of cultivated P.

A considerable amount of the cultivated P. germplasm has left the country by various routes during historical times. Ethiopia has considerably contributed to the world pool of cultivated P. and genetic resources of cultivated P. In this regard an important gift from Ethiopia to the rest of the world is ↗coffee. Important germplasm contributed by Ethiopia also includes disease resistant lines of barley and wheat as well as high protein and high lysine lines of cereals including barley and ↗sorghum (s. Harlan 1975). Ethiopia has domesticated a large number of species of crops including ↗*ṭef*, ↗*ənsät*, ↗*anč̣oote*, "Oromo (or "Wälayta) ↗potatoes", ↗*nug*, ↗*dagussa* etc.

Crops harnessed from the natural environment have been put under cultivation and integrated with those that reached the country through various routes. One category of P. introduced into Ethiopia is those that have either been domesticated or diversified after their initial arrival in the country (e.g., *Sorghum bicolor, Hordeum vulgare*). Many cultivated crops introduced from the Americas, Asia and other parts of the world in the earliest period of agricultural expansion have become culturally tied to Ethiopian customs to the extent that they appear to have always been part of the Ethiopian cultural heritage. Among such crops are hot pepper (↗*Bärbäre*) and chilies, ↗maize, ↗garlic, onion (*Allium cepa*) and potatoes. The integration of crops from different parts of the world is also well reflected in the meals regularly served at home (↗Food). Among 19th-cent. introductions we find the ↗eucalyptus tree which was introduced from Australia.

Common cultivated P. in Ethiopia include wheat, maize, sorghum, barley, yam, potatoes, coffee, faba bean, field pea, lentil, chickpea, haricot beans, banana, orange, lime, lima beans, groundnut, sesame, finger millet, pearl millet, safflower, sunflower, mango, papaya, grape, custard apple, peach, tree tomato, linseed, ↗*č̣at*, ↗*gešo*, taro, sugarcane, pumpkin, bottle gourd and many others.

The rich agricultural history of the country is well reflected not only in the high number of species of cultivated P. but also in the diversity of horticultural complexes. ↗Cereals, pulses (**ጥራጥሬ**, *ṭəraṭəre*), ↗oil seeds (**የቅባት፡ እህል**, *yäqəbat əhəl*), root and tuber crops (s. "Potato"), vegetables, ↗fruits, stimulants (**አነቃቂ**, *annäqaqi*), industrial crops, ↗spices and herbs, aromatics or fragrance (**ሺቶ**, *šito*), forage crops (**የእንስሳት፡ መኖ**, *yäʾənsəsat männo*), medicinal P. (**ፈዋሽ፡ እጽዋት**, *fäwwaš əṣəwat*, s. also ↗Medicine) and forest ↗trees (**የደን፡ እጽዋት**, *yädän əṣəwat*, s. also ↗Forests) are cultivated in the country.

The intensity of cultivation of a given crop or use category generally varies according to agroecology and cultural familiarity. The latter notwithstanding, people usually take up new P. if they see them to be successful in neighbouring societies.

Taking conventional cultivated P., cultivated trees and shrubs as well as ornamental P. and hedge species into account, the number of P. cultivated in Ethiopia is quite considerable. Conventional crops alone – either indigenous or introduced – are considered to number ca. 150 species.

Some of the crops are staples, others are for industrial or commercial use and still others have minor roles. The variety of crop categories is a characteristic feature of the farming system and of dietary habits. Oils and spices are always important no matter what the staple food is since they improve its taste, texture as well as its appearance. Within the cultivated landscape, the different crops fit specific spatial locations.

What makes Ethiopia even more interesting from the viewpoint of modern biodiversity is that the same P. species are nurtured in both the agricultural and natural ecosystems (e.g. coffee) and that some crops are harvested from the natural forests where they naturally grow, e.g., Ethiopian cardamom (**ኮረሪማ**, *korrärima*), green pepper (**ቃርያ**, *qarəya*).

However, the biodiversity of cultivated P. has recently faced serious problems; these are connected with the erosion of the genetic resources. Due to the introduction of some high yielding modern crop cultivars (e.g. wheat) that have very narrow genetic base, the indigenous farmers' varieties are being gradually replaced; which is expected to worsen as genetically modified plants proliferate and aggressively get diffused throughout the world and would not be an exception. Conservation of farmers' varieties under *in-situ* (on-farm) and *ex-situ* (genebanks) conditions is imperative. Hence, the real challenge for Ethiopia and the world is to be able to maintain the diversity in cultivated P. through complementary *ex-situ* and *in-situ* conservation strategies.

↗Agriculture; ↗Ecological zones; ↗Environment

Lit.: JAMES F. HANCOCK, *Plant Evolution and the Origin of Crop Species*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1992, 305; JACK RODNEY HARLAN, "Ethiopia: a Centre of Diversity", *Economic Botany* 23, 1969, 309–14; ID., *Crops and Man*, Madison 1975, ^{2}1992; MICHAEL JOHN THORNLEY NORMAN – C.J. PEARSON – P.G.E. SEARLE, *The Ecology of Tropical Food Crops*, Cambridge – New York ^{2}1995; IRVIN ELDIE SIEGENTHALER, *Useful Plants of Ethiopia*, Alemaya 1962/63 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.] (Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, Jimma Experiment Station – Oklahoma State University, Bulletin 14–1), 31; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Médicines et plantes d'Éthiopie*, vol. 2: *Enquête sur les noms et l'emploi des plantes en Éthiopie*, Napoli 1973, 100; NIKOLAI I. VAVILOV, *The Origin, Variation, Immunity and Breeding of Cultivated Plants: Selected Writings*, tr. by K. STARR CHESTER, New York 1951 (= *Chronica Botanica* 13, 1/6); ZEMEDE ASFAW, *Survey of Indigenous Food Crops, their Preparations and Home Gardens in Ethiopia. Indigenous African Food Crops and Useful Plants*, Nairobi 1997 (The United Nations University, Institute for Natural Resources in Africa, Ser. B6).

Zemede Asfaw

Wild plants

P. form a kingdom of organisms characterized by photosynthesis; they are primary producers of carbo-hydrates and other organic components necessary for all other life on earth. Here, only flowering P., gymnosperms and pteridophytes are examined. Wild P. are defined as all species not cultivated by man: either indigenous species which evolved locally or those which arrived by natural dispersal, formerly cultivated and naturalized species or weeds. According to the *Flora of Ethiopia and Eritrea* (1989–2008) the number of wild P. in these countries is established at: 226 families (flowering P. 187; gymnosperms 3, pteridophytes 36), 1480 genera (flowering P. 1401, gymnosperms 3, pteridophytes 76) and 5510 species (flowering P. 5315, gymnosperms 5, pteridophytes 190). Several large P. families are economically important: grasses (Poaceae; 620 species), legumes (Fabaceae-Papilionoideae, ca. 500 species) and the sunflower family (Asteraceae, ca. 450 species). Other P. families with over hundred species are: the Acanthus family (Acanthaceae), spurges (Euphorbiaceae), sedges (Cyperaceae), milkweeds (Ascepiadaceae), orchids (Orchidaceae), labiates (Lamiaceae), the mallow family (Malvaceae), bindweeds (Convolvulaceae), figworts (Scrophulariaceae) and the coffee family (Rubiaceae).

Compared with other tropical African countries, Ethiopia and Eritrea are fairly rich in wild P. species and richer than other areas at the same latitude. In tropical Africa, Cameroon and Gabon have the highest species richness (4,000–5,000/10,000 km^2). The average richness in Ethiopia is 1,500–2,000/10,000 km^2. This contrasts with lower richness in countries west of Ethiopia: 500–1,000/10,000 km^2 in the Sudanian zone and 200–500/10,000 km^2 in the Sahel zone. The higher richness in Ethiopia and Eritrea is due to a more varied climate, topography and geology than in the Sudan and the Sahel. In Ethiopia and Eritrea the species richness is not evenly distributed: the highest richness (3,000–4,000/10,000 km^2) is found in the former Sidamo, Šäwa and Käfa regions; however, the Eritrean coastal zone has a richness of only ca. 2,000/10,000 km^2 and ^{c}Afar

A flowering stand of one of the two Ethiopian endemic giant lobelia species (*Lobelia achrochila*) at 2,700 m A.S.L. near Goba in Bale; the narrow leaves in the foreground belong to another Ethiopian endemic high altitude species, a Red Hot Poker (*Kniphofia foliosa*); photo 2005, courtesy of the author

only ca. 400/10,000 km². Variation in richness is again correlated with variation in altitude, rainfall and geology.

Some European and Asian P. genera have their natural southern limit in Ethiopia; well known examples are rose (*Rosa*) and saxifrage (*Saxifraga*). There is great similarity between the flora of the highlands of Ethiopia and Eritrea and the highlands of East Africa, with smaller components of genera or species that occur also in Europe or Asia and genera or species not found wild anywhere else (endemic), e.g. the genus *Hypagophytum* (orpine family, Crassulaceae) is only found in the Səmen and mountains of Təgray. The wild flora of Ethiopia and Eritrea is transitional, with some elements shared with Europe, Asia, tropical Africa and the East African mountains. The percentage of endemic species (18 %) is high compared with most tropical African countries, but lower than for Somalia, Angola the Congo Democratic Republic and Tanzania. However, because of the similarity between the vegetation on both sides of the border between Ethiopia and Somalia the areas of even narrowly distributed species may be divided by the border. 17 % of the species in Ethiopia and Eritrea are endemic or have a limited extension into Somalia. The flora of Somalia has over 25 % unique plant species, and the proportion of endemic species increases towards the tip of the Horn of Africa. Endemic species in Ethiopia restricted to areas of high altitude are, e.g., species in the genera Lady's mantles (*Alchemilla*), clover (*Trifolium*), giant thistles (*Echinops*, *Cirsium*) and the Ethiopian giant lobelia (*Lobelia rhynchopetalum, L. achrochilus*); these highland endemics are usually widespread in areas of suitable altitude, while endemic species in the lowlands are normally rather restricted in distribution. Narrowly distributed endemic species are most frequent in the Ogaden and in the lowlands of the old Sidamo and Bale regions.

The rich flora of wild P. and the high percentage of endemic species in Ethiopia and Eritrea made the wild flora a valuable natural resource in the pre-Aksumite and Aksumite periods and sustained the high diversity of agricultural practices among many ethnic groups in later periods.

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN FLORA PROJECT, *Flora of Ethiopia and Eritrea,* 8 vols., Addis Ababa – Uppsala 1989–2009; IB FRIIS et al., "Patterns of Plant Diversity and Endemism in the Horn of Africa", *Biologiske Skrifter* 55, 2005, 289–314; JENS MUTKE – WILHELM BARTHLOTT, "Patterns of Vascular Plant Diversity at Continental to Global Scales", *ibid.* 55, 2005, 521–31.

Ib Friis

Platt, Thomas Pell

P. (b. 1798, London, d. 31 October 1852, Dulwich Hill, Surrey) was a British Biblical scholar, important for ↗Ethiopian studies as a Gəʿəz ↗Bible editor.

P. was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, taking his master's degree in 1823. There he became involved in the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS). He was the society's librarian in London from 1823 to 1831 and its honorary Governor from 1825. He was also one of the first members of the Royal Asiatic Society, serving for many years on its Oriental translation committee.

At BFBS P. started working on Ethiopian Biblical texts. In 1823 he published a catalogue of Ethiopian Biblical ↗manuscripts in the possession of the BFBS and the Royal library of Paris.

P. is mainly known for having produced an edition of the Gospel in Gəʿəz (1826), followed by the complete N.T. (1830). He wanted the text of the edition to conform as closely as possible both with the Ethiopian manuscripts he took as the *Vorlage* and the Bible as known to him. The result was an eclectic text, errors resulting from a lack of critical choice of manuscripts and occasional adaptation of the Gəʿəz version to the Greek text current at that time. This edition should only be used with caution for text-critical purposes. Slightly revised by ↗Praetorius in 1899, it has been reprinted frequently in the 20th cent.

P. was also involved in the preparation of editions of Gospel in Amharic (1824) and Syriac (1829). He also edited the Ethiopic ↗*Didəsqəlya.*

↗Bible translation

Src.: THOMAS PELL PLATT, *A Catalogue of the Ethiopic Biblical Manuscripts in the Royal Library of Paris, and in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, London 1823; ID. (ed.), *Evangelia sancta: sub auspiciis D. Asselini rerum gallicarum apud Aegyptios procuratoris in linguam amharicum vertit Abu-Rumi Habessinus*, London 1824; ID. (ed.), **ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘእግዚእነ፡ ወመድኃኒነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወመጻሕፍቲሆሙ፡ ለሐዋርያቱ፡ ቅዱሳን፡** (*Wängel qəddus zäʾəgziʾənä wämädḫaninä Iyäsus Krəstos wämäṣaḥəftihomu läḥawaryatu qəddusan, – Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri et Servatoris Jesu Christi aethiopice,* London 1830; ID. (ed.), *History of Translations*, ms. ca. 1830, BFBS archives, Cambridge University Library; ID. (ed., tr.), *The Ethiopic Didascalia; Or, the Ethiopic Version of the Apostolical Constitutions, Received in the Church of Abyssinia,* London 1834; BFBS archives in the Cambridge University Library.

Lit.: ROCHUS ZUURMOND (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*: *the Synoptic Gospels*, part I: *General Introduction*, 19ff., part II: *Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 29), 226–34.

Rochus Zuurmond

Plazikowsky-Brauner, Herma

P. (b. 15 September 1888, Brno/Brünn, Moravia, d. September 1967, Frankfurt am Main) was a prolific researcher in Cushitic and Ethio-Semitic languages. She was probably the first woman who engaged herself in extensive linguistic field work in Ethiopia.

P. was the daughter of an officer of the Austrian Army. After she had finished her studies in Oriental philology, she continued to study Amharic, Gəʿəz (and probably also Oromo) under Eugen ↗Mittwoch at the Department of Oriental Languages in Berlin between 1909 and 1912.

In Berlin P. met her future husband, a qualified miner who had to change his profession due to rheumatic disease. After he tried working as a sculptor and a journalist he went to Ethiopia in 1906 and established a bee-keeping farm near Lake Zʷay but returned to Germany to learn Amharic in 1909. In 1913 P. and her husband went to Ethiopia where they were granted a plot of land near ↗Asälla, where they cultivated coffee. Later, they established a mill in Addis Abäba in the Italian residence area near Arada. During the time of British control in Ethiopia after 1941, P. and her husband were expelled from the country and had to return to Germany. Until her death, P. worked on contract as research and teaching assistant at the Department of Oriental Studies at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main.

During P.'s stay in Ethiopia (and during later field stays) P. undertook extensive linguistic and ethno-historical field research on a variety of Ethiopian languages and peoples (cf., e.g., Plazikowsky-Brauner 1957a, b). Inspite of the fact that a considerable amount of her data and analyses were lost during the war, she produced a number of pioneering descriptions of Highland East Cushitic languages (↗Allaaba, ↗Hadiyya [especially ↗Libido]), provided new hypotheses on the classification of Cushitic language and discussed linguistic data regarding Cushitic languages in detail (cf. Unseth 1990: 75f.). She was also involved in comparative Cushitic and Ethiosemitic studies.

Src.: interviews with Mrs. Scheffler, P.'s daughter (27 June 2000) and Dipl. Ing. Max Plazikowsky, P.'s son (24 July 2006); HERMINE BRAUNER-PLAZIKOWSKI [= HERMA PLAZIKOWSKI-BRAUNER], "Ein äthiopisch-amharisches Glossar (Sawāsew)", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 17 (Zweite Abteilung: Westasiatische Studien), 1914, 1–96; HERMA PLAZIKOWSKI-BRAUNER, "Historisches über die Hadiya", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen* 82, 1957a, 66-96; EAD., "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Islams in Abessinien", *Der Islam* 32, 1957b, 310–23; PETER UNSETH, *Linguistic Bibliography of the Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, East Lansing, MI 1990.

Ronny Meyer

Pliny the Elder

P. (Gaius Plinius Secundus, better known as P. the Elder, b. 23 A.D., Novum Comum [today Como], d. 24 August 79 A.D., Stabiae) was a Roman historian and naturalist: a commander of the fleet at Misenum, he died while observing from close quarters the famed eruption of Vesuvius (Naples) that destroyed Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae.

All of P.'s writings are lost, apart from the *Naturalis historia* ('Natural history'), a 37-book Latin encyclopedia into which he collected much of the contemporary knowledge – animal, vegetable and mineral. He was interested not only in science, but also in technology applied to the whole realm of nature (e.g., gold mining, water supply, etc.).

P.'s work, already planned under Emperor Nero, was nearly completed in 77 A.D., under Emperor Titus, to whom it is dedicated. Covering almost the entire field of ancient scholarship, and avowedly relying on the best classical authorities, it was used for reference over the subsequent centuries, well beyond the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, esp. for medicine, plants and related products, agriculture, architecture, sculpture, painting, geology and mineralogy, but also history, geography and ethnography. The enormous cultural and intellectual influence of P.'s imposing compilation, written in a rather peculiar and difficult language, is attested to by the wealth of its copies and printed editions, the former including lavishly illustrated manuscripts that secured the widest circulation and guaranteed the prestige of the text.

Several books of the *Naturalis historia* are devoted to the description of remote countries and peoples, and are based more or less directly on a variety of sources – quite often Greek. Special attention is paid by P. to the ↗Red Sea area with its Indian Ocean extension and the long distance trade from ↗Arabia, Nubia (s. EAE vol. 5; ↗Meroë) and Ethiopia (↗Aithiopía) to ↗India.

Thus, for instance, P. informs that Emperor Nero "was actually contemplating an attack on Ethiopia", i.e. Meroë, and details the caravan routes between there and Syene (Aswān; *Nat. hist.* VI, 29 [35] = 181 and 183–86, with an interesting reference to ↗Candace). Definitely aware of South Arabian piracy in the Red Sea, he also describes the route between Coptos (Qifṭ) and Berenice of the Trogodytes (today Sikkat Bandar: ibid. VI, 23 [26] = 101f.; s. De Romanis 1996: 203–09), while in the "Azanian Sea" he mentions the *oppidum Sacae*, 'town of Saca' (cp. the tribal name *Asachae*, on which Conti Rossini 1922: 271–78 and CRSt 63, 109), the *insula Daphnidis*, 'island of Daphne', i.e. Difne(i)n (↗Dahlak), and the *oppidum Aduliton*, 'town of of the Adulites' (with a remarkable Greek ending of the ethnicon), i.e. ↗Adulis, "two days' sail from Ptolemais [of the Huntings]". P. then reports a legend according to which Adulis was "founded from slaves from Egypt who had run away from their masters" (*Nat. hist.* VI, 29 [34] = 172f.) – "a clearly Greek" *folk etymology* of the toponym, interpreted as 'Freemen('s town)', i.e. privative *a-* + *doûloi*, 'slaves'.

Adulis is introduced here as "the most important trading centre [*emporion*] of the Trogodytes [lit., 'Cave-dwellers'], also those of Meroë" (as the passage should be correctly understood), the Meroits having access to its facilities via the mountain ↗Rora region (Fiaccadori 2004: 124f., 137). The goods brought there were all animal (or human) products of this part of Africa: "↗ivory, rhinoceros horn, ↗hippopotamus hides, tortoise shells, apes and ↗slaves". In the age of P., Adulis was indeed a "port of trade" through which Aksum's international relations passed. Yet, the inland kingdom with its eponym metropolis seems to have been unknown to P. and his source. For this section of his text, yielding the earliest account of Ethiopian ↗trade, P. depends upon the lost *Arabiká*, i.e. a Greek treatise on Arabia, by the learned king of Numidia and later of Mauritania Juba II (52/50–23 B.C.), drawing in turn on earlier Hellenistic materials – whence the above etymology of the toponym. By then, however, the Aksumite polity was still to emerge into prominence (cp. ↗*Monumentum Adulitanum*).

↗Geography, historical; ↗Greek literature on Ethiopia

Src.: PLINY, *Natural History*, 10 vols., ed. and tr. H. RACKHAM – W.H.S. JONES – D.E. HEICHOLZ, Cambridge, MA – London 1938–80^2 (The Loeb Classical Library 330, 352–53, 370–71, 392–394, 418–19), here vol. 2, 1942 [repr. 1961], 417, 466f., 472–77; PLINE L'ANCIEN, *Histoire naturelle. Livre VI, 2^e partie* (*L'Asie centrale et orientale, l'Inde*), ed., tr. JEAN ANDRÉ – JEAN FILLIOZAT, Paris 1980 (Collection des Universités de France).

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Antiche rovine sulle rore eritree (Strabone XVI, 8; Plinio VI, 1[7]1)", *RRALm* ser. V, 31, 1922 [1923], 241–78, here 274–78; ID., "Comenti a notizie di geografi classici sovra il Sudān Egiziano e l'Etiopia", *Aegyptus* 6, 1925, 5–26, here 21–26 [§7. "Plinio VI 30"]; CRSt 55ff., 62ff., 104ff., 108f., 114, 134, 278; F. DE ROMANIS, *Cassia, cinnamomo, ossidiana. Uomini e merci tra oceano Indiano e Mediterraneo*, Roma 1996 (Saggi di storia antica 9), 203–09; JEAN DESANGES, "Le littoral africain du Bab el-Mandeb d'après les sources grecques et latines", *AE* 11, 1978, 83–101, here 93–96, nos. 9–14; ID., *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique* (*VI^e siècle avant J.-C.–IV^e siècle après J.-C.*), Rome 1978 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 38), 276f., 279–84, s. index (439); ID., "Rome et les riverains de la mer Rouge au III^e siècle de notre ère. Aperçus récents et nouveaux problèmes", *Ktema* 9, 1984 [1987], 249–60; ID., "Les affluents de la rive droite du Nil dans la géographie antique", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 137–44; ID., "Les sources de Pline dans sa description de la Troglodytique et de l'Ethiopie (*NH* 6, 163–976)", in: IACOBUS PIGEALDUS NAMNETENSIS – IOSEPHUS OROZIUS SALMANTICENSIS (eds.), *Pline l'Ancien témoin de son temps. Conventus Pliniani internationalis* (*Namneti, 22–26 Oct. 1985 habiti*) *acta*, Salamanca – Nantes 1987 (Bibliotheca Salmanticensis. Estudios 87), 277–92; ID., "Les relations de l'Empire romain avec l'Afrique nilotique et érythréenne d'Auguste à Probus", in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. 2, part 10, ed. by HILDEGARD TEMPORINI, Berlin – New York 1988,

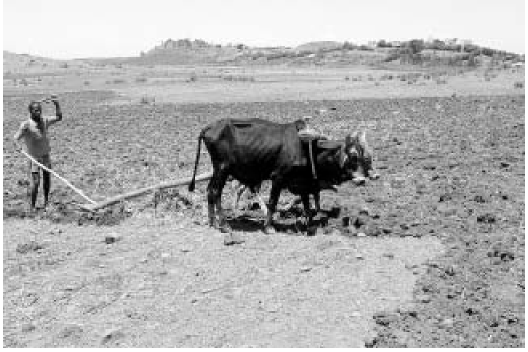
3–43, here 13–16 [*Nat. hist.* VI, 29 [35] = 181]; Id., "Des élephants, ou artisans, et des quarante-cinq rois des Ethiopiens (*Pline l'Ancien, VI, 186*)", in: *OrbAethChoj* I, 83–87; David E. Eichholz, "Pliny", in: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 11, New York 1975, 38ff.; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Hippuros portus", *La Parola del Passato* 38, 1983, 440–44; Id., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *ibid.* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 124f., 137; Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Note nubiane", *Aegyptus* 12, 1932, 305–16, here 306ff. [§ 1. "Articula (Plin., *N.H.*, VI, 184)"]; Nicholas Purcell, "Pliny", in: *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford ^{3}1996, 119–98 (Lit); Klaus Sollmann, "Plinius", in: *Der Neue Pauly*, vol. 9, Stuttgart 2000, 1135–41 (Lit.); Giovanni Vantini, "Rileggendo il passo di Plinio sulla spedizione di Nerone nel Sudan", *Nubica et Æthiopica* 4/5, 1999, 335–51.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Plough

The keystone technology of Ethiopia's highland agricultural system (↗Agriculture) historically has been the ox-P. (Amh. **ማረሻ**, *maräša*, 'instrument to plough'). This single-tine scratch P., also called **አርድ** (*ard*), stands at the centre of the agricultural system because of its technological simplicity and its efficiency in the use of human labour. The Ethiopian P. consists of eight basic parts, all available locally: the 'beam' (**ሞፈር**, *mofär*), the 'ploughshare' (*maräša*), the 'sheath' (**ወገል**, *wägäll*), the 'stilt' (**እርፍ**, *ərf*), two wooden ears (**ድግር**, *dəgər*) inserted into the ploughshare's sheath, a yoke (**ቀንበር**, *qänbär*), and a leather strap (**ማንገቻ**, *mangäča*) that adjusts the ploughing depth. The P. parts when worn out are replaceable and adjustable to specific needs of a field or task; the plough is light enough (10–20 kg) to be carried long distances from field plot to field plot, and back to the homestead.

While some of its parts differ from region to region, over the course of its history the P.'s basic design has not changed. Farmers adjust the angle of the pull to the desired ploughing depth by varying the ploughshare and ear length, adjusting the angle between the share and beam, or putting downward pressure on the handle during ploughing. The *maräša* design allows it to break the soil's surface at a shallow angle that pushes clods of earth to the side on a first pass and then breaks them up on repeated passes. The number of passes required depends on the type of soil, prior field use, and the crop to be sown. ↗*Ṭeff* requires five passes; horsebeans require only one. A final pass provides seed cover and a single pass in mid-season breaks up weeds between crop rows.



Use of the single-tine scratch oxen-plough, Dämbəya, Bägemdər; photo 2004, courtesy of Itsushi Kawase

For all practical purposes it may be more accurate to consider the Ethiopian P. an autochthonous technology, since there are few, if any records of the importation of the P. from other regions (Yemen or the Nile Valley) or across the northern highlands. The P. and its basic design appear in cave paintings at ↗Amba Foqäda (Eritrea), dated ca. 500–1,000 B.C. Most Oromo groups of the north and central highlands seem to have adopted the P. directly rather than accepting it after an intermediate hand-hoe stage. In other cases, as with the kingdom of ↗Käfa, the adoption of the P. took place in the 17th cent. when the Käfa royal court made a conscious shift from root crops to grains for purposes of taxation. Overall, the P., and the use of oxen as the primary traction animal, appears to have followed closely the adoption of annual cereal cropping as a farm strategy in regions throughout Ethiopia, Eritrea, and on the Hargeisa plateau in Somaliland.

The P.'s persistence across time and space has continued through the 20th and even 21st cent. In areas such as Ada, Goǧǧam, Western Šäwa, and the Rift Valley which have achieved the most advanced stages of commercial agricultural development, the P. still dominates farm cultivation. Tractor rental schemes that began in the 1960s have consistently failed to supplant the ox-P. as the primary means of cultivation, especially for *ṭeff*. Even in the cultivation of high yield hybrid ↗maize in the first decade of the 20th cent., the overwhelming choice of farmers across Ethiopia has been the ox-P. over mechanization. Mechanized state farms or private estates that use tractors for fallow ploughing often still use the ox-P. for later cultivation stages and have difficulty competing with ox-P. farmers on small farms.

Lit.: Michael Goe, "Tillage with the Traditional Maresha in the Ethiopian Highlands", *Tools and Tillage* 6, 1990, 127–56; JAMES C. MCCANN, *People of the Plow: an Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800–1900*, Madison, WI 1995; FREDERICK C. SIMOONS, *Northwest Ethiopia: Peoples and Economy,* Madison, WI 1960.

James C. McCann

Plowden, Walter Chichele

P. (b. 3 August 1820, d. 13 March 1860) was a British traveller to northern Ethiopia, a sometime British Consul, and a committed supporter of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. The son of Trevor Chichele Plowden, a British civil servant in Bengal, India, attended a private school in Hampstead, London, before travelling to India to join the Calcutta firm of Carr, Tagore and Co., but after four years became bored and sailed for Britain. On reaching Suez, however, he met the British adventurer John ↗Bell, and decided at the age of 23 to enter Ethiopia.

After spending over three years in Amhara country, then ruled by *ras* ↗Ali Alula, P. conceived the idea of acting as the latter's emissary to Britain. Ali agreed, and P. duly set off, with an Ethiopian envoy *aläqa* Dästa (who later abandoned the journey). P. meanwhile reached Massawa in October 1846 whereupon he appealed to the British Foreign Office for funds to continue his journey to London, which he reached in August 1847. He then urged the advantages for Britain of trade with Ethiopia, and that Britain should sign a commercial treaty with the country. This was an opportune time for P. as the British were considering appointing a consul at Massawa. P., apparently a suitable candidate, was appointed in January 1848 as British consul for "Abyssinia" – which avoided recognition or rejection of the ↗Ottoman Empire's claim to the port.

On returning to Ethiopia, P., with Bell's help, persuaded Ali to sign a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Britain, on 2 November 1849. The ruler, however, doubted that English merchants would come "in ten years" (RubActa I, 178–89; RubInd 130).

P. later gave fulsome support to *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu (later *aṣe* ↗Tewodros) and in a letter to the Foreign Office on 25 June 1855 he praised him as an energetic person (House of Commons, 148–49). However, this had little impact on the Foreign Office, which favoured an alliance with Egypt over friendship with Ethiopia. Planning to visit Britain, P. was killed en route by rebels led by *garäd* Kənfu outside Gondär, where P. was buried. During his consulship (October 1846-February 1860) he had dispatched many detailed reports to London. His memoirs were published posthumously by his brother Trevor Plowden as *Travels in Abyssinia*.

Src.: JOHN G. BELL, "Extract from a Journal of Travels in Abyssinia in the Years 1840–41–42", *Miscellanea Aegyptiaca*, Alexandria 1842, 1; HOUSE OF COMMONS, *Correspondence Respecting Abyssinia 1846–1868*, London 1868; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country*, London 1868; RubActa I, 260, index; RubTew 96, index.

Lit.: PERCY ARNOLD, *Prelude to Magdala. Emperor Theodore of Ethiopia and British Diplomacy*, London 1992, 334, index; ErDizBio 241.

Richard Pankhurst

Poetry, Amharic s. vol. 5

Poland, relations with

The first mentions of P.'s official interest in Ethiopia date back to the reign of king Jan III Sobieski (1674–96), who tried to win ↗Iyasu I for the anti-Turkish coalition of Christian states; the Ethiopian Emperor, however, did not let the Polish envoys enter Ethiopia. Diplomatic relations actually started in the 1930s. At the coronation of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, P. was officially represented by a Polish *chargé d'affairs* residing in Cairo; the Ethiopian envoy residing in Paris subsequently visited P. The first treaty of friendship was signed by the two countries in 1934.

After the Italian occupation, diplomatic relations were only re-established in 1947, when the Polish envoy to Cairo was accredited to Addis Abäba. The Ethiopian ambassador to the Soviet Union residing in Moscow was additionally in charge of P. starting from 1962. In September 1964, Ḫaylä Śəllase paid an official visit to P., where he was awarded the *Grand Cross of the Order of the Rebirth of Poland*. In 1965, an agreement on cultural and scientific-technical cooperation was signed between P. and Ethiopia. In 1969, over 100 Ethiopians began their studies in P. In the late 1960s relations deteriorated, mainly due to the differences concerning the ↗Israel issue and the Six-Day war of 1967.

A revival started with P.'s greater opening to the west in the 1970s, and the 1974 Revolution brought about a breakthrough in bilateral relations. In 1978, Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam visited P.; the return visit of a Polish delegation took place in 1979. During the ↗famine of 1985–87, P. provided four shifts of pilots working on three helicopters which transported food to the most inaccessible parts of the Ethiopian highlands. In 1992, operations of P.'s embassy in Addis Abäba were suspended and its competences taken over by the representation in Sanᶜāᵓ, Yemen. The embassy was reopened in 2005. The functions of an Ethiopian representation to P. are performed by the Ethiopian embassy in ↗Germany.

Individual Poles who, by their presence in Ethiopia during or after World War II, contributed to shaping Polish–Ethiopian relations at different levels included diplomats, civil servants, financial advisors, numerous experts and specialists, academics (mainly lawyers) and others. The most prominent ones include: Stanisław Chojnacki, Jerzy Krzeczunowicz, Witold Grabowski, Wacław Korabiewicz and Barbara Goshu.

Polish academics provided a significant contribution to ↗Ethiopian studies. Probably the first scholar of importance in this context was the linguist and philologist ↗Wajnberg. The geographer Ludomir Ślepowron Sawicki (1884–1928), professor of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, authored *Studya nad Abisynią* (1913), which included geographic, anthropological and ethnographic descriptions of Ethiopia. At Warsaw University, Ethiopian studies were institutionalized in 1950 by ↗Strelcyn within the Department of Semitic Studies. Strelcyn was also the first Polish éthiopisant to conduct field research in Ethiopia, and the Gəᶜəz manuscripts he brought back to P. formed the first collection of its type in the country. His successor, Joanna Mantel-Niećko, created the Department of African Languages and Cultures of the Institute of Oriental Studies, where a curriculum in Ethiopian studies continues to be offered. From 1985 to 1990, an Agreement of Academic Cooperation enabled academic and student exchange between the Universities of Warsaw and ↗Addis Ababa University.

Lit.: ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI, "Abisyńskie próby nawiązania stosunków z Polską w okresie międzywojennym", *Przegląd Historyczny* 1, 1, 1965, 104–10; SYLWIA JASTRZĘBSKA, *Stosunki polsko-etiopskie*, M.A. thesis, Department of African Languages and Cultures, Warsaw University 1998; JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, "Znajomość Etiopii w dawnej Polsce i początki etiopistyki polskiej", in: *Szkice z dziejów orientalistyki polskiej*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1969, 217–26; STANISŁAW PIŁASZEWICZ, *Afrykanistyka w Instytucie Orientalistycznym Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, ms.; "The Department of African Languages and Cultures in 1999–2002", *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures Bulletin* 2002, 5–6.

Katarzyna Hryćko

Police

Traditionally communities in Ethiopia preferred to resolve litigation by ↗customary law. Crime investigation relied heavily on public inquests (**አውጫጭኝ**, *awč̣ač̣əññ*), divination under drugs (↗*leba šay*), thief-catchers and the sequestration of communities (↗*Afärsata*). A civil P. never formed part of traditional society as rulers used their armies and armed retainers (↗Army) in law enforcement at all levels of the Ethiopian Empire.

Police officers in the 1920s in Addis Abäba; from the photo archives of the Lazarist Mission, Paris

In the late 17th cent. *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I established the *lewa* (**ሌዋ**) and the first separate armed force with P. functions. Its duties were to keep public order in the towns and on the roads. During the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* this force fell in disuse. Little is known about policing in areas independent of central power in Ethiopia until the end of the 19th cent. In the city state of ↗Harär, the ↗*amīr* had the *dawrīya* (Ar. 'patrol'), an urban night watch. Also in the Oromo state of ↗Ǧimma, its ruler, ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II, had an urban guard for his capital composed of Amhara mercenaries.

A real separation between military and P. functions began at the end of the 19th cent. After the conquest of Harär in 1887, its governor *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel was the first to separate military and P. functions. He re-established the *dawrīya* as an urban guard with P. functions and sent some of its members to the ↗Ottoman Empire for training.

After ↗Addis Abäba was officially made the capital of Ethiopia in 1892, ↗Mənilək II asked *ras* Mäkʷännən to send him some members of the Harär *dawrīya* to reinforce the minuscule urban guard (**የከተማ፡ ዘበኛ**, *yäkätäma zäbäñña*) of Addis Abäba. The primary duties of this guard were to protect the lives and property of foreign nationals and to enforce a curfew. The guard, unlike soldiers of that day, wore uniforms, was armed with rifles and received salaries in cash and kind. In 1907 the new Ministry of Interior was given overall authority over the urban guards, which was later assumed by the ↗*käntiba*. In addition to its headquarters several P. posts (ዘብጥያ, *zäbṭəyya*) were established in the city. In 1912, *aläqa* Gäbru Sankaye, who had been a commander of the Harär *dawrīya* and had later served with the Italian colonial army in Tripolis, was appointed commander of the Addis Abäba urban guard. He established a special emergency P. force nicknamed *tiribuli* as many of its members had served with the Italian colonial army in Tripolis. In 1916, the *tiribuli* fought on the side of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) at the battle of ↗Sägäle.

During the regency of *ras* Täfäri and in his first years as Emperor, the urban guards were gradually transformed into a regular P. force with paramilitary features as part of his modernization program. Ethiopians, who had served in the Italian colonial army or the Kenyan Kings' African Rifles, and foreign instructors were employed to train recruits. Addis Abäba was divided into ten districts each having a P. station manned by two to three hundred policemen; between 30 and 40 sentry boxes were posted in every district. In 1925 the force was divided into a uniformed and a detective branch. A central records office kept photographs, physical descriptions and records of modus operandi of known criminals. About a year after *ras* Täfäri was crowned *nəguś* in 1928, the size of the force was raised to 2,600.

In 1930, the Addis Abäba P. force was officially named የአራዳ፡ ዘበኛ (*yäʾarada zäbäñña*) and divided into nine main departments. Despite the detailed regulations, in practice most of these offices functioned at best only at a rudimentary level. *Balambaras* ↗Abbäbä Arägay was the chief of P. in the capital. By 1935 P. forces accountable to the provincial governors operated in Harär, Ǧimma, Däse, Dərre Dawa, Bale, and Däbrä Marqos. In some northern provinces a special armed force, the የቤልዬ፡ ዳኛ (*yäbeləye dañña*), had the duty of pursuing criminals across provincial boundaries. On rare occasions P. detachments were also sent to the provinces to fight bandits (↗*Šəfta*).

About seven months before the Italian invasion in autumn 1935, a special P. detachment, the *gendarmerie,* was created to deal with any major threat to public order. It was composed of 600 men selected from the *yäʾarada zäbäñña*. Its commander was a Belgian officer, his deputy a captain from the ↗Imperial Bodyguard. Ethiopians, who had received P. training in ↗Switzerland, served as sub-inspectors. Most of the *yäʾarada zäbäñña* and *gendarmerie* participated in the battles against the Italian invader (↗Resistance).

When the Italians occupied Addis Abäba, they disbanded the *yäʾarada zäbäñña* and Italian Carabinieri, the army P. and the Black Shirt fascist militia exercised P. functions. In 1937, they created the paramilitary *Corpo di Polizia Coloniale*, later renamed *Polizia dell'Africa Italiana* (PAI), which acted as the sole P. force for its colonies. Originally conceived as a purely Italian force, it soon recruited native volunteers; in 1940 the native members, who were only used in local policing and territorial defence, numbered 7,000.

In January 1941, when the British army entered Addis Abäba, it placed the remaining *Carabinieri* and the PAI under British officers to maintain public order but by April, due to their abusive behaviour, the Italian P. had all been dismissed. To replace them, the British then first recruited Ethiopian Greeks in Addis Abäba and some other towns to form the *zäbäñña* force, who due to their thievery were also soon disbanded. Then the Occupied Enemy Territories Administration (OETA) recruited about 1,000 Ethiopians on a voluntary basis; these men had previously served in the PAI, the *yäʾarada zäbäñña* and the resistance and formed a new uniformed P. force led by British officers.

With Proclamation no. 6/1942 the OETA P. was transformed into the Imperial Ethiopian P. Due to the lack of qualified P. officers British officers headed the new force. By 5 April 1944, P. forces existed in Addis Abäba, Harär, Dərre Dawa, Däse, Ǧimma and Nagallee Borana, but Addis Abäba and some towns also had their own urban guards. The security of the other areas was in the hands of the newly established provincial territorial army (*näč̣č̣ läbaš*). After proper registration the strength of the P. force was 2,376, of which 117 were officers and 2,259 non-commissioned officers and privates.

The three-month training for all members of the regular P. was given in Addis Abäba and later extended to six months. In November 1945 training courses for corporals and sergeants were introduced and in 1946 the Aba Dina P. Academy was established in Addis Abäba. Later, it was transferred to Sendafa, a town 35 kms to the east of Addis Abäba. It answered directly to the Ministry of Interior, was staffed by Swedish instructors, and gave its cadets a two-year course. In 1951, the college was transferred to the authority of the P. and by 1956 Ethiopian instructors had fully replaced the Swedes. By 1957, 275 graduates had joined the P. as commanding officers and worked side by side with commissioned officers promoted from the ranks.

In June 1948 the *näčč läbaš* with a total strength of 18,810, including 611 officers, was merged with the regular P. This expansion allowed the creation of P. forces in all twelve provinces of the Empire. Provinces were divided into P. districts and the latter into stations. 16 British P. officers were brought in to lead and train the greatly expanded P. forces. At that time Ethiopians were assigned for the first time as P. commanders in the provinces.

Regulations passed in the period 1941–48 established regular uniforms, badges, rank signs and ID-numbers and regulated all aspects of P. work. From 1942 to 1954 the Imperial P. had five British Commanders. In 1945, Major ↗Mäkʷännən Dännäqä was appointed as the first Ethiopian Deputy P. Commander and in 1954 Colonel Ṣəgge Dibu as the first Ethiopian P. Commander.

In February 1953, a 500-man strong special mobile P. force, **ፈጥኖ፡ ደራሽ፡ ፖሊስ** (*fäṭno däraš polis*), was established with its headquarters in Qolfe in Addis Abäba. It was soon expanded to 1,258 men. In 1956 the remaining independent urban P. forces were merged with the Imperial P. P. commander Ṣəgge Dibu was one of the leaders of the ↗Coup d'état of 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82) and committed suicide after the coup failed. After the coup the modernization of the P. was stepped up. It was separated from the Ministry of Interior and placed under a P. Commission directly responsible to the Emperor. After the formal conversion of ↗Eritrea into an Ethiopian province (December 1962), the Eritrean P., which had been established by the British after 1941 and had retained a large degree of autonomy under the federal arrangement, was fully integrated into the Imperial P.

Since the early 1960's the P. developed more and more into a paramilitary force employed to combat insurgencies in various parts of Ethiopia, and particularly the Eritrean armed independence movement. Training and equipment were provided by ↗Israel, ↗Germany and the ↗United States of America. In 1962 the *fäṭno däraš polis* was revitalized. In 1965 a special commando P. force was created. By 1974 the Imperial P. Force numbered approximately 28,000 in all branches.

When, in February 1974, the Ethiopian Revolution started, many of the rank and file and junior officers of the P. force, then headed by Lieutenant Yəlma Šibeši, participated. The *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) included 18 men from the P. force, among them eight officers, the most senior being Major Däbälä Dinsa and Captain ʿAlämayyähu Ḫayle. The new revolutionary regime stressed that the mission of the P. was essentially political. It soon began to involve the army directly in P. functions and to curtail the authority of the P.; the latter was identified with the old regime, accused of supporting the "rightist opposition" and, in Eritrea, of being sympathetic to the "secessionists". After Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam had taken full control of the *Därg* in 1977, the regime established the P. commando units as the 8th Army Division and reorganized the severely depleted National P. Since the army continued to play a prominent role in criminal investigation and in maintaining public order, local law enforcement was shifted to Revolutionary Squads. The paramilitary Mobile Emergency P. Force was augmented to 9,000 with special units for counterinsurgency operations. As a result of the havoc wrought by the turmoil of the Ethiopian Revolution and the subsequent reorganization of the P. force, the overall strength of the P. declined to 17,000 in 1982.

When in May 1991 the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) came to power, it dissolved all armed forces of the defunct regime including the P. Starting in August 1991 it began to rebuild a new P. force. Proclamation No. 8/1992 established a new federal P. and new regional P. forces as well as new local security militias. Since late 1994 more than 8,000 demobilized fighters of the EPRDF, most of them from Təgray and a few hundred from organizations allied with the EPRDF were transferred to the regional P. forces and the central P. By the end of 1996, the aggregated total of the regional and federal P. was close to 50,000, more than double the number of the P. at the end of *Därg* rule.

The changes introduced after 1992 increased both P. presence on the ground and its efficiency. In a major break with past practices, women were recruited in large numbers to all P. forces and branches.

Lit.: FEKADU BEGNA, "The Wallo Territorial Army", in: *Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar of the Department of History*, Addis Ababa University 1990, 49–60; *The Eastern*

Boarder Guard, Revolutionary Police, History of Struggle, Harär 1982; Alice Hills, *Policing Africa, Internal Security and the Limits of Liberalization*, Boulder, CO 2000, 98–114; Lakaw Yizangaw, *The History of the Modern Ethiopian Police Force 1900–1941*, B.A. thesis, University of Addis Ababa 1973; Herbert S. Lewis, *A Galla Monarchy*: *Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia 1830–1932*, Madison, WI 1965; Mogäs Bäyyänä, **ጊዜና፡ ፖሊስ፡ ከ፲፱፻፴፫፡ እስከ፡ ፲፱፻፷፫፡ ዓ፡ ም** (*Gizenna p̣olis, kä1933 əskä1963* A.M., 'Time and the Police, from 1933 to 1963 A.M.'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970 A.D.]; Harold D. Nelson – Irving Kaplan (eds.), *Ethiopia*: *a Country Study*, Washington, D.C. 1981; Pliny the Middle Aged [pseudonym], "The Lives and Times of the Dergue", *NEASt* 5, 3, 1984, 1–41; Tekeste Meleke, "The Genesis and Growth of the Imperial Body Guard of Ethiopia up to 1960", in: *Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar of the Department of History*, Addis Ababa University 1990, 91–104.

Günter Schröder

Political system ↗Government

Pollera, Alberto

P. (b. 3 December 1873, Lucca, d. 5 August 1939, Asmära [but in ErDizBio 8 December and 1 August, respectively]) was an Italian colonial officer and amateur anthropologist.

P.'s parents were Corrado P. and Angelica Gherarducci. In 1893, P. graduated from the Military Academy of Modena with the rank of lieutenant. After brief service in Brescia, in December 1894 he was appointed to the third African infantry battalion at Massawa, Colonia Eritrea. Apart from short breaks, he spent the rest of his life on the African continent.

Soon P. was transferred from military to civil offices. From 1903 to 1908 he headed the Residenza Gasc–Setit. In 1909 he became the commissary of ↗Säraye. From 1916 he was a commercial agent, first at ↗Däse, and then, from 1918, at ↗^{c}Adwa.

He retired in 1928 but stayed in Eritrea with his family. In 1930 he was called back into service, and until 1932 was the Italian Consul in Gondär. P. was also responsible for the Research and Propaganda Office of the government of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana.

P. showed a vivid interest in the local peoples he had to work with and they became the object of his cultural and academic interests. The results of his observations and studies found their way into his ethnographic and historiographic publications.

Among his first ethnographic works of importance is the monograph dedicated to the "Barya" (↗Nara) and the ↗Kunama (1913). The book was written following direct contact with the peoples to whom P. wished to impart the "civilizing" aspects of the colonial regime. His reconstruction of the course of the battle of ↗^{c}Adwa (1928) is P.'s most prominent contribution to historical ↗research, considered a classical work of military historiography on Italian ↗Colonialism. P.'s voluminous study of the peoples of Eritrea (PollEr), reflecting over 40 years of study, was published in 1935, commissioned by the Minister of the Colonies Emilio de ↗Bono.

P. lived first with Wənäš Arʾaya Habte and then with Kidan Mənilək, whom he married. From the two unions, P. had six children. After the third child, Giorgio, was killed in a military operation among the Oromo of the ↗Sidamo province, P. changed his attitude. Whilst still believing in colonial Fascist politics, he called for more respect for mixed-race children, and tried to attract attention to the gravity of the error the Fascist regime was making by its racial politics. However, well aware of his own personal situation, not regular according to the laws of 1909 and 1914, he manifested his disagreement discreetly. He remained a convinced follower of ↗Mussolini until the end.

P.'s brother Ludovico (b. 4 June 1870, Lucca, d. 21 January 1953, Lucca; he used the entire surname Pollera Orsucci) also stayed in Eritrea from 1895 to 1928. His career brought him from the Resident of ↗Aqordät, to the regional Commissary of ↗Barka, to head of the Direction for Civil and Political Affairs (1918–20) and to Vice Secretary General of the government of the Colonia Eritrea (1920–21; he remained in the secretariat until 1928). Since 1928 to 1935 he was attached to the Italian legation in the League of Nations in Geneva as expert on colonial questions.

Src.: Alberto Pollera, *I Baria e i Cunama*, Roma 1913; Id., *La donna in Etiopia*, Roma 1922; Id., *Lo Stato Etiopico e la sua Chiesa*, Roma – Milano 1927; Id., *L'Abissinia settentrionale e lo sviluppo delle sue relazioni con l'Eritrea*, Roma 1927; Id., *La battaglia di Adua del 1° marzo 1896, narrata nei luoghi ove fu combattuta*, Firenze 1928; PollEr [= Engl. tr. by Linda Lappin, Lawrenceville, NJ 2002]; Id., *Storie, favole e leggende del paese del Negus*, Firenze 1936; Id., *L'Abissinia di ieri. Osservazioni e ricordi*, Roma 1940; Anon., *A Giorgio Pollera*, Asmara 1939.

Lit.: ErDizBio s.v.; Marco Lenci, *Note di lettura*: *Alberto Pollera tra etnografia, colonialismo e fascismo,* Lucca 2003; Antonio Mordini, "Informazioni preliminari sui risultati delle mie ricerche in Etiopia dal 1939 al 1949", *RSE* 4, 1946, 145–54; Barbara Sòrgoni, *Etnografia e colonialismo. L'Eritrea e l'Etiopia di Alberto Pollera, 1873–1939*, Torino 2001 (Lit.); Ead., "Diventare antropologo: Alberto Pollera e l'etnografia coloniale", *Quaderni storici* 109, 2002, 55–82; Ead., "The Scripts of Alberto Pollera, an Italian Officer in Colonial Eritrea: Administration, Ethnography, and Gender", in: Helen L. Tilley – Robert J. Gordon (eds.), *Ordering Africa*, Manchester 2007, 285–308.

Antonio Romiti

Polotsky, Hans Jakob

P. (b. 13 September 1905, Zurich, d. 10 August 1991, Jerusalem) was an eminent linguist, with his main contributions in Egyptology and Semitic studies.

Born in Switzerland to Jewish parents, P. spent the first two years of his life at the Crimean home of his parents in Akmesčit (Simferopol). The family then came to Karlsruhe in 1907 and to Berlin in 1911. There P. received his schooling up to "Gymnasium" level at the Graue Kloster Gymnasium.

In 1924 P. enrolled in Egyptology in Berlin under Kurt Sethe. In 1926 he moved to Göttingen, where he studied Semitic languages under Mark Lidzbarski, and was also taught by the N.T. and Septuagint scholar Alfred Rahlfs as well as by the Egyptologist Hermann Kees. In 1929 he obtained a doctorate for his dissertation in Egyptology, *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie*. His activities at the Septuagint Project (1926–30) directed by Rahlfs was probably the reason for his life-long scholarly occupation with Coptic.

Back in Berlin from 1930, P. worked on the Manichaean manuscripts in Coptic (esp. on the translation of the *Kephalaia*, the edition of which was later continued by Alexander Böhlig). One outcome was his well-known article "Manichäismus" in Pauly – Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie* (1935).

In 1933 P. accepted an invitation to the Hebrew University, where he taught as "instructor in Egyptology" and, from 1951, as professor of Egyptology and Semitic Studies (up to 1982/83). Here, he continued his Coptic studies and, in particular, his researches on such modern Semitic languages of Ethiopia as Amharic, Təgrəñña and Gurage (Muḫər, Ǝža, Čaha); he also worked on Neo-Aramaic dialects.

P.'s greatest achievements were his studies of Classical Egyptian. His treatment of Egyptian syntax is seen by Egyptologists as the "standard theory". P. was guest professor for Egyptology in 1952 in Chicago (Oriental Institute), 1959/60 in Providence, Rhode Island (Brown University) and 1967/68 in Copenhagen. In Israel he trained a number of students, creating an entire generation of scholars in Egyptian as well as Semitic studies (amongst them the eminent scholars of Ethiopian studies Robert ↗Hetzron, Shlomo ↗Raz, Edward Ullendorff, Gideon Goldenberg and Olga Kapeliuk).

Although P.'s scholarly production is not too voluminous (for bibliography s. *^{c}Iyyunim be-^{c}iqqvot mif^{c}alo šel Poloṣqi* … 1988), it is extremely concentrated, of rare structural clarity and full of ideas – well beyond the scope of traditional specific studies. He was awarded the Rothschild Prize in 1962, the Israeli Prize for the Humanities in 1966 and the Harvey Prize in 1982.

Src.: Alexander Böhlig – Hans Jakob Polotsky (eds., trans.), *Kephalaia*, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1934–40; Hans Jakob Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie*, Leipzig 1929; Id., "Manichäismus", in: August Friedrich von Pauly – Georg Wissowa (eds.), *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Suppl. 6, Stuttgart 1935, 241–72 [repr. in Polotsky 1971: 699–714]; Id., "Études de grammaire gouragué", *Bulletin de la Societé de Linguistique de Paris* 39, 1938, 137–75 [repr. in Id. 1971: 477–515]; Id., *Études de syntaxe copte*, Le Caire 1944; Id., *Notes on Gurage Grammar*, Jerusalem 1951 (Notes and Studies Published by the Israel Oriental Society 2) [repr. in Id. 1971: 519–73]; Id., "Syntaxe amharique et syntaxe turque", in: *PICES* 1, 117–21 [repr. in Id. 1971: 3–7]; Id., *Egyptian Tenses*, Jerusalem 1965 (Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities 2, 5) [repr. in Id. 1971: 71–96]; Id., *Collected Papers*, ed. by Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher, Jerusalem 1971; Id., *Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus*, 2 vols., Decatur, GA 1987–90; Gideon Goldenberg – Ariel Shisha-Halevy (eds.), *Egyptian, Semitic and General Grammar*: *Studies in Memory of H.J. Polotsky*, Jerusalem 2009.

Lit.: Gideon Goldenberg, "Le-zek̲er prof. Ya^{c}aqov Poloṣqî z'l", *Zik̲ronot ha-Aqademiya lal-lašon ha-^{c}ivrit* 38–40, 1990/91–93 [1994], 199–202; Simon Hopkins, "H. J. Polotsky (1905–1991)", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 115-25; *^{c}Iyyunim be-^{c}iqqvot mif^{c}alo šel Poloṣqi* … ('Studies Following Polotsky's Teachings …'), Jerusalem 1987/88 (Lit.); Hans Jakob Polotsky – Christopher John Eyre – John D. Ray (eds.), *Lingua sapientissima*: *a Seminar in Honour of H.J. Polotsky*, Cambridge 1987; Haiim B[aruch] Rosén (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics, in Honour of H.J. Polotsky*, Jerusalem 1964; Ariel Shisha-Halevy, "In Memoriam Hans Jakob Polotsky", *Orientalia* nova ser. 61, 1992, 208–13, ill.; Edward Ullendorff, "H.J. Polotsky (1905–1991): Linguistic Genius", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3rd ser., 4, 1994, 3–13 [repr. in: Id., *From Emperor Haile Selassie to H.J. Polotsky* …, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 42), 165–75]; Rainer Voigt, "Polotsky", in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 20, Berlin 2001, 608–09; Dwight W. Young (ed.), *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, East Gloucester, MA 1981.

Rainer Voigt

Poncet, Charles-Jacques

P. (b. 1655, Chaumont, d. 1706, Esfahan) was a French physician who travelled to Rome, Malta, Istanbul, Egypt and eventually to Ethiopia during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. His account of his stay is the major European source on Gondärine Ethiopia for the period between the expulsion of the ↗Jesuits and the arrival of ↗Bruce.

P. arrived in Egypt in 1687. In Cairo, P. enjoyed a good reputation for his healing skills. At that time, Iyasu sent a Muslim emissary, *al-hāǧǧ* ᶜAlī, to find a doctor to treat himself and one of his sons for a skin disease (possibly ↗leprosy, cp. BruNile 466). Charles de Maillet, the French consul in Cairo, hoped that the mission could help to establish contacts with Ethiopia and encouraged P. to go there. P. left Cairo to ↗Gondär in May 1698 in the company of a Jesuit, Charles François-Xavier de Brèvedent, and the brother of the then metropolitan *abunä* ↗Marqos IV.

The expedition entered Ethiopia via ↗Sinnār where they spent three months as guests of king Badī l-Aḥmar (1692–1716). They arrived at Barča in Bägemdər on 23 June. De Brèvedent died there and P., also very sick, continued to Gondär, where he arrived on 11 July. He spent nine months there, treating the ruler and his son successfully. However, he was forced to meet the ruler only in secret to avoid rumours about a renewal of the Catholic presence in Ethiopia. Finally, he returned via Aksum.

P. aspired to establish diplomatic relations between ↗France and Ethiopia, even asking Iyasu to send an ambassador to Louis XIV. On the way back, an Armenian of Alep, nephew of *ḫoğa* ↗Murad, ↗Murad b. Madlum, joined P. with letters from Iyasu to King Louis XIV, kept today at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (ZotBNat no. 162). The journey was difficult and the presents to the French King were lost during the expedition. They finally reached France where the king received them, but without any further consequences. Their attempt to return to Ethiopia in 1702 also remained unsuccessful.

P.'s account of his time in Ethiopia (1704) provides a detailed description of Sinnār, of Gondär and its area including Lake Ṭana, devoting much space to his personal impression of Iyasu. Describing Aksum, he mentions the church of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon but not the Ark of the Covenant.

Src.: BassEt 380, n. 370, 382, n. 385; BecRASO XV, s. index (534f.); Charles-Jacques Poncet, "Voyage d'Éthiopie", *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* 4, 1704, 251–443 [= "Relation abrégée du voyage que M. Charles Poncet, médecin français, fit en Éthiopie dans les années 1698, 1699 et 1700", *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique*, vol. 1, Paris 1838, 594–629]; Joachim Le Grand, *Voyage historique d'Abyssinie du R.P. Jérôme Lobo*, Paris 1728; William Foster (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century* …, London 1949 (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society ser. 2, 100), 91–172; BruNile III, 466–78, 492; DonMurad 166ff., 244, n. 99.

Lit.: Jeanne-Marie Allier, "Précisions biographiques sur Charles Poncet, voyageur français en Ethiopie", *Africa* 30, 4, 1975, 602–03; Richard Pankhurst, *Travellers in Ethiopia*, London 1965, 67–71; Id., "The History of Ethiopian–Armenian Relations (I)", *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 12, 1977, 273–345; Salvatore Tedeschi, "Poncet et son voyage en Ethiopie", *JES* 4, 2, 1966, 99–126.

François Le Cadre

Population history

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I. Introduction

Ethiopia, with 77,400,000 inhabitants has become the second most populated state in Sub-Saharan Africa (Pison 2005). Within the 1935-borders (identical with the borders since 1991) and in a 1.106 million km² national territory, estimations have differed from 5.5 million inhabitants (Maurette 1938) to 7 million inhabitants for ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (5.8 million inhabitants in Ethiopia) and 12 or 13 million inhabitants in 1946 (Perham 1948: 265f.). According to the 1970 census, Ethiopia (including Eritrea) had 25 million inhabitants. In 1984 the number increased to 42 million inhabitants and in 1994 (without Eritrea) to 53.5 million inhabitants. If one adds 4.7 million Eritreans (Pison 2005) the total number of inhabitants has tripled in 35 years.

In the 19th cent., 8.6 million inhabitants may have lived in a smaller territory of only 630,000 km² (Reclus 1885: 195). However, census takers lacked equipment and could not visit troubled regions.

For seven centuries Ethiopia has registered in its archives that the highlands were regularly affected by food shortages when they were much less populated than in the 20th cent. (↗Famine). Ethiopia suffered from many casualties during Mənilək's reign when a severe famine occurred, caused by *rinderpest* brought by the mules of the Italian troops which killed most of the cattle (↗*Kəfu qän*). Increasingly serious famines kept recurring in 1958–59, in 1973–74 and in 1984–85 which proved that P. had increased faster than ↗food production.

For a long time ↗urbanization stagnated due to a lack of agricultural surplus (Alula Abaté 1985) as well as a sufficient ↗road and rail network (↗Railways). At the end of the 19th cent., only ↗Gondär,

↗Däbrä Tabor, ↗ᶜAdwa, ↗Aksum, ↗ᶜAddigrat, ↗ᶜAbbi ᶜAddi, ↗Ankobär, ↗Aləyyu Amba, Ləčče and ↗Awsa exceeded 2,000 inhabitants; ↗Harär reached 20,000 inhabitants (Reclus 1885:265, 287, 329). The total P. of the "towns" was less than 100,000 inhabitants.

Urbanization spread after the foundation of the ↗*kätäma*, during the reign of Mənilək, and the construction of railways. In the 1970s city dwellers made up 9 % of the total P. (MesfGeogr), 11 % in 1984, 13.6 % in 1994 and 16 % in 2005. In a vain attempt to fight smuggling, Mängəśtu's regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) failed to stop peasants leaving the countryside: in 20 years urban P. increased by 50 % while that of ↗Addis Abäba quadrupled (GasEth; Gascon 2006). Because the figure of city dwellers has grown faster than the whole P., Ethiopia fits the common demographic pattern of the other African states.

At present 80 % of Ethiopians live above 1,800–2,000 m A.S.L. on 30 % of the national territory. They avoid the hot ↗*qʷälla,* affected by ↗malaria and trypanosomiasis. In 35 years demographic pressure has worsened: in 1970 P. density in the highlands exceeded 50 h/km², twice the national density, and in 2005, 200 h/km², three times the Ethiopian density. In about 1850 Härar already reached 60 inhabitants/km², Šäwa 37, the ↗Oromo Gibe States 22 and "Abyssinia" (↗Təgray, ↗Amhara, ↗Goǧǧam) 10, while the average density was 14 in "Greater Ethiopia" (Reclus 1885:195). According to travel reports, there is some confirmation of high densities in the mountains and plateaux where coffee and *ənsät* growers had settled: to the east the Harär and ↗Č̣ärč̣är regions and to the west a diagonal stretched from ↗Gurage as far as ↗Wälaytta and ↗Gideᶜo. The Ethiopian P. could be grouped into three centres: "Abyssinia" and ↗Šäwa 40 %, the Oromo States 40 % and Harär 14 % (Reclus 1885:195).

In the first atlases we can see that P. was settled mainly in the highlands. Higher densities were lined up in nuclei from Təgray (Aksum, ᶜAdwa), to ↗Wällo (↗Däse), to Goǧǧam, to Šäwa (Addis Abäba) as far as the large nucleus joining ↗Kämbata, Wälaytta and ↗Sidamo. To the East one can see the Harär region and to the West the Bädälle, Agaro, ↗Ǧimma, ↗Arǧo and Naqamtee *awraǧǧa* (MesfAtlas; Gascon 1994). History and politics were the major factors in this population distribution: Təgray and Harär were the hearts of former states and Goǧǧam and Wällo were powerful provinces. Gondär which for a long time was the capital has, however, never been a demographic centre. South of Addis Abäba appeared a dense and large region where *ənsät* was "a peopling plant" (Gascon 1994).

At present, the highest population density is to be observed in the peripheries of the capital (CSA 1998, 1999, 2004).

The six most important *kəlləl* (96 % of the Ethiopian population) according to CSA 1998, 2004 are

Oromiyaa	35 %
Amhara	25 %
Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State	20 %
Təgray	6 %
Somali	6 %
Addis Abäba	4 %

The Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State including the Gurage, ↗Hadiyya, ↗Kambaata and ↗Sidaama rural zones host more than 256 inhabitants/km². This is exceeded by the Gideᵓo zone with 512 inhabitants/km² and by the cities of Harär and Addis Abäba. The capital is surrounded by a cluster of zones, which are either part of Amhara or Oromiyya, accommodating between 128 to 256 inhabitants/km². In this group the zones of Šäwa, Ǧimma, North Omo, Goǧǧam, South Gondär and South Wällo are found (CSA 2004). The Təgray *kəlləl* (especially the East zone) and the North Gondär, ↗Arsi, Harär, ↗Wälläga and Illubabor zones although located on the plateaux have a lower average density than in the highlands (CSA 2004). This recent evolution interrupts the age-old history of the Ethiopian P. with sedentary agriculturists settled on the highlands and nomadic pastoralists of the lowlands gathered around their wells.

Until the Italian occupation the demographic nuclei of northern Ethiopia (the old Christian core) of eastern Ethiopia (Muslim Harär), and of southern Ethiopia (the mountains and plateaux of the cultivating *ənsät* peoples) remained independent from Addis Abäba. Only the southern nucleus has been strengthened by the increasing influence of the capital, whereas the northern and eastern nuclei seem to have weakened.

More than a century after the foundation of Addis Abäba in 1887 the demographic centre of gravity has met the political centre of Ethiopia. When the authorities of Oromiyaa adopted ↗Finfinee-Addis Abäba as their capital, they sought to take advantage of the city's expansion.

In 2025, it is expected Ethiopia will have to feed 118 million inhabitants (Pison 2005). Ethiopia must face rapid urbanization which will increase the influence of the capital at the expense of the historical centres of power.

Src.: CSA 1975; CSA 1984; CSA 1996; CSA 2000; CSA 2004; EMAtlas; MesfAtlas.

Lit.: Alula Abaté, "Urbanization and Regional Development in Ethiopia", in: Franz-Josef Kemper – Hans-Dieter Laux – Günter Thieme (eds.), *Geographie als Sozialwissenschaft. Beiträge zu ausgewählten Problemen kulturgeographischer Forschung, Wolfgang Kuls zum 65. Geburstag*, Bonn 1985 (Colloquium Geographicum 18), 242–71; Jean Gallais, *Une géographie politique de l'Éthiopie. Le poids de l'État,* Paris 1989; Alain Gascon, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanization contemporaine", in: Benoit Antheaume – Florence Pinton (ed.) *Tropiques. Lieux et liens*, Paris 1989, 435-44; Id., "Éthiopie, Érythrée, pays de la longue durée", in: Alain Dubresson – Jean-Pierre Raison – Jean-Yves Marchal (eds.), *Les Afriques au sud du Sahara*, Paris – Montpellier 1994, 272–85; Id., "Le miracle de l'*ensät.* Géographie d'une plante peuplante", in: *PICES* 11, 81–89; Id., "Addis Abäba–Djibouti: le chemin de fer qui a fait la Grande Éthiopie. Fin du chemin de fer, fin de la Grande Éthiopie?", in: Jean-Louis Chaléard – Chantal Chanson-Jabeur – Chantal Béranger (eds.), *Le rôle du chemin de fer en Afrique – Privatisation du chemin de fer, aide au développement et sauvegarde de l'environnement*, Paris 2005, 35–54; Id., *Sur les hautes terres comme au ciel, Identités et territoires en Éthiopie*, Paris 2006; GasEth; *Guida*; Bruno Messerli – Jack D. Ives (eds.), *Les montagnes dans le monde. Une priorité pour un développement durable*, Grenoble 1997; MesfGeogr; Mesfin Wolde Mariam, "An Estimate of the Population of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 5, 2, 1961, 135–46; Id., "The Population of Ethiopia: a Review", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 5, 2, 1967, 15–18; Id., "Population", in: *Readings in Economic Geography of Ethiopia*, 1969, 1–5; PerGov; François Piguet, *Des nomades entre villes et les sables. La sédentarisation dans la Corne de l'Afrique*, Paris-Genève 1998; Gilles Pison, "Tous les pays du monde (2005)", *Population et sociétés* 414, 2005; Jean-Marc Prost-Tournier, "La population de l'Éthiopie", *Revue de Géographie de Lyon* 49, 4, 1974, 311–42; Élisée Reclus, *L'Afrique septentrionale, première partie, bassin du Nil, Soudan égyptien, Éthiopie, Nubie, Égypte*, Paris 1885, 192–351 (Nouvelle Géographie Universelle. La Terre et les Hommes 10); Frederick J. Simoons, *Northwest Ethiopia: Peoples and Economy*, Madison, WI 1960.

Alain Gascon

II. Migrations before 1400 s. EAE vol. 5

III. Migrations from the 15th to the 19th century

Between the 15th and the 19th cent. occurred most of the spatial expansion that forms the present ethnic composition of north-eastern Africa. During this period two major directions of migratory movements can be determined: (1) the inhabitants of the northern plateau expanded towards the southern highlands, a movement which was counteracted from the 16th cent. onwards by the ↗Oromo migrations, and (2) people from the arid zones of the Somali peninsula tried to force their way westwards in order to gain access to more hospitable inland habitats.

The two migratory drifts occasionally coincided in the lake region of the Rift Valley. For their movements people preferred ways through areas of medium altitude, e.g., particularly along the highland escarpments, whereas malaria-stricken lowland regions were avoided or passed as quickly as possible. However, these areas frequently became a refuge for groups threatened by powerful neighbours. Slave raiding, mainly practised by highland populations along the western escarpment, proved to be a noticeable pull factor towards these geo-medically unsuitable territories up to the early 20th cent. (↗Gumuz, ↗Berta, ↗Mao, ↗Komo, ↗Mağaŋgir, ↗Gimira, etc.). In general, the slave trade from north-eastern Africa, particularly in the western peripheries but to a considerable extent also in Oromo and ↗Gurage areas, reached international dimensions (↗Slavery). It resulted in a continuous forced migration towards the Arabic-speaking areas of the Near East, the ↗Ottoman empire and as far as the Indian sub-continent (e.g., the so-called Habshi and Siddi represent minorities in ↗India, which were established there over the centuries originally as domestic slaves and mercenaries; s. Ababu Minda Yimene 2004).

In the 15th cent. the Ethiopian emperors, particularly *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, continued the southward expansion of the Christian state which ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I had initiated. Military settlers from the northern Ethiopian plateau (↗*Č̣äwa*) were placed as far south as the ↗Gamo, ↗Käfa and ↗Bale highlands to secure political control. This early migration is still reflected today in numerous names of sub-groups, particularly among the ruling strata, which recall their northern roots, e.g., ↗Amaaro, Tagaro, Hinnaro (↗Ǝnnarya), the royal clan "Tigre" of the ↗Wälaytta, the "Amhara" clans of the ↗Kambaata. It is also evidenced by certain titles of Ḥabäša origin such as *lagoo* (*ləğoo*) among the ↗Anfillo.

After the Muslims of the Horn had established the powerful confederation of ↗Zaylaᶜ in the 14th cent., the ↗Somali and ↗ᶜAfar started expanding from their country of origin in the coastal plains of the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. As pastoral nomads, traders and adventurers they began infiltrating the territories of the ↗Harär plateau and today's eastern Arsiland and acted as agents of Muslim expansion.

With regard to spatial mobility, the 16th cent. was one of the most turbulent phases in the history of north-eastern Africa. In 1529 *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrahīm al-Ġāzī (“Grañ”), the leader of the mighty Muslim sultanate of ↗ᶜAdal, spearheaded his ↗*ǧihād* against the Christian empire. Because ᶜAdal was a multi-ethnic political federation, people of different origin, Somali, ᶜAfar, ↗Harari and Hadiyya-Sidaama (s. BrHad), joined *imām* Aḥmad “Grañ” in his westward campaigns. Although the conquest of highland Ethiopia as the major aim of the *ǧihādists* failed, the changes in the ethnic composition of the Horn proved to be far-reaching.

The colonies of Christian settlers in most regions south of ↗Šäwa – with some exceptions, e.g., in Kambaata and ↗Käfa – had largely been annihilated. As participants of the military offensives of Aḥmad Grañ’s successor ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid (r. 1551–69) Semitic-speaking people, the so-called Adäre (↗Səlṭi, ↗Wəlbaräg etc., cp. ↗Harari), from the Č̣ärč̣är region moved to the eastern part of Gurageland. In the course of the turbulences of the *ǧihād* the ancestors of the present ↗Sidaama also left their homeland in the Harär plateau and the Bale highlands. After having passed a number of different stages in south-eastern Ethiopia they became established in their present location west of the ↗Ganaale headwaters between ca. 1560 and 1600 (BrHad 153–60). Other Harär groups established themselves among the ᶜAfar and Somali (Haralla, ↗Harla, i.e. ‘Harari’).

Because the long war had resulted in a considerable weakening of both opponents, Christian Ethiopia as well as the Muslim ᶜAdal federation, the Oromo were able to enter the historical arena as a powerful new agent. The hotly debated question of their country of origin will not be resumed in detail here. If we accept the view that the “homeland” of the Oromo was situated between the upper ↗Ganaale and the upper ↗Dawa (cf. BrHad, ch. 3.4.2), their movements occurred in two opposite directions, to the north and north-east into Ethiopia and, to a lesser extent, to the south into Kenya.

The extremely far-flung expansion of the Oromo obviously started in the 1530s, simultaneously with the early years of the ᶜAdal *ǧihād*. At first, they seem to have penetrated Bale, where the Christian position had collapsed as a consequence of the Muslim invasion. During the second half of the 16th cent. they crossed the ↗Wabi Šäbälle and subsequently occupied territories they collectively labelled Didaᵓa (presumably the former Christian province of ↗Däwaro). Written and oral sources speak of two major columns of Oromo migrations northward, the one of the ↗Boorana in the west and the other of the ↗Baarentuu in the east. The Boorana can be identified as the ancestors of the present ↗Mäč̣č̣a and Tuulama. They presumably advanced along the eastern escarpment of the ↗Rift Valley, crossed the upper ↗Awaš and subsequently occupied parts of Šäwa, Ǝnnarya, ↗Wällägga and Goǧǧam. The Baarentuu moved to the north-east and, according to their historical traditions, split into two major branches at Odaa Rooba in Bale around 1540. The ancestors of the Arsi crossed the upper Wabi Šäbälle in western Didaᵓa where they encountered an autochthonous population of partly islamized ↗Hadiyya.

The former inhabitants were either assimilated – two thirds of the ↗Arsi-Oromo are descendants of “Hadiyya clans” – or expelled to areas west of the Rift Valley. Other groups of Baarentuu descent, e.g., ↗Rayya, Azäbo and Ašangä (Ḫašəngä), continued their northward move and occupied parts of today’s Wällo and Təgray in a process which was apparently not concluded before the 17th/18th cent. Some Baarentuu groups crossed the Wabi Šäbälle in eastern Bale and then most probably pursued a route up the tributary Erär. With astonishing speed they seem to have advanced towards the region of Harär which was reached in the 1570s. The walled city resisted their conquest. Oromo raids eventually threatened ↗Awsa, the capital of the ᶜAfar sultanate, and territories in northern Somaliland as far as Hargeisa. From the 18th cent. onwards, however, the steady advance of the Somali forced the Oromo to retreat from areas in the eastern part of the Harär plateau and Bale.

As already indicated, the expansion of the Oromo was accompanied by a far-reaching ethno-linguistic assimilation of autochthonous populations in the conquered territories, especially of Cushitic-speaking Hadiyya-Sidaama, Semitic-speaking ↗Harari and ↗Gurage and Omotic-speaking groups in the region of the upper Omo (↗Gibe). The Christian empire of the Gondär period in the 17th and 18th cent., after having suffered from considerable territorial losses, was finally able to stop the migratory expansion of the Oromo in northern Ethiopia.

Although movements of ethnic groups and tribal segments, mostly caused by warlike clashes, have remained a common phenomenon in the history of north-eastern Africa, long-distance migrations of this type at the climax of the Oromo expansion can hardly be documented from the 18th cent. onwards. Demographic pressure increasingly induced people of the densely populated highlands to extend their settlement areas to the agriculturally less favourable lowlands and also droughts, epidemics such as the late 19th cent. *rinderpest* (e.g., s. ↗*Kəfu qän*) and subsequent ↗famines occasionally caused short-distance migrations, e.g., ca. 1890 in the lowlands of the Rift Valley.

The inland push of the Somali, mainly Dir in the area of the Harär plateau and ↗Darood in the Ogaden proceeded and obviously increased during the second half of the 19th cent.; e.g., the originally ᶜAfar-dominated ↗Zaylaᶜ became part of Somali territory. But this migration generally occurred in the form of an unspectacular infiltration.

The immigration of Arabs and Turks during the Egyptian occupation of territories on the Eritrean coast (↗Massawa; ↗Ottoman empire) and in Harärge was culturally important to some extent, but demographically it remained insignificant. ↗Beğa-speaking groups such as sections of the ↗Beni ᶜAmər occasionally crossed the borders from the Sudan to Eritrea and Ethiopia. In any event, pastoral nomads largely ignored the national boundaries which were demarcated in north-eastern Africa during the 19th cent. As a new ethnic element the ↗Rašāᵓida Arabs crossed the Red Sea to Eritrea (and to the Eastern Region of the Sudan) from the middle of the 19th cent. onwards.

As a particular type of migration, pilgrimage should be mentioned. When on the *ḥağğ* to Mecca people from various parts of Africa passed through the north-eastern part of the continent in order to reach the port of Massawa from where they crossed the Red Sea to the Arabian peninsula. Occasionally, some of the pilgrims, usually referred to by the West African names of ↗Tukrīr or ↗Fellata, stayed on as minorities in Ethiopia and Eritrea, and sometimes subsequently assimilated (s., e.g., Johannissiany n.d.). Starting from the era of Mənilək II, Arabs from Yemen tried to find a living as petty traders in Ethiopia (ZerÉth). Still in the 1950s – most ↗Yemenis had meanwhile left the country – the terms *Arab suq* or *Arab bayt* for small shops were widespread in rural areas. Imperial economic policy also attracted numerous foreign merchants and craftsmen, mainly ↗Armenians and ↗Greeks. The colonial occupation of ↗Eritrea by Italy in 1882 quickly resulted in an influx of Europeans for military, administrative and economic purposes.

The expansion of Šäwa and subsequently of the Ethiopian empire during the second half of the 19th cent. led to considerable shifts of population as a result of slave raiding, mainly along the western escarpment of the Ethiopian highlands (e.g., Gumuz, Gimira, etc.), and thanks to forced ↗resettlement instigated by rulers of provinces. It also resulted in a (new) southward movement of Ḥabaša people (↗Amhara, ↗Təgrəñña-speakers) and ↗Tuulama-Oromo, to the annexed provinces, as military and administrative personnel and to some extent also rural settlers and merchants. These people, usually labelled ↗*näfṭäñña* (‘gunmen’), constituted the leading stratum of the population in the *dar agär*, the conquered territories which comprised more than two thirds of the Ethiopian state. Many of them acted as ↗*mälkäñña* (land-owners) controlling the local inhabitants who had largely been reduced to the status of “serfs of the state” (↗*Gäbbar*).

When administrative personal of high position were transferred to other provinces they frequently forced parts of the local population to join them in their new destinations. For example, a British traveller (Darley 1935: 131) observed in 1923 the caravan of an Ethiopian governor near Ǧimma which he estimated at 12,000 men and women to be used as servants, porters, etc. Displacements of such a kind involving a considerable amount of people, e.g., between Käfa and Yərga ᶜAläm in Sidamo, are reported by oral tradition to have occurred until 1935. The human losses during these processes of deportation seem to have been enormous (BrHad 312).

Reliable statistics for ↗*näfṭäñña* in the different parts of Ethiopia are not available, but their number most probably amounted to some hundred thousand people by the end of the 19th cent. (Many of their descendants left southern Ethiopia for Addis Abäba and the northern parts of the country after the fall of the *Därg* [↗Provisional Military Administrative Council] regime in 1991.)

A process of rural-urban migration started with the establishment of Addis Abäba as the new capital of the empire in 1889 and the foundation of new ↗*kätäma* as centres of administration in the provinces.

Src.: Henry A.C. Darley, *Slaves and Ivory in Abyssinia. A Record of Adventure and Exploration among the Ethiopian Slave Raiders*, New York 1935, 131; Timotheus, *Zwei Jahre in Abessinien oder Schilderung der Sitten und des staatlichen und religiösen Lebens der Abyssinier von Sr. Hochw. Pater Timotheus, Legat Sr. Eminenz des Armenischen Patriarchen bei König Theodor von Abessinien*, Leipzig [ca. 1888], 2nd part; ZerEth.

Lit.: Ababu Minda Yimene, *An African Community in Hyderabad: Siddi Identity, its Maintenance and Change.* Göttingen 2004; BrHad, passim.

Ulrich Braukämper

IV. Migrations in the south-west

The Ethiopian south-west, a multi-ethnic but traditionally sparsely populated region, knew significant migratory patterns that were visible until the present era. With the growing impact of the central state, these patterns were either "regulated" or disturbed during the second half of the 20th cent. and beyond. The post-1991 state furthermore discouraged "irregular" migrations via its policies of territorialization of ethnic groups, and group conflicts also have added to a decline of mobility and ethnic change (↗Ethnicity).

The south-west is traditionally a frontier zone where many groups meet, with settlement areas and transhumant modes of livelihood extending well into the ↗Sudan and ↗Kenya: ethnic groups and migration always occurred in a wider regional context. As the complexity of ethnic nomenclature and movement, based on equally varied ecological setting, is great, only the basic outlines can be indicated here. Many groups were known in the past under other ethnic names and frequently intermingled (s. Schlee 1989 for the Ethiopia-Kenya zone, cf. Sobania 1991; ↗Inter-ethnic clan relations). Most of the inhabitants of this wider region were agro-pastoral peoples and hunter-gatherers. The latter, e.g., ↗Kwegu-Muguği, Manğa (↗Manğo), Šabo, ↗Mağangir, are probably the more ancient inhabitants of the region, although they were obviously preceded by other groups, as the vestiges of Stone Age cultures have been found in the lower ↗Omo valley (cf. Guillemot 1997).

The agro-pastoralist groups in the Ethiopian south-west may for a large part have their origins in southern Sudan or Kenya, as the plains suitable for cattle herding extend well into these regions. The ↗Ñaŋatom people are in close contact with the Toposa in Sudan who share the same language and culture, the ↗Baale (↗Suri) people partially live in Sudan, and Ethiopian pastoralist groups still have grazing areas across the borders. Many present-day peoples still largely retain the old forms of pastoral and hunter-gatherer livelihood, for instance the ↗Dáasanač, Ñaŋatom, ↗Mursi, Bodi (↗Meʾen) ↗Kara, Kwegu, ↗Arbore (Hoor), or Suri. Others have either lost their cattle because of disease (↗Añwaa, Baale) and adopted agriculture or craftwork and petty trade. Various groups such as Komo, Meʾen, ↗Opuuo, Olam (↗Murle), ↗Benç̌ or even the Mağaŋgir (Renʾya Sato 2002) have also come to adopt a more settled agricultural lifestyle. Other groups have disappeared: the Gomba, the Omo Murle, the Bogudo. Throughout the history of this region, extensive inter-group trading contacts are notable (cf. Sobania 1991).

Apart from epidemics, droughts or other ecological problems people moved because of group conflict, human disease (Tornay 1986 on a sleeping sickness epidemic), or local population pressure (cf. Abbink 1992; Turton 1991; Schlee in PICES 8). Colonial policies also played their part, notably of the British in Sudan and Kenya (s. Lamphear 1992). Many groups in southern Ethiopia that were brought under Ethiopian imperial rule in the late 1890s suffered seriously from raiding, the ↗*gäbbar* system, enslavement and general politico-economic exploitation (cf. Donham – James 1986), causing several groups to seek refuge elsewhere or retreat to inhospitable places. Finally, when local conflict aggravates, warfare in itself can fuel ethnic migration and group change (Turton 1991).

The people in the region under discussion speak Cushitic, Omotic and Nilo-Saharan (Surmic) languages. Much of the processes of ethno-genesis and migration are documentable from the early 19th cent. onwards, via an analysis of local oral traditions. From anthropological and ethnohistorical research in the past two decades, a detailed picture of ethnic group relations, local societies and population movements has thus emerged (s. the work of, e.g., Almagor, Fukui, Lydall, Turton, Tornay, Sobania, Schlee, Strecker and Abbink). This picture shows a story of frequent group segmentation, and of an often quite mixed composition of local "ethnic" groups, whereby sections or lineages of other groups were absorbed, as evidenced by the inclusion of Pokot and Rendille people among the Ñaŋatom (Tornay, personal communication, 2007), ↗Aari and Dizi sections among the Meʾen, and ↗Dizi, Kwegu and Meʾen people among the Suri. Some clan groups are present in various ethnic groups

(Schlee 1989; Unseth – Abbink 1998; Abbink, field notes). Also notable is the relatively recent emergence of certain ethnic formations, such as the Ñaŋatom since the 19th cent. (emerging from the Karimoǧoŋ cluster [Tornay 2001], the Mursi [Turton 1979], and the Suri since the late 18th cent. [Abbink, field notes]). Others significantly change their character in a relatively short period. For instance, the Tišana-Meʾen have become much more agriculturalist since the early 20th cent., incorporating members of local groups and inducing cultural change (Abbink 1992). Part of the Mursi have over the last 20 years settled in higher, better watered areas, de-emphasizing ↗pastoralism (Turton 1988; Turton – Turton 1984). Some groups in the southern Sudan, such as the Surmic-speaking Didinga, Tenet and Narim, claim origins in southern Ethiopia (cf. Dimmendaal 1982: 105).

On the northern fringe of the south-west recent dramatic population movements were caused by civil war in the southern Sudan and local conflict in Ethiopia: the ↗Nuer entering Ethiopia from the Sudan and the emerging displacement of the Añwaa from much of their traditional land. The Añwaa have thus seen their territory, numbers and political power decline, and this has led to rising violent confrontations and a very tense relationship until today (Dereje Feyissa 2005). In the same Gambella region, the Maǧaŋgir people have come under pressure due to the shrinking forest area and emerging competition with other groups, reducing their mobility.

In the late 20th cent., ecological and economic problems of the South-west are undiminished, but migratory patterns to alleviate resulting local systemic stress are increasingly proscribed by state authorities, which follow the predictable political ideal of settling and administratively controlling the local peoples. In the 1980s, for instance, the *Därg* government initiated villagization plans as well as population transfers of famine-stricken Northerners (↗Resettlement), thus causing a demographic dynamic impact on migration patterns. While these initially had a limited effect, they were taken up in full force by the post-1991 government, which dramatically increased the scale of these interventions. There are now large settler communities among the Meʾen, the Mursi and the Bodi (s. Meʾen), with more planned. In addition, internal population pressure among the indigenous groups, within relatively poorer environments, is growing as well. This is limiting ethnic change and interaction and is heightening "ethnic" tensions. Traditional migratory patterns thus have stopped in their tracks, but forced sedentarization of agropastoral groups and growing commercialization (land confiscation for outside companies, logging, and development of state land) will proceed, as will out-migration of young people via the educational system or new networks of regional trade.

Src.: Jon Abbink, *Field Notes Southwest Ethiopia*, 1991–99 (ms.).

Lit.: Jon Abbink, "Economy and Society in Southwest Ethiopia: the Emergence of the 'Tishana'", in: Id. – Hans Vermeulen (eds.), *History and Culture. Essays on the Work of Eric R. Wolf*, Amsterdam 1992, 71–94; Id., "Paradoxes of Power and Culture in an Old Periphery: Surma, 1974–98", in: Wendy James et al. (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia*: *Socialism and After*, Oxford – Addis Ababa – Athens, OH 2002, 155–72; Uri Almagor, "Institutionalizing a Fringe Periphery: Dassanetch–Amhara Relations", in: Donham – James (eds.), 96–115; Dereje Feyissa, "Land and the Politics of Identity: the Case of Anywaa-Nuer Relations in the Gambella Region", in: Sandra Evers – Marja Spierenburg – Harry Wels (eds.), *Competing Jurisdictions*: *Settling Land Claims in Africa*, Leiden – Boston, MA 2005, 203–22; Gerrit Dimmendaal, "Contacts between Eastern Nilotic and Surma Groups: Linguistic Evidence", in: John Mack – Peter Robertshaw (eds.), *Culture History in the Southern Sudan*, Nairobi 1982, 101–10; Donald Lewis Donham – Wendy James (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia, Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986; Claude Guillemot, "Recherches paléoanthropologiques dans la basse vallée de l'Omo", *Bulletin de la Maison des Études Éthiopiennes* 11, 1997, 69-78; John Lamphear, *The Scattering Time. Turkana Responses to Colonial Rule*, Oxford 1992; Günther Schlee, "The Oromo Expansion and its Impact on Ethnogenesis in Northern Kenya", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 711–24; Id., *Identities on the Move*: *Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, Manchester 1989; Neal Sobania, *The Historical Tradition of the Peoples of the Eastern Lake Turkana Basin, c. 1840–1925*, London 1980; Id., "Fisherman Herders: Subsistence, Survival and Cultural Change in Northern Kenya", *JAH* 29, 1988, 41–56; Id., "Feasts, Famines and Friends: Nineteenth Century Exchange and Ethnicity in the Eastern Lake Turkana Region", in: John Galaty – Pierre Bonte (eds.), *Herders, Warriors and Traders*: *Pastoralism in Africa*, Boulder, CO – San Francisco, CA – Oxford 1991, 118–44; Renʾya Sato, "Evangelical Christianity and Ethnic Consciousness in Majangir", in: Wendy James et al. (eds.), *op. cit.* 2002, 185–97; Serge Tornay, "L'énigme des Murle de l'Omo", *L'Ethnographie* 119, 1978, 55–75 [Engl. in: Marvin Lionel Bender (ed.), *Peoples and Cultures of the Ethio-Sudan Borderland*, East Lansing, MI 1981, 33–60]; Id., *Les Fusils Jaunes. Générations et Politique en Pays Nyangatom* (*Éthiopie*), Nanterre 2001; David Turton, "A Journey Made Them: Territorial Segmentation and Ethnic Identity among the Mursi", in: Ladislav Holy (ed.), *Segmentary Lineage Systems Reconsidered*, Belfast 1979, 119–43; Id., "Looking for a Cool Place: the Mursi, 1890s–1980s", in: David Anderson – Douglas Johnson (eds.), *Ecology and Society*

in Northeast Africa, London 1988, 261–82; ID., "Movement, Warfare and Ethnicity in the Lower Omo Valley", in: JOHN GALATY – PIERRE BONTE (eds.), *Herders, Warriors and Traders: Pastoralism in Africa*, Boulder, CO – San Francisco, CA – Oxford 1991, 145–70; DAVID TURTON – PAT TURTON, "Spontaneous Resettlement after Drought: an Ethiopian Example", *Disasters* 18, 3, 178–89; PETER UNSETH – JON ABBINK, "Cross-Ethnic Clan Identities among Surmic Groups and their Neighbours: the Case of the Mela", in: GERRIT DIMMENDAAL – MARCO LAST (eds.), *Surmic Languages and Cultures*, Cologne 1998, 103–12.

Jon G. Abbink

V. Migrations from the late 19th century until today

The expansion of the Christian Ethiopian empire in the late 19th cent. not only led to forced population movements due to slave raiding (↗Slavery) and displacement of uprooted people, but also to labour migration of various newly conquered groups, such as the ↗Gurage-speakers, who lost much of their land, and, due to the need for imperial tribute to be paid in cash, had to gain income (Baker 1992; Worku Nida 2000). This was the start of their migration to Addis Abäba, and later to other urban areas (↗Urbanization).

In addition, craftsmen from southern groups like the Dorze came to the capital to make a living from weaving. Various imperial generals and provincial governors forced hundreds of people to come with them when they left their posts and settled in the capital. Some massive raids sometimes depopulated entire regions. One of the most notorious ones was the raid in 1913 by *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu in the ↗"Gimira" area. In the wake of the imperial conquest, there also emerged more internal migration in various regions, but this did not lead to major population movements or shifts such as are known from earlier centuries. Indeed, apart from the movement of Northerners (e.g., ↗*näfṭäñña*) to the south and local migrations and encroachments in peripheral areas (Somali-ᶜAfar, Oromo-Somali), and slow movements of pastoralist peoples in the south-west to higher, more rain-fed areas, no major processes of ethno-genesis or of large-scale assimilation or ethnic displacement were visible after the establishment of Mənilək's empire: the new imperial order in a way "froze" the borders of ethno-regional groups, and massive migratory processes declined. The growth of new urban centres, however, was fed by steady migrations from various groups and regions, leading to a new socially and ethnically mixed urban population.

Due to local droughts and ↗famines as well as localized economic development – in Addis Abäba and in areas of new cotton, sugar and coffee plantations – voluntary migration steadily increased during the 20th cent., mainly from north to south. Also, northern traders became more active in southern Ethiopia. Starting from the late 1960s, ecological degradation, especially in the central highlands, was an impetus for voluntary migration of peasants to less populated areas (Markos 2001; Lindtjørn et al. 1993). In lowland areas, the common patterns of pastoralist transhumant migration have continued until today (e.g., ↗ᶜAfar, ↗Somali, ↗Gabbra, ↗Garri, ↗Boorana, and smaller groups in the south-west).

Until the late 1970s Ethiopia had a relatively low rate of urbanization in comparison with other African countries (cf. Benti Getahun 2007), but in the *Därg* era this changed (Berhanu Tereke 1994). The rapid growth of urban settlements, primarily of Addis Abäba and the capitals of the new regional states led to congestion, substandard housing, pollution and lack of services (Andargatchew Tesfaye 1992; Solomon Gebre 1993). Reasons for migration to urban areas are the persistent crisis of rural livelihoods, land alienation, and unrelenting population growth, leading to land scarcity and poverty.

Apart from small groups from some neighbouring countries, such as Yemen and Sudan, no significant numbers of foreigners settled in Ethiopia in the 20th cent. As mentioned above, trading communities, e.g., of ↗Greeks and ↗Armenians, settled in small numbers. Refugees from Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia and Kenya, however, were numerous in times of conflict and war. The number of Sudanese refugees in the 1980s, for instance, was more than 300,000. Somalis arrived in the wake of episodes of civil war, and around 1990 there were close to one million Somali refugees in eastern Ethiopia.

The civil wars in the late 1970s and 1980s in Təgray and Eritrea led to several hundred thousand refugees (to Sudan) and internally displaced persons (in northern Ethiopia). More recently, the Ethiopian–Eritrean war of 1998–2000 displaced ca. 350,000 people, tens of thousands of whom are still not resettled. In addition, "population exchange" occurred during the war with both countries expelling assumed citizens of the enemy country: ca. 80,000 Eritreans were "sent back" to Eritrea, and ca. 70,000 Ethiopians were urged to leave under pressure if not actually forced out of Eritrea. Other conflict situations add to the involuntary migration of people, e.g., violent "ethnic clashes" between ethnic or regional groups around district or regional borders, and occasionally religious tensions. In most cases people return to their homes after mediation and the restoration of order, but sometimes there have been expulsions. In short, in terms of deaths, trauma, and loss of livelihood, the human toll of forced migration and population displacement in Ethiopia in the past century has been high.

An exceptional case of migrations was the wholesale departure of one ethno-religious group from Ethiopia, the only one so far: the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, claiming Jewish heritage and descent, to the state of Israel in a costly "chain migration" from ca. 1977 to 2004 (Ben-Ezer 2002; Schindler 1993). No Betä Ǝsraʾel from the main group are left in Ethiopia, except for a few splinter groups, often descending from members of the community converted to Christianity. A comparable case of a quasi-total departure of a whole group are the "Bantu" Mušunguli of ↗Somalia, a disadvantaged group, which was offered refuge in the United States of America.

A typical African problem also affecting Ethiopia is the exodus of skilled professionals, the "brain drain". Before 1974, only a few Ethiopian professionals were working outside the country, although many were trained abroad. The brain drain started in the 1970s – after the Ethiopian revolution, ushering in a totalitarian state, a long civil war, and economic stagnation – and has not abated since (Dejene Aredo – Yohannis Zelalem 1998). At the same time, a mirror trend has emerged in the last two decades: the out-migration of low-skilled workers, especially females, to neighbouring countries like Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Lebanon, Italy, the USA, and others. Young females are employed as domestic servants and child minders (Emebet Kebede 2000). This has led to the emergence of organized human trafficking and related abuse. In sum, sociopolitical instability, ecological degradation, durable poverty, exponential population growth and (trans-)border conflicts fuel persistent migration flows in Ethiopia and neighbouring countries.

↗Resettlement

Lit.: Andargatchew Tesfaye, "The Social Consequences of Urbanization: the Addis Ababa Experience", *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research* 14, 1, 1992, 1–43; Aynalem Adugna, "The 1984 Drought and Settler Migration in Ethiopia", in: John J. Clarke (ed.), *Population and Disaster*, Oxford 1989, 114–27; Jonathan Baker, "The Gurage of Ethiopia: Rural-urban Interaction and Entrepreneurship", in: Id. – Poul Ove Pedersen (eds.), *The Rural-Urban Interface in Africa*, Uppsala 1992; Benti Getahun, *Addis Ababa: Migration and the Making of a Multiethnic Metropolis, 1941–1974*, Lawrenceville, NJ 2007; Berhanu Tereke, *Urbanization in Ethiopia*, The Hague 1994; Dejene Aredo – Yohannes Zelalem, "Skilled Labor Migration from Developing Countries: an Assessment of Brain Drain from Ethiopia", in: Senait Seyoum – Alemayehu Seyoum (eds.), *Human Resources Development in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998; Emebet Kebede, *Ethiopia: an Assessment of the International Labour Migration Situation. The Case of Female Labour Migrants*, Geneva 2001; Gadi Ben-Ezer, *The Ethiopian Jewish Exodus: Narratives of the Migration Journey to Israel 1977–1985*, London – New York 2002; Bernt Lindtjørn – Tadesse Alemu – Bjarne Bjorvatn, "Population Growth, Fertility, Mortality and Migration in Drought-prone Areas in Ethiopia", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* 87, 1, 1993, 24–28; Markos Ezra, *Ecological Degradation, Rural Poverty, and Migration in Ethiopia: a Contextual Analysis*, Working paper, New York 2001; Id. – Gäbrä-Igziabher Kiros, "Rural Out-migration in the Drought-prone Areas of Ethiopia: a Multi-level Analysis", *International Migration Review* 35, 3, 2001, 749–71; Alula Pankhurst – Francois Piguet (eds.), *Moving People in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1992, passim; Ruben Schindler, "Emigration and the Black Jews of Ethiopia: Dealing with Bereavement and Loss", *International Social Work* 36, 1, 1993, 7–19; Solomon Gebre, "The Condition of the Poor in Addis Ababa: a Social Problem not yet Addressed", *Dialogue* 3rd ser., 2, 1, 1993, 1–34; Worku Nida, "*Fanonet*: Ethnohistorical Notes on the Gurage Urban Migration in Ethiopia", *Ufahamu* 28, 2–3, 2000, 43–73.

Jon G. Abbink

Porro expedition

The P.e. was a commercial mission lead by Count Gian Pietro Porro (b. 20 November 1844, d. 9 April 1886), president of the *Società di esplorazione Commerciale in Africa*; the mission was originally meant to reach Harär in 1886. Porro organized the project as part of an effort to promote ↗Italy's presence in the Horn and a better understanding of the region's economic potential. While the Italian government steered clear of an official endorsement, Italy's leading pro-colonial institutions supported Porro's plans and dispatched representatives along with him. Among the members of the party who embarked on the journey were Giovanni Battista Licata, a naturalist representing the ↗*Società Africana di Napoli*, Count Carlo Cocastelli di Montiglio representing the *Società Geografica Italiana*, and Umberto Romagnoli, representing *Filonardi*, a company commercially active throughout East Africa.

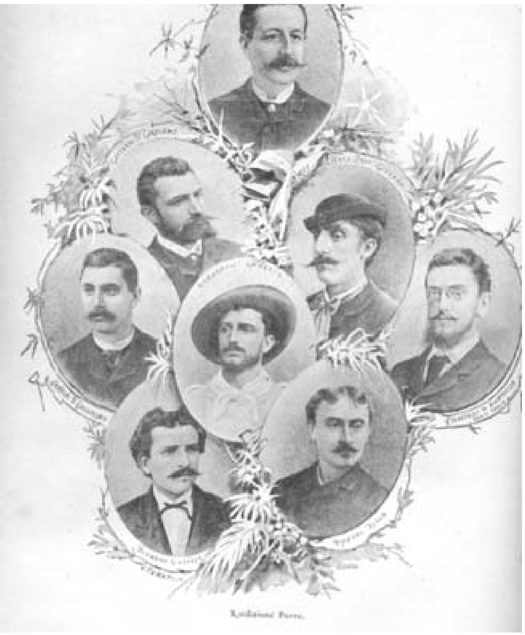
The P.e. left Naples on 26 January 1886 and reached Aden by early March at a time of great instability. ↗Egypt had just withdrawn from the region: the coastal cities were now under British control, while ↗^{c}Abdullāhi b. Muḥammad had become the *amīr* of ↗Harär and found himself at odds with the European presence in the city. At the same time the British authorities were suspicious of Porro's aims, believing the ultimate goal of the mission to be political in nature. They warned Porro about the dangers of any attempt to reach Harär, but consented to the expedition provided they reduced the amount of weapons they carried and agreed to be escorted.

Porro accepted the British conditions and sailed to ↗Zayla^{c} on 18 March. The P.e. left in the company of a British-appointed contingent of Somali and Sudanese soldiers, an Ethiopian interpreter and three servants. Besides Licata, Cocastelli and Romagnoli, Porro took with him his servant Giuseppe Blandino, Giulio De Angelis and two physicians, Gerolamo Gottardi and Guglielmo Zannini. Porro asked the other four members of the original party who had left Naples with him two months earlier to return to Italy with most of the military supplies.

On 26 March the P.e. left Zayla^{c} and by 1 April reached Somadu where it sojourned for a few days. Here the members of the expedition wrote letters to their sponsoring institutions and their families – the letters would be published in the *Esploratore* and the *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* after their deaths.

By the time the party reached the outskirts of ↗Ǧildessa, on 8 April, the town was under the control of the *amīr* whose troops had disarmed a British contingent. In spite of these chaotic circumstances, Porro decided to camp in the vicinity and move forward with his expedition: Romagnoli was sent to Ǧildessa to assess the situation.

Once in the town he met with representatives of the *amīr* who agreed to escort the party to Harär. A small contingent followed Romagnoli back to the encampment and later that night met with Porro to demand that the party surrender its weapons in exchange for a safe passage. It seems that a disagreement on this issue persuaded the Harari to seek reinforcements: before dawn, about three hundred soldiers surrounded the encampment and disarmed the escort while the *amīr*'s representatives promised Porro they would have him and his fellow travellers escorted to Harär. On the following day, 9 April, the P.e. and the Harari forces headed to Harär as agreed, but after marching for a few hours all the Italian members of the expedition were executed, while the interpreter, soldiers and servants were taken prisoners.



The members of the Porro expedition (from top, counter-clockwise: Porro, Gottardi, Licata, Zannini, Romagnoli, Cocastelli di Montiglio, Blandino, Bianchi); from Robecchi-Bricchetti 1896: 88

When the news reached Italy, the societies backing the expedition demanded a direct military intervention, but to no avail: the Italian government dismissed calls for a retaliatory mission on the grounds that the P.e. had been privately organized with no government support and that any military initiative would involve a confrontation with the British forces which were in control of the area and supportive of the *amīr*.

Src.: Anon., "Rapporto sul massacro della nostra Spedizione che riceviamo da Zeila", *L'Esplorazione Commerciale* 1886, 157–85; Cesare Nerazzini, "Ragguagli sulla strage della spedizione Porro", *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia* 6, 1887, 180–83; Eugenio Parravicino, "La spedizione all'Harar", *L'Esploratore* (Milano) 10, 1886, 188; Id., "La strage della spedizione Porro – Rapporto Ufficiale", *ibid.* 229–33; C.G. Toni, "La spedizione Porro in Africa (1886)", *ibid.* 325–45; Id."La spedizione Porro", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 23, ser. 2, 11, 1886, 395–409; Id., "Informazioni della Società di esplorazione sull'eccidio della spedizione Porro", *ibid.* 576–80.

Lit.: Angelo del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale*, vol. 1: *Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma 1976; Luigi Robecchi-Bricchetti, *Nell'Harrar*, Milano 1896, 88 (ill.); Carlo Giglio, *Etiopia–Mar Rosso*, Roma 1958; Robert L. Hess, "Italian Imperialism in Its Ethiopian Context", *IJAHS* 6, 1, 1973, 94–109.

Matteo Salvadore

Ports ↗Red Sea

Portugal, relations with

In Portuguese sources of the 15th–17th cent. *Etiópia* (↗Aithiopía) means loosely "East Africa", whereas Ethiopia proper is styled *Abássia* (↗Abyssinia) or, more often, *Terra do Preste João* (Thomaz 2002). P.'s quest for the ↗Prester John began, according to Gomes Eanes de Zurara, about 1422, when Prince Henry the Navigator, aware of the difficulties of the conquest of Morocco (which the Portuguese had commenced in 1415, occupying Ceuta), decided to follow the coast of West Africa, in search of a Christian ally. Perhaps due to confusion between the emperor of Ethiopia and the King of Mali, the realm of the former was supposed to reach the Atlantic Ocean, around the River Senegal, and that explains the inquiries made about Prester John by Portuguese sailors in the zone of Rio de Oro in 1443, in Gambia in 1455 and later in the Niger River and Congo. In 1446, Prince Henry sent two of his men to explore the Levant and the "Land of Prester John"; unfortunately, details are unknown. Information about Ethiopia was obtained by Italian agents and travellers (↗Italy) and from Ethiopian monks who visited P., such as one George in 1452 and Luqas Marqos. Through the latter, letters were sent to the Ethiopian emperor from the Portuguese king. Meanwhile, in 1487, Dom ↗João II had sent two of his men to explore the East: Pero da ↗Covilhã to India and the Indian Ocean and Afonso de Paiva to Ethiopia.

Actual relations between P. and Ethiopia were established under King Dom ↗Manoel I. For Dom Manoel, who was strongly influenced by the messianic and apocalyptic ideas of Joachim of Floris (1145–1202), and dreamed of destroying Mecca and recovering Jerusalem, the alliance with Ethiopia was vital. These ideas, however, were shared only by a narrow circle and Manoel's court was divided roughly into two parties: the "imperialists", prone to accept the King's messianism and to engage in the crusade, the main ideologue of which was the chronicler Duarte Galvão, secretary to the King; and the "liberals", who only accepted a Portuguese commercial presence in the Indian Ocean (Thomaz 1990).

The first Portuguese expedition to India, that of Vasco da Gama (1497–99), was instructed to inquire about the Prester John but could only learn that his realm was an inland country, without ports on the Indian Ocean. Initially, the first viceroy of Portuguese India, Dom Francisco de Almeida (1505–09), linked to the "liberals", did nothing to establish relations. In 1506, three messengers accompanying Tristão da Cunha disembarked at Malindi. Unable to reach Ethiopia, Afonso de ↗Albuquerque took them the following year to the coast of Somaliland, from where one of them reached the Ethiopian court. Thanks to political and religious motivations, both the Queen Regent ↗Ǝleni and *abunä* ↗Marqos were favourable to an *entente* with the Portuguese and to contact with the Roman Church. They therefore sent ↗Mateus as ambassador to Lisbon. Meanwhile, Albuquerque wrote to the King from the ↗Red Sea, laying out his strategic plan of alliance with Christian Ethiopia and the Shah of Persia against the Mamluks and the Osmanlı Turks (cf. Pato 1884: 224ff.).

However, in 1514 news of the misfortune of Albuquerque at Aden and military setbacks in Morocco foiled Dom Manoel's plans for a crusade. Duarte Galvão, then 70 years old, was still allowed to go as ambassador to the Prester John taking Mateus with him but the new governor, Lopo Soares de Albergaria – a cousin of the baron of Alvito, leader of the "liberals" – sabotaged the trip. When Duarte Galvão died at Kamaran, Lopo Soares went back to India without putting Mateus ashore on the coast of ↗Eritrea.

Meanwhile, in P. the opposition gathered around the Crown Prince, Dom João (↗João III), had virtually overthrown the King. Dom Manoel, however, recovered power in 1518 and succeeded in having sent one of his faithful servants, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, to India as governor. In 1520 Diogo Lopes led an expedition into the Red Sea, disembarked Mateus in Eritrea, met with the ↗*baḥər nägaš* and dispatched an embassy led by Dom Rodrigo de ↗Lima (cf. also Francisco ↗Alvares) to the court of ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. Dom Manuel, searching for support to his imperial projects, appealed to the country by printing the letter he received with these news (*Carta das Novas* …; Cortesão-Thomas 1938).

With the succession of Dom João III all ideas of a crusade were immediately abandoned. Probably, the extant copies of the *Carta das Novas* were destroyed, of which only one, kept in London, survived until today. Meanwhile, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira and Duarte Pacheco Pereira offered their services to the Spanish ambassador to pursue the quest for Prester John on behalf of

Part of the northern wall of the Jesuit-Portuguese fortress at Fəremona, ca. 1625; photo 2006, courtesy of Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Emperor Charles V. However, when Rodrigo de Lima came back from Ethiopia in 1527, accompanied by ↗Ṣägga Zäʾab, little interest was paid to them.

A turning point occurred with the crisis provoked in Ethiopia by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's wars. In 1535, Ləbnä Dəngəl sent the physician João ↗Bermudez to Rome, looking for help and promising to submit to the Pope in return. Partly due to Bermudez's intervention, the Governor of India Dom Estevão da ↗Gama conducted the fourth and last large Portuguese expedition into the Red Sea in 1541. As a result of this expedition 400 Portuguese soldiers, under the command of Christovão da ↗Gama went to Ethiopia to support *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos in his struggle against Aḥmad.

Meanwhile, the cultural and political atmosphere was also undergoing deep changes. In 1536 the Inquisition was introduced into P. and, from the following year, the treatise written by Ṣägga Zäʾab (Góis 1540) was forbidden from P. Ethiopia thus began to be regarded as a dangerous example both for reformers and for Portuguese New Christians (cf. Henry 1898: 47). As a consequence, in the early 1540s, João III, Pope Paul III and ↗Ignatius de Loyola began to plan a mission to Ethiopia to be managed by the ↗Jesuits. The idea of crusade gave way to overseas missionary plans.

After the second siege of Diu in 1546, a sort of gentlemen's agreement between the Portuguese and the Ottomans remained in force. Dom João and his successors (Catherine of Habsburg, cardinal Dom Henrique and King Sebastião) practically ignored Red Sea politics.

Until the end of the 16th cent. the old crusade plans still met with episodic revivals. Philip II of Spain (after 1580 also Philip I of P.) entertained ideas of reviving the alliance with Ethiopia against the Ottoman Empire (cf. Lane 1966: 34). However, his projects met with tenacious opposition from the Portuguese authorities at ↗Goa – where supplies and forces were scant – and hence remained fruitless. The restoration of the Jesuit mission by Pedro ↗Páez in 1603 initiated the last chapter of Luso–Ethiopian relations.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar; Armando Cortesão – Henry Thomas (eds.), *Carta das novas que vieram a el Rei nosso Senhor do descobrimento do Preste João*, Lisboa ^{1}1521, Lisboa ^{2}1938; Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Guiné* [1453], Paris ^{1}1841, Lisboa 1981; Damião de Góis, *Fides, religio, moresque sub imperio Pretiosi Ioannis …*, Lovanii 1540; Siegbert Uhlig – Gernot Bühring, *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 39); William John Charles Henry (ed.), *Ineditos Goesianos, colligidos e annotados*, vol. 2, Lisboa 1898, 47; Raymundo António de Bulhão Pato (ed.), *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque …*, vol. 1, Lisboa 1884, 224ff.; R.B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast: Hadramî Chronicles*, Oxford 1963.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Portogallo ed Etiopia", in: Id., *Relazioni storiche fra l'Italia e il Portogallo; Memorie e documenti*, Roma 1940, 323–59; Girma Beshah – Merid Wolde Aregay, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations* (*1500–1632*), Lisbon 1964; Kurt Krause, "Os Portugueses na Abissínia", *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* 31, 1913, 355–93; *ibid.* 32, 1914, 75–132; Anne Kroell – Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, *Mamlouks, Ottomans et Portugais en Mer Rouge. L'affaire de Djedda en 1517*, Le Caire 1988 (Supplement to *Annales Islamologiques* 12); Frederic C. Lane, *Venice and History: the Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane*, Baltimore, MD 1966, 34; Elaine Sanceau, *Portugal in Quest of Prester John*, London 1943; Luis Filipe Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, Lisboa 1994, 192ff.; Id., "L'idée impériale manueline", in: Jean Aubin (ed.), *La découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe. Actes du colloque célébrée à Paris le 26, 27 et 28 mai 1988*, Paris 1990, 35–103; Id., "Entre l'histoire et l'utopie: le mythe du Prêtre Jean", in: Jean Baubérot et al. (eds.), *Les Civilisations dans le regard de l'autre*, Paris 2002, 117–42.

Luís Filipe Thomaz

Luso–Ethiopians

From the mid-16th cent. to the beginning of the reign of *aṣe* ↗ Yoḥannəs I, a community of Portuguese origin, known locally as *Burtukan* or ↗*Färänǧ*, lived in Ethiopia. Their origin goes back to the expedition of Christovão da ↗Gama in 1541–43 (cf. ConzGal, ch. 12). After the defeat of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), about 150 Portuguese soldiers settled in Ethiopia and entered into the service of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos (Bermudez 1875, ch. 44). The Portuguese, who owned a considerable number of ↗firearms (matchlocks, arquebuses, light canons), were granted land and formed an elite unit led by a captain appointed by Gälawdewos. Some of its leaders, such as Ayres ↗Dias and Gaspar de Sousa (Gälawdewos), Francisco Jacome (↗Minas) and António de Goes (↗Śärṣä Dəngəl), were reported to be among the respective emperors' closest men (BecRASO X, 122; Bermudez 1875, ch. 44, 53; Couto 1782).

By 1544, the Portuguese troops had freed ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon from the Muslims and in 1544 the Christian armies were also able to retake ↗Däwaro, probably also with Portuguese participation, for Gälawdewos then settled a number of them in Däwaro and Amhara, "as a garrison to guard the frontier" (Bermudez 1875, ch. 37, 43, 47). Subsequently, some of them settled in ↗Gafat and ↗Goǧǧam and, probably after being driven back from Däwaro, another group of around 50 men went back to India (ibid. ch. 48). In India, two of the veterans informed the chronicler Diogo do ↗Couto about the Ethiopian campaigns (cf. Couto 1777).

Ca. 1555, the Portuguese fought in ↗Bale against the Oromo and, in March 1559, 18 of them died during the campaign against the Muslim ↗*mäläsay* led by ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid, in which Gälawdewos eventually also perished (BecRASO X, 151). About the same time, a few Portuguese had also settled in ↗Massawa (ibid. 106). By then, the number of *Burtukan* was reported to be 1,200 (Couto 1782).

When the ↗Jesuits arrived in 1557, the Ethio-Portuguese became a main asset in the mission structure. They provided the foreign priests with intelligence and protection, and, in exchange, received instruction for their children and a means to maintain their Portuguese identity. Accordingly, most of them transmited their Portuguese names to their children, kept the Catholic faith and were ruled according to Portuguese laws. However, some of them did circumcize their children (BecRASO X; XI, 443).

The association between the *Burtukan* and the Jesuits was enhanced during the second Jesuit mission (1603–32). In 1608, this group was said to number 2,000 people and 20 years later 3,000 (BecRASO XI, 142; XII, 228). They were scattered in different areas in the highlands, with the main clusters in ↗Fəremona, Goǧǧam (probably near ↗Qʷälläla), Agäw, ↗Gorgora and ↗Ṭaqussa and smaller groups in ↗Amba Śänayti, Amba Gurrele and Amhara province (BecRASO VII, 42; XII, 471). From this community there emerged a number of valuable associates of the missionaries, such as João ↗Gabriel, his son Basilio, Alexandre Jacobo, Bernardo ↗Nogueira and António de ↗Andrade. Moreover, Portuguese children formed the bulk of students at the schools in Fəremona, Gorgora and Qʷälläla.

With the demise of the mission, a few of the Ethio-Portuguese left with some of the Jesuits for India. Those engaged in the army of ↗Fasilädäs seem to have joined the Orthodox faith, but a large number who had remained Catholic lived under the threat of persecution (cf. BecRASO XIII, 265). In the late 1630s and 1640s, four Luso-Ethiopian Catholic priests served the clandestine Catholic groups. However, shortly after being elected, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I forced the Ethio-Portuguese who still professed Catholicism into exile (GuiIohan 6–11 [tr.]). The Portuguese chose to go to ↗Sinnār, which lay not far from ↗Qʷara, a place of forced exile for several local Catholics. With this episode the community ceased to exist and its traces in Sinnār were lost (cf. DonMurad 94).

Thereafter the history of the *Burtukan* became a source of interest in Ethiopia and Europe. *Ətege* ↗Bərhan Mogäsa and some groups in Təgray and in the south claimed to have Portuguese descent (cf. BruNile vol. 2, 611; CecZeila 157).

Src.: BecRASO VII, 42; X, 106, 122, 142, 151, 329; XI, 142, 443; XII, 228, 471; XIII, 265; João Bermudez, *Breve Relação da Embaixada que o Patríarcha D. João Bermudez trouxe do Imperador da Etiopia* …, Lisboa ^{1}1565, Lisboa ^{2}1875, ch. 37, 43f., 47f.; BruNile vol. 2, 611; CecZeila 157; Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia, Decada* V, Lisboa 1777, dec. V–liv. IX, ch. IV; Id., *ibid. Decada* VII, Lisboa 1782, dec. VII–liv. VII–ch. IV–V; DonMurad 94; GuiIohan 6–11 [tr.].

Lit.: Andreu Martínez, "Les fils de Dom Christovão da Gama: Les 'Burtukan' de l'Ethiopie", in: *Publications du 3$^{\text{ème}}$ Reseau Asie*, http://www.reseau-asie.com/cgi-bin/prog/pform.cgi?langue=fr&Mcenter=colloque&TypeListe=showdoc&email=&password=&ID_document=447, last visit: 15 March 2010.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Portuguese influence on Ethiopian architecture

Portuguese building influence in Ethiopia is still a matter of debate and comprehensive surveys are still missing (s., however, Anfray in PICES 8). But design and structural evidence indicate that Portuguese design forms may have had considerable influence on Gondärine style architecture (↗Gondär). The 140 year-long presence of the Portuguese must have allowed such abilities to be passed on and that these skills did not remain solely in the hands of Portuguese nationals.

Portuguese architectural styles can be recognized along a line stretching south from Massawa to ↗ᶜAdwa, across the Täkkäze River to ↗Däbarq and ↗Gondär, and around the eastern side of Lake ↗Ṭana. Evidence of this influence can be found in the styles of monumental buildings, especially those connected with the ↗Jesuits (↗Fəremona, the castle compound in Gondär, ↗Dänqäz, ↗Gorgora, ↗Yəbaba, Gəmb Giyorgis, ↗Märṭulä Maryam, Abagasse near Giš Abbay, ↗Qʷälläla) but also in smaller structures and dwellings, which appear to have escaped close scrutiny, such as in the old quarter (market area) of Gondär, at ↗Əmfraz, ↗Däbrä Tabor and ↗Baḥər Dar. In addition, they can be traced in Goǧǧam, and even further to the south-east in the Rift Valley area of Däbrä Sina and Šäwa Robit. These are the very areas where the Portuguese were present and active between 1493 and 1634.

Many examples forms and motifs commonly used in Portugal – particularly from those regions noted for extensive overseas recruitment – are found time and again in highland structures. Apart from the tell-tale stonework itself, these would include arches, vaulting, cupolas, window and door lintels, hinge and lock systems, cisterns, rendering and frieze work, even an interior toilet at Dänqäz. The durability and structural superiority of these methods ensured their survival well beyond the period of expulsion. Widespread Indian/Gujarati design forms contemporary with the Portuguese presence (but only superficially disguising predominantly Portuguese underpinnings) are logically explained by the fact that workers employed by the Portuguese entered Ethiopia via their ↗Goa headquarters, transporting to the Ethiopian Highlands both useful motifs and specialized artisans. Aspects that are yet to be further studied include how these forms were carried into the Highlands and how, during five generations of settlement and inter-marriage, key methodologies were taught to others – both family members and local builders.

Lit.: Francis Anfray, "Les monuments gondariens des XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles. Une vue d'ensemble", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 9–43; Fernanda Durão Ferreira, *O estilo Gondar. Subsídios para o estudo da sua origem*, Lisboa 2003; *PICEA* 5 (Lit.); Jeremy John Hespeler-Boultbee, "Portuguese Influences on Ethiopian Architectural Design …", Paper presented at the *16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies,* Trondheim, Norway, 2–6 July 2007; Id., *A Story in Stones*: *Portugal's Influence on Culture and Architecture in the Highlands of Ethiopia*, British Columbia 2006.

John Jeremy Hespeler-Boultbee

Possession cults

P.c. in Ethiopia and neighbouring countries are widespread, forming an essential and highly influential part of life. They occur both in the countryside and among town and city populations. The basic anthropological definition of a P.c. is that of a phenomenon of religious culture whereby people, who for a variety of social and psychological reasons are afflicted by psychological disturbance, distress or anxiety seen as caused by curative or malevolent spiritual agents invading, displacing and taking possession of their personality and impacting on their overall health, visit spirit mediums for treatment. A P.c. centres around a successful spirit medium who controls the ↗spirit(s) [s. also ↗Demons]. A restoration to a state of "normal" or manageable health can only be achieved by a treatment of appeasing or exorcising the spirit present in the imagination or mind of the person by a ritual expert. There is no doubt a pan-human propensity towards transcendental, dramatic, emotionally-charged self-expression in communal form, and this element can be recognized in Ethiopian P.c. as well. Theoretical explanations of (spirit) P.c. have reflected a concern with its psycho-social therapeutic functions (Giel et al. 1966; Pelizzari 1997), deprivation (Shack 1971), the expression of internalized gender inequalities, esp. growing restrictions on women's lives, indirect socio-political protest against conquest or hegemonism of outsiders, and with claims to social power or supernatural ability b y deprived or low-status ethnic, religious or social groups.

The ethnographic variety of P.c. in Ethiopia–Eritrea is remarkable. Similar basic socio-psychological patterns are recognizable in various forms: a dramatic personal appeal to community attention, usually via trance, with the aim to "restore" the personality in its own right and in the wider community by an appeal to spirits or spiritual forces that reveal themselves in the minds of the afflicted. The diversity and empirical variation in forms of P.c. do not allow us to speak of a fully unitary phenomenon. Common is that all depart from a belief in the existence or presence of powerful supernatural spiritual forces in human life (cf. Lewis 1984: 425). Possession can also be seen in a cognitive sense, as a claim to local knowledge, relevant in the social setting of the persons concerned. They also allow for manipulative behaviour.

The spirit mediums, the shaman-like ritual experts that call on and communicate with a spirit to assist or treat clients, are possessed by one or more spirits, and through having achieved a measure of control over them use them for "therapeutic" or explanatory purposes on behalf of the afflicted clients. These can be of a specific local nature or of a more general malevolent origin. Both in the Ethiopian Christian and Muslim traditions, the activity of these spirits is recognized, and many names of spirit varieties are known (generic ones like, e.g., *ganen, tigrita/tigritiya, wərzəlya, seṭana*, etc.). As to the spirit mediums, there are stories of people who refused to "accept" the custody of the spirit (often in the family via mother or father) but after some dramatic events/accidents were forced to abandon their previous life and become a practitioner (cf. Data Dea 2003: 163). P.c. and possession phenomena are found in virtually all population groups in Ethiopia and Eritrea, although some smaller agro-pastoralist groups like the ↗Mursi, ↗Hamär and ↗Suri do not know them. But P.c. are "contagious": they travel and are imported into other ethno-cultural traditions.

The practitioners range from **ባለ፡ ውቃቢ** (*balä wəqabi*) or **ዎፋ** (*wofa*; in Amharic-speaking areas), *Islam qalləčča* and exorcists (cp. Trimingham 1942: 259; Pelizzari 1992), traditional-religious ↗*qalləčča*, *zar* mediums (*baläzar*), and sometimes to **ጠንቋይ** (*ṭänqʷay*, 'sorcerer'). Among Amhara-speaking people the P.c. centres around the *balä wəqabi* (cf. Aspen 2001), the **ውቃቢ** (*wəqabi* being a person's or lineage's guardian spirit). The most "famous" variety of P.c. is probably the *zar* cult of northern Ethiopia (cp., e.g., Leiris 1958; Morton 1977; 1989; Hecht 1996; Palmisano 2002).

In the course of time, more or less successful cults around certain powerful spirit mediums have emerged, e.g., the ↗*garamanǧo* cult in southwestern Ethiopia (Käfa, Benç̌ and neighbouring areas, cf. Gezahegn Petros 1994; Orent 1969) and other forms (e.g., in Sidaama, s. Brøgger 1986). A network of shrines or "spirit houses" covers a wide area. People across this region pay allegiance to this cult, which forms a kind of pan-ethnic moral economy of retribution, punishment, reward and therapy. One adheres to the spirit both in a pragmatic way, making vows and expecting "rewards", and for curative purposes. In all cases, a payment or gift is made. In many parts of Muslim Ethiopia, Islamic ritual experts treat spirit possession and deal with the ↗*ǧinn*, spirits acknowledged in the Qurʾān. P.c. take on various cultural forms among the ↗ʿAfar (*ǧenile*), Somali (*sar*), or Oromo Muslims (*ayyaana*), in part reflecting their pre-Islamic heritage.

Usually a P.c. exists in conjunction with adherence to one of the monotheistic belief systems. Although P.c. activity is "forbidden" or discouraged by the religious authorities, few obvious contradictions are perceived by ordinary people. The Church and Muslim authorities remain ambivalent toward possession phenomena. The examples of the late "spirit exorcist" and priest *abba* Wäldä Tənsaʾe Gəzaw in Wälisoo and of the Muslim healer–exorcist *šayḫ* Sayda in Nagallee are cases in point. Several Ethiopian emperors are, however, known to have issued edicts against P.c., notably the *zar* cult: for instance, in 1878 *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV outlawed the *zar gurri* (*zar* dance sessions). Under the *Därg* regime, which declared P.c. and traditional ↗medicine as "backward" or "harmful culture" to be abolished. In the post-1991 era this policy, though in less harsh terms, was continued (cf. Data Dea 2005). The misfortunes befalling people after the persecution of the spirits and their mediums were interpreted as punishment, and upheld the belief.

In conditions of modernization, belief in spirit possession did not necessarily decline, as the further spread of P.c. in Ethiopia in the past decades has shown. While modern urbanites may express scepticism, large sections of the population do not live without a pragmatic belief in the presence of spirits and in the need for treatment by experts. The belief system shows cognitive "closure", whereby failures of treatment do not necessarily lead to the refutation or giving up of the belief but to a new search for causes of distress.

If P.c. were already widely dispersed in Northeast Africa in previous centuries (cf. Doresse 1980), they are also maintained, or rather reinvented, in certain contemporary Ethiopian ↗diaspora communities, such as the ↗Betä

Ǝsraʾel in Israel (s. Edelstein 2002; Witztum et al. 1997), perhaps reflecting the uneasiness of adaptation or "integration" in a new host society as well as their continued quest for cultural continuity and communal solidarity.

↗Religion, traditional

Lit.: HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58), s. index; JAN BRØGGER, *Belief and Experience among the Sidamo: a Case Study towards an Anthropology of Knowledge*, Oslo 1986, passim; DATA DEA, *The Challenges of Integrative Power: Hierarchy and Political Change in Dawro, Southern Ethiopia*, Bergen 2003, 163; ID., *Christianity and Spirit Mediums: Experiencing Post-Socialist Religious Freedom in Southern Ethiopia*, Halle an der Saale 2004; JEAN DORESSE, "Voyage des esprits possesseurs éthiopiens et de leurs adeptes de la Mer Rouge au Golfe Persique", in: *Minorités et Gens de Mer en Océan Indien, XIX^e^-XX^e^ Siècles*, Aix-en-Provence 1980, 4–9; MONICA D. EDELSTEIN, "Lost Tribes and Coffee Ceremonies: *zar* Spirit Possession and the Ethno-religious Identity of the Ethiopian Jews in Israel", *Journal of Refugee Studies* 15, 2, 2002, 153–70; GEZAHEGN PETROS, "The Kah of Shashintet: Spirit Possession Cult in eastern Bench", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 1994, 115–24; ROBERT GIEL – YOSEF GEZAHEGN – JOHANNES VAN LUIJK, "Faith-healing and Spirit Possession in Ghion, Ethiopia", *Social Science and Medicine* 2, 1, 1966, 63–79; ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, "Spirit Possession Cults in a Comparative Perspective: a Modern Amhara Village and Ancient Greece", *African Study Monographs* (Kyoto) 17, 1, 1996, 1–34; MICHEL LEIRIS, *La Possession et ses Aspects Théatraux chez les Éthiopiens de Gondar*, Paris 1958; HERBERT SAMUEL LEWIS, "Spirit Possession in Ethiopia: an Essay in Interpretation", in: *PICES* 7, 466–80; ALICE L. MORTON, "Dawit: Competition and Integration in an Ethiopian Wuqabi Cult Group", in: VINCENT CRAPANZANO – VIVIAN GARRISON (eds.), *Case Studies in Spirit Possession*, New York 1977, 193–233; AMNON ORENT, *Lineage Structure and the Supernatural: the Kafa of Southwest Ethiopia*, Boston, MA 1969; ANTONIO PALMISANO, "Esercizi in mistica pagana: suono e parola divina nei culti zar in Etiopia", *Africa* (Roma) 57, 4 2002, 471–501; ELISA PELIZZARI, "Due riti di possessione a confronto: il culto di Sheekh Xussen e il Mingis", *ibid.* 47, 3, 1992, 355–74; ID., *Possession et Thérapie dans la Corne d'Afrique*, Paris – Montréal 1997; WILLIAM ALFRED SHACK, "Hunger, Anxiety and Ritual: Deprivation and Spirit Possession among the Gurage of Ethiopia", *Man new ser.* 6, 1, 1971, 30–43; TrIslam 259; SETARGAW KENAW, "Spirit Possession as a Center of Health Education: a Case Study from Central Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 428–40; ELIEZER WITZTUM – NIMROD GRISARU – DANNY BUDOWSKY, "Possession by the 'Zar' among Ethiopian Immigrants to Israel: Psychopathology or Culture-bound Syndrome?", *Psychopathology* 30, 4, 1997, 223–33.

Jon G. Abbink

Zar

The *zar* (**ዛር**) P.c. is one of the best known and most widely spread forms of spirit possession found not only throughout the Horn of Africa, but also in Egypt, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Yemen, and most recently Israel. Although the *zar* cult is not a unitary phenomenon, rituals and beliefs vary from place to place, there is substantial evidence that we are dealing with a single phenomenon, which originated in Ethiopia and spread throughout the Middle East.

A spirit possession scene with Mälkam Ayyähu (centre) [s. EAE vol. 3, 699], the possessed person in front is performing the *gurri*; from Mercier 2003: 13

A person, usually a woman, joins the *zar* cult when she is chosen by a *zar* spirit as a medium. This usually begins with the onset of an illness, which is diagnosed by a **ባለዛር** (*baläzar*), a *zar* master. In the course of being possessed the initiate performs rapid movements called **ጉሪ** (*gurri*), which help indicate the nature of the *zar*. The *zar* medium then performs a traditional praise song (↗*Fukkära*) in which he (or she) reveals his name and his demands. Unlike many forms of spirit possession, the *zar* is not exorcised, but rather a long-term relationship is cultivated. Once a member has been successfully initiated into the cult, she participates in group meetings (**ወዳጃ**, *wädaǧa*) during which she is possessed. On these occasions she assumes the character, dress, and behaviour of her *zar* spirit. *Zar* possession receives special attention at the end of the rainy season on either the ↗New Year and ↗*Mäsqäl* and at the end of ↗Lent. On New Year's day or eve, a sheep or fowl is offered as a ↗sacrifice (**ደንቃራ**, *dänqara*) at a crossroads and the animal is left for the *zar* to consume. In some cases, an entire banquet is prepared for the *zar*.

The *zar* demand ↗gifts from their devotees (or their families) including jewellery, clothes, perfume, food and sacrifices. ↗Tobacco, ↗*ç̌at*, and ↗coffee all figure prominently in the *zar* ritual. The latter of these is referred to as "the blood of the *zar*", and some scholars believe that "the modern coffee ceremony has unmistakable antecedents in *zar* and other spirit rituals" (Pankhurst in PICES 3, 526f.).

Several traditions exist concerning the origin of the *zar* themselves. According to one of the most popular traditions, God visited Eve and asked to count her children. Fearing an accusation of lust, she hid 15 of the most beautiful. As punishment, God made these children invisible forever. Another tradition traces the *zar* to the time of King ↗Kaleb. He is said to have divided his kingdom among his children, one reigning during the day and the others at night. The *zar* are the descendants of these nocturnal sons. Still another version claims that *zar* are the offspring of ↗*ǧinn* and other ↗spirits who migrated to Ethiopia from Muslim lands.

Although the first ethnographic testimonies regarding the *zar* date to the 19th cent., there is textual evidence (e.g., a 16th-cent magic scroll, s. Natvig 1987: 677) that the belief in these spirits is considerably older. Obviously, spirit P.c. predate the specific articulation of the *zar*. Moreover, the belief in *zar* spirits appears to predate the *zar* cult rituals witnessed in comparatively recent times. Most scholars believe that the cult has its origins in Ethiopia in the spread of Christianity and the demotion of Cushitic high-gods to the status of malevolent spirits. This is, in part, supported by the existence of such terms as *ǧar* (Agäw), *daro* (Boro, Gonga), and *yaro* (Käfa), all of which are terms for divinities, especially sky gods. Natvig (1987: 686) suggests that "the cult's origin is to be sought in the culture-contact situation and the changing […] conditions experienced by the Oromo in Southern Abyssinia, particularly perhaps in Šäwa". Mercier (1983–84) dates the origins between 1550 and 1750. This appears preferable to attempts to trace the etymology to Arabic or Persian and hence the origin of the phenomenon to the Middle East. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that both coffee and *č̣at* would appear to have entered the *zar* cult through Muslim sources and Arabic words are common even among Ethiopian devotees.

This confusion regarding its origins is, at least in part, due to the *zar* cult's ability to cross both confessional and geographical borders. Although the monotheistic religions, ↗Christianity, ↗Islam and ↗Judaism all officially condemn the belief in *zar* and their cult, in practice it is tolerated and members of all three religions participate, sometimes forming groups with cross confessional boundaries. It has, moreover, spread throughout the Horn of Africa and the Middle East. In part at least, the diffusion of the *zar* throughout this region would appear to be related to the slave trade, and particularly the presence of female Ethiopian slave devotees of the *zar* throughout the Middle East and Indian Ocean regions. In more recent years, *zar* has reached Israel where it has been the subject of considerable discussion and academic attention (Edelstein 2001).

While scholars are in general agreement that women are particularly prominent in the *zar* cult, there is no consensus as to why this is the case. Some suggest a bio-medical explanation noting the initial onset of *zar* possession, if not the cultural articulation of the cult, may be related to symptoms of malnutrition and particularly calcium-deficiency (Kehoe – Giletti 1981; but cp. Raybeck – Shoobe – Grauberger 1989). They support this argument by looking at the dietary patterns of poor Ethiopians, and particularly women and children. In this perspective, the feasting and feeding of the *zar* is not merely metaphorical, but also a response to the physiological needs of their devotees. Others tend to stress the psychological factors such as stress, anxiety and highly structured inequality in social relations. Messing (1958: 395ff.) compares the *zar* cult to group therapy and suggests that the afflicted person, whether a woman or a man benefits from participation in the cult by raising his/her status and receiving attention. Young (1975: 567–84) emphasizes the role of disease (**ቈረኛ**, *qʷäräñña*) and cathartic healing in the *zar* cult. Other scholars following Lewis (1966), view the *zar* as an example of a deprivation cult, religion of the oppressed in which weak members of society who can not legitimately demand better treatment, allow their *zar* to extort gifts and better treatment on their behalf.

Although the *zar* spirits are malevolent they are not wholly evil. Indeed, as we would expect given their descent from Eve, they have many human characteristics. They are, for example, organized as a society, which resembles that of imperial Ethiopia with hierarchies (masters, servants, slaves), specialized roles (warriors, saints) and ethnicities and religions. They frequent areas around rivers and ponds, deserts and wilderness. Thus these places are to be avoided, especially by women. They are most likely to strike at midday, sunset or in the hours after midnight.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the *zar* cult is its cultural elaboration. A special terminology is used to describe the phenomenon of possession. The person possessed by a *zar* is called the '*zar*'s horse' (የዛር፡ ፈረስ, *yäzar färäs*) and the *zar* is said to ride the devotee. ↗Leiris (1958) who was the first western scholar to seriously study the *zar* placed a special emphasis on the theatrical aspects of the cult. Customs, music and dance all are prominent, and devotees can be said to perform roles which they learn as they become a *zar* medium. Closely tied to this are the music, particularly song and dance in both initiating and displaying the *zar* spirit's presence. Leslau (1949) has also noted the development of a special argot among *zar* initiates.

Lit.: Enrico Cerulli, "Zar", in: *EI*^{1}, vol. 4, 1217; Monica D. Edelstein, *Zar Spirit Possession among Ethiopian Jews in Israel*: *Discourses and Performances in Religious Identity, Psychiatry and Public Culture*, Ph.D. thesis, Tulane University 2001; Alice B. Kehoe – Dody H. Giletti, "Women's Preponderance in Possession Cults: the Calcium-Deficiency Hypothesis Extended", *American Anthropologist* 83, 3 1981, 549–61, esp. 555–57; Michael Leiris, *La possession et ses aspects théâtraux chez les Éthiopiens de Gondar*, Paris 1958; Wolf Leslau, "An Ethiopian Argot of People Possessed by a Spirit", *Africa* 19, 3, 1949, 204–12; Ioan Myrddin Lewis, "Spirit Possession and Deprivation Cults", *Man* new ser. 1, 1966, 307–29; Jacques Mercier, "Le *qolle* et le zar: Eléments pour l'histoire des anciens cultes éthiopiens", *Abbay* 10, 1983–84, 259–98; Id., *Les traverses éthiopiennes de Michel Leiris*: *amour, possession, ethnologie*, Paris 2003, 13 (ill.); Simon D. Messing, "Group Therapy and Social Status in the Zar Cult of Ethiopia", *American Anthropologist* 60, 6, 1958, 1120–26; Richard Natvig, "Oromos, Slaves and the Zar Spirits: a Contribution to the History of the Zar Cult", *IJAHS* 20, 4, 1987, 669–89; Rita Pankhurst, "The Coffee Ceremony and the History of Coffee Consumption in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 2, 516–39, here 526f.; Douglas Raybeck – Judy Shoobe – James Grauberger, "Women, Stress, and Participation in Possession Cults: a Reexamination of the Calcium Deficiency Hypothesis", *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, new ser. 3, no. 2, 1989, 139–61, here 150ff.; Maxime Rodinson, *Magie, medicine, et possession à Gondar*, Paris – The Hague 1967, esp. 61–71; E. Fuller Torrey, "The Zar Cult of Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 3, 51–59; Joseph Tubiana, "Zar and buda in northern Ethiopia", in: Ioan Myrddin Lewis – Ahmed Al-Safi – Sayyid Hurreiz (eds.), *Women's Medicine*: *the Zar-Bori Cult in Africa and Beyond*, Edinburgh 1991, 19–33; Allan Young, "Why Amhara Get 'Kureynya', Sickness and Possession in an Ethiopian 'zar' Cult", *American Ethnologist* 2, 3 1975, 567–84.

Steven Kaplan

Post-Aksumite culture

P.A.c. is the term conventionally used in ↗archaeology to refer to the material evidence from the culture-historical period of the development and expansion of the Christian kingdom during ca. 8th/9th–13th/14th cent. A.D. The P.A.c. period corresponds to the Middle Age in Ethiopian history, and covers the time span from the decline of the kingdom of ↗Aksum to the early ↗Solomonic dynasty period.

This period was characterized by a progressive southward shift in the core of the kingdom from northern ↗Təgray to ↗Wällo and later ↗Šäwa. Late 9th-cent. Arab sources describe the kingdom as occupying a large territory, but the capital was located at ↗Ku^{c}bar, a so far unidentified locality that might have been in ↗Wag. According to Ethiopian tradition, Aksum was destroyed in the 10th cent. by southern invaders led by queen ↗Ǝsato. In the 12th–13th cent., under the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, the core of the kingdom was at ↗Lalibäla in ↗Lasta (Wällo). Eventually, in the late 13th cent., it moved to ↗Mänz (Šäwa).

The P.A.c. archaeological evidence is scarce as no site has so far been extensively excavated. A few settlements were recorded in ↗Ḥamasen (Eritrea) and in the region between ↗Yəḥa and Aksum (Təgray). At this time Aksum was a large village surrounded by scattered hamlets and small villages, less than 1 to 3 ha in size, on the top and along the slopes of surrounding hills. The rulers were no more resident at Aksum, and the cathedral of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon was the focus of religious and political ideology. It is possible, however, that ↗coronations were held there, as we can infer from the thrones for the king and the bishop in the cathedral precinct, and two other thrones for the king and the governor on the top of the steps approaching the church.

Some evidence of a possible royal camp (↗*Kätäma*) dating to the early Solomonic dynasty was recorded at Məshalä Maryam (Mänz) and consisted of ca. 40 quadrangular, circular and elliptic structures built of stone.

Rural ↗houses were circular or rectangular huts, sometime with two rooms. A large rural house was discovered at Säglamen, to the southwest of Aksum, suggesting that some farmers were more affluent than others. The rectangular building, ca. 12 m x 8 m, was divided into separate rooms forming a main residential house and two long rectangular rooms to the north.

No large size or monumental tomb from P.A.c. has been recorded so far. A P.A.c. (or later) cemetery was excavated at ↗Betä Giyorgis, and consisted of small rectangular ↗graves dug inside and outside the remains of a church.

The subsistence economy relied on ox-plough agriculture with cultivation of free-threshing wheat, barley, *ṭef*, indeterminate *Eragrostis*, finger millet, lentil and linseed (s. ↗Plants, cultivated). Cattle and sheep/goats were the main livestock. In particular, the occurrence of large ↗pottery trays in P.A.c. assemblages suggests that *ənǧära* made with *ṭef* became a significant component of the diet at this time. A large reservoir at May Šum (Aksum), most likely dating to the 15th cent., is the only evidence of P.A.c. water management.

Very few Islamic imported materials from the Middle East were found in rural assemblages of P.A.c. Exotic objects had a very limited circulation among the people but were accumulated in the royal court and treasuries of churches.

The ceramics include a distinctive fine dark-grey or grey ware, decorated with incised lines or painted or moulded crosses. Main forms were rounded or carinated, closed bowls, with an inflected short rim, round cups with no decoration; dishes and trays with a short open rim; small dishes, often with horizontal grips applied below the rim; jars with a wide, high neck, and sometimes modelled decoration. Lithic tools were still used and included flakes and less frequently scrapers. An iron slag from a P.A.c. stratum at ᶜOna Nägäśt (Betä Giyorgis) points to the local manufacture of this metal in the late 1st – early 2nd millennia A.D.

Constructed and ↗rock-hewn churches are the most impressive and best known monumental evidence of P.A.c.

The remains of a few constructed 9th/10th–15th/16th-cent. ↗church buildings have been found in Eritrea, Təgray and Lasta: at Asmära (↗Ǝnda Maryam), Dära, Aramo, Bäraknaha, Ham (↗Däbrä Libanos), ↗Gʷənagʷəna, ↗Gundä Gunde, ↗Däbrä Damo, ↗Zarema, Yəḥa, Betä Giyorgis, ↗Ǝmäkina Lədätä Maryam and Mädḫane ᶜAläm, ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, Ǧämmädu, Argobo Č̣erqos. Most have a basilica plan with a small vestibule, three aisles and a sanctuary with a rectangular apse. A triumphal arch was built at the entry of the sanctuary and the apse was always covered with a dome built with a wood frame. The central aisle is usually higher than the side ones, and is delimited with wood pillars sustaining arches. A freeze with square metops decorated with "monkey-heads" often occurs between the architraves of the aisles and the ceiling. The ceiling was sometimes decorated with geometric, floral and animal motifs, comparable to the late Coptic, Syrian and Byzantine ones.

Rock-hewn churches occur in many localities from Eritrea to ↗Bale and ↗Käfa. The earliest were located in ↗Gärᶜalta and Lasta. The most impressive group is that of Lalibäla, dating to the Zagʷe period. There are four main types altogether: 1) hypogeal churches, completely cut into the rock face, 2) semi-monolithic, with the front part cut out of the rock and the interior excavated into the rock, 3) monolithic, carved in a single block rock and reproducing all external and internal structural elements of a church, and 4) semi-rock-hewn churches, with the outside constructed in masonry and the inside cut in the rock face. Most have difficult access. Only a few (↗Dəgum, ↗Ḥawzen, ↗Bärakit, ↗Ṣəraᶜ Abrəḥa wä-Aṣbəḥa, and ↗Wəq̱ro Č̣erqos) in Təgray were cut into small rocky outcrops on the open plain and form a specific category of "valley churches". Most rock-hewn churches reproduce a basilica church; they consist of an entrance with two side-rooms, a vestibule, hall with three aisles, and a sanctuary with a rectangular or rounded apse set between two side-rooms. The reproduced constructed elements include square or cross-shaped pillars and "monkey-head" doors and windows characteristic of Aksumite ↗architecture.

The dating of most P.A.c. churches is uncertain. Traditional sources ascribe their foundation to kings and saints, who lived from the 6th to 15th cent., particularly the Zagʷe kings. Architecturally, the churches with evident Aksumite features might be dated to the 6th–8th cent. A.D., those with Aksumite elements reduced to simple decorative features, to the 12th–13th cent., and those lacking such elements to the 14th–15th/16th cent.

Lit.: David Buxton, *The Abyssinians*, London 1970; CRStor; Bertrand Hirsch – Bertrand Poissonnier, "Recherches historiques et archéologiques à Meshalä Maryam (Mänz, Éthiopie)", *AE* 16, 2000, 59–87; DAE I–IV; Claude Lepage, "Les Eglises", *Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie* 8, 1973, 34–59; Id. – Jacques Mercier, *Art éthiopien. Les églises historiques du Tigray/Ethiopian Art. The Ancient Churches of Tigrai*, Paris 2005; Joseph W. Michels, *Changing Settlement Patterns in the Aksum-Yeha Region of Ethiopia*: *700 BC–AD 850*, Oxford 2005 (BAR International Series 1446); Antonio Mordini, *La reconnaissance et la préservation des anciennes églises éthiopiennes*, Lucca 1964 (Materiali per lo studio del Medioevo etiopico 1); MHAksum; David W. Phillipson, "The Antiquity of Cultivation and Herding in Ethiopia", in: Thomas Shaw et al. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals and Towns*, London 1993, 344–57; Id., *The Monuments of Aksum*, London 1997; Id., *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–7*, 2 vols., London 2000; Id., "The

Aksumite Roots of Mediaeval Ethiopia", *Azania* 39, 2004, 77-89; LANFRANCO RICCI – RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Scavi archeologici nella zona di Aksum: A. Seglamièn", *RSE* 30, 1987, 117–69; IID., "Scavi archeologici nella zona di Aksum: B. Bieta Giyorgis", *ibid.* 31, 1987, 123–97; *Rock-hewn Churches of Eastern Tigray: an Account of the Oxford University Expedition to Ethiopia 1974*, Oxford 1975; SerHist; TadTChurch; GIUSEPPE TRINGALI, "Cenni sulle 'Ona' di Asmara e dintorni", *AE* 6, 1965, 143–52.

Rodolfo Fattovich

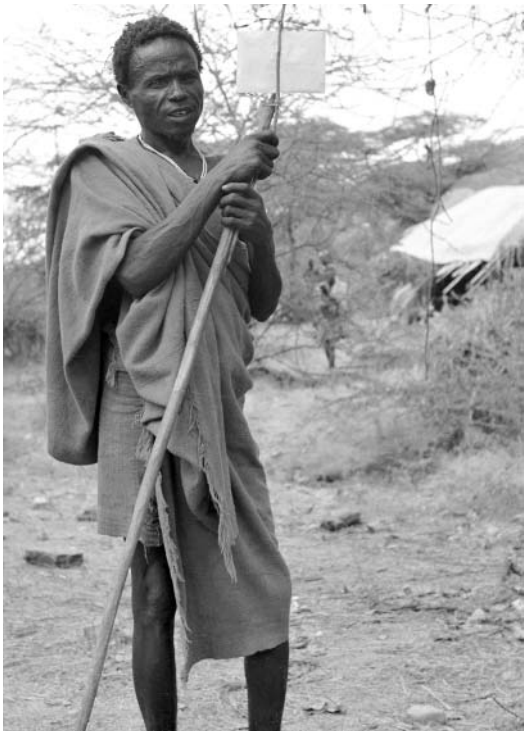
Postal system

The first organized P.s. in Ethiopia was the Ethiopian Field Force Army Postal Service that the government of Bombay established for the Anglo-Indian troops of the ↗Napier expedition. The Field Force Postal Service was initiated in October 1867, in ↗Zula, where the British established their coastal station. As the army moved towards ↗Mäqdäla, ca. 600 km away, post offices were established at Kumayle, ↗Sänᶜafe, ↗ᶜAddigrat, Ḥənṭalo (↗Anṭalo) and at each Brigade. After their success, the troops left Zula in June 1868 and the postal service was again closed and had no effects on the later Ethiopian P.s.

Before 1880, feudal lords and missionaries in Ethiopia sent mail by messengers (Amh. መልእክተኛ, *mälʾəktäñña*) to each other and abroad, such as to ↗Egypt and European countries, usually through ↗Massawa, and, at the beginning of colonization, to ↗Obock, ↗Tağūra, or ↗Djibouti. From ↗Zaylaᶜ merchants forwarded the mail and received mail destined for Šäwa. These messengers carried the mail in a cleft stick. They were still active in the 1930s and, occasionally, also later (s. ill.), delivering mail from the interior of Ethiopia to Addis Abäba. The cleft stick with a letter became the symbol of the Ethiopian Posts.

After Massawa was granted to Egypt in 1865, an Egyptian post office was opened in November 1867 that forwarded mail via boats sailing three times monthly to Suez. It is related that mail from ↗Bianchi's expedition (1883–84) was sent through the Massawa post office.

The Italian ↗Rubattino Shipping Company purchased ↗ᶜAsäb in 1870 and an Italian post office was established in 1883 (↗Colonia di Assab). After Italy occupied Massawa, an Italian post office was opened there on 22 February 1885. These post offices were merged into Eritrea's P.s. after ↗Eritrea was proclaimed an Italian colony in 1890. The Eritrean P.s. included diplomatic mail couriers that serviced Italy's Commercial Agencies in Ethiopia. Between 1908 to 1932 mail was forwarded from ↗Gondär and ↗Däse.



A messenger from the Ṣamakko with the traditional cleft stick and letter; photo 1950–52 by Elisabeth Pauli, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Pa 048–10)

The Ethiopian Posts were founded by Alfred ↗Ilg, who arrived in Ethiopia in 1879 and became one of Mənilək's (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) advisers. His mail and that of other foreigners in ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo was initially carried by caravans and private couriers to Zaylaᶜ and Obock on the Somali Coast where merchants forwarded and received mail.

Armand Savouré, a French arms dealer, organized the first "shared cost" couriers in July 1886 from Ǝnṭoṭṭo to Obock, where the French colonial administration had established a post office in September 1884. In 1888 these couriers evolved into an "official" mail service, which was part of the French diplomatic mail couriers between Ǝnṭoṭṭo and ↗Harär. It was organized by the Capuchin Monseigneur Taurin de ↗Cahagne with the approval of Obock's Governor ↗Lagarde who strove to expand France's interests in Ethiopia.

On 25 May 1892, the "official" mail service became the "French Special Posts", managed by the Catholic mission in Harär, but directed by Djibouti's administration even though it was not part of its P.s. and operated outside the Universal Postal Union. Mail was now franked with ↗stamps from Obock and later Djibouti. The stamps could be purchased in Harär as of 1897 and later in Addis Abäba until 1908.

Mənilək II instructed Leon ↗Chefneux in 1892 to obtain material for a telegraph line between Addis Abäba and Harär. Its construction began in 1897 and became the nucleus of the Ethiopian Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones (↗Telecommunications). On 10 February 1893 Mənilək commissioned Chefneux to have coins and stamps produced. The stamps were printed in France in 1894, and used in Harär for the first time on 29 January 1895 and in Ǝnṭoṭṭo in May 1895, where Casimir ↗Mondon-Vidailhet, a special delegate of the French government, became post master.

Construction of telegraph and ↗railway lines from Djibouti to Harär began in 1897 after Ilg and Chefneux had agreed to pay for the telegraph line between Harär and Addis Abäba with Mənilək supplying labour and 6,000 poles. Ilg organized the Ethiopian Posts and Telegraphs, privately owned by Chefneux and Ilg when the French Special Posts reduced its service to forwarding private mail between Djibouti and Harär only in December 1898. The first provisional Ethiopian mail courier left Addis Abäba for Harär's telephone office on 12 May 1899, which became the Ethiopian post office in Harär. It received the Ethiopian stamps and postal material the French had used at the mission since 1895 on 22 August 1899. Ilg recruited three Swiss postal clerks in 1899 to manage the Ethiopian Posts. One died and was replaced by Jean-Adolphe Michel, a Swiss, who arrived in 1900. Henri Mühle was "Chef du Service" from 1900 into 1903, followed by Michel as Director of the Ethiopian Posts from October 1904. A British attempt to create a postal service between Addis Abäba, Harär and Zaylaᶜ in 1897 failed, as did another attempt in 1900, due to the faster French route, which utilized the railway as it approached Harär.

Mənilək expropriated the Ethiopian Posts in 1906, while the French opened a post office in ↗Dərre Dawa linked to Port Said, Egypt. Michel became Director of the Imperial Ethiopian Posts but the service declined in 1907. Mənilək asked the French to reorganize the posts in 1908 under the direction of *ləǧ* Bäyyänä Yəmär as the first Minister of the Ethiopian Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones. The French Special Posts were closed in June 1908 and Ethiopia was admitted to the Universal Postal Union on 1 November 1908. After some difficult years, the Ethiopian Posts began to expand in 1923 with post offices established around the country in the 1920s and 1930s, but numbering less than 30 by 1935. Mail to other locations was carried by messengers holding the mail in a cleft stick. Sporadic air mail service with Djibouti and domestically was initiated in 1929.

The British enclave in ↗Gambella was serviced by steamer from Khartoum as of 1910. A Sudanese post office was opened in Gambella in 1915. It was out of service during the Italian occupation, but reopened in March 1941 and existed until 15 October 1956. The Ethiopian Posts began service in Gambella in 1923.

When the Italians occupied Addis Abäba in May 1935, the Ethiopian Posts ceased operations. Italy's Posta Militare had already operated in Ethiopia in 1895-96 and again during the invasion in 1936 when Ethiopia became part of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana and a civil postal service replaced the Posta Militare. Numerous post offices were established across Ethiopia and air mail service to Europe was initiated (cp. Guida 175 et passim).

The British, Indian and South African forces that liberated Ethiopia operated with army post offices. The northern front was served by the Indian Field Post Office serving the 34th Indian State Forces Brigade, while the southern front was served by the East African Army Post and the Army Posts of South Africa. After the entry of the British in Addis Abäba, the P.s. was temporarily in the hands of the British Postal Advisory Department until the Ethiopian P.s. was reorganized under South African direction and opened on 23 March 1942. However, the British Military Mission operated its own mail service in 1943–51.

The United States Army Post Office initiated mail services in June 1942 in ↗Asmära, and then at its airbase in ↗Guraᶜ, where Allied planes were serviced for battles in North Africa, and in Massawa, where the United States Navy assisted the British in clearing Massawa's port from ships sunk by the Italians. The United States Army Post Office operated independently of the Ethiopian Posts at ↗Qaññäw station and in Addis Abäba until 1974 and 1977, respectively.

After the Ethiopian Posts reopened on 23 March 1942, air mail service was resumed and internal air mail service followed the start of ↗Ethiopian Airlines. The Ethiopian Posts expanded into Eritrea on 11 September 1952 when Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia. Prior to the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation, the British were responsible for the P.s. in Eritrea.

Cuban forces operated a postal service for their troops stationed in Ethiopia in 1977–89. The ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front issued stamps in 1978, which were operational in liberated areas of Eritrea and in ↗Kärän. Some values were available in Asmära in 1992–93 but this ceased at independence. Stamps for local use, issued in 1991, became valid for international mail on 13 September 1993.

Src.: ZerÉth 168, 204, 281, 283, 335, 376, 379, 395–98.

Lit.: *Guida* 175 et passim; Nachum Kaplan, "Messengers' Mail in Ethiopia During the Nineteenth Century", *American Philatelist* 99, 5, 1985, 431–35; Id., "Egyptian P.O. 1867–1885", **የምኒልክ፡ መጽሔት** – *Menelik's Journal* 3, 1, 1987, 7–12; Ulf Lindahl, "U.S. Army Post Offices in Eritrea and Ethiopia," *ibid.* 20, 2, 2004, 4–17; Mark Piper, "Cuban Mail in Ethiopia – 1977", *ibid.* 17, 3, 2001, 4–12; Roberto Sciaky, "Postal History of the Napier Expedition", *The London Philatelist* 112, 1306, 2003, 173–87; Id., *Haile Selassie, the Exile, the Restoration, the Deposition, History, Stamps and Postal History 1936–1974*, Vignola 2003, 24–42 (Lit.); Henri Tristant, *The Postal History of Ethiopia During the Reign of Emperor Menelik II*, tr. by Huguette Gagnon, Paris 1995, 77 et passim (Lit.).

Ulf J. Lindahl

Potato(es)

P. (Amh. **ድንች**, *dənnəč*, Tgn. **ድንሽ**, *dənnəš*, Orom. *dinničča*, *ǧammee*, 'sweet P.') and other tuber roots are widely cultivated in Ethiopa. The Amharic word *dənnəč* has two meanings: (1) in a generic sense it refers to the tuberous underground (root) structures of some plants; (2) mainly, however, it is used to refer to white P., sweet P. and "Oromo P.", three sorts of tuber roots, which belong to different species.

White P. (*Solanum tuberosum*), originating in South America, was introduced into Ethiopia comparatively late. However, it quickly entered into Ethiopian culture. Today, it features significantly in cultivation sites, at market places and as part of various dishes.

Sweet P. (*Ipomoea batatas*), or **ስኳር፡ ድንች** (*səkk^{w}ar dənnəč*), is a wide-spread root crop which grows as a vine. The tuber can be harvested over a long period of time. It is particularly good for coping with drought. The tuber is rich in starch and sugar. With its carbohydrates and vitamin A it has a high nutritional value. The tubers are cooked to soften the edible part before peeling and eating. In south-western Ethiopia the leaves are sometimes cooked as vegetables. The vines are used as fodder particularly during the dry season.

"Oromo P." (*Coleus edulis*, **ኦሮሞ፡ ድንች**, *oromo dənnəč*) is an indigenous tuber crop widely cultivated in south-western Ethiopia, between ca. 1,600 and 3,000 m A.S.L.). It is believed to have been brought under cultivation in Ethiopia where its wild relatives grow as weeds in crop fields and grazing areas. In the 16th cent. Almeida observed the cultivation of "Oromo P.", which he called "uxixes and daniches" (BeckHuntAlm 46). It can be eaten boiled or baked in the embers. It is rich in carbohydrate and phosphorus.

↗Agriculture; ↗Food; ↗Plants, cultivated

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 46.

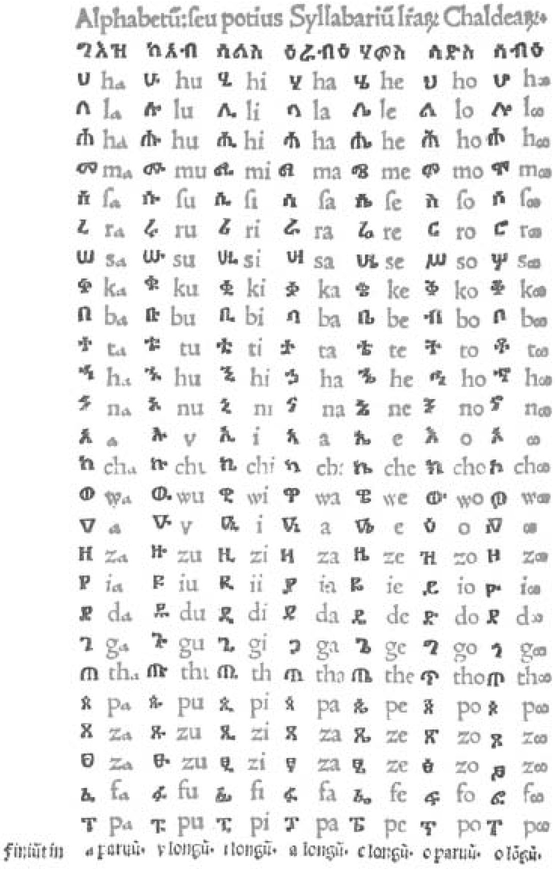
Lit.: James F. Hancock, *Plant Evolution and the Origin of Crop Species*, Englewood Cliffs 1992, 305; Albert Frederick Hill, *Economic Botany. A Textbook of Useful Plants and Plant Products*, New York – London 1937, ^{2}1952; Michael John Thornley Norman et al., *The Ecology of Tropical Food Crops*, Cambridge – New York ^{2}1995; Inno C. Onwueme, *The Tropical Root Crops: Yams, Cassava, Sweet Potato and Cocoyams,* Chichester – New York 1978, 234; Irvin Eldie Siegenthaler, *Useful Plants of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1960 (Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, Jimma Experiment Station – Oklahoma State University, Bulletin 14–1), 31.

Zemede Asfaw

Potken, Johannes

P. (b. ca. 1470, Schwerte, d. ca. 1524, Cologne) was the first ever to publish printed books in Ethiopic ↗script (↗Incunabula).

A German provost from Cologne, P. became papal secretary and apostolic protonotary in 1496. In Rome he learned printing (Lüthi 1930: 13). As an official of the Roman Curia, he had the opportunity of meeting Ethiopian monks living at ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori in ca. 1511. On listening to their liturgy, he was able to understand a few holy names, thanks to his knowledge of Hebrew. He began then to learn Gəʿəz from the learned monk *abba* Tomas Wäldä Samuʾel, i.e. spiritual son (of the monastery) of ↗Samuʾel of Gädamä Wali (↗Wäldəbba) – who later, in Venice, became one of the informants of Alessandro ↗Zorzi. P. believed Gəʿəz to be the ancient Chaldaic language, and defended this view in his publications (von den Brincken 1969: 104).



Alphabetũ: ſeu potius Syllabariũ lraꝝ Chaldeaꝝ.

finiũt in a paruũ. v longũ. i longũ. a longũ. e longũ. o paruũ. o lõgũ.

A page with the Gəᶜəz ("Chaldean") syllabarium from Potken's *Psalterium*; from Wijnman 1960: XVI

Basing on a manuscript P. had borrowed from the Vatican Library (Vat. Aeth. 20, not the purported Florence Laur. plut. I.25, s. Fiaccadori 2003: 249 n. 18), in 1513 he published the Ethiopic ↗Psalter, for which he used types specifically cut by Marcel Silber (alias Frank). It was the first Ethiopian book to appear in print. Beside the Psalms of David, it contained the Song of Songs and some O.T. and N.T. hymns. On the last folios there is a commented Ethiopian syllabarium, a brief grammatical sketch and a guide to pronunciation (Lüthi 1930: 13ff.; von den Brincken 1969: 91ff.).

P. corresponded with numerous European humanists informing them, more or less correctly, about the countless peoples of "India" (s. ↗"India" as name of Ethiopia), all ruled by the king in "Achsum" (↗Aksum), who was then "Dawit" (↗Ləbnä Dəngəl), following "Noad" (↗Naᶜod) and "Schendri" (↗Ǝskender; s. von den Brincken 1969: 105).

Back in Cologne, in 1518 P. printed a quadrilingual Psalter – in Hebrew, Greek, "Chaldaic" and Latin. Similarly, four further pages published by him (in 1522?) contain the *Song of Songs*, the *Our Father*, the *Hail Mary* and the *Nicene Creed*, as well as short introductions to the Greek, Hebrew and especially "Chaldaic" languages (Wijnman 1960: XV; von den Brincken 1969: 107ff.).

↗Bible

Src.: Johannes Potken (ed.), [*Psalterium Davidis et Cantica aliqua – Canticum canticorum*], Romae 1513; Id. (ed.), *Psalterium in quatuor linguis: Hebraea, Graeca, Chaldaea, Latina*, Coloniae 1518.

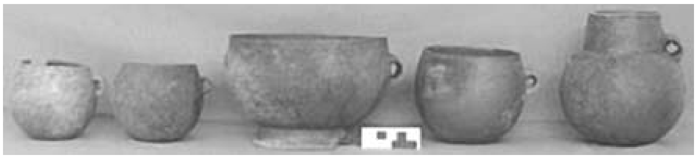
Lit.: Hartmut Bobzin, "Miszellen zur Geschichte der Äthiopistik", in: Wolfhart Heinrichs – Gregor Schoeler (eds.), *Festschrift für Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Beirut 1994 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 54), 82–102; Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Johann Potken aus Schwerte, Probst von St. Georg in Köln, der erste Äthiopologe des Abendlandes", in: Hans Blum (ed.), *Aus kölnischer und rheinischer Geschichte*, Köln 1969, 81–115; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Un'epigrafe greca aksumita (*RIÉth* 274)", in: Vincenzo Ruggieri – Luca Pieralli (eds.), Εὐκοσμία. *Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli 2003, 243–55, here 249 n. 18; Peter Herde, *The German Community in Renaissance Rome 1378–1523,* Rom – Freiburg – Wien 1981, 43; Renato Lefevre, "Giovanni Potken e la sua edizione romana del Salterio in etiopico (1513)", *La Bibliofilia* 68, 1966, 289–308; Karl Lüthi, "Der erste äthiopische Druck", *Zeitschrift für Buchdruck- und Pressegeschichte, Bibliophilie und Bibliothekswesen* 16, 1930, 12–16, pls. I–VIII; Alfred Rahlfs, "Nissel und Peträus, ihre äthiopischen Textausgaben und Typen", *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse 1917*, Berlin 1918, 267–348, here 323ff.; Henrik Frederik Wijnman, "An Outline of the Development of Ethiopian Typography in Europe", in: *Books on the Orient,* Leiden 1960 (Brill Catalogue 860), IX–XXVIII, here XVI (ill.).

Sophia Dege – Siegbert Uhlig

Pottery

Pottery in archaeology

P. still has a fundamental role in the every day life of Ethiopian farmers. Traditional vessels are progressively being displaced by modern containers of aluminium and plastic, but still P. has a great functional and economic value. The presence of many elements of tradition in P. manufacture demonstrates the existence of a strong conservatism, but marked by elements of change and innovation: all P. is hand-made, and only women are engaged in P. production. Usually modern P. with a "functional" purpose is not decorated. The decorated vessels, such as storage jars and vessels for water and beer, are often kept in the public spaces of houses, where guests are received and



Proto-Aksumite pottery; photo courtesy of the author

social interaction takes place, strongly suggesting that P. is a medium for religious symbolism. The cross is the most frequent and significant decoration on the ceramics of Christian communities.

The earliest evidence of P. in Ethiopia has been recorded in Tǝgray and is tentatively dated to the 3rd–2nd millennia B.C. The decoration is in the range of variation found in the Late Stone Age/Pastoral Neolithic of East Africa and Eastern Sudan and is unrelated to Pre-Aksumite, Aksumite, and Post-Aksumite P. traditions. Ceramics dating to the late 2nd–early 1st millennia BC have also been collected in the ↗ᶜOna near Asmära, and represent a distinct tradition from the late prehistoric one in Tǝgray. They formed an important component of the Pre-Aksumite (Ethio-Sabean) ceramics of the 1st millennium BC. Black-topped ware, typical of the late prehistoric and early historical cultures of the Nile Valley and Eastern Sudan was another important component of Pre-Aksumite P. The Aksumite ceramics, at least in the region of Aksum, had a local origin related to the late prehistoric P. traditions of the Western Lowlands. A pattern of vertical corrugations covering the whole surface of globular small bowls, big necked bowls, and small open bowls was the distinctive decoration in pre-Christian times at Aksum. The contemporary ceramics in the Akkälä Guzay were different in shape and decoration, and suggest an origin in local P. traditions. In Christian times the same ceramics were made in both regions, and the cross progressively became the dominant decorative pattern. In medieval (Post-Aksumite) times a gray ware replaced the Aksumite one and continued to be manufactured by the Christian farmers up to the present. Decoration consists mainly of incised lines on the shoulder of globular, necked bowls, and painted or moulded crosses on the external surface of bowls.

Evidence of different P. traditions, dating to the early to mid-2nd millennium A.D., have been also found in the regions of ↗Harär and ↗Šäwa. The former is characterized by large bowls and jars with a high foot. The latter consists mainly of trays, jars with a long neck, and bowls decorated with incised, impressed and molded patterns.

Lit.: Francis Anfray, "La poterie de Matara", *RSE* 23, 1966, 5–19; Kathryn A. Bard et al., "Archaeological Investigations at Bieta Giyorgis (Aksum), Ethiopia: 1993, 1994 and 1995 Field Seasons", *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24, 1997, 387–403; Elisabeth-Dorothea Hecht, *The Pottery Collection, Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1969; Roger Joussaume, *Le mégalithisme en Ethiopie*, Addis Abeba 1980; Id., *Tiya – L'Ethiopie de mégalithes*, Poitiers 1995; David W. Phillipson, "The Excavation at Gobedra Rock-Shelter, Axum", *Azania* 12, 1977, 53–82.

Rodolfo Fattovich

Pottery and potters

In Ethiopia, P. is a widely practised artisanal occupation. Until recently, however, traditional attitudes to P. restricted this occupation to certain social groups. In many cases these groups were considered as people of low repute (cp. ↗Marginalized people, s. EAE vol. 5) and intermarriage of potters with members of non-artisanal groups was not socially permitted. In different regions of the country, they are known by different indigenous nomenclatures such as, e.g., *šäkla säri* (Amhara), *kayla* (Gondär), ↗*fuga* (among the Hadiyya, Gurage and Kambaata), *mana* (Käfa), *oto mana* (Sidaama), *hawuda* (Hadiyya, Kambaata), *hadiččo* (Sidaama), *qallu* (Wäliso), *ogda* (Konso), and *č̣inaša* (Wälaytta).

In scholarly discourse the origin of groups of potters in Ethiopia was mainly discussed in terms of ↗ethnicity, "caste" or "class". Some scholars suggested that potter groups represent autochthonous or remnant ethnic groups that were submerged by more powerful immigrants. Others maintained that they were "lower caste" or outcaste groups as indicated by endogamy, restrictions on commensality, hierarchical grading, concepts of ritual pollution, traditional occupation and ascribed status. However, unlike the Indian caste system, in Ethiopia there is an absence of a religiously sanctioned hierarchy of occupational groupings. Still other scholars hold that groups of potters and craft workers, in general, are results of internal differentiation and occupational specialization within a given population due to division of labour driven by economic factors. All these theories have in common that they neglect the emic view of the potters (cp. Amborn 1990).

The livelihood of potters has been affected by changes in access to resources as well as changes in the supply and demand for raw materials,

Dullay woman brewing local beer in clay pots; photo courtesy of Hermann Amborn

namely clay. Other factors that have infected potters are the monetarization and globalization of the economy, improved transportation and communication, competition from imported industrial products. This has led to their involvement in other forms of livelihood, such as agriculture and trade, and to migration to urban centres. Thus potters have suffered from a lack of recognition as well as support for the development of a "cottage industry".

The raw material for P. production is clay that is brought from near or far to the working ground on the family's compound. The clay is prepared in a small pit in the ground by mixing it with water. A flat stone is used to work the clay. Most potters employ only their bare hands but some also use a kind of a horizontal potter's wheel and a spatula and scoop. Once the pots are formed, they are burnished and decorated before being fired. As stoves are rarely used, a fire is built around the finished pots; a process which requires much fuel. After firing, pots are coated or decorated with a layer of plant gum to make them shiny and attractive and to protect them against cracking. Items for cooking or containers for liquid are fired, while those for holding grain are simply dried in the sun. The colour assumed by these objects depends on the method of firing. On a good day, potters can make three to five medium-size pots. Some potters believe that the P. is affected when the firing process is observed by people who are considered to have the evil eye (↗*Buda*). That is perhaps why firing is done in seclusion.

P. making skills are passed down from parents to children. Red, black and white types of clay are mixed mostly by women assisted by their daughters who are in turn trained to produce their own objects such as cups (**ሲኒ**, *sini*), bowls (**ጐድጓዳ፡ ሳኅን**, *gʷədgʷadda saḫən*), dishes (**ሳኅን**, *saḫən*), pitchers (**ማንቆርቆርያ**,*manqorqorəya*), pots and jars (**ጋን**, *gan*) of various size, as well as ↗incense burners (**ማዕጠንት**, *maᶜəṭänt*). Gradually, they also learn to make circular ↗*əngära*-baking plates (**ምጣድ**, *məṭad*), coffee pots (**ጀበና**, *gäbäna*) and roof tops (**ጉልላት**, *gulləlat*).

Potters carry their products to nearby weekly markets or sell them to individual households. In some cases P. is also produced on order. Some potters cannot sell their earthen ware in the market because they are despised by other groups. Instead they sell them through intermediaries who benefit in the transaction and cut the already meagre profits of the potters.

P. products are generally in greater demand than products of other craft workers, perhaps because clay products have a lower price and break more easily, and thus need to be replaced more often. Demand for products varies throughout the year. Annual holidays like ↗*Mäsqäl* and ↗*Fasika* may require new utensils. P. prices thus increase in such times. During the dry season, big pots, plates as well as pans and pots for brewing beer are in high demand for ↗feasts, ↗weddings and other social activities. Yet, despite the high demand, the profit potters make per item is minimal. During the rainy season, demand is low because many people cannot afford to buy pots. Moreover, production is low during this time because, in wet weather, clay products do not dry easily and the material is heavy to carry.

Some potters have organized themselves into extended trade networks. Traditional P. is now facing competition from P., glass, plastic and metal products imported from abroad, esp. from China. These alternative products have practical advantages, in that they are light, strong and durable. On the other hand, traditional artefacts, such as cooking tripods, rooftops, and jars for brewing, liquor distilling and water carrying are not easily replaceable by these industrial alternatives. In some places, local pots are preferred over aluminium pots because they are cheaper and more appropriate to the customary way of life. Some pots last for such a long time that the market for them may decrease and potters, finding it difficult to make a living may leave the area in search of new markets. The need to find new sources of clay may also be a reason for migration.

As members of a specialized group, potters play significant socio-cultural roles, e.g., at life cycle events as mid-wives, circumcisers, initiators and grave diggers. They are also ritually involved with human reproduction, having roles in child ↗birth, and in fertility and ↗initiation ceremonies.

Due to their special status potters usually lived in a separate neighbourhood. They thus constituted an symbolically isolated and largely stigmatized group. But among some communities they lived interspersed with non-potters. Marginalization in many societies manifested itself in restrictions on exchanges, social interaction and consumption of food and beverage. Again intermarriage, segregation at burials and weddings, submissive ↗greetings, their exclusion from membership in public associations such as ↗*əddər* and ↗*əqqub*, and beliefs about potters' supernatural powers meant that their contact with other social groups was restricted. Those who excelled in P. making in terms of durability, texture, style and pattern had a better income but all the same were suspected of magical skill rather than held in respect for their industry. People feared potters because of their ritual power linked with the earth and related spirits and they were stigmatized because they were believed to incur fatal afflictions. However, the spatial segregation and cultural stigmatization of potters resulted in a stong group identity.

Some potters consider mixing crafts with farming to be an economic success, while youngsters coming from potter families tend to abandon P. and become fulltime farmers due to the stigma associated with the occupation. Potters who abandon P. are marginalized less than practising potters. Today, despite the ostracism and contemptuous shown towards potters, there is no official marginalization in economic and political terms. Thus, the former state of affairs is changing due to the influence of religion and urbanization. Although many potters simply accept their low status as "the way things are", some of the more financially successful have the confidence to challenge the social order and to demand equality. Following Hallpike (1968: 487) and Todd (1977: 396), it is only through further study that discrimination against craftsmen in the country can be appraised.

Lit.: ANNE CASSIERS, "Ethiopian Pottery", *African Arts* 4, 3, 1971, 44–47; DENA FREEMAN et al., *Living on the Edge*: *Marginalised Minorities of Craftworkers and Hunters in Southern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2001; EAD. et al., *Peripheral Peoples*: *the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003; CHRISTOPHER HALLPIKE, "The Status of Craftsmen among the Konso of Southwest Ethiopia", *Africa* (London) 38, 3, 1968, 258–69; ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, *The Pottery Collection*: *the Museum of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Haile Sellassie I University*, Addis Ababa 1969; ALULA PANKHURST, "Caste in Africa: the Evidence from Southwestern Ethiopia Reconsidered", *Africa* (London) 69, 4, 1999, 485–509; ID., "Decline, Survival and Development of Crafts: Comparisons of Tanning, Ironwork, Pottery, Woodwork and Weaving with particular Reference to Southwestern Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research* 22, 2, 2000, 31–53; PankEcon; RAYMOND SILVERMAN (ed.), *Ethiopia*: *Traditions of Creativity*, Seattle, WA 1999; TAL TAMARI, "The Development of Caste Systems in West Africa", *JAH* 32, 2, 1991, 221–50; DAVID TODD, "Caste in Africa", *Africa* (London) 47, 4, 1977, 398–412; ID., "The Origins of Outcastes in Ethiopia: Reflections on an Evolutionary Theory", *Abbay* 9, 1978, 145–58; TSEHAY BERHANE-SELASSIE, "Gender and Occupational Potters in Wolayta. Imposed Femininity and Mysterious Survival in Ethiopia", in: EAD. (ed.), *Gender Issues in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1991, 15–30.

Abbebe Kifleyesus

Praetorius, Franz

P. (b. 22 December 1847, Berlin, d. 21 January 1927, Breslau) was an eminent German Orientalist and Semitist.

P. studied Oriental languages between 1865–67 under Emil Rödiger, Friedrich Heinrich Dieterici and Julius Heinrich Petermann, with a further year under Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer in Leipzig, after which he returned to Berlin. In 1870 he was awarded a doctorate in Halle for his thesis on the *Fabula de Regina Sabaea apud Aethiopes* (↗Makədda).

Having passed the "Habilitation" examination in Berlin, P. advanced to "Privatdozent" (i.e. unsalaried university lecturer). In 1880, he was offered an extraordinary professorship in Breslau and finally, in 1893, a full professorship in Halle, where ↗Littmann was one of his students. In 1909 P. returned to Breslau as the successor of Siegmund Fraenkel. After his retirement, P. remained in Breslau until his death.

P. is considered the most important linguist in 19th-cent. ↗Ethiopian studies. His major achieve-

Franz Praetorius; photo from the collection of the author

ments are the ground-breaking grammars of the three great living languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea: ↗Təgrəñña (1871); ↗Amharic (1879), and ↗Oromiffaa (1893). P. accomplished these works simply by analyzing the notes and reports of explorers and a few available ↗Bible texts, without ever having worked with a native speaker. Nevertheless, he was able to gain an astonishingly good insight into these languages. Despite the lack of a precise transcription system, his etymological and diachronic thoughts are by no means invalidated by modern research. P.'s Oromo grammar is so far the only linguistic analysis of a Cushitic language that sets all grammatical phenomena in the context of related Cushitic as well as Semitic languages.

P. was the first to look more closely at the relationship between Cushitic and Semitic languages in the Horn of Africa with regard to etymology and grammatical structures. The comparative remarks in his grammars and the articles he wrote on that matter have laid the foundations of what is now called "areal linguistics", a field which has steadily gained greater prominence since P.'s work.

Apart from his doctoral thesis, the results of P.'s Gə^{c}əz studies are a concise grammar published simultaneously in Latin and German (1886) and a text edition (*Mäṣḥafä ↗ṭomar,* 1869).

After his acceptance of the professorship in Halle, P. produced no further major works on languages of Ethiopia, but rather focused on Semitic inscriptions (including those in ↗Epigraphic South Arabian) and problems of Ethiopian lexicography. The last decades of his life were dedicated to aspects of Hebrew grammar and textual transmission, esp. to prosody and metrical features.

Src.: Franz Praetorius (ed.), *Mäṣḥafä Ṭomar – Das äthiopische Briefbuch nach drei Handschriften*, Leipzig 1869; Id., *Grammatik der Tigriñasprache in Abessinien hauptsächlich in der Gegend von Aksum und Adoa*, Halle 1871; Id., *Die amharische Sprache*, Halle (Saale) 1879; Id., *Äthiopische Grammatik*, Karlsruhe – Leipzig 1886 = tr. Id., *Grammatica Aethiopica*, Carolsruhae – Lipsiae 1886; Id., *Zur Grammatik der Gallasprache*, Berlin 1893; Id., "Beiträge zur äthiopischen Grammatik und Etymologie", *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft* 1, 1890, 21–47, 369–78; Id., "Über die hamitischen Sprachen Ostafrika's", *ibid.* 2, 1894, 312–41; Id., "Über die Sprache von Harar", *ZDMG* 23, 1869, 453–72; Id., "Über die Somalisprache", *ibid.* 24, 1870, 145–71; Id., "Hamitische Bestandteile im Äthiopischen", *ibid.* 43, 1889, 317–26; Id., "Kuschitische Bestandteile im Äthiopischen", *ibid.* 47, 1893, 385–94; Id., "Äthiopisch **ጽርእ** Griechenland", *ibid.* 73, 1919, 244.

Lit.: Axel Knauf, "Praetorius", in: Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz – Traugott Bautz (eds.), *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 7, Herzberg 1994, 907; Enno Littmann, "Franz Praetorius †", *ZDMG* 81, 1927, 159–67; Ewald Wagner, *Generalindex zur ZDMG 1–100*, Wiesbaden 1955, 78–81 (Lit.).

Rainer Voigt

Prayer

Christian prayer

P. (Gə^{c}əz, Amh., Tgn. **ጸሎት**, *ṣälot*) is an essential part of Christian life as it is the act of the believer's communication with God to worship Him, to praise and thank Him (for His love, Ps 135) as well as to ask Him for help in daily needs, forgiveness of sins, protection from evil and temptation (cp. Mt 6:9–13, *Our Father*), deliverance in illness (Jas 5:13–14) or death (Jn 11:41–44). It ought to be perpetual in principle (cp. Lk 18:1, 21:36; Eph 6:18; Col 4:2), or at least frequent, according to the example which Jesus gave (Mt 14:23; Mk 1:35). It can also be addressed to the ↗saints, as a sign of veneration, and a request for their intercession. P. can be individual, collective or liturgical. It can range from a few words or sentences to a lengthy text.

P. in the practice of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) follows the general Christian practice (cp. ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*, ch. 14 [Paulos Tzadua 1968:88]). A perfect P. is "pure", representing the immediate communion with the love of God; in reality, however, it is often mediated by formulae. These can be of Biblical

Adherents of the Christian Orthodox faith praying at the outer fence of a church compound, ᶜAddigrat; photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

origin (e.g., *Our Father* or *Hail Mary*, cf. Lk 1:28, 42), of ecclesiastical composition (e.g., *Nicene Creed*, actually a collection of fragments from the Scriptures), or form parts of liturgical services (based on Biblical texts, esp. psalms).

Some P. used in the liturgy of the EOTC date back to antiquity, such as the *Kidan zänägh* from the ↗*Testamentum Domini*. Other liturgical or paraliturgical P. find their origin in various literary works filled with scriptural scenes and images (e.g., ↗*Arganonä Maryam*). As in other Oriental Christian traditions, most liturgical P. in Ethiopia find their origin in an extended meditation on the text of the ↗Bible, however under the supervision of the Church – seen as the assembly of the baptized under the guidance of the Holy Spirit – because prayer formulæ are seen as the mirror of dogma (according to the old Latin saying *Lex orandi est lex credendi*: the way you pray tells what you believe). That is why the Church corrects doctrinal P., and sometimes eliminates forms of P. that have become subject to theological dispute. On the other hand, for the same reason, liturgical texts and P. can serve as a "catechism" to memorize the basic principles of the faith.

In private devotion, P. may come to be disconnected from the Scriptures resulting in "vain repetitions" (Mt 6:7); and if there is a superstition involved, they can devolve into protective P. (e.g., the fully traditional P. of exorcism, originally from the Bible – Mk 1:21-28; Lk 10:17–19; Acts 19:11–20 – developed into an independent genre of protective literature; cp. ↗Magic literature).

Following the stipulations of the *Fətḥa nägäśt*, the official texts of the EOTC require P. seven times a day (*Fətḥa nägäśt*, ch. 14, Paulos Tzadua 1968:90, based on Ps 118:164), performed in a particular position: dressed, standing facing east, with the arms raised, beginning and ending with the sign of the cross (made with crossed fingers), humbly and quietly, with great attention. At certain times one is also required to kneel or bow, except during certain liturgical seasons (50 days after Easter, Sundays and holidays, or after receiving communion). One is also expected to pray at meals, esp. if taken as a family. The texts are collected in the (printed) ↗Psalter: Ps (divided into seven sections, one for each day of the week), Canticles, the Song of Songs, and common prayers (*ṣälot zäzäwätər*), which include *Our Father*, *Hail Mary* (Eth. version), *Nicene Creed*, *Kyrie eleison*, as well as ↗*Wəddase Maryam* and other hymns to St. ↗Mary, ↗*sälam*, ↗*mälkəʾ* and P. to various saints, along with the **ጸሎት፡ ዘሰኔ፡ ጎልጎታ** (*Ṣälot zäsäne Golgota*, 'Prayer of [St. Mary on 21] *Säne*, [on the mount of] Golgotha') and other devotional offices on the passion of the Saviour (s. Chaillot 2002:140; Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Motovu 1970:86–89).

P. can also be expressed in brief formulae, often repeated; this P. is called *monologistos*. An Ethiopian example of this is the formula **እግዚኦ፡ መሐረነ፡ ክርስቶስ**, *Ǝgziʾo mäḥarännä Krəstos* ('Christ O Lord, have mercy upon us'), frequently repeated during the Eucharistic liturgy (↗*Qəddase*). Repetition of such formulae developed into something equivalent to western rosaries, called in Amh. **መድገሚያ**, *mädgämiya* (from *däggämä*, 'repeat'), or Gəᶜəz **መቍጸርት**, *mäqʷəṣärt* (Amh. *mäqʷəṣärya*, *mäqʷəṭärya*, from *qʷäṣṣärä/qʷäṭṭärä*, 'count'), which is mandatory for monks.

Ethiopian rosaries usually include 41 beads (or 64, after the age of St. Mary, or 33, after the age of Christ). A thread or something else marks where to start and reach the cross for the prayers to be repeated 12 or 7 times. It consists in repeating (1, or 3, or 7 times a day):

(a) *Our Father* + (Ethiopian) *Hail Mary*, 12 or 7 times;
(b) *Sälam läki* + *Magnificat* (Lk 1:46–55), 7 times;
(c) *Ǝgziʾo mäḥaränna Krəstos*, 41 times;
(d) *Bäʾəntä Maryam mäḥaränna Krəstos* (‘For the sake of Mary, have mercy on us, O Christ’), 41 times;
(e) *Kyrie eleison*, 41 times;
(f) *Elohe* (Mk 15:34; Ps 21:2a), 41 times;
(g) (optional) “Remember us, O Lord, in Your kingdom” (after Lk 23:42), 41 times;
(h) invocation to a saint, 41 times;
(i) invocation to an angel.

A prostration ideally accompanies each P. during ↗fasting periods.

The old difference between “cathedral” (or parish) and monastic liturgy has faded away: only the Hours (↗*Säᶜatat*) have remained of the monastic service. In monasteries, the Hours are served daily; in churches, they should be at least performed in the evening of fasting days. All other services belong to the “cathedral” liturgy, being the liturgical P. of the Christian community. They are celebrated in church, led by the clergy (priests, deacons, *däbtäras*) with the participation of the faithful. They take various forms: daily P. led by a priest, ↗*Maḫlet*, ↗Eucharist, sacraments and celebrations (e.g., ↗baptism, ↗matrimony, ↗funeral), particular ↗feasts (↗*Mäsqäl*, ↗*Ṭəmqät*), etc.

1. Daily celebrations include:

the Prayer of ↗incense (*Ṣälotä ᶜəṭan*) followed by the *Kidan zänägh* (which always includes the three *Kidan* of the midnight, of morning, and of the evening); ↗litanies for the particular day of the week; the supplications (*mästäbqʷəᶜ*), including the *zäyənäggəś*; on some days the Mystagogy (↗*Təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat*); as well as the Marian P. ↗*Anqäṣä bərhan* and ↗*Wəddase Maryam*).

These P. are memorized by heart and are recited or sung; they appear in P. books, notably the Psalter and the ↗*Məᶜəraf* (VelMe II, 170–217, 279–96 [tr.]).

2. The Divine Office is highly developed, and is of largely Ethiopian creation. It is composed of many parts, with celebrations for different days and times of day. It includes:

↗Hymns in the *Məᶜəraf*; ↗*qəne*, and readings (taken from *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gəṣṣawe*, ↗*Sənkəssar*, ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, ↗*Täʾammərä Iyäsus*, ↗*Gädl*). On Saturdays, or on the eve of a feast, the ↗*Wazema* is celebrated, as well as, at sunrise, the ↗*Mäwäddəs*, the ↗*Səbḥatä nägh* and possibly ↗*Kəśtätä aryam*. On ordinary days, only *Səbḥatä nägh*, or, more often, only the *Ṣälotä ᶜəṭan* (↗Incense) and, to conclude, *Kidan zänägh*. On ten days in a year, the ↗*Məḥəlla* is celebrated. Most of these P. are based on Ps and other scriptural verses (cf. HabUff 66f.; VelMe II, 52ff. and index, 663–68).

A good part is sung, sometimes interspersed with parts recited. Considering the length of the respective offices, usually only a part of each is performed, in accordance with local customs.

3. The Eucharistic liturgy is celebrated (if the necessary five ministers are available) at least every Sunday and on ↗feast days (including the [monthly] festival of the local ↗*tabot*). On the days of fasting, it begins after noon. The Mass is usually well attended. The faithful may know by heart lengthy excerpts from such P. as *Śərᶜatä qəddase* (= the first part of Mass and of any service, like sacraments, blessings, etc.) and ↗Anaphoras, and actively participate in the celebration by responding to the priest and to the deacon and singing the appropriate parts. The texts of the Mass and the sacraments come mostly from the Coptic tradition, but with alterations and additions. Apart from the above mentioned sources, the Mass includes moveable parts from ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, ↗*Zəmmare*, etc.

During the Mass, the faithful may recite other P. to themselves: their physical and moral presence is more important than material attention to what is sung or read.

4. The celebration of sacraments involves a limited circle of persons (family members and friends). Liturgical P. form a particularly important part of the funeral and marriage rituals. Celebrations of general church feasts, e.g., *Ṭəmqät,* on the contrary, attract large crowds and are accompanied by a festive atmosphere. The joy of the feast, which starts in P., finds its expression in body movements, including liturgical dance. Similarly, in penitential services as well as on sorrowful occasions, the sadness starts from the P. and takes over the whole person. Indeed, P. is meant not only for the mind but for the whole person; that is why the body shares also in the P. with the eyes (mural paintings and icons, bright vestments of the clergy), with the smell of incense, the chants and the liturgical dance. Liturgical P. is a common celebration of the life one receives as a gift from God, and offers back to Him: in this sense, it is the participation of all baptized Christians (Rom 12:1; 1 Pt

2:9; Rev 1:6) in Christ's eternal priesthood (Heb 7:24–28, 9:11–15).

P. literature, frequent in manuscripts, is today very common in printed form (↗Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase), showing that for Ethiopian Christians P. has been an everyday reality for centuries, and is still for many of them, in church services as well as at home.

↗Gə^{c}əz literature

Src.: Paulos Tzadua (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast*. **ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት**. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 88, 90 [ch. 14]; VelMe II, 52ff. (tr.); 2–33, 69–91 (text) = 170–217, 279–96 (tr.), index 663–68.

Lit.: Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Joachim Motovu (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 86-89; Christine Chaillot, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*: *a Brief Introduction to its Life and Spirituality*, Paris 2002, 140; Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Holy Synod, *A Short History, Faith and Order of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church,* Addis Ababa 1975 A.M. [1983 A.D.]; HabUff 66f.; Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church (ed.), **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነት፡ ሥርዓት፡ አምልኮትና፡ የውጭ፡ ግንኙነት**, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church*: *Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Ababa 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D]; Kirsten Stoffregen-Pedersen, *Les Éthiopiens,* Turnhout 1990; Ugo Zanetti, "La prière des chrétiens d'Éthiopie", *Irénikon* 81, 2008, 491–524.

Ugo Zanetti

Islamic prayer

Islamic religious practice recognizes different kinds of P. First, ↗Islam is characterized by the obligatory five daily canonical P. (*ṣalāt* < Syr. *ṣ^{e}lōtā*; Jeffery 1938:198f.), one of the five "pillars of Islam". *Ṣalāt* must satisfy some preliminary conditions (*šurūṭ*), the most notable of which is perhaps ritual purity (*ṭahāra*; of the body, of the clothes and of the place). It must take place in a legally codified frame without which it becomes invalid (*bāṭil*): the legal requirements include, e.g., orientation towards ↗Mecca (*qibla*) and the variable number (two to four) of prostrations (*rak^{c}a*). Congregational P. (led by an ↗*imām*) is recommended but not compulsory except for the noon (*ẓuhr*) prayer on Fridays (*ṣalāt al-ǧum^{c}a*). The latter must be carried out in a *ǧāmi^{c}* ↗mosque; it is preceded by a double sermon (*ḫuṭba*) delivered from a pulpit (*minbar*). Other mandatory canonical P. in Islam are those of the two ↗feasts (*ṣalāt al-^{c}īdayn*), on the occasion of *^{c}Īd al-aḍḥā* and *^{c}Īd al-fiṭr*. Supererogatory but still canonical P. (*nawāfil*) are also very widespread in Islamic tradition: especially meritorious are the nightly P. during ↗*Ramaḍān* (*ṣalāt al-tarāwīḥ*). In certain precarious situations other kinds of *ṣalāt-s* can be performed: *ṣalāt al-istisqā$^{\supset}$* (to ask for rain), *ṣalāt al-kusūf* (on the occasion of an eclipse), *ṣalāt al-ḫawf* (to cast away fears), *ṣalāt al-musāfir* (on travel). Finally, another canonical P. is the *ṣalāt al-ǧanāza* or *^{c}alā al-mayyit*, for a dead person. A peculiar type of *ṣalāt* is the one said for the Prophet ↗Muḥammad (*ṣalāt ^{c}alā n-nabī*, *taṣliya*) which commonly ends the five daily prayers (*aṣ-ṣalāt al-ibrāhīmīya*) and is recited in different and often very elaborated textual forms on every important religious and sometimes secular occasion, almost obsessively during the ritual gatherings of the ↗Islamic brotherhoods (Meier 2002).

The *du^{c}ā$^{\supset}$*, another type of P., is a personal (both individual and collective) invocation to God to request something. Different kinds of *du^{c}ā$^{\supset}$*-s are recited to ask for protection from evil influences, for good health, healing of a disease, help in distress, victory in battle, and support in any difficult situation. *Du^{c}ā$^{\supset}$*-s are also recited to solemnize almost any occasion (e.g., at the end of the reading of the entire ↗Qur$^{\supset}$ān, at the end of the feast of ↗*Mawlid,* etc.; at the beginning of the ↗New Year, at the new moon, esp. during *Ramaḍān,* etc.; before eating, drinking, entering a mosque, etc.; after sleeping, sneezing, yawning, coming out of one's home, etc.). *Du^{c}ā$^{\supset}$*-s against someone are also licit (e.g., against the enemy before battle). Theoretically, *du^{c}ā*s are not canonical and are often similar to magical P. (↗Magic literature, Islamic). Nevertheless, *du^{c}ā*s have undergone a certain degree of standardization; handbooks containing collections of *du^{c}ā$^{\supset}$*-s show the correct ways to recite them (*adab ad-du^{c}ā$^{\supset}$*).

Some other forms of Islamic P. are directly linked to the mystical brotherhoods. The following should be mentioned: ↗*ḏikr*, *wird* (pl. *awrād*), the ritual collection of P., invocations, ejaculatory prayers and blessings used in the spiritual life and rituality of the Sufi. Every *ṭarīqa* has its own *wird*, authored by the founder of the group or by some of its most outstanding masters. Sometimes, the collections are also referred to as *ḥizb* (pl. *aḥzāb*), the latter term more precisely referring to a mystical P. written by a ↗holy man.

In Ethiopia, all kinds of P. are well known by Muslims. ↗Arabic loanwords are currently used to name Islamic P.: in Amh. the forms *sälata* and also *solat* (KaneDic 454) are attested; in Tgn. also *salat* beside *sälat* in contemporary writings; in Orom. *salaata* and *du$^{\supset}$aa* may be found; Har. *sälat* (Leslau 1963:139; Abdurahman Mähammäd

Muslims praying during the ᶜĪd al-Fiṭr, Asmära; photo 2007, courtesy of Jonathan Miran

Qorram 1991/92:54) also with the meaning ‘midday’, to be distinguished from *sälawat* [formally the Arab. pl. of *ṣalāt*] meaning ‘intercessory prayers’ (Leslau 1963:140; Abdurahman Mäḥammäd Qorram 1991/92:54); *duwaʾ* (Leslau 1963:60; Abdurahman Mäḥammäd Qorram 1984:176; s. Leslau 1990:330, 367 for further details).

The verb used by Muslims for the performance of the canonical P. is the one indicating prostration, perhaps the most characteristic gesture of Islamic P. (Amh. *solat säggädä*, Tgn. *salat sägädä*, Orom. *salataa sagaduu*).

Historically, Ethiopia is directly connected with the very origin of Islamic P., as the first *muʾaḏḏin* was ↗Bilāl al-Ḥabašī. Al-↗ᶜUmarī (UmMasSezg 18; UmMasGaud 3) mentions the performance of the *ṣalāt al-ǧumᶜa* with *ḫuṭba* in *ǧāmiᶜ* and the existence of smaller mosques for ordinary communal prayers in the seven Islamic sultanates of Abyssinia. During the military campaign of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, P. seems to have played a crucial role in the life of the troops: the times of the daily compulsory prayers mark the march of the Islamic army (BassHist I, 43, 111, 121f., 124 = II, 97, 187, 198f., 201); the *muǧāhidūn* and their *imām* recite *duᶜāʾ*-s which are promptly answered by God (BassHist I, 41, 59 = II, 95, 122); within his own entourage, *imām* Aḥmad had a personal *muʾaḏḏin*, a certain *kabīr* Nūr (BassHist I, 109 = II, 184).

According to some scholars, the process of evolution from a pre-Islamic form of devotion to an Islam-flavoured mystical P. can be observed in the so-called *wadaǧa* performed by some Oromo groups (TrIslam 198, 207, 258, 262, 274).

The actual devotion of the Ethiopian Muslim faithful to Islamic canonical P. is difficult to ascertain. Some data pointing to a partial but traditional disaffection of at least some Muslim communities to canonical P. (↗Ǧäbärtī, ↗ᶜAfar, ↗Somali and rural people in general) must be taken seriously but cautiously (TrIslam 153, 176, 215, 227f., 270). The performance of the canonical P. certainly represents one of the strongest marks of the conscious and public adhesion of the individual to the Islamic religion (ibid. 163) as well as one of the most evident practical proofs of one’s Islamic belief (ibid. 226).

Sometimes, *ṣalāt*, its performance and its paraphernalia (e.g, gourds used to carry water for ablutions; small carpets for prostration etc.) attracted the attention of non-Muslims not only evoking their curiosity, but also becoming object of mockery (DonEnbAnq 94; Marrassini 1981: LXXVII; DonHaySirat 135; CerEt II, 192).

The *ṣalāt al-ǧumᶜa* is probably the most important periodical sacred gathering of a local Muslim community: in Harär, *ǧuma salat* is preceded by a collective session of Qurʾān recitation led by elders (Leslau 1965:207–12). In the ↗*Fatḥ madīnat Harar*, ↗Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍāʾ is chosen to act as the *imām* of the collective P. and is thus given leadership over fellow saints (WagFath 45f.).

The complicated rules of Islamic canonical P. have always needed a clear explanation. Arabic Islamic ↗manuscripts in Ethiopia often contain legal texts showing, among other things, the right way to perform one’s P. (e.g., ms. Pavia 5 fols. 70r–71v; s. Traini 1973). Moreover, for the sake of the common faithful, the rules of Islamic P. are also clarified in local idiom. The Harari *Kitāb al-↗farāʾiḍ* has a section on *ṣalāt* (CerStud I, 337f.), while recently printed handbooks explain how to correctly perform *ṣalāt* in local Ethiopian languages (e.g., Amh. *Yäsolat mämmariya*; Tgn. Saləḥ Säᶜid 2003; Orom. *Barnoota salaataa*; Səlṭe *Yäsälat šärṭ qərᶜat*; Har. Mäḥammäd Yunus Sälman 1991:21–48). Collections of *duᶜā*-s, *ḫizb*-s and *wird*-s more or less directly connected with the activities of Islamic brotherhoods are also very widespread among Muslims in Ethiopia both in manuscript form (e.g., Pavia 5 fols. 60v–70r) and in print, in Arabic and in local languages (e.g., Saᶜīd b. ᶜAlī b. Wahf al-Qaḥṭānī, 2001/02 A.D., 2004 A.D., n.d.). *Ṣalāt ᶜalā n-nabī* is a much cherished literary genre in which many Ethiopian Muslim authors excelled both in Arabic as well as in local languages (e.g., the famous Harari ↗Hāšim b. ᶜAbdalᶜazīz).

Src.: Abdurahman Mähammäd Qorram, **ጩቅቲ፡ ክታብ። ሀራሪ፡ አማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Čuqti kətab*: *Harari amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat)*, Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1991/92 A.D.]; Anon., **የሶላት፡ መማሪያ። የኢስላም፡ መሰረቶችና፡ የኢማን፡ መሰረቶች** (*Yäsolat mämmariya*: *yäᵓislam mäsärätoččənna yäᵓiman mäsärätočč*, ‘A Teaching Book of the Prayer: the Basics of Islam and the Basics of Faith’), Addis Abäba n.d.; Anon., *Barnoota salaataa fi arkaana islaamafi arkaana iimaanaa* (‘A Teaching Book of Prayer, the Pillars of Islam and the Pillars of Faith’), Addis Ababa 1418 H. [1997/98 A.D.]; Anon., **የሶላት፡ ሽርጥ፡ ቅርዓት፡ አርካኑል፡ ኢስላም፡ ወአርካኑል፡ ኢማን** (*Yäsolat šərṭ qərᶜat arkanul islam wäᵓarkanul iman*, ‘The Requirements of Prayer, the Pillars of Islam and the Pillars of Faith’), Addis Ababa n.d.; BassHist I, II; CerEt II, 192; CerStud I, 337f.; DonEnbAnq 94; DonHaySirat 135; Mäḥammäd Yunus Sälman, **ዲኒር፡ (ቢቲእ፡ ቲኒር፡) (ፊቅሂ)** (*Dinir* [*bitiᵓ tinir*] [*fiqhi*]) (‘Religion. An Introduction into the [Islamic] Jurisprudence’), Addis Ababa 1991; Paolo Marrassini, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes l’Orientale,* Firenze 1981 [1982] (Quaderni di Semitistica 10); Saᶜīd b. ᶜAlī b. Wahf al-Qaḥṭānī, *ad-Duᶜāᵓ wa-yalih al-ᶜIlāǧ bi-r-ruqya min al-kitāb wa-s-sunna* (‘The Invocation Followed by the Healing by Way of Talismans According to The Book and the Sunna’), Addis Ababa 1421 H. [2001/02 A.D]; Id., *Ḥiṣn al-muslim – Ḥisnul muslim* (‘The Bullwerk of the Muslim’), Addis Ababa 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.]; Id., *Ḥiṣn al-muslim – al-Azkaar zikriwwan guyyaafi halkanii* (‘The Bullwerk of the Muslim. The Invocation for Day and Night’), Addis Ababa n.d.; Salǝḥ Säᶜid (tr.), **ናይ፡ ሳላት፡ አገባብ** (*Nay salat aggäbab*, ‘The Duly Way of Praying’), Umm al-Hammam 2003; KaneDic 454; Wolf Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1963; Id., *Ethiopians Speak*: *Studies in Cultural Background*, vol. 1: *Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1965 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 7); Id., *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic*, Wiesbaden 1990; TrIslam passim; UmMasSezg 18; UmMasGaud 3; WagFath 45f.

Lit.: Frederick M. Denny, “Wird”, in: *EI*^{2} vol. 11, 209–10; Louis Gardet, “Duᶜāᵓ”, *ibid.* vol. 2, 617–18; Id., “Dhikr”, *ibid.* 223–27; Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurᵓan*, Baroda 1938; Duncan Black MacDonald, “Ḥizb”, in: *EI*^{2} vol. 3, 513–14; Fritz Meier, *Nachgelassene Schriften,* Band 1: *Bemerkungen zur Mohammedverehrung*, Teil 1: *Die Segenssprechung über Mohammed,* Teil 2: *Die taṣliya in sufischen Zusammenhängen*, Leiden 2002; Guy Monnot, “Ṣalāt”, in: *EI*^{2} vol. 8, 925–34; Renato Traini, “I manoscritti arabi esistenti nelle biblioteche di Pavia (collezione Robecchi Bricchetti)”, *RANLmor* ser. 8^a, 28, 7–12, 1973 [1974], 841–65.

Alessandro Gori

Pre-Aksumite culture

P.A.c. is a conventional term referring to the material evidence of the complex polity that formed, with indisputable South Arabian features, in the mid-1st millennium B.C. in northern Ethiopia (mostly Təgray) and Eritrea – from the region of ↗Aksum to ↗Akkälä Guzay. The P.A.c. seems to have occupied a narrow transect from the edge of the plateau in Akkälä Guzay to the Täkkäze river in Təgray, and perhaps further to the west in Šire, with a few marginal sites along the eastern edge of the plateau near Mäqälä. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence consistently suggests that at the very beginning the core of the state was located in the region of ↗Yəḥa and Aksum, where the earliest royal ↗inscriptions were discovered. The main sites are Yəḥa, ↗Ḥawəlti and ↗Mälazo in Təgray, and ↗Mäṭära, ↗ᶜAddi Kramatən and ↗Käskäse in central Eritrea.

The P.A.c. can be dated to ca. 800/700–400 B.C. on the basis of four radiometric dates at the so-called Domestic Site at Aksum. Radiometric dates from Betä Giyorgis (Aksum) also demonstrate that a new polity (↗Proto-Aksumite culture) emerged in northern Təgray in the 4th cent. B.C. suggesting that the P.A.c. was declining at that time. The possible record of the foundation of a temple at Yəḥa in royal inscriptions (RIE 33, but s. Robin – de Maigret 1998: 737ff.) dated palaeographically to ca. 700 B.C., and the similarity of the so-called “Great Temple” at Yəḥa to the temple at Barāqiš (Yemen, ca. 700–500 B.C.) seem to support a 7th-cent. B.C. chronology for the rise of the state.

Characteristic features

The settlement pattern was characterized by towns, villages, hamlets, and ceremonial centres. A town with two monumental temples was located at Yəḥa. Another town and possibly a ceremonial centre were located at Mäṭära and Käskäse, respectively.

The subsistence economy relied on cultivation of hulled barley, emmer, linseed, pea, and maybe oat, ↗*ṭef*, *nug*, and lentils. Livestock consisted of cattle and to lesser extent sheep/goats. A figurine of two yoked oxen from Ḥawəlti demonstrates the use of the ↗plough at that time. Man-made features for water management (↗Irrigation) may have been built near Yəḥa, but no clear evidence has been hitherto found. Main crafts were metalworking and ↗stone carving for statues and votive altars, which were made for royal/elite use. Monumental inscriptions point to the existence of literate specialists.

Royal inscriptions in ↗Epigraphic South Arabian record the name of the polity (↗DᶜMT) and four kings (WᶜRN ḤYWT, RDᵓM, RBḤ, LMN). The kings used the titles *mlk* and *mkrb*, the latter possibly suggesting a federative tribal polity with a paramount king, such as the Sabaean one. The earliest three kings associated with queens in their rule. The inscriptions record two major divisions of the population, into "Reds" and "Blacks". Some inscribed votive altars from the Aksum–Yəḥa region yield the names of skilled artisans from Saba (Yemen) – possibly a small minority in the society, but also regarded as part of the élite.

The religion was polytheistic, and such South Arabian and indigenous deities as ↗ᶜAstär, ↗HWBS, ↗Ḏat Ḥimyam, ṢDQN, ŠYḤN are recorded in the inscriptions of the P.A.c. Stone, bronze and clay figures of bulls, maybe representing the Sabaean god ↗Almaqah, and sphinxes in an Egyptian/Meroitic style suggest that the bull and the ↗lion had a central role in the P.A.c. pantheon. The cult temples were the focal feature of the society.

Administrative devices included zoomorphic, oval, rectangular, and circular bronze seals, and rectangular, ellipsoid and lozenge clay seals. The occurrence of seals in many P.A.c. sites suggests a widespread administration. Zoomorphic bronze seals, sometimes with personal names, were only found in elite tombs at Yəḥa. Geometric bronze seals also occur in South ↗Arabia, but they might have been imported from Ethiopia. The zoomorphic bronze seals are a typical feature of the P.A.c.

The remains of monumental temples are the most impressive features of the P.A.c. They include the "Great Temple" and the "Grat Bäᶜal Gäbri Palace" at Yəḥa, as well as five aligned monoliths at Käskäse. Two quadrangular shrines with a projecting entry and a small rectangular temple surrounded by an enclosure were also excavated at Ḥawəlti and Mäläzo, respectively. Two clay models of huts from Ḥawəlti suggest that rural people were living in conical and rectangular huts, at least in the region of Aksum. Elite shaft-tombs were recorded at Yəḥa and Mätära. They consisted of quadrangular or roughly circular shafts, over 2 m deep, with one or more burial chambers at the base.

The temples at Yəḥa exhibit some typical South Arabian features, such as the podium, square pillars with rectangular bases, pecked stone slabs, and architectural decorations. In particular, the "palace" at Grat Bäᶜal Gäbri was built with a technique reminiscent of the "Oval Temple" at Mārib (Yemen). The shrines at Ḥawəlti and the small temple at Mälazo, on the contrary, are similar to Meroitic temples. The (ca. 5 m-high) monoliths at Käskäse, despite an apparent similarity to the pillars in South Arabian ↗architecture, most likely are an alignment of megalithic ↗stelae and can be ascribed to a local tradition, as they are roughly quadrangular in cross-section with a hole at the rounded top.

Three statues from Ḥawəlti and ↗ᶜAddi Gälämo and a so-called "throne" from Ḥawəlti are the main evidence of a sophisticated art in the P.A.c. The statues represent sitting ladies with long robes, decorated in one case (ᶜAddi Gälämo) with a possibly vegetal motif. The "throne", carved in one stone block, consisted of a quadrangular seat with bull's legs and a baldachin decorated with a male and perhaps a female standing figure carved on both sides and an ibex frieze along the edge. A few stone sphinxes (a recumbent lion with a male human head) from ᶜAddi Kramatən, ↗Fəqya, and Dəbdəb (Eritrea), and some clay fragments of a similar sphinx from Ḥawəlti are further evidence of figurative art in this period.

This syncretistic art was exposed to different Achaemenian, Greek and Meroitic, as well as South Arabian, influences. The human figures on a "throne" are carved with an Achaemenian technique, and the curly hair on a statue from Ḥawəlti reminds one of the Kushites on the Apadana at Persepolis (5th cent. B.C). A Greek influence is suggested by the "smile" on the face of a statue from Ḥawəlti, reminiscent of the Archaic Greek statues from the first half of the 6th cent. B.C. The two statues from Ḥawəlti are comparable to Greek funerary statues from Asia Minor, dating to the late 7th/early 6th cent. B.C. The posture of the statues from Ḥawəlti is also comparable to that of sculptures and funerary bas-reliefs from northern Syria, from the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. A Nubian influence can be recognized in a pectoral with a counterweight on the back similar to Egyptian, Napatan and Meroitic ornaments on the statues from Ḥawəlti, and possibly a female (?) figure holding a long stick similar to the representation of Meroitic queens on the so-called "throne" from Ḥawəlti. The "throne" was probably a *naos* reflecting an Egyptian/Meroitic rather than South Arabian tradition. The sculptures of sphinxes can also be related to Egyptian/Meroitic prototypes, as the Greek/South Arabian ones represent a standing winged lion with a female face;

the ibex frieze and bull's legs on the "throne" are typical South Arabian decorative motifs.

This evidence may suggest (indirect?) contacts with the Levant, Persia and Nubia. Contacts with the Nubian kingdom of ↗Kush are also supported by a few Nubian objects from Yəḥa, Mäṭära and Ḥawəlti. They include an alabaster vessel similar to Nubian specimens of the 8th–7th cent. B.C. from Yəḥa; two Meroitic amulets from Ḥawəlti similar to specimens of the 6th–5th and 2nd cent. B.C. from the South Cemetery at ↗Meroë; some beakers from Yəḥa and Ḥawəlti comparable to bronze, silver and pottery beakers of the 7th and late 5th/mid-3rd centuries BC from the West Cemetery at Meroë; and a carnelian amulet of Meroitic type from Mäṭära.

Small stone votive altars have been found at Yəḥa, Mälazo, Fəqya, Mäṭära and ᶜAddi Kramatən, and include cylindrical altars with a conical foot, cubic altars with a trapezoidal foot, simple offering slabs on a stepped trapezoidal base, offering tables with a rectangular basin and a spout in the shape of a lion's head. At Fəqya, in particular, an altar with a rectangular basin and two projecting sphinxes on the front side was recorded. The cylindrical and cubic altars are South Arabian in style, and some specimens could have been imported from Yemen. The offering tables with a lion-head spout can be compared to Egyptian and Meroitic prototypes, but have been also found at Mārib. The altars with a simple offering slab may be compared to Meroitic specimens.

↗Pottery includes red-orange, black-topped, red, black, and brown ware with a great variety of vessels, such as basins and bowls with rounded bottoms, bowls with a ring-foot, flasks with a high narrow neck, jars with a short neck, jars with an S-profile, jars with a vertical elliptic handle, vessels with a tulip profile, vessels with a pomegranate profile, amphorae, ↗incense burners. Decorations include engraved wavy bands, moulded ribs and chains, and geometric (triangles, rhombi) rim-bands, and sometimes engraved zoomorphic (ibex) motifs. Most of the ceramics can be ascribed to indigenous (African) traditions, particularly red-orange ware, black-topped ware, and black polished ware. Only a few vessels are comparable to South Arabian specimens (bowls with a ring-foot; amphorae), and some of them, such as the so-called amphorae and an incense burner from Yəḥa could have been imported from Yemen.

The red-orange ware was typical of the region between Yəḥa and Aksum. Most likely, this ware derived from a local fabric, which already occurs in Stratum IIb (mid-3rd millennium B.C.) at ↗Gobədra. Some typical pre-Aksumite decorations (rectangular, triangular and round punctuations) may also belong to the same local tradition, as they are visible on the early pottery at Gobədra. The black topped ware was originally a typical ware of the ᶜAgäme and Akkälä Guzay, and occurs in a great quantity in the lower strata at Mäṭära. This ware may be related to a very long tradition, which originated in Upper Egypt in predynastic times (4th millennium B.C.), and spread to Nubia and the Ethio-Sudanese lowlands in the 4th–3rd millennia B.C. and to Eritrea in the 2nd millennium B.C. The ceramics from the Middle Pre-Aksumite Phase exhibit many similarities to those of the ↗ᶜOna culture in Ḥamasen.

The pre-Aksumite lithic industry included obsidian microlithic retouched flakes and crescents, and large discoid scrapers, which derive from the prehistoric industries of the Horn of Africa.

Periodization

The P.A.c. period was divided into two phases by Anfray, "Ethio-Sabaean", characterized by a South Arabian influence and "Intermediate", characterized by the emergence of local cultural traditions. On the basis of the stratigraphic sequence at Yəḥa and Mäṭära, Fattovich suggested three phases: (1) Early Pre-Aksumite Phase, the formation of the polity, (2) Middle Pre-Aksumite Phase, the consolidation, and (3) Late Pre-Aksumite Phase, the decline.

1) Evidence of this phase has been recorded in the lower strata at Mäṭära and Yəḥa. The P.A.c. area was initially divided into two regions with distinct traditions in pottery style, (a) between Yəḥa and Aksum (traditional Təgray), with the dominant red-orange ware, and (b) ᶜAgäme/Akkälä Guzay, with prevailing black-topped and black polished ware. Both regions were probably included in a network of contacts with Yemen, as south Arabian vessels were collected at Yəḥa and Mäṭära. Potsherds similar to those of the Yəḥa–Aksum region were also found in sites at Šurab al-Gaš, near Kassala, suggesting contacts between the highlands and the lowlands in the early 1st millennium B.C. Most likely, ↗iron was worked in Təgray at this time, as iron slag was found at Gobədra in a stratum radiocarbon dated to the 9th cent. B.C.
2) The northern region later apparently incorporated the southern one, as the same ceramics with the dominant northern component occurs in all sites. A large ceremonial centre was located at Yəḥa. Small temples were

also built at the edge of the plateau overlooking the valleys sloping down to the lowlands, and may have been used as border markers. The occurrence of large temples, sophisticated art, elaborate craft of stone-carving (altars and offering tables), and bronze seals, together with the use of writing and a clearly cut site hierarchy point to the consolidation of the state at this time. A royal cemetery was possibly located at Yəḥa, where in shaft-tombs rich grave goods (imported objects, bronze and iron tools and weapons, bronze seals bearing in one case the name of a king) were found.

3) In the last phase, the two regions were again separated. The red-orange ware re-appeared at Yəḥa, while the northern ceramics disappeared in the Yəḥa–Aksum region. The pre-Aksumite state apparently collapsed in the southern region, as towns, including Yəḥa, sharply decreased in size and monumental buildings were abandoned. The evidence of fire destruction of two buildings at Yəḥa might point to warfare as a cause of the collapse. The landscape was characterized by small rural settlements, with a nucleated population around Aksum. Small shrines were located at Ḥawəlti and Mälazo, most likely serving rural people. The continuity in occupation at Mäṭära may suggest that an urban society survived in central Eritrea.

Origins of the pre-Aksumite state

Epigraphic and monumental evidence of an indisputable South Arabian influence in pre-Aksumite times suggested the hypothesis of a migration and/or colonization from Yemen in the early 1st millennium B.C. as the main factor of state formation. Rock-inscriptions in ↗Qoḥayto and a few pre-Aksumite inscriptions from the region of Aksum document the presence of single individuals (or small groups) from Arabia in the northern highlands in the early 1st millennium B.C. and, resp., of Sabaean skilled artisans in the mid-1st millennium B.C. Whilst these persons helped introduce some South Arabian cultural elements into Eritrea and Təgray, their actual role in the formation of the pre-Aksumite state is unknown.

Archaeological and epigraphic evidence point to a distinction between the elite who used South Arabian (mainly Sabaean) symbols of power (monumental architecture, inscriptions and art) and ordinary people maintaining their local traditions, as most of the ceramics are local and suggest an indigenous origin of the population.

The Sabaean title *mkrb* (*mukarrib*) suggests that the pre-Aksumite state was organized on the Sabaean model, but the possible role of the queens may reflect a local rather than a South Arabian tradition, suggesting that the kingdom of D^{c}MT arose from an indigenous polity.

The available evidence, thus, indicates that the P.A.c. emerged from the convergence of two main proto-historical local traditions to one culture: a southern (Təgrayan) tradition and a northern (mainly Eritrean) tradition. The South Arabian influence was a superficial – though impressive – component affecting only the upper strata of the population.

In keeping with the same evidence, an early state initially seems to have arose in the Yəḥa–Aksum region, out of contacts between the local population and the South Arabians, and was later incorporated into a northern polity. In the 4th cent., the pre-Aksumite state collapsed in the southern region, maybe because of conflicts, and a new polity emerged at Aksum.

↗Inscription

Src.: RIÉ.

Lit.: Francis Anfray, “Aspects de l’archéologie éthiopienne”, *JAH* 9, 1969, 345–66; Id., *Les anciens éthiopiens*, Paris 1990; Id., “Considérations sur quelques aspects archéologiques des relations de l’Ethiopie et de l’Arabie antiques”, in: *EtRicci* 17–25; CRStor; Matthew C. Curtis, “Ancient Interaction across the Red Sea: New Suggestions for Investigating Cultural Exchange and Complex Societies during the First Millennium BC”, in: Paul Lunde – Alexandra Porter (eds.), *Trade and Travel in the Red Sea Region. Proceedings of Red Sea Project I*, Oxford 2004 (Society for Arabian Studies Monographs 2/BAR International Series 1269), 57–70; Henri de Contenson, “Pre-Aksumite Culture”, in: *UNESCO General History of Africa*, vol. 2: *Ancient Civilizations of Africa*, Berkeley, CA 1981, 341–61; Abraham Johannes Drewes, *Inscriptions de l’Ethiopie antique*, Leiden 1962; Nadia Durrani, *The Tihamah Coastal Plain of South-West Arabia in its Regional Context c. 6000 BC–AD 600*, Oxford 2005 (BAR International Series 1456); Rodolfo Fattovich, “Pre-Aksumite Civilization of Ethiopia: a Provisional Review”, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 7, 1977, 73–78; Id., *Materiali per lo studio della ceramica preaksumita etiopica*, Napoli 1980; Id., “Remarks on the Pre-Aksumite Period in Northern Ethiopia”, *JES* 23, 1990, 3–33; Id., “The ‘Pre-Aksumite’ State in Northern Ethiopia and Eritrea Reconsidered”, in: Lunde – Porter 2004, 71–77; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, “Sembrouthes ‘gran re’ (DAE *IV 3* = RIÉth *275*). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita”, *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57 (Lit.); Paolo Marrassini, “Ancora sulle ‘origini’ etiopiche”, in: Sandro Filippo Bondì et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 303–15; Joseph W. Michels, *Changing Settlement Patterns in the Aksum-Yəḥa Region of Ethiopia*: *700 BC–AD 850*, Oxford 2005 (BAR International Series 1446); Jacqueline Pirenne, “Haoulti et ses monuments – nouvelle interpretation”, *AE* 7, 1967, 125–33; Ead., “Haoulti, Gobochela (Mälazo) et le site antique”, *ibid.* 8, 1970, 117–27; Jacke Phillips, “Egyptian and Nubian Material from Ethiopia and Eritrea”, *Sudan Archaeological Research Society Newsletter* 9, 1995, 2–10; Ead., “Pre-Aksumite Aksum and its Neighbours”, in: Lunde – Porter 2004, 79–85; David W. Phillipson, *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–7*, 2 vols., London 2000; Lanfranco Ricci, “L’expansion de l’Arabie Meridionale”, in: Joseph Chelhod (ed.), *L’Arabie du Sud. Histoire et civilisation*, vol. 1, Paris 1984, 249–57; Id., “On Both Sides of al-Mandab”, in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 409–17; Christian Julien Robin

– Alessandro de Maigret, “Le grand temple de Yéha (Təgray, Éthiopie), après la première campagne de fouilles de la Mission française (1998)”, *Compte rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1998, 737–98; Roger Schneider, “Deux inscriptions sudarabiques du Tigré”, *BiOr* 30, 1973, 385–87; Id., “Le débuts de l’histoire éthiopienne”, *Documents pour servir à l’histoire des civilisations éthiopiennes* 7, 1976, 47–54.

Rodolfo Fattovich

Press

Press in Ethiopia

P. in Ethiopia started soon upon the introduction of ↗printing by the missionaries in the late 19th cent., which was a remarkable sign of the country’s modernization.

Ethiopia’s first “polygraphed” publication was produced since 1890 by ↗Lazarists in ↗Harär, then the realm of the progressive *ras* ↗Mäkwännən Wäldä Mikaʾel. Entitled the *Bulletin de la Léprosie de Harar*, it was edited by Father Marie-Bernard, who purchased a small printing press and some Amharic type in 1905. The periodical, then re-named *Le ↗Semeur d’Ethiopie*, was largely devoted to religious matters, and was written in French with an occasional article or news item in Amharic. In 1908 Father Marie-Bernard travelled to Paris, and purchased improved equipment, after which the press’s headquarters was transferred to ↗Dərre Dawa. *Le Semeur* continued until 1914 when its editor was called up for military service in World War I, but the Ethiopian workers continued to do jobbing-business (ZerÉth 268f.; Pankhurst 2003: 236–58).

Ca. 1900, *blatta* ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Gilä Maryam (s. EAE vol. 5) from Ḥamasen in Eritrea, who had been imprisoned by the Italians at their penal establishment at Nokra, began producing an embryonic handwritten Amharic publication, or series of letters. Devoted mainly to satire and patriotic poetry, it had a circulation of only 50 copies, but is said to have continued for about a decade (Roberts 1944: 187; Eadie 1926: 193–202; Pankhurst 1962: 260ff.; Bahru Zewde 2002: 65f.).

Another interesting development was the publication in ↗Djibouti between 1899 and 1911 of the weekly newspaper *Djibouti, Journal Franco–Ethiopien*. Copies of this paper were transported by rail to Dərre Dawa, after which they were translated into Amharic and transmitted to Mənilək by phone or telegraph (Pankhurst 2003: 231ff.).

The first real Amharic newspaper, ↗*Aʾəmməro*, a name allegedly chosen by Mənilək II himself, was founded ca. 1901 by a Greek, Andreas E. Kavvadias. A weekly publication, it was at first written by hand, with a circulation of only 24 copies, but the subsequent purchase of a copying machine enabled this to rise to 200. Publication was suspended in 1903, but was resumed in 1906, this time printed at the Ethiopian Printing Press, and went on until 1916 when it was suspended in the period of confusion connected with the overthrow of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu (Mérab 1922: 128; 1929: 349; ZerÉth 269; Ayalew Wolde Giorgis 1962; Pankhurst 1955: 523f.; Aadland – Fackler 2003: 299).

Since 1913 Léopold Polart used the new press established by Alexis Desvages to produce Ethiopia’s first foreign language paper: the twice-weekly *Le ↗Courrier d’Éthiopie*. The same press also later printed **የጦር፡ ወሬ** (*Yäṭor Wäre*, ‘War News’), edited by the Italian Legation in 1916–18, as well as ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase’s short-lived literary publication **ጎሃ፡ ጽባሕ** (*Goha Ṣəbaḥ*, ‘Dawn’), in 1917 (ZerÉth 269f.).

The establishment of the ↗Bərhanənna Sälam Printing Press in 1923 and the weekly government-owned newspaper ↗*Bərhanənna Sälam* in 1925 represented a great leap forward. In the same year, Kavvadias resumed the publication of *Aʾəmməro* at the Ethiopian Government Press, and in 1926 the weekly *L’Éthiopie Commerciale* was launched at Hermes Press.

The developments in printing facilitated the establishment of further periodicals, including *Il Notiziario*, run by the local branch of the Italian Fascist Party; **ከሣቴ፡ ብርሃን** (*Käśate Bərhan*, ‘Propagator of the Light’), a cultural monthly; and **አጥቢያ፡ ኮከብ** (*Aṭbiya Kokäb*, ‘Parish Star’), edited since 1928 by Kavvadias, and printed by the Goha Ṣəbah Press (ZerÉth 270f.). One other publication of this period, ↗*Correspondance d’Éthiopie*, or *Abessinien-Korrespondenz*, was published between 1926 and 1933 by Dr. Erich ↗Weinzinger, an Austrian lawyer, but was printed outside the country (Pankhurst in StudAeth 203–19). Since 1935, ↗*Nägarit gazeṭa* has been the organ publishing governmental proclamations.

During the early period of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I’s rule, the P. (esp. *Bərhanənna Sälam*) became a forum of the nascent Ethiopian intelligentsia. Despite the small number of readers, its members expressed ideas about the reforms and the future of the country, enjoying a by far greater measure of freedom than in the second half of the Emperor’s reign.

The Italian occupation was followed, as was to be expected, by the inauguration of a number of new periodical publications (↗Africa Orientale Italiana). These included the daily *Il Giornale di Addis Abeba*, subsequently renamed more importantly *Il Corriere dell'Impero* and accompanied by its Arabic version, *Barīd al-Imbīrāṭūrīya*, an Amharic periodical **የሮማ፡ ብርሃን** (*Yäroma Bərhan*, 'Light of Rome'), as well as official *Bollettini* for each of the Italian Governorates of the Empire. Asmära likewise had its *Corriere Eritreo*, later renamed *Corriere dell'Impero*. During the occupation a resident Armenian, Johannes ↗Semerjibashian, is reputed to have produced a series of clandestine mimiographed texts, entitled ↗*ᶜAmdä bərhan zäᵓityopya*, which were issued secretly in opposition to the Fascist regime (Pankhurst 2009). Two anti-Fascist newspapers devoted to Ethiopian affairs were meanwhile produced outsde the country: ↗*New Times and Ethiopian News*, edited by Sylvia ↗Pankhurst, in Britain, (which had several Amharic supplements) and *The* ↗ *Voice of Ethiopia*, by ↗Mälaku ᶜAmanuᵓel Bäyyän, in the United States.

The Liberation also brought about major changes. During his campaign, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I made use of a field newspaper called ↗*Banderaččən*, which was printed in ↗Khartoum, and ran for 28 issues, which were dropped by the British Royal Air Force, by air, coming to an end with the Emperor's return to Addis Abäba (Steer 1942: 90–102, 124–36, 164–76, 248–53). The paper's name was then appropriated by a weekly newspaper printed in the Ethiopian capital, but was later renamed *Sändäq ᶜAlamaččən* and supplied with an Arabic version. In 1941 the British used local P. facilities to produce a short-lived English weekly newspaper, *The Ethiopia Star.*

The development of the P. is particularly linked to its practise in long-standing government papers such as ↗*Addis Zämän* and *The* ↗*Ethiopian Herald*, which grew out of *The Ethiopia Star*, both from the early 1940s. Apart from Amharic, ↗Təgrəñña was the only Ethiopian respectively Eritrean language used in newspapers. In 1942, *Al-ᶜAlam* ('Flag'), the only Arabic weekly published by the Ministry of Information, was launched as a supplement to *Sändäq ᶜAlamaččən*, gaining independent status by 1954 (Hussein Ahmed in PICES 11). English-language P. included, in addition to above mentioned, the periodicals based abroad, such as *Nouvelles d'Addis* (France) and ↗*Ethiopia Observer* (UK).

Beginning in the 1940s, the Patriarchate of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church started publishing such periodicals as *Mäṣḥetä Ityopya*, *Täklä Haymanot*, and *Zena Betä Krəstian* (s. ↗Tənsaᵓe Zägubaᵓe Printing Press).

During Ḫaylä Śəllase I's rule, writing was strictly controlled and pre-censored in the Ministry of Information. Within limits, private initiative was possible and could contribute to the development of the P. (e.g., very decisively by the "father of Ethiopian journalism" ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs). Controversial publications, however, such as the student newspaper **ትግል** (*Təgəl,* 'Struggle'), were harshly repressed, especially during the last years of the Emperor's rule. A noteable student publication was *News and Views*, published by students of the University College of Addis Abäba (later ↗Addis Ababa University) since 1951.

Some other newspapers which appeared during the rule of Ḫaylä Śəllase were:

↗*Yäzareyətu Ityopya* (1945–74); *L'Éthiopie d'aujourd'hui* (1954–74); *Yäᵓityopya dəmṣ* ('The Voice of Ethiopia'; 1949–74); ↗*Mänän* (1945–74); *Ethiopian Mirror* (1954–74); *Addis Abäba* (1945–?); *Progresse économique* (1949–?); *Wätadärənna ᶜAlamaw* ('The Soldier and his Target'; 1950); *Addis Soir* (1958–?).

In spite of the political limitations, both the readership and the circulation of P. grew significantly in the 1950s-60s; the newspapers informed their readers of both home and foreign events, published commercial advertisements and entertainment and education materials. The Ethiopian P. of that period influenced significantly the development of the Amharic language.

During the months preceding the ↗Revolution and the first years of military rule (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) there was an outbreak of free expression in both government and clandestine papers, but it did not last. Periodicals such as, e.g., **ዴሞክራሲያ** (*Demokrasiya*, 'Democracy') and **የሰፊው፡ ሕዝብ፡ ድምጽ** (*Yäsäffiw ḥəzb dəmṣ*, lit. 'The Voice of the Broad Masses') were declared counterrevolutionary. A major change was the onset of P. in national ethnic languages, e.g., the Oromo ↗*Bariisaa*. Other newspapers of the period included:

Polisənna ərməǧǧäw ('Police and its Progress', published by the ↗Police Commission); *Śärto addär* ('The Worker', of the Ethiopian Workers' Party); *Taṭäq* (of the Ministry of Defence); *Goḥ* ('The Dawn'); *Ṣädäy* ('The Spring').

The 1992 "Freedom of the Press" proclamation was a landmark in the development of newspapers. Pre-print censorship was abolished. Yet, in spite of the outspoken policy on ethnic equality, government-supported papers were only published (by Ethiopian Press Agency) in Amharic (*Addis Zämän*, circulation of 19,000 copies, daily), English (*Ethiopian Herald*, 10,000 copies, daily), Oromiffa (*Bariisaa*, 3,000 copies, weekly), Təgrəñña and Arabic (*Al-ᶜAlam*, 2,500 copies, weekly). From 1992 to 1997, close to 300 private newspapers and magazines had been registered. The short-lived *Bilal* (1993-95) should be particularly mentioned as the first Islamic periodical in the post-1991 Ethiopia (Hussein Ahmed 1998; Gori 2005).

The number was much more than the market could sustain and their number dropped drastically, to some extent because of government policy. Constitutional provisions for freedom of expression (also embedded in the 1955 and 1987 ↗Constitutions) did not prevent the use of laws governing the security of the state to stop what was perceived as "irresponsible journalism" (The *Reporters without Borders' Index on Press Freedom* ranks Ethiopia as number 107 out of 139 nations).

A split between government-owned and government-supporting P. on the one side and oppositional P. on the other side manifested itself in the formation of two rival associations, the Ethiopian Journalists' Association and the Ethiopian Free Press Journalists' Association.

In 1996 the Mass Media Training Institute under the Ministry of Information was the first to start a two-year journalists-training programme in Addis Abäba, 80 % of students being recommended by the government. In 2004 ↗Addis Ababa University established a School of Journalism and Communication, in collaboration with a Norwegian school of journalism (↗Norway), aiming at M.A. and Ph.D. programs as well as short-term courses in journalism.

All these developments considered, it is important to note that, for reasons of literacy, income level and distribution deficiencies, at present the newspaper reading public is still less than 1.5 % of the population.

Src.: Ḥamärä Śəllase Betä Krəstiyan (ed.), **የልማት፡ ዕድገት፡ በኢትዮጵያ**. *Development in Ethiopia. La mise en valeur de l'Éthiopie. 1941–1964*, Addis Abäba 1957 A.M. [1964 A.D.], 271; MahZekr 683–87.

Lit.: Øyvind Aadland – Mark Fackler, "Media in Ethiopia", in: Amanda Quick (ed.) *World Press Encyclopedia: a Survey of Press Systems Worldwide*, vol. 1, Farmington Hills, MI 2003, 297–302; Anon., "Bibliografia dell'Africa Orientale Italiana", *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 3, 1, 1940, 1271–313; Atnafu Makonnen, *Ethiopia Today*, Tokyo 1960; Ayalew Wolde Giorgis, "The Story of Ethiopian Press and Fathers of Newspapers", *Voice of Ethiopia*, 21 April 1962; Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, London 2002 (Lit.); BZHist 222, 225, 236f., 245; Randi Rønning Balsvik, *Haile Sellassie's Students: the Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution, 1952–1977*, East Lansing, MI 1985, 115; Enrico Cerulli, "Nuove idee nell'Etiopia e nuova letteratura amarica", *Oriente Moderno* 6, 1926, 166–75; John Inglis Eadie, *An Amharic Reader*, Cambridge 1924; Ethiopian Human Rights Council, *58th Special Report*, Addis Ababa 9 January 2003; Id., *The Human Rights Situation in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa [1997]; Alessandro Gori, "Contemporary and Historical Muslim Scholars as Portrayed by the Ethiopian Islamic Press in the 1990's", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 72–94; Hussein Ahmed, "Al-'Alam: the History of an Ethiopian Arabic Weekly", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 155–65; Id., "Islamic Literature and Religious Revival in Ethiopia, 1991–1994", *Islam et sociétés au Sud du Sahara* 12, 1998, 89–108; Enrico Mania, *Storia del giornalismo in Etiopia*, Perugia 1970–71; John Markakis, *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa,* Cambridge 1987; Paul Mérab, *Impressions d'Éthiopie* (*L'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*), 2 vols., Paris 1921, 1929; Marina Ottaway – David Ottaway, *Ethiopia Empire in Revolution,* New York 1978; Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 1962, 241–90; Id., "Two Early Periodical Publications; Djibouti and Le Semeur d'Ethiopie as Sources for Late 19th and Early 20th Century Ethiopian History", *AE* 29, 2003, 231–56; Id., "A Memory of the Italian Occupation. The Short-lived Clandestine Publication *Amdä Berhan zä Ityopeya*", *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 4, 1–2, 2009, 183–89; Id., "'Correspondance d'Éthiopie': the History of a Pro-Ethiopian Newspaper", in: *StudAeth* 203–09; Sylvia Pankhurst, *Ethiopia: a Cultural History*, Essex 1955, 523–28; Reporters without Borders, *Worldwide Press Freedom Index*, s.l. October 2002; Andrew D. Roberts, "Documentation on Ethiopia and Eritrea", *Journal of Documentation* 1, 4, 1946, 185–93; Səläši Täsämma et al. (eds.), **የጋዜጠኝነት፡ ትምህርት፡ በኢትዮጵያ** (*Yägazetäññənnät təmhərt bäʾityop̣ya*, 'Teaching Journalism in Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003 A.D.] (= *Midiya* 2, 1); Shimelis Bonsa, *Survey of the Private Press in Ethiopia: 1991–1999,* Addis Ababa 2000; Lowther Steer, *Sealed and Delivered: a Book about the Abyssinian Campaign*, London 1942; ZerÉth 268–72.

Randi Rønning Balsvik – Richard Pankhurst

Press in Eritrea

The history of the Eritrean P. began with the launch of a weekly administrative and commercial newspaper *L'Eritreo* on 4 November 1891 by the Tipografia e Libreria Italiana (s. also ↗Printing). On 12 June 1891, another firm began printing the ↗*Corriere Eritreo* newspaper (after fusion with *L'Eritreo* in 1893 called *L'Africa Italiana. Gazzetta di Massaua*). The *Bollettino Agricolo e Commerciale della Colonia Eritrea* was published in Asmära between 1903 and 1905 (also in 1922). The Swedish Evangelical Mission (↗Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen) printed Eritrea's first Təgrəñña newspaper ↗*Mälʾəḵti sälam* from 1909 to 1915.

As Eritrea's Italian population expanded, there was a proliferation of locally printed Italian newspapers that covered economic, military, political, and regional affairs as well as extolling the benefits of Italian colonial rule. Those were meant to serve the needs of the Italian community, and the language was almost exclusively Italian. In June 1928 the first daily newspaper *Il Quotidiano Eritreo* was launched by the Propaganda Ministry, as a successor of the *Corriere Eritreo* (at times it had Təgrəñña and Arabic inserts). In 1935 it was replaced by the weekly *La Nuova Eritrea*, which in 1936 was renamed *Corriere dell'Impero* and finally once again *Corriere Eritreo* (supplied, from 1938, with an additional sports weekly, *Il Corriere Eritreo Sportivo*). Some other major newspapers included:

Parole Buone (1915–31); *Il Novembre* (1916–?); *L'Eritrea commerciale* (1922–?); *Annuncio Eritreo* (1922–28, by Mario Fioretti, publishing advertisements of the growing Italian industry in Eritrea), continued as *Notiziario Telegrafico Quotidiano* (1928–?); *Il Vero Amico del Popolo Etiopico* (1916–?); *Giornale Trilingue dell'Africa Orientale* (1928–35); *Mercuriali. Ufficio Eritreo dell'Economia* (1928–?); *Il Giornalino dell'Eritrea* (1934–?); *Ordine del Giorno* (1939–?); *La Voce della Boscaglia*, also containing the insert *Notizie da Casa* (1940–?); *Notiziario per le Truppe. Comando dello Scacchiere Nord* (1940–?); *Omnia. Giornale Settimanale Illustrato del quotidiano "L'Informazione"* (1941–?); *Il Lunedì dell'Eritrea* (1941–47); *L'Informazione* (1941–?); *L'Informazione del Lunedì* (1941–?); *Corriere di Asmara* (1944–?); *La Repubblica* (1946–?); and *Vie d'Oriente* (1946–?).

On 8 April 1941, the ↗British Military Administration (BMA) assumed responsibility for Eritrea pending an international decision about its political future. Among other things, the BMA immediately suspended the Fascist-controlled *Corriere Eritreo* which had been printing 8,000 copies daily. On 17 June 1941, the British Ministry of Information assumed responsibility for financing and operating the ↗*Eritrean Daily News*, which was published in English and Italian. The newspaper carried news without comment, in addition to advertising and official announcements. The *Eritrean Daily News* had a readership of between 14,000 and 17,000. The newspaper's neutrality earned the respect of many Italian readers. After Mussolini's downfall and the Italian armistice, the *Eritrean Daily News* increasingly focused on the challenges and problems facing the BMA and Eritrea. On 5 October 1947, it ceased publication. During the August 1944 to 1950 period, the British Minister of Information printed a companion newspaper called *Il Quotidiano Eritreo* that appealed to the local population, Italians, and allied military personnel in the East African region. *Il Quotidiano Eritreo* reported news-worthy items without editorial comment and carried official announcements and advertisements.

The British Ministry of Information also produced a 5,000 copy weekly Təgrəñña-language newspaper, the four-page ↗*Eritrean Weekly News* (*Nay Erətra Sämunawi Gazeṭa*; 520 issues during 1942–52). ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, a noted intellectual, served as the newspaper's Təgrəñña editor, Maḥmūd Irabay as the Arabic editor and Edward Ullendorff as chief editor. An article by Stephen ↗Longrigg from 3 August 1944 (signed Ḥadä Ertərawi, 'an Eritrean') entitled "Some Thoughts on the Future of Eritrea", which suggested that Eritrea's Muslim lowlanders wanted to be united with Sudan while Christian highlanders were "one with the people of northern Ethiopia", and considered a possibility of an ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation, provoked a national debate involving ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl Wäldu, President of ↗*Maḥbär fəqri hagär* and Abraha Täsämma, a moderate who helped to organize the "Eritrea for Eritreans" movement. Many Eritreans believed that Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam had authored the article; the growing animosity against him eventually resulted in at least six assassination attempts. The BMA's policy toward the debate and periodic demonstrations was that Eritreans should express their opinions in the newspaper to help determine Eritrea's future status. However, Ullendorff regularly censored articles and letters to the editor.

Other newspapers that appeared during the 1941–51 period included ↗*Dəhay Ertəra* (Tgn., also edited by Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, 1944–46 and 1952–53), *L'Unità dell'Eritrea* (Ital., 1946–49), *Dəmṣi Ertəra* (Tgn.), *Ityopya* (Amh.), *Ḥəbrät* (Tgn.), *Voice of Eritrea – Ṣawt al-Irītrīya* (Eng. – Arab.), and *Ḥanti Ertəra* (Tgn.). The daily *Globereuter* news service of the British Ministry of Information had a readership of 12,000 Italians and 2,000 British every day. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) also made its reports available throughout Eritrea.

On 2 December 1950, the ↗United Nations adopted Resolution 390 A (V) that federated

Eritrea with Ethiopia. By 1954, Eritrea's Unionist government (cp. ↗Unionist Party) had destroyed Eritrea's independent P. by closing all rival local language newspapers. In 1956, the Ethiopian authorities censored Eritrean newspapers and required Amharic instead of Təgrəñña and Arabic. However, the official *Il Quotidiano Eritreo*, *Zämän*, and *Ityopya* continued publication under government control. Four Italian newspapers survived until the early 1960s, including the Italian-funded *Giornale dell'Eritrea* and the *Veritas et Vita*, both of which continued to the 1970s. In 1963, *Ḥəbrät* (with an Arabic supplement, *al-Waḥda*) resumed publication.

Growing discontent with the Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation facilitated the emergence of anti-government rebel groups, the most important and powerful of which were the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF). The lack of a free P. in Eritrea forced these organizations to seek other avenues to publicize their grievances and outline their political and military goals. Both relied largely on pamphlets and periodicals to inform both Eritreans in Eritrea and in the ↗Diaspora as well as foreign governments about recent events and about its political and economic goals, and requests for financial support.

The most important post-1974 pre-independence publications included:
Adulis (EPLF, London, 1984–91); *Eritrea in Relief* (Khartoum, 1985–?); *Eritrea in Struggle* (EPLF, New York, 1976–?); *Eritrean Information* (EPLF, Rome, 1979–88); *Eritrean Newsletter* (ELF, Beirut, 1977–91); *The Eritrean Review* (ELF, Beirut, 1982–?); *Eritrean Revolution* (Eritreans for Liberation in Europe, London, 1976–?); *The Eritrean Revolution* (ELF, Beirut, 1975–78?); *Informational Bulletin* (Eritrean Relief Association, Khartoum, 1988–?); *The Eritrean Review – Popular Liberation Front* (ELF, 1982–?); *Events* (EPLF, 1986–91); *Liberation* (EPLF, 1981–?); *Resistance* (Khartoum, 1978–81?); *Return* (EPLF, 1989?); *Research and Information Centre on Eritrea Bulletin* (Nottingham, UK, 1989–92); *Vanguard* (EPLF, 1973–?); and *Voice of Eritrean Women* (EPLF, New York, 1983–91).

Src.: Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *Occupied Enemy Territory Administration Eritrea, Half Yearly Report by the Military Administrator on the Occupied Enemy Territory of Eritrea for the Period 1st January to 20th June 1942*, Cairo 1942.

Lit.: Astier M. Almodon, "Re-Reading the Short and Long-rigged History of Eritrea 1941–1952: Back to the Future?", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15, 2 2006, 119–24, 129; Great Britain, Ministry of Information, *The First to be Freed: the Record of British Military Administration in Eritrea and Somalia, 1941–1943*, London 1944, 35ff.; Deborah Johnson, "Media History of Eritrea", *Eritrean Studies Review* 1, 1, 1996, 143–54; KilHDic 125–29, 186–92, 199–205; Nene Mburu, "Patriots or Bandits? Britain's Strategy for Policing Eritrea 1941–1952", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 9, 2, 2000, 88, 96, 100; Lord Rennell of Rodd, *British Military Administration in Africa 1941–47*, London 1948, 141; Shumet Sishagne, *Unionists and Separatists: The Vagaries of Ethio–Eritrean Relation 1941–1991*, Hollywood, CA 2007, 34f.; Edward Ullendorff, "Obituary: Waldeab Waldemariam", *The Independent* (London), 1 June 1995.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Prester John

P.J. (Lat. *Pres[by]ter Iohannes*, Ital. *Prete Gianni*, *Prestogianni* and vars., Fr. *Prestre Jehan*, Port. *Preste João*) is the name of an imaginary Christian oriental priest-king, lord of (one of) the "three Indias" (↗India), who in the Middle Ages was credited with offering an alliance with the major Western powers in order to free the Holy Land from Islamic rule. His biography, emerging from a scattered body of medieval texts, was partly mingled with that of ↗Alexander the Great as featured in the fabulous *Romance of Alexander*. P.J.'s "Indian" realm, lost amidst Muslims and pagans, and full of riches and strange creatures, boasted such marvels as the Gates of Alexander and the Fountain of Youth, and stretched from the Holy Land to the Earthly Paradise. In keeping with the dream of a Christian India, which in turn led to a quest for the Christians of the Far East, it was first located in Central Asia and only later, from the 13th/14th cent. onwards, in Ethiopia, which actually lay on the trade routes to India – and was physically connected with the latter in ↗Ptolemy's view.

The earliest times: from Asia to Africa

The first reference to the P.J. is found in the chronicle of Otto of Freising who, in 1145, registers for the previous year the appearance, at the pontifical court in Viterbo, of the Syrian bishop Hugh of Jabala (the ancient Biblos, now in Lebanon), dispatched by Prince Raymond of Antioch to seek aid against the Muslims soon after ↗Edessa had fallen to them. Hugh told his audience about "Iohannes", a Nestorian Christian (↗Nestorius) and powerful monarch who descended from one of the three ↗Magi and reigned over a vast dominion, being at once "rex et sacerdos" – like his biblical models, i.e. ↗Melchizedek (Gen 14:18–21) and Christ (Mt 28:18; Jn 3:17; Heb 5:9; 1 Tim 2:5). A few years before, he had vanquished the brother kings "of the Persians and the Medes", and would have then set for ↗Jerusalem to rescue the Holy

Land, but was prevented from doing so by the swollen waters of the Tigris River (VII, 33, ed. Pertz 1867: 266).

Beyond its classicizing language, Otto's muddled story seems to echo the victory achieved in 1141 near Samarkand (Transoxiana) by the Mongol *ḫān* Yeh-lü Da-shih, founder of the Qara Ḫitay, over the Salǧūq *šāh* Sanǧar. The Latin *Iohannes* could be a reflex not so much of the title *ḫān* as of the name of the Asian king *Vizan* (*Iouzánēs* or *Ou*[*a*]*zánēs* in Greek), the protagonist of an ancient saga on St. Thomas (s. Fiaccadori 1992: 79f.; Pirenne 1992: 31–36) that was perhaps familiar to the bishop of Jabala. Indeed, he himself might have suggested the equation of Yeh-lü Da-shih – most likely, a Buddhist with Christian subjects – to the mythical Asian king fighting for Christianity. This sovereign was later identified, at times, with yet another illustrious Mongol ruler, Genghis Khan (1206–27), or an Indian monarch enemy to him, or a Tartar lord (Wang Khan Toġrul, a Nestorian Christian) killed by Genghis Khan, or an Indian ruler who had defeated the latter, or a Chinese prince whose territory reached as far as the Blue River (Yangtze), or even King George of Georgia (Giorgi IV Lashi, r. 1191–1223), known for advocating the Crusaders' plans on the Holy Land while the Mongols were threatening the borders of his kingdom (s. Cerulli 1935: 217). In the various tales from this period, the P.J. is often portrayed not as an invincible hero, but merely as one of the several antagonists of the Mongols. The uncertainty about his identity was the result both of Asia's opening to western travellers in the second half of the 13th cent., after the great Mongol conquests, and of the concomitant, albeit frustrated, desire to find there an adequate impersonation of an already widespread legend that had set an unattainable moral standard to coeval Europe.

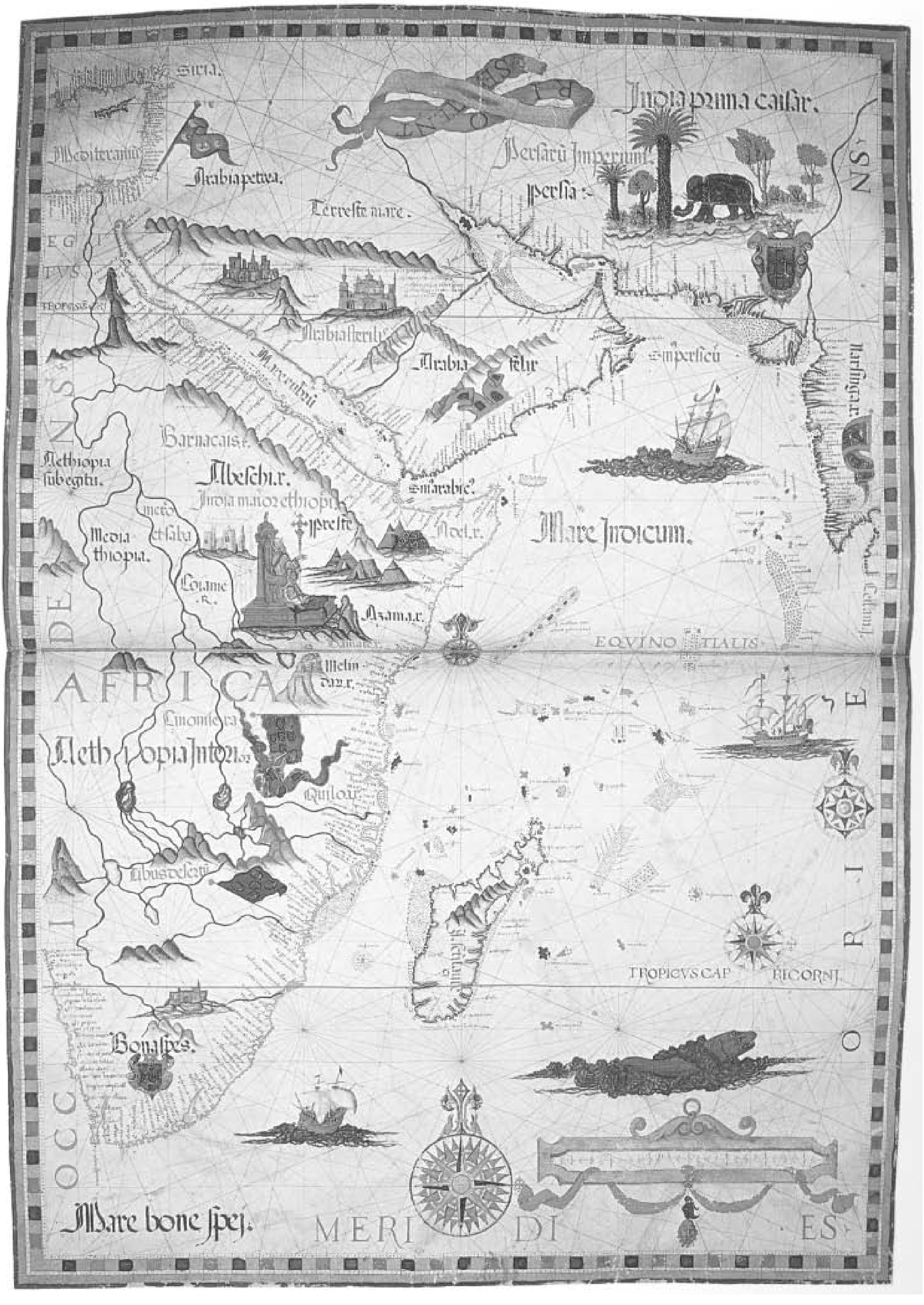
So hazy a figure is in fact the purported author of the famous *Letter of Prester John*, copies of which are supposed to have circulated in Europe as early as 1165, the year its text is referred to in the chronicle of Alberic of Three Fountains (1234 A.D.; ed. Sheffer-Boichorst 1874: 848f.). The "original" *Letter*, in Latin (ed. Zarncke 1879: 909–24), is attested in over a hundred manuscripts; some of which, unavailable for Zarncke's edition, do not fit with the tradition he reconstructed (Gosman 1983: 3). He distinguished between the genuine text – for which he offers a rather eclectic solution – and five interpolations (A–E), datable from 1160 to 1300; previously, he had published two more versions of the Latin text (Zarncke 1877).

The *Letter* was first directed to the Greek emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143–80), yet with a marked anti-Byzantine bias that sheds light on its compositional milieu. In the manuscript tradition, the text is attributed to Bishop Christian of Mainz (1165/67–83), who was an envoy of Emperor Barbarossa to Manuel I in 1170, and is said to have brought it back from Constantinople and even, sometimes (interpolation E, before 1270), to have translated it from Greek: the Graecisms of the *Letter* have suggested the hypothesis – though weak – of a lost Byzantine original (s. Zaganelli 1990: 189, ad 1, 1). As a plausible source of the *Roman d'Enéas*, however, the *Letter* could have been at least drafted already in 1150–60 (ibid. 35 n. 1).

According to the chronicle of Alberic, the *Letter* was later ascribed to other powerful people such as a Western emperor Frederick to be identified, in principle, with Barbarossa (1166–90), although by that name the chronicler may have better envisaged his own contemporary Frederick II (1212–60). Variants of the text were produced until the 15th cent.: one of them was directed to Pope Martin V in 1426 (Guglielminetti 1990); and another one – primarily a piece of Crusading propaganda – is anachronistically addressed to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV (1346/49 or 1355–78) by an Ethiopian king called "Voddomaradeg", a deformation of the name of *nəguś* ↗Wədəm Räᶜad (r. 1299–1312; cp. Ullendorff – Beckingham 1982:7f.).

The *Letter* enjoyed immense popularity, esp. in the popular poetry and literature of the Late Middle Ages (Lefevre 1944: 55–67; Rogers 1962: 91–113), and its success later continued in printed form and in the visual arts, including cartography (Ramos 1997). It is also preserved in a number of Romance, Teutonic, Slavonic and Hebrew vulgarizations and elaborations. Among these, especially important are the Hebrew ones, actually four different versions (one of them addressed to Pope Eugene IV in 1442), which betrays an origin among the Jews of northern Italy or Languedoc and bears some relationship to the narrative of ↗Eldad ha-Dani (ed. Ullendorff – Beckingham 1982: 57–151, cp. 153–59).

In its several versions, extant in more than 250 manuscripts, the *Letter* was a unique contribution to the shaping of the legend of the P.J. well beyond the Middle Ages, when he became both a virtuous and generous sovereign and an ideal model of sa-


Siria.
India prima caisar.
Mediteraniu
Arabia petrea.
Terreste mare.
Persarũ Imperium
Persia
EGI PTUS
Arabia sterilis
Arabia felix
Mare Rubrum
Sinus persicu
Barnacais r.
Aethiopia sub egitu.
Abeschi r.
India maior ethiopi
Preste
Adel r.
Mare Indicum.
Media thiopia.
Azama r.
EQUINO CTIALIS
AFRICA
Melinda r.
Aethiopia Interior
Quiloa
Bonaspes.
TROPICUS CAP RICORNI
Mare bone spei.
OCCIDENS
MERIDIES
ORIENS

Prester John depicted on his throne in a map of North-east Africa by Diogo Homen; Atlas Vallard, 1547, The Huntington Library (San Marino, CA), HM 29(4); from Guadalupi 2005: 8

cred kingship – a leitmotiv of the text – for the European princes,who were fighting with one another rather than with the Muslims. Therefore, it ended by typifying the first Christian political utopia: a peaceful universal empire, transcending culture and geography to encompass all humanity (Olschki 1931; cp. Bejczy 2001).

The *Letter* has been the traditional object of different scholarly disciplines, from philology to history and literary criticism, all mainly concentrating on its impact and authenticity, as well as its thematic and genetic relations with such other more or less contemporary texts dealing with Oriental figures of priestly kingship, such as the chronicle of Otto. Recently, a stimulating anthropological approach, while discarding problems of chronology, contextual origin and authorship, has instead called attention to the propaganda style and the multi-layered vision of the imaginary "Indian" kingdom that are unfolded in the text, and to the need of understanding them in terms of a Christian mythological discourse based on Biblical narrative and aimed at conveying a peculiar message. Deeply influenced by the ↗*Revelation* of John, the *Letter* would ultimately proclaim the Christ-mimetic character of the P.J. and his indestructibility and incorruptibility, but also a symbolic ambiguity that allows for inclusion of paradoxical demon elements in the definition of him and his surroundings, and reflects the symbolic dualism of medieval Christianity: that is, the relationships between Christ as "heir of the heavenly kingdom" and the Devil as "prince of this world" (Ramos 1997: 65–74).

Within so evident a cosmological and theological framework, part of the *Letter*'s essence and fascination was, however, the idea that a lost Christian kingdom still existed in the vastness of the East; and the P.J.'s legend was definitely triggered by the tales about the Asian circumstances of the so called Nestorian (or East Syrian/Persian) Church, or the evangelization of India by the apostle Thomas (as reported already in the 3rd-cent. *Acts of Thomas*), whose wonder-working tomb was at Mylapore. A visit to Rome by an obscure "Indian" patriarch claiming ties with St. Thomas is recounted for the year 1121/22 in at least three 12th-cent. narratives (Zaganelli 1990: 11 and n. 10, 38). Hence, too, the special nature of the relation between the P.J. and St. Thomas (cp. Ramos 1997: 75–84): the latter's name was subsequently applied to the former precisely as "patriarch" of the Indian Christians, i.e. the Malabar or "Southist" St. Thomas Christians, with intimate ties to the East Syrian Church (s. von den Brincken 1973: 337–49; Pirenne 1992: 22 and n. 25; Fiaccadori 2006: 56 and nn. 49–54). The *Letter* is not a forgery, i.e. a conscious deception, but rather a piece of "a recognized literary genre" (Ullendorff – Beckingham 1982: 4). Yet, the analysis of its internal content cannot be altogether detached from the quest for the "historical reality" of the P.J., to which other documents are indeed more conducive.

The P.J. in turn was the addressee of writings by princes and pontiffs: already in 1177, Pope Alexander III sent him (actually, "the King of [the] India[ns]") a celebrated missive from Venice through his own personal physician, Philip, who had previously collected information on the P.J. and his country while travelling in the East (Raineri 2005: 13–16, no. 1), and seems to have succeeded in journeying to that country, nothing else being known, though, of this mission. By his gesture, the pope was trying to make the P.J. an ally of the European princes against the Islamic advance in the Mediterranean regions. The pope's message is not necessarily a reply to the P.J.'s earlier one, but it is symptomatic that Christian of Mainz was then also in Venice, as the principal negotiator of the treaty signed there by the emperor and the pope, and received the pallium from the latter as a mark of recognition. The synchronism might be equally noted here with the reign of *nəguś* ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (fl. ca. 1164/65) who, according to his mid-15th-cent. *Acts*, was "king and priest" by actual ordination (Marrassini 1995: 31f.; cp. Pirenne 1992: 37–43). In the 12th-cent. chronicle attributed to ↗Abū Ṣāliḥ, "all the kings of Abyssinia are priests, and celebrate the liturgy within the sanctuary" (ed. Evetts 1895, fol. 105b; cp. 99a, where the same statement occurs for the thirteen kings "under the supremacy of the Great King" of Nubia, most probably confused, as usual, with Ethiopia); and a not too remote precedent to such a "dual" position might be seen in the career of *ḥaṣani* ↗Danəʾel, a ruler of ↗Aksum and possibly a monk towards the end of the 10th cent.

The collapse of the Mongol empire prompted Europeans definitely to abandon the idea that the P.J. had ever really been a Central Asian king. As travelling in those regions became dangerous without the security the "pax Mongolica" had provided, in 14th-cent. works such as *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (chs. XXX–XXXII and XXXIV) and the *Historia Trium Regum* by John of Hildesheim (s. Monneret de Villard 1952:186, 215f., 219), the P.J.'s domains tended to resume their fantastic aspects and be transferred back to India proper, or some other exotic location. In his *Parzival* (ca. 1200), Wolfram von Eschenbach tied the story of the P.J., the son of the Grail maiden and the Saracen knight Feirefiz, with that of the Holy Grail, of which the P.J. thus became the "guardian" (Adolf 1947; cp. ↗Makədda: The Queen of Sheba in Western culture).

If voyagers like Marco ↗Polo and the Franciscan Odorico da Pordenone (d. 1331), a missionary to China, were to deprive the P.J. of much of his otherworldly overtones, depicting him as a more realistic earthly sovereign, new data about him, both real and fantastic, had been collected before in Egypt, Syria and Palestine during the Fifth Crusade, when the translation of Christian Arabic apocalyptic texts prompted the Ethiopian location of his kingdom (Beylot 2000).

In terms of geographical ambiguity, moral character and name, significant details of the P.J.'s legend could have been then recognized in, and enhanced by, stories heard in those places: e.g., that of "King John of Syria", a passionate of the ↗Eucharist featured in the 6th-cent. Coptic and Arabic hagiography of *apa* Ieremias and *apa* Iohannēs, where the mystical king is introduced as dwelling on the far remote borders of Elam, traced to the more familiar Šuhbāʾ or Philippopolis, in central Ḥawrān (Syria), by the Arabic translator (van Esbroeck 1998: 10f.).

The Christian kings of Nubia and Ethiopia, in whose powerful countries children were allegedly baptized with fire and not water (Fiaccadori 2005: 45f. and nn. 11–12), thus became known in Europe as strenuous fighters for their faith and potential supporters of the crusade (the fact that Greek was spoken in Nubia until the late Middle Ages might account for the Graecisms of the *Letter*, made more likely thereby: ibid., 47f. and n. 19). In particular, monks of the Ethiopian community of Jerusalem passed on the information that their sovereign, waging constant war against the Muslims, was called *Žan* (in fact, a royal title derived from Gəʿəz *žanhoy*, '↗elephant'), which was gladly acknowledged by their Western interlocutors to be the original name of the P.J., with the effect of strengthening the "Ethiopian interpretation" of his legend. A direct relation can be certainly established between the knowledge of "Indian" Christians that was long since available in Jerusalem, and that returning pilgrims disseminated in the West, and the presence of the Portuguese in South India and the Ethiopian highlands in the early 16th cent.

In this connection, a more defined role of information and communication must have been played, around 1310, by the embassy of the already mentioned *nəguś* Wədəm Räʿad "to the king of Spain" (↗Italy, relations with): at Genoa, before embarking on their way back to Ethiopia, its members produced a writing on the P.J. and his land that was used in a lost work by the great cartographer Giovanni da Carignano (d. 1344), and then mentioned in the *Supplementum chronicarum* (VIII, 18) by the Augustinian Jacopo Filippo Foresti.

By that time, the "Indian" P.J. of former legends was fully equated with the emperor of Ethiopia, also on account of the usual confusion between the latter and India (↗"India" as a name of Ethiopia). In his *Mirabilia descripta* (1329), the Dominican Jourdain Catalani of Severac, the most important 14th-cent. missionary to India, clearly styles the ruler of Christian Ethiopia as the P.J. (s. ↗Dominicans), a name that stuck with him in the European usage until the late 17th cent. (e.g., in the *Historia eclesiastica* by another Dominican, Luis de ↗Urreta, 1670), when scholars such as Hiob ↗Ludolf proved there was no native connection between the Ethiopian monarch and the P.J. (↗Research, historical).

Doomed to hold a long-standing presence in western cartography (e.g., in the *Mappamondo* of ↗Fra Mauro), the P.J. is first shown on the Upper Nile in a map drawn by the Genoese Angelino Dalorto (Dulcert) at Mallorca in 1339. The great Christian kingdom of the Horn of Africa was then to attract the growing interest not only of voyagers and traders, but also of missionaries and statesmen eager to approach the no longer mythical sovereign who, in accordance with the customary image of the relationships between Ethiopia and Egypt, was believed to exert control over the ↗Nile's waters, thereby mastering the supply of Muslim ↗Egypt (cp. ↗Gihon).

Src.: Frederick Zarncke, "Über eine neue, bisher nicht bekannt gewesene lat. Redaction des Briefes des Priester Johannes", *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Kgl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, philol.-hist. Cl., 29, 1877, 111–56; Id., "Der Priester Johannes", in: *Abhandlungen der Kgl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, philol.-hist. Cl., 7, 1879, 827–1039, here 909–24 [Lat. vers.; repr. Edward Ullendorff – Charles F. Beckingham (ed., tr.), *The Hebrew Letters of Prester John*, Oxford 1982, 184–89; *ibid.*, 57–151, for the Hebr. vers., cp. 4, 7f. and 153–59; Lit.], and 8, 1883, 128–54, 180–84; Bettina Wagner, *Die »Epistola presbiteri*

Johannis« lateinisch und deutsch: *Überlieferung, Textgeschichte, Rezeption und Übertragungen im Mittelalter. Mit bisher unedierten Texten*, Tübingen 2000 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 115); Martin Gosman, *La lettre du Prêtre Jean. Les versions en ancien français et en ancien occitan. Textes et commentaires*, Groningen 1982; Gioia Zaganelli, *La lettera del Prete Gianni*, Parma ^{2}1990 (Biblioteca medievale, 13) [repr. Milano – Trento 2000 (Biblioteca medievale 79)], 52–95 [Lat. and Anglo-Norman vers., Lit.], here 11 and n. 10, 35 n. 1, 38, 189; Anne-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Die "Nationes Christianorum Orientalium" im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Köln 1973 (Kölner historische Abhandlungen 22), 382–419 ["Johannes presbyter"]; Marziano Guglielminetti, "Lettera del Prete Gianni a papa Martino V (1426): testo e commento", in: Silvia Rota Ghibaudi – Franco Barcia (eds.), *Studi politici in onore di Luigi Firpo*, Milano 1990, vol. 1, 87–108; P. Sheffer-Boichorst (ed.), *Chronica Albrici monachus Trium Fontium*, Hannoverae 1874 (Monumenta Germaniae historica 23), 848f.; Paolo Marrassini (ed., tr.), *Il* Gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos, Napoli 1995 [pub. 1997], 31 (text) = 68f. (tr.); Basil Thomas Alfred Evetts (ed., tr.), *The Churches & Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries, attributed to Abû Ṣâliḥ, the Armenian*, with additional notes by Alfred Butler, Oxford 1894–95 [repr. 1969], fols. 99a, 105b (text) = 272, 286 (tr.); Osvaldo Raineri, *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici* (*sec. XII–XX*). *Versioni e integrazioni*, Città del Vaticano 2005 (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 55), 13–18, 22f., 35–45, 64–79, 100–04, nos. 1, 4, 7, 8, 12, 17.

Lit.: s. ↗Italy; Helen Adolf, "New Light on Oriental Sources for Wolfram's Parzival and Other Grail Romances", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 62 [1947], 306–24; Wilhelm Baum, *Die Verwandlungen des Mythos vom Reich des Priesterkönigs Johannes. Rom, Byzanz und die Christen des Orients im Mittelalter*, Klagenfurt 1999; István Bejczy, *La lettre du Prêtre Jean, une utopie médiévale*, Paris 2001 [review by Marie-Laure Derat, *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 239–42; cp. Edward Ullendorff, *ibid.* 7, 2004, 288]; Robert Beylot, "Origines de la localisation en Éthiopie du Royaume du Prêtre-Jean", *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 188–89 (Lit.); Enrico Cerulli, "Prete Gianni", in: *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere e Arti*, vol. 18, Roma 1935, 216–18; Id., "Prester John", in: *DicEthBio* vol. 1, 133–34; Michel van Esbroeck, "La légende d'Apa Jeremias et Apa Johannes et les fragments Chester Beatty Copte 829", *Orientalia* nova ser. 67, 1998, 1–63; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 97f.; Id., "Un re di Nubia a Costantinopoli nel 1203", *Scrinium* 1, 2005, 43–49, here 47f. and n. 19; Manfred Kropp, "Die Legende vom Priester Johannes – Ein Internationales Kolloquium in Damaskus", *Beiruter Blätter* 10–11, 2002–03, 26–28; Renato Lefevre, "Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento", [I], *Annali Lateranensi* 8, 1944, 9–89; Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui Magi evangelici*, Città del Vaticano 1952 (Studi e Testi 163), 186f., 215f., 219, cp. 50; Leonardo Olschki, "Der Brief des Presbyters Johannes", *Historische Zeitschrift* 144, 1931, 1–14; Jacqueline Pirenne, *La légende du "Prêtre Jean"*, Strasbourg 1992, 22 n. 25, 31–43, 89–101; Manuel João Ramos, *Ensaios de Mitologia Cristã: o Preste João e a Reversibilidade Simbólica*, Lisboa 1997 (Sete Estrelo 4), 65–84 [Engl. tr. *Essays in Christian Mythology. The Metamorphosis of Prester John*, Laham, MD 2006, 37–51].

Into the Age of Discovery

The African staging of P.J. and his legend stimulated both the great transoceanic exploration travels and the diplomatic relationships of the European states (first and foremost, Italy) with historical Ethiopia from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. Then, Ethiopian subjects of the P.J. attended the Councils of Constance in 1417 and Florence in 1441 (Fiaccadori 2009: 35f.), where they had to yield, interestedly though, to the "absurd" western insistence on referring to their sovereign as P.J. (s., e.g., Biondo Flavio, *Hist.* IV, 2, 38, ed. Nogara 1927: 23; cp. Pirenne 1992: 25 n. 2). The latter's legend was since merging with the history of those relationships. Several embassies and precious gifts – as many proofs of the P.J.'s fabulous wealth – were exchanged between him and the European courts, most of the envoys from the Ethiopian side being Europeans, like the Florentine Antonio ↗Bartoli, the Neapolitan Pietro ↗Rombulo, the Imolese Gianbattista ↗Brocchi (s. EAE vol. 5) or the "Armenian" ↗Mateus – to mention only a few of those who introduced themselves and/or were formally received as ambassadors of the P.J. from the 15th to the 16th cent.

The 15th cent. in particular witnessed the apogee of the Ethiopian monarchy and, accordingly, of the myth of the P.J., more often presented now as a wise prince holding suzerainty over a variable number of vassal kings – which might mirror, with some exaggerations, the actual situation of the Ethiopian empire. The earliest message to Ethiopia from a European ruler apart from the pope dates to 1400: it is a letter sent, one year after ascending, by the king of England Henry IV to the "magnificent and powerful Prince, the king of Abyssinia, or Prester John". On visiting the Holy Land in 1392–93, before his coronation, the future Henry IV had heard there of the Ethio–Egyptian hostilities under *nəguś* Dawit II, whom he now complimented on his will to free the Holy Sepulcher from the Muslims (ed. Hingeston 1860: 419ff. = CerEt vol. 1: 201f.; cp. TadTHist 257 and n. 1). Likewise, in 1459 the duke of Milan Francesco Sforza asked by letter the P.J., whom he calls "Simon Jacopo", i.e. ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, to send copies of lost works by the biblical King ↗Solomon for the library he was gathering at Pavia (Rozzo 1990: 251 and n. 97).

In 14th- and 15th-cent. writings (e.g., the ↗*Libro del conoscimiento*), the P.J. appears as a patriarch of Nubia and Ethiopia protected by a king named *Abdeselib*, *At Senap*, *Senab* or *Senapo*, with whom he is sometimes identified (as in Ludovico Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.*, XXXIII, 102, 1f., after retrospective Genoese sources, as he had no access to more updated Venetian documents). Those forms should be all traced to Ar. (*ᶜAbd aṣ-*) *Ṣalīb*, tr. of Eth. *Gäbrä Mäsqäl*, 'Servant of the Cross', official royal name of several Ethiopian emperors: here, notably, of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, whom his "glorious victories" over the Muslims made a perfect embodiment of the P.J.

In the progress of time and knowledge, the African location of P.J. became increasingly popular, as shown by a series of 15th- to 17th-cent. "Relations" on Ethiopia – deemed to be part of his dominions – that were written by travellers, merchants and diplomats for the benefit of European states (e.g., Venice, s. Fiaccadori 2009: 47f.). Yet, by the time the Ethiopian court had called upon the aid of the Portuguese, establishing diplomatic contacts with them in 1520 (↗Ǝleni, ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl), the myth of the P.J. was due to its natural dimming. In the Age of Discovery, marked by thirst for knowledge of other lands, desire for international ↗trade and missionary zeal, there was no longer room for it – and Pêro da ↗Covilhã had penetrated into Ethiopia more than a decade before Vasco da Gama's memorable voyage. Responsible for P.J.'s fading from the scene were then such works as Ludovico de ↗Varthema's *Itinerario* ('Itinerary') and, esp., Francisco ↗Alvares's *Verdadeira Informação das Terras do Preste João* ('A True Relation on the Lands of the Prester John'). The comprehensive account of his six-year stay in Ethiopia (1520–26), where he met da Covilhã, was published (possibly not for the first time) in 1540: it is "incomparably more detailed than any earlier such account that has survived" (BeckHuntAlvar 12f.), but the personal acquaintance of the author with the P.J., portrayed more often as a regular king, with his share of human issues, did contribute to deprive this figure of its mystique. Even the name *Presbyter Ioannes* was then challenged by the humanists, first by Valentim Fernandes (1502, s. Rogers 1962: 121f.) and then, more in detail, by Damião de ↗Góis: already in the lengthy title of his *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum sub imperio Pretiosi Ioannis (quem vulgo Presbyterum Ioannem vocant), &c.*, he declared it to be a vulgar form of *Pretiosus Ioannes*, 'Pretious John' (Góis 1540:[1] = Uhlig – Bühring 1999: 57, cp. 156 and n. 1, 164 n. 42). Possibly indebted to Alvares's text, the *Fides* includes the controversial *Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis* (tr. by de Góis from Portuguese and first printed in 1532), with the famous "Letter of P.J." to King Manuel I of Portugal (1509), sent in fact by Queen Ǝleni (s. Fiaccadori 2004: 689 and n. 63).

What is more, shortly thereafter, when the Christian kingdom was being completely overthrown by Muslim conquerors (↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī), the exploits of a band of 400 Portuguese under Christovão da ↗Gama (1541–43) turned the scale in favour of the P.J., but not of his image in the years to come. The once fabulous king, who had fired up the imaginations of generations of adventurers, became an unfortunate prince mourning over his kingdom and weaving difficult political threads with the European courts – asking for help, far from giving it. His actual realm, threatened by the Turks, was rather the theater of the rational endeavors and researches of the Portuguese, Spanish and Italian humanists and missionaries, to whom, like to Pedro ↗Páez, P.J. was but an erroneous name for the king of Ethiopia (BecRASO II, 13, 72f.).

This name, used for him in countless western documents, maps and writings, remained always unknown to Ethiopians, who were fully unaware of the legend that had prevailed for so long in Europe. When the Franciscan Remedius ↗Prutky, in 1751, told *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II that "he was entitled in Europe Prester John and begged him to pronounce upon it", the man was "astonished" and replied "that the kings of Abyssinia had never been accustomed to call themselves by this name" (Prutky 1991: 115). It is apparently the first recorded statement about the P.J.'s lore by an Ethiopian monarch, who was likely ignorant of such a title until Prutky's inquiry (ibid. n. 24).

Even though the mystique of the P.J. had long since vanished, tales about him continued to be, nonetheless, a source of inspiration up to the 20th cent. An early modern reference to him is provided in 1600 in William Shakespeare's play *Much Ado about Nothing* (II, 1) and still in 1910 the British novelist and politician John Buchan used the legend for his romance *Prester John*, to add to a South African plot about a Zulu uprising. Owing perhaps to his work, the P.J. subsequently became a popular subject in pulp fiction and comics (e.g., *Fantastic Four* and *Thor*). In his 1930 novel *War* *in Heaven*, Charles Williams made the P.J. a messianic paladin of the Holy Grail. The P.J. and his *Letter* also appear prominently in Umberto Eco's 2000 novel *Baudolino*, where the eponymous protagonist – a stepson of Barbarossa – eventually visits the P.J.'s wonderland kingdom.

Src.: Bartolomeo Nogara, *Scritti inediti e rari di Biondo Flavio*, Città del Vaticano 1927 (Studi e Testi 48), 23; Francis Charles Hingeston (ed.), *Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry the Fourth, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland*, London 1860 (Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores 18), 419ff. [repr. CerEt vol. 1, 201f.]; Siegbert Uhlig – Gernot Bühring, *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 39); BecRASO II, 13, 72f.; Remedius Prutky, *Travels in Ethiopia and in Other Countries*, tr., ed. by J.H. Arrowsmith-Brown, annot. by Richard Pankhurst, London 1991, 116–21 [ch. 18].
Lit.: Federico Cresti, "Dal Gran Cairo alla regia del Prete Ianni: commerci e viaggiatori europei sulle piste dell'Africa nordorientale (XVII–inizi del XVIII secolo)", *Africa* (Roma) 63, 2008, 605–37; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropoliti Yesḥaq, Yāᶜqob e Mārqos d'Etiopia (sec. XV–XVI)", *RRALm* ser. 9ª, 15, 2004. 679–90, here 689 and n. 63; Id., "Un re di Nubia a Costantinopoli nel 1203", *Scrinium* 1, 2005, 43–49, here 47f. and n. 19; Id., "Venezia, l'Etiopia e l'Europa", in: Giuseppe Barbieri – Gianfranco Fiaccadori (eds.), *"Nigra sum sed formosa". Sacro e bellezza dell'Etiopia cristiana* (*13 marzo–10 maggio 2009*), Crocetta del Montello (TV) 2009, 27–48, here 36f., 47f.; Gianni Guadalupi, *Der Nil: Die Geschichte seiner Entdeckung und Eroberung*, Köln 2005, 8 (ill.); Peter Jackson, "Prester John Redivivus: a Review Article", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3rd ser., 7, 1997, 425–32 (Lit.); Jacqueline Pirenne, *La légende du "Prêtre Jean"*, Strasbourg 1992, 25 n. 2; Anna Pontani, "Paralipomeni dei Turcica: gli scritti di Giano Lascaris per la crociata contro i Turchi", *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 27, 1985, 213–338, here 324ff.; Francis M. Rogers, *The Quest for Eastern Christians: Travel and Rumor in the Age of Discovery*, Minneapolis, MN 1962, 121f., 114–35; Ugo Rozzo, "La Biblioteca Visconteo-Sforzesca di Pavia", in: *Storia di Pavia*, vol. 3: *Dal libero comune alla fine del principato indipendente 1024–1535*, part 2: *La Battaglia di Pavia del 24 Febbrario 1525 …*, Milano 1990, 235–66, here 251 and n. 97; Robert Silverberg, *The Realm of Prester John*, Athens, OH 1972 [repr. 1996]; TadTChurch 257 and n. 1, 263f.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Prickly pear ↗*Bäläs*

Prideaux, William Francis

Lieutenant P. (b. 1844, d. 1914) was a British officer from Bombay, India, who participated in Hormuzd ↗Rassam's mission to Emperor ↗Tewodros II.

At the height of the British Government's dispute with Tewodros, P. was Third British Assistant Resident at Aden, where Rassam was Political Agent. P. was chosen, together with Henri Blanc, a French surgeon in British employ in Aden, to accompany Rassam. The three men arrived at Massawa in July 1864, but had to wait for a year for Tewodros's permission to enter his country. In August 1865 they travelled to Mätämma. They proceeded to Damot, where they were received by the Emperor. Then they sailed by ↗*tankʷa* to Qʷäraṣa where in March 1866 they witnessed Tewodros's trial of the foreign missionaries. P. and his two companions were later taken to Däbrä Tabor, and thence in July to Mäqdäla, where they were put in chains. P. reportedly protested vehemently (Blanc 1868: 195).

On Tewodros's arrival at Mäqdäla in March 1867, P. and his companions were freed. After the Ethiopian defeat at Aroge (↗Fala) on 10 April, P., dressed in full uniform, was dispatched by Tewodros on a peace mission to the nearby British camp, but the British commander Robert ↗Napier insisted on the Emperor's unconditional surrender, which was refused. Tewodros sent P. back the next day, with the Emperor's last conciliatory letter offering the British a gift of Easter livestock. This Napier reportedly accepted, but later rejected – giving rise to accusations of bad faith (s. P.'s memories in Markham 1869: 90–127).

P. was by then regarded as an expert on Ethiopia. When in 1872 the British Government received a letter from *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV announcing his accession to power, P. was entrusted with a letter and presents for Ethiopia's new ruler (RubInd 283, 296). P. took an abiding interest in Ethiopia. He described his visit to the country in *Illustrated Travels*, in 1869, and later wrote on Aksumite and Sabaean coins, and Sabaean grammar; he lectured on Ethiopia in 1913 (Lockot II, 798 [index]).

Src.: William Francis Prideaux, "A Journey through the Sudan and Western Abyssinia", *Illustrated Travels* 1, 1869, 1–8, 57–63, 88–95, 110–16, 152–59, 171–78, 193–99, 248–54, 282–87; Id., "The Coins of Charibael, King of the Homerites and Sabeans", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 50, 1881, 95–99; Id., "The Coins of El Karar in East Africa", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16, 1884, 121–25; Id., "The Coins of the Aksumite Dynasty", *Numismatic Chronicle* 3, 4, 1884, 205–19 and 5, 1885, 66; Id., "A sketch of Sabean Grammar with Examples of Translation", *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 5, 1876–77, 177–229, 389–425; Anon., *Theodore's Cattle*, Poona 1869; Henry Blanc, *A Narrative of Captivity in Abyssinia*, London 1868; Clements Robert Markham, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869; RasTheo.
Lit.: Percy Arnold, *Prelude to Magdala*, London 1992; Lockot II; RubInd.

Richard Pankhurst

Priests ↗Qäsis

Princeton University Expedition to Abyssinia

The P.U.E.A. was undertaken by Enno ↗Littmann in October to December 1905, after he had taken part in two other expeditions of Princeton University, to Syria and Palestine in 1899/1900 and to Syria in 1904. Littmann persuaded Robert Garrett of Baltimore, a trustee of Princeton University and a patron of those expeditions, to fund his journey to Eritrea and northern Ethiopia, with three main objectives: 1) to study the modern Ethio-Semitic languages of the Colonia Eritrea – ↗Tǝgre and ↗Tǝgrǝñña; 2) to carry out archaeological research in ↗Aksum, focusing on ↗inscriptions; and 3) to collect ↗manuscripts.

Littmann started prepararing the journey in September 1905 in Rome, helped by Ignazio ↗Guidi and Carlo ↗Conti Rossini. In October he arrived at Massawa, from where he proceeded to Asmära. With a six-mule caravan, he travelled to Gäläb; here, he was received by the Swedish missionaries Gustav Rodén and Richard ↗Sundström, whose support contributed greatly to the P.U.E.A.'s success. During the two months Littmann spent there, he focused on studying Tǝgre and collecting tales, songs and other materials in this language. He was assisted by the Tǝgre-speaking member of the mission, ↗Näffaᶜ Wäd Ǝtman. George D. Cavalcanty of Jerusalem was in charge of the photographic work (some of his shots being published in the final expedition report, LitPEA). Littmann spent most of the time in Gäläb, with some short excursions to Kärän, Däbrä Sina, and the nearest surroundings. He then had the opportunity of acquiring some 130 pieces – chiefly ↗magic scrolls – for Garret's collection of near-eastern manuscripts which the owner himself gave to the Princeton University Library in 1942 (present call numbers Eth. 1–133).

During his stay in Eritrea, Littmann received the official invitation to lead the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (D.A.E.), whose aims were partly similar to those of the P.U.E.A. The administration of Princeton University agreed to limit the P.U.E.A.'s activities to the first and third of its objectives, and terminate the expedition earlier than originally planned, so that Littmann could join the D.A.E.

In December 1905, Littmann returned to Asmära, whence he moved on to two Tǝgrǝñña-speaking regions, ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga (also a station of the ↗Swedish mission, headed by Axel B. Svensson), and Bäläza, visiting here Karl Winqvist. After this Littmann went to Massawa, where on 29 December 1905 he assumed leadership of the D.A.E.

The main outcome of the P.U.E.A. was the four-volume collection (LitPEA), mostly of Tǝgre texts, songs (including those provided by Sundström and Conti Rossini) and word lists, with English and German translations. This work remains an invaluable source for the study of the Tǝgre language and oral literature, as well as for the history and culture of Tǝgre speakers.

Src.: BeyRodRép; EPHRAÏM ISAAC, "The Princeton Collection of Ethiopic Manuscripts", *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 42, 1, 1980, 33–52; ID., *A Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library*, vol. 1, Princeton, NJ 1973; ENNO LITTMANN, "Preliminary Report of the Princeton University Expedition to Abyssinia", *ZA* 20, 1907, 151–82; ID., *Tagebuch – Abessinische Reise 1905–1906*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlaß Littmanns (NL 245 – E. Littmann 88); LitPEA.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "Secular Themes in Ethiopian Ecclesiastical Manuscripts, v. A Catalogue of Illustrations of Historical and Ethnographic Interest in Princeton University Library and Art Gallery", *JES* 30, 1, 1997, 75–88; THOMAS ZITELMANN, "'Das Telegramm ist angekommen'. Friedrich Rosen, Enno Littmann und die politische Einbettung der Aksum-Expedition", in: *WenDAE* I, 111–18.

Maria Bulakh

Printing

The history of early P. of Ethiopian texts outside Ethiopia is treated under ↗Incunabula: 16th-cent. Ethiopic printed books. A detailed survey of 18th–early 19th-cent. P. in Ethiopia is provided in the article ↗Incunabula: Early prints in Ethiopia and Eritrea. An overview of the periodicals produced by different P. presses is contained in the entry ↗Press (Press in Ethiopia; Press in Eritrea); the present contribution only summarizes some data, to a great extent already contained in the above texts.

Printing in the 19th–early 20th cent. in Eritrea

Whilst attemps of P. using Ethiopic types in Europe go back into the 16th cent., it was not until the beginning of the 19th cent. that printed matter, produced by missionary institutions, started circulating in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The first P. press in the region was only established in 1863 by an Italian Lazarist Father, Lorenzo ↗Biancheri at (Ottoman-ruled) ↗Massawa, who brought from France a small press and some Amharic type earlier made in Paris for the French scholar Antoine d'↗Abbadie. The Imprimerie Catholique produced an Amharic catechism (1864) and another in Tǝgrǝñña (1867), but discontinued shortly after.

A typographer and pressman at work, Addis Abäba, scene from the film of 1956 co-directed by Mäkʷännən Dästa; freeze-image, Asien-Afrika-Institut, University of Hamburg

The next press was established by French ↗Lazarists in 1879 at (Egyptian-controlled) ↗Kärän. The press, initially specializing in religious literature, came, together with its home town, under Ethiopian control in 1884 (↗Hewett Treaty), being thus the first properly Ethiopian P. press. In 1888 the city fell into the hands of Italians, who used the press to print military announcements in both Italian and Amharic. In 1900 the press was transferred to the Catholic Mission in ↗Asmära.

In 1885, the ↗Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen established a P. press at ↗Ǝmkullu. This press was likewise moved to Asmära, in 1895.

Also in 1885, the Tipografia Militare di Massaua, the first secular P.-press in what was to become Colonia ↗Eritrea was established. The first commercial press in the colony, the Tipografia e Libreria Italiana (important for printing *L'Eritreo*), was founded in 1890 by A. Micheli and Company. Another commercial press, that of the ↗*Corriere Eritreo*, was set up in Massawa in 1891 (↗Press).

In 1912, the Franciscan P. press was established in Asmära.

Printing in the early 20th-cent. Ethiopia

Whilst newspapers started circulating since 1901 (↗*Aʾəmməro*), the first issues were handwritten and photocopied. Earliest printed governmental edicts go back to 1906/07, however, the technical facilities used are not known. The first known press in Ethiopia were the Imprimerie Éthiopienne in Addis Abäba (Yäʾityopya M[äḫ]atämiya, Märḥa Ṭəbäb) purchased in 1897 and properly launched in 1910, and St. Lazare P. press, established in Harär in 1905 and transferred, with improved equipment, to Dərre Dawa in 1908.

In 1906, with the P. equipment imported by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, the Ethiopian Printing Press **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ማተምያ፡ ቤት** (*Yäʾityopya Mattäməya Bet*) was established.

In 1913, a new P. press was established in Addis Abäba by Alexis ↗Desvages.

In 1923, the Regent Tafäri Mäkʷännən founded the P. press which bore his name, but was better known as the ↗Bərhanənna Sälam P. Press. It was managed by *ato* Gäbrä Krəstos Täklä Haymanot, a man from Aksum who had been educated by the Swedish missionaries in Asmära.

Three more P. presses were set up in 1926: the **ጎሃ፡ ጽባሕ** (*Goha Ṣəbaḥ*, 'Dawn') P. Press; the Greek-owned Hermes; and Louc, run by the Armenian H. Bagdassarian. In 1929, Léon de ↗Robillard opened his Imprimerie du Courrier d'Éthiopie. In 1931, the brothers Elias and George Djerrahian established a more modern press, the Artistic P. Press. A factory for the production of blocks was set up by another Armenian in the same year.

After the Liberation, a number of new presses appeared (e.g., Bole Printing Press, established 1964/65). In 1944, the Patriarchate of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church established its own P. press, ↗Tənsaʾe Zägubaʾe. It was not until 1993 that the Nağāšī Printing Company (*Nägaši Islamik Asattami Dərəğğət*) was established as the first press to serve Ethiopian Muslim population.

Today, over 200 private and institutional P. presses operate in Ethiopia and Eritrea, practically every regional centre having at least one publishing company.

Lit.: ATNAFU MAKONNEN, *Ethiopia Today*, Tokyo 1960; AYALEW WOLDE GIORGIS, "The Story of Ethiopian Press and Fathers of Newspapers", *Voice of Ethiopia*, 21 April 1962; BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, London 2002; STEPHEN GASELEE, "The Beginnings of Printing in Ethiopia", *Library* 11, 1932, n.p.; ALBERT EDWARD WILFRED GLEICHEN, *With the Mission to Menelik 1897*, London 1898, 236; FRANK LINSLY JAMES, *The Wild Tribes of the Soudan*, London 1883, 241f.; PAUL MÉRAB, *Impressions d'Éthiopie* (*L'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*), vol. 2, Paris 1929, 128; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 1962, 241–90; ANDREW D. ROBERTS, "Documentation on Ethiopia and Eritrea", *Journal of Documentation* 1, 4, 1946, 185–93; STEPHEN WRIGHT, *Ethiopian Incunabula* […] *in the National Library of Ethiopia and Haile Sellassie I University*, Addis Ababa 1967; SILVIO ZANUTTO, *Bibliografia etiopica*, Roma 1929; ZerÉth 268–72.

Richard Pankhurst

Private Cabinet

The P.C. (1959–74) of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I was launched in late 1959, probably in December. It was a clearing house for information to the Emperor for whom government activities had become very extensive. It would "assess plans submitted to the Emperor by the ministers. This […] would offset his ignorance of technical matters" (ClapHS 120). Similar to the presidential advisers of the United States, the P.C. undertook assignments, summarized and evaluated information for the Emperor (ClapHS 121).

↗Mulugeta Buli, who was appointed to the post of "Private Chief of Staff" to His Imperial Majesty on 12 March 1958 (*Nägarit Gazeṭa* 10, 29 April 1958, 68), took the initiative to propose the establishment of the P.C. He was assisted by Leon Gershkowitz, who was one of the Yugoslav experts sent by Ḫaylä Śəllase's personal friend Josip Broz Tito (↗Non-Aligned Movement) in 1954 and who worked out the technical features of the institution (ClapHS 120).

Originally, the P.C. included 14 departments which covered the entire scope of government (ClapHS 120). Some, like the Office of the Special Chief of Staff, the Special Branch for Intelligence, Economic Planning and Social Affairs and the Press and Information Department, were not new creations as they had already been established before. Some, like the Ecclesiastical Department and the Imperial Chronicles Department, had a long history behind them, being modern versions of the ancient offices of ↗*liqä kahənat* and ↗*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* respectively.

A point that is not easy to explain until the archives of the Ministry of Pen are opened, is the transfer of the supposed brains behind the setting up of the institution, Major General Mulugeta Buli, from the Office of Special Chief of Staff to the Ministry of National Community Development (*Nägarit Gazeṭa* 5, 30 January 1960, 24). It was on 22 December 1959 that the first major appointments were announced to fill the various offices of the P.C. The Emperor selected eleven personalities to take up the leadership of the different departments. Amanuʾel Abraham was made Chief of Political Affairs with the rank of minister, while Brigadier General Isayəyyas Gäbrä Śəllase moved into the recently vacated office of Mulugeta Buli, the all powerful Special Chief of Staff. He made two senior army officers the deputies of Isayəyyas, Lieutenant Colonel ↗Wärqənäh Gäbäyyähu and Lieutenant Colonel Sälomon Kädir. The sovereign also made the famous playwright and poet, ↗Käbbädä Mikaʾel, the Chief of the Imperial Chronicles Department in addition to his position as Head of the National Library, with the rank of assistant minister. The *Nägarit Gazeṭa* simply announced the appointment of the remaining officials as "director generals" (*Nägarit Gazeṭa* 5, 30 January 1960, 24–25). A little later, on 10 January 1960, yet another man (an ecclesiastic), *liqä mäṭani* Wärädä Qal, received the position of "director general", presumably to head the Ecclesiastical Department (*Nägarit Gazeṭa* 7, 30 March 1960, 33). ↗Wärqənäh Gäbäyyähu assumed the key position of head of the Security Branch of the Special Chief of Staff (*Addis Zämän*, 5 *Ṭərr* 1953, 52).

About a year later, the Court discovered that he was one of the ring leaders of the abortive ↗coup d'état 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081f.). This seems to have provided ammunition for the powerful ministers in the government who had been unhappy with the establishment of a parallel institution controlling access to the Emperor. Following the revolt, the significance of the P.C. seems to have diminished. Nevertheless, it continued to function until the ↗Revolution of 1974. Ḫaylä Śəllase sometimes allotted the various offices to important persons, for instance, Brigadier General Wäldä Śəllase Bäräka became the Special Chief of Staff on 1 April 1961 (*Nägarit Gazeṭa* 12, 3 May 1961, 55). Minase Ḫaylä also exercised considerable influence on the Emperor after he became the Chief of the Political Section on 23 May 1962 (*Nägarit Gazeṭa* 13, 7 May 1962, 62). A long-time occupant (1960–74) of the office of Director General of the Ecclesiastical Department was *liqä səlṭanat* Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh (later Bishop Mälkä Ṣädəq), the abbot of the St. Trinity Cathedral of Addis Abäba. All the efforts of Patriarch ↗Tewoflos to bring him to heel or to get him removed did not succeed due to the support the cleric enjoyed from the sovereign.

The P.C. was informally abolished with the demise of the monarchy. However, the only office that the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administration Council) formally brought to an end was the Special Chief of Staff. It announced on 17 August 1974 that the "[…] office of the Chief of Staff in the Emperor's private cabinet [is] temporarily transferred to the Ministry of Defence" (*Ethiopian Herald,* 17 August 1974). It was never heard of again.

Src.: *Addis Zämän*, 5 *Ṭərr* 1953, 52; *Ethiopian Herald,* 17 August 1974; *Nägarit Gazeṭa* 10, 29 April 1958, 68; 5, 30 January 1960, 24–25; 7, 30 March 1960, 33; 2, 3 May 1961, 55; 13, 7 May 1962, 62
Lit.: ClapHS 120f.; John Markakis, *Ethiopia*: *Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*, Oxford 1973.

Shiferaw Bekele

Proclus of Cyzicus ↗Haymanotä abäw

Pro-Italian Party

After the end of World War II, the future of ↗Eritrea, a former Italian colony now under ↗British Military Administration, was debated in the ↗United Nations (UN).

At the time, three factors provided support for anticipating a revival of the Italian administration:

(1) the new government in Rome aspired to UN trusteeship over Eritrea;
(2) many members of the Italian colonialists' community lived in Eritrea (13,000 veteran settlers, 11,000 locally born, 15,000 half-castes, 17,000 Eritrean wives, etc.);
(3) some 35,000 Eritreans, mostly Muslims, who had served in the Italian army, were now interested in the perpetuation of Italian administration and the Italian commitment to their jobs and pensions.

By that time, however, political bargaining had started on the domestic level after the disintegration of the ↗*Maḫbär fəqri hagär*, from which various political organizations emerged. Among them were also two Italian-oriented organizations. In spring 1947, the **ማሕበር፡ ኢጣለ-ኤርትራውያን** (*Maḫbär iṭalä-erətrawəyan* [Tgn.], 'Italo-Eritrean Association', IEA), composed of colonialists led by Guido De Rossi and Filippo Casciani, and the **ማሕበር፡ ዓሳከር፡ ኢጣልያ፡ ዝነበሩ**, (*Maḫbär ^{c}asakər Iṭalya zənäbäru* [Tgn.], 'Eritrean War Veterans Association'), presided over by ^{c}Alī Ibrāhīm, were established. On 29 September 1947, members of the two bodies – which continued to exist separately – established the **ሰልፊ፡ ሓዳስ፡ ኤርትራ፡ ሻራ፡ ኢጣልያ** (*Sälfi ḥaddas Erətra šara Iṭalya* [Tgn.], 'New Eritrea Pro-Italian Party', NEPIP). Led by ^{c}Umar Muḥammad Badurī, *blatta* Muḥammad ^{c}Abdallāh and Idrīs Ḥasan, the NEPIP claimed over 200,000 members and advocated Italian trusteeship that would lead to Eritrean independence. Their message included praise for the old Italian administration, its justice system, and the spread of education. Though most of the party's followers came from western Eritrea, the distrustful British forced the NEPIP to move its headquarters from ↗Kärän to ↗Asmära.

The influence of the NEPIP on the political process was marginal and its main goal became irrelevant following the UN's dismissal of the ↗Bevin-Sforza plan for the partition of Eritrea in May 1949. As the idea of Italian trusteeship thus finally came to an end, the NEPIP changed its name to the **ሰልፊ፡ ሓዳስ፡ ኤርትራ** (*Sälfi ḥaddas Erətra*, [Tgn.] 'New Eritrea Party', NEP). When the ↗Independence Bloc was founded the following July, the NEP joined, but scarcely helped its cause. From the very beginning, the NEPIP and then the NEP were accused by rivals from all other wings of being a cover for old Italian ambitions, of being closely associated with the colonialists' IEA, and of actually being financed by Rome. After the UN voted for federation with Ethiopia in 1950 (↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation), and as the Independence Bloc faded away, the role of the NEP and its cause in Eritrea's history ended.

Lit.: Lloyd Ellingson, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941–1950", *JAH* 18, 2, 1977, 261–81; Haggai Erlich, *The Struggle over Eritrea, 1962–1978*, Stanford, CA 1983, passim; KilHDic 125ff., 131, 162f.; Ruth Iyob, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence*, Cambridge 1995, s. index; Tekeste Negash, *Eritrea and Ethiopia*: *The Federal Experience,* Uppsala 1997, 18–69; Id. "Italy and its Relations with Eritrean Political Parties, 1948-1950", *Africa* (Roma), 59, 3-4, 2004, 417-52; Gerald Kennedy Nicolas Trevaskis, *Eritrea – a Colony in Transition*, Oxford 1960, 76–102.

Haggai Erlich

Prophets, biblical

The prophetic Biblical books in the Ethiopic tradition share the text development peculiarities of the other ↗Old Testament books (cp. also ↗Bible: Bible Vorlage). In this respect, it should be noted that, while there is a broad scholarly consensus on the existence of a Greek Septuagint *Vorlage* for the Gə^{c}əz version (*Versio antiqua*), there is no agreement as to which LXX textual type, if any specifically, would be the actual source of the P. So, Heider (1902: 4) sees a Lucian *Vorlage* for Jer, while Schäfers (1912: 156–70) postulates a relationship with the Codex Sinaiticus, and Bachmann (1892: 8) sees the *Versio antiqua* of Jer and Is as linked to the Codex Alexandrinus. Knibb recognizes a definite agreement between Ezek and the minuscule 26 and its ally 410 (Knibb 1988: 29). Bachmann also deems the Gə^{c}əz version of the Minor P. to be somewhat related to Hesychius's Greek recension (1892: 9). Moreover, in his edition of Dan, Löfgren (1927: xlviii–l) pleads for a connection of the Gə^{c}əz versions with minuscules, esp. 130. The same type of relation is detected by Fuhs in his edition of Mic (1968: 35–38) and Hos with minuscules 26 and, resp., 26 and 239 (1971: 120ff.). Again, there is scholarly consensus on the sources of the "vulgar" as well as the "academic" recensions, but more research ought to be done on the specific recensions underlying the Gəᶜəz version of the P.

The canon of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church as illustrated by the modern Bible editions (cp. the so-called "Emperor Bible" 1960/61) includes: the four Major P. – Isaiah, Jeremiah (with the cycle), Ezekiel and Daniel, and the twelve Minor P. – Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi (↗Bible: Biblical canon). Most manuscripts date from between the 15th and the 19th cent. Older manuscripts often have their own chapter division, different from that of western Bibles (e.g., mss. Vat. Cerulli et. 29 and 55 split the text into their own *kəflat*, 'sections'), or have no chapter division within the books at all (e.g., Vat. Cerulli et. 218 and 242).

Major and Minor P. are frequently found together in the same manuscript. There are also numerous instances of the prophetic corpus appearing together, totally or partially, with the ↗Octateuch and/or with the ↗Wisdom literature (e.g., EMML 259, 1842, 1839, 2080). Separate books can also be copied in individual manuscripts.

Whilst the Minor P. are grouped together consistently in the above sequence, the order and position followed by both the Major P. and the pseudepigraphic material vary considerably. Combined with the ↗pseudepigrapha, the Major P. form such cycles as:

The "cycle" of Isaiah – Is and the *Ascension of ↗Isaiah* (e.g., EMML 1768, 3067; Bodleian Aeth. d. 13);

the "cycle" of Jeremiah – Jer (**ትንቢተ፡ ኤርምያስ**, *Tənbitä Erməyas*), followed by one or more of the following texts: the *Book of ↗Baruch*, Lam (**ሰቆቃው፡ ኤርምያስ፡ ነቢይ**, *Säqoqawä Erməyas näbiy*), the *Epistle of Jeremiah* (**አርአያ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ኤርምያስ**, *Arʾaya mäṣḥafä Erməyas*, also known as "Baruch 6"), the *Prophecy of Jeremiah to Pashhur* (**ትንቢተ፡ ኤርምያስ፡ ለፋስኮር**, *Tənbitä Erməyas läfaskor*, also known as **ነገር፡ ዘኤርምያስ**, *Nägär zäʾerməyas*, 'Words of Jeremiah'), and the *Apocalypse of ↗Baruch* (cp. EMML 25, 65, 73, 552, 1280, 1768, 2080, 4460; Cerulli et. 28), all the aforementioned texts being canonical in Ethiopia, and therefore included in the "Emperor Bible";

the "cycle" of Daniel – Dan (**ትንቢተ፡ ዳንኤል**, *Tənbitä Danʾel*) is combined with the stories of Susanna (**ሶስና**, *Sosənna*), i.e. Dan 13 in LXX (apocryphal in the western canon), and Bel and the Dragon (**ቤል፡ ወከይሲ**, *Bel wäkäysi*), i.e. Dan 14 in LXX, whereas the text of Susanna usually comes first (e.g., EMML 819, 1481, 2112).

The apocryphal *Lives of the Prophets* also exist in Ethiopic tradition (mss. ChAbb 195; cp. Hare 1985: 379–411; Knibb 1980: 197–206, 1985: 16–41). A large corpus of commentaries on the P. (s. ↗Bible: Bible commentary tradition) is well known to Ethiopian, but little studied by western, scholars. Older commentaries in Gəᶜəz containing translations from patristic sources, as well as local Gəᶜəz compositions (↗*Tərgʷame*), are extant mainly in ms. form (Cowley 1988: 437–42). Only the commentaries to Hos (Fuhs 1971) and Mic (Fuhs 1968; García 1999) have been edited and published from a few 16th–17th-cent. mss. Amharic commentaries (↗*Andəmta*) are widely spread both in ms. and printed forms (Cowley 1988: 460ff.).

↗Bible; ↗Old Testament

Src.: JOHANNES BACHMANN (ed., tr.), *Dodekapropheton Aethiopicum*, 1. *Der Prophet Obadia*, 2. *Der Prophet Maleachi*, Halle 1892–93; ChAbb; DillmChr; EMML; HANS FERDINAND FUHS (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Micha*, Bonn 1968 (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 28); ID. (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Hosea*, Bonn 1971 (*ibid.* 38); OSCAR LÖFGREN (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Daniel*, Paris 1927; MIGUEL ANGEL GARCÍA (ed., tr.), *Ethiopian Biblical Commentaries on the Prophet Micah*, Wiesbaden 1999 (AeF 52); FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed., tr.), *Le libre de Job*, Paris 1905 (PO 2); ID., *Le troisième livre de Ezra* (*Esdras et Néhémie canoniques*), Paris 1919 (PO 13, 5); PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI (ed.), *La traduzione etiopica dei Paralipomeni di Geremia*: *testo critico con introduzione e commento*, M.A. thesis, Firenze 1986; ID., "Paralipomeni di Geremia (Quarto libro di Baruc). Storia della cattività babilonese. (Apocrifo copto di Geremia)", in: PAOLO SACCHI (ed.), *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, vol. 3, Brescia 1999, 237–381; RaiCer; JOSEPH SCHÄFERS (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Jeremias*, Freiburg 1921; WELDETENSAE ANDEBERHAN (ed., tr.), *Commentari etiopici sul Libro del Profeta Osea*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 40); **መጽሐፍ፡ ቅዱስ፤ የብሉይና፡ ሐዲስ፡ ኪዳን፡ መጻሕፍት** (*Mäṣḥaf qəddus, yäbəluyənna yäḥaddis kidan mäṣaḥəft*, 'The Bible, the Old and New Testament Books'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.].

Lit.: ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, "Old Testament Introduction in the *Andəmta* Commentary Tradition", *JES* 12, 1974, 133–74; ID., "The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23, 4, 1974, 318–23; ID., *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation*: *a Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics,* Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38); PAUL FIEBIG, "Paralipomena Jeremiae", in: *Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments. Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 1913, vol. 4, cols. 1961–63; D.R.A. HARE, "The Lives of the Prophets", in: JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Garden City, NY 1985, 143–76; AUGUST HEIDER, *Die aethiopische Bibelübersetzung. Ihre Herkunft, Art, Geschichte und ihr Wert für die alt- und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Leipzig 1902; MICHAEL ANTHONY KNIBB, "The Ethiopic Version of the Lives of the Prophets: Ezekiel and Daniel", *BSOAS* 43, 2, 1980, 197–206; ID., "The Ethiopic Version of the Lives of the Proph-

ets, II: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Elijah, Elisha, Nathan, Abijah and Joel", *ibid.* 48, 1, 1985, 16–41; ID., "Hebrew and Syriac Elements in the Ethiopic Version of Ezekiel?", *JSS* 33, 1, 1988, 11–35; ID., "The Ethiopic Text of Ezekiel and the Excerpts in Gəbrä Ḥəmamat", *ibid.* 43, 2, 1989, 443–53; ID., "Two Notes on the Ethiopic Text of Ezekiel", in: GEOFFREY KHAN (ed.), *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff*, Leiden – Boston, MA 2005 (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 47), 236–44; ID., *Translating the Bible. The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1999 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995) [Lit.]; RAYMOND THORNHILL, "The Paraleipomena of Jeremiah", in: HEDLEY FREDERICK DAVIS SPARKS (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, Oxford 1984, 813–34; MAX WURMBRAND, "A Falasha Variant of the Story of Susanna", *Biblica* 44, 1963, 29–45; UllBibl.

Miguel Angel García

Prostitution

P. (Amh., **ሽርሙጥና**, *šərmuṭənna*) in Ethiopia should be defined as a graduated relationship of asymmetrical reciprocity involving the commoditization of ↗sexuality. Laketch Diressa (1991) delineates a typology of forms of cohabitation that gradate from formal ↗marriage in the Orthodox Church to more casual forms of relationship. In addition to the formal marriage patterns of **ቍርባን** (*qʷərban*), and **ሰማንያ** (*sämanya*) or **ባለኩል** (*baläkkul*), the latter of which are forms of civil marriage, there is a much less formal arrangement, called **ደሞዝ** (*dämoz*, lit. 'salary'). *Dämoz* involves a contract being drawn up which holds for any agreed period of time, where the man will pay the woman a fixed salary and ↗gifts for her daytime and night-time services (ibid. 6). This feudal custom is historically documented in the chronicles of the patriarchal aristocrats who regularly took their maidservants, known as **የጭን ፡ ገረድ** (*yäčən gäräd*, 'concubine', lit., 'thigh-servant/girl') especially while travelling; both for their own pleasure and for initiating their sons into sexual life (ibid.).

Two other more informal forms of heterosexual relationship commonly exist: that of the **ውሽማ** (*wəšəmma*, 'lover, adulterer', cf. the derivational field in KaneDic 1528) whom one sees openly if not married and secretly if married, and the **ቅምጥ** (*qəmmət*, lit. 'sitting woman', 'kept woman, mistress'). In both these forms the woman maintains her own residence (ibid.). Shading off into the more casual unions one finds the **ሴተኛ ፡ አዳሪ** (*setäñña adari*), translated as 'one who spends nights as a woman', as opposed to **ሚስት** (*mist*) which simply does a 'married woman' (ibid.). *Setäñña adari* does not carry the stigma that the term **ሸርሙጣ** (*šärmuṭa*, 'prostitute', from Arab. *šarmūṭa*, 'whore, rag') refers to. And further, as Laketch Diressa acknowledges and others commonly aver, the stigma that does attach to a particular prostitute is normally inversely proportional to her material wealth.

Adding to the "graying" of the boundaries is the commonly recognized occurrence of regular clients who often develop something of an emotional relationship with their women, and, as Laketch Diressa notes, will even share meals from time to time (ibid. 7). The sharing of a repast has much more significance in Ethiopian culture than in Western culture. Furthermore, a woman or a man may be involved in more than one of the above categories of relationship at any particular time, which of course is not exclusive to Ethiopian culture.

From the earliest of times migration to the towns and to the city of ↗Addis Abäba is undoubtedly the greatest antecedent of the ever-increasing rate of P. (↗Urbanization). Apart from socio-economic problems in the country-side, an important factor for the choice to become a prostitute is the quest in status and self-gain and economic improvement for one's family.

Pankhurst (1974) notes that in the Middle Ages something akin to P. existed in the royal camps, commercial centres, and in Gondär where the female minstrels and dancing girls pitched their tents on the periphery of these communities. The Portuguese traveller Francisco ↗Alvares noted in the time of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl that these women were numerous and they were rich and well-dressed. An early reference to prostitutes or **ጋለሞጣ** (*galämoṭa*, 'woman of easy virtue') is to be found in the time of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I (ibid.).

From the early periods of the 19th cent., sailors, putting into port along the coasts of the Red Sea (e.g., Massawa) and the Gulf of Aden, maintained a high demand for female company and would visit shops and kiosks where ↗ṭälla, ↗ṭäǧǧ, lemons and bread were sold in the surrounding villages, where the proprietress would also offer herself for an agreed upon fee. French travellers of the 19th cent. note that the capital city was "a town of pleasures" where courtesans, who displayed distinction and elegance, abounded, and where no shame or stigma was associated with them. These women often shunned marriage, preferring to maintain their independence outside the boundaries of patriarchal domination. By the late 19th cent. outright P. was acknowledged by the Italians and the British travelling along the

Ethiopian coasts, who learned that many of these women collected a good sum of money and then returned to their homes to marry.

The commercial trade in sex was different along the frontier of the Sudan. An Egyptian garrison encouraged the trade. The institution of slavery influenced the nature of P. here. A man would buy a female slave and then hire her out for sex and keep all of the fee for himself (Pankhurst 1974).

In the late 19th and early 20th cent. the Italian colonization of Eritrea (1890–1941) stimulated a new level of sexual commercialization since military personnel, government functionaries and colonists often came without their wives and families. Thereafter, the commoditization of sex could be found at almost every drinking house, many built with attached barrack-like "sleeping rooms" that were rented by the women. The Italian occupation of Addis Abäba in the late 1930s stimulated P. to greater heights with the Italian authorities organizing licensed brothels with medical inspections in an attempt to protect officers and officials from disease.

There has been a dramatic increase in the young female prostitute population since the ↗Tigray Peoples Liberation Front takeover in 1991. Estimates of the percentage of prostitutes who are migrants range from 90 % (Atakilt Gebre Yohannes 1994) to 95 % (Temene Geremew 1993); and among girls ages 10–18, 66.2 % were migrants, girls who came from the northern Amhara–Tǝgre regions of Ethiopia (Baardson 1993). Baker – Arneson (1992) report that between spring 1991 to December 1992 there was an estimated population increase of one million. The great proportion of these people are peasants with few if any employable skills that could be gainfully utilized in the urban context. In Temene Geremew's 1993 study fully 60 % of the girls and young women were illiterate.

One factor not to be discounted as a causal situation in Addis Abäba is the active recruitment of girls getting off the buses coming into Addis Abäba from the countryside by owners of certain bars (*yäsetočč amba*, *bordello*). Newly arrived lone migrants are solicited or picked up at or around the bus stations. Bar owners, often former prostitutes themselves, on the lookout for attractive recruits, are a very common occurrence around the Märkato (↗Addis Kätäma) area where the major bus depot is situated. New arrivals are offered a dwelling place and food, gratis at first. Later these girls will be ordered to work and pay for their food and bed and will be helped to find the cash by putting them out onto the street where they begin their work.

↗HIV/AIDS

Src.: Almaz Eshete, *The Situation of Street Children in Ethiopia*, Paper Presented at the Workshop on Urban Children and Poverty, Amsterdam, 7–11 June 1993; Pernille Baardson, *Child Prostitution in Addis Ababa. Survey and Background Report Prepared for Rädda Barnen, Swedish Save the Children*, Uppsala 1993, ms.

Lit.: Atakilt Gebre Yohannes, *The Attitude of Bar Maids towards AIDS/HIV Prevention: a Case Study of 30 Bar Maids in a Few Selected Bars around Piazza*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994, ms.; Bethlehem Tekola, *Sex-workers in Daylight: the Social Context of Sex-work in Addis Ababa*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2004, ms.; Gedu Anbesse, *A Case Study of Five Bar Maids on their Situation and Attitude toward Rehabilitation*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, ms.; Eskedar Nadew, *Young Female Beggars in Addis Ababa: a Case Study of Twenty Young Women who make their Living by Begging*, B.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, Addis Ababa University 1995, ms.; Lev Kodakevich, "Infection and Related Risk Factors among Sex Workers in Urban Areas of Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Journal of Health Development* 4, 2, 1990, 163–70; Laketch Diressa, *The Commoditization of Female Sexuality*, New York 1991; Makda Getachew, *Living and Working Conditions of Street Girls: a Case Study of Twenty Female Street Vendors in Kirkos Market Area*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1993, ms.; Mehret Mengestu et. al., "Sexual Behavior and Some Social Features of Female Sex Workers in the City of Addis Ababa", *The Ethiopian Journal of Health Development* 4, 2, 1990, 133–37; Richard Pankhurst, "History of Prostitution in Ethiopia", *JES* 12, 1974, 2, 159–78; Sitotaw Assaye, *The Study of Slum Areas in Addis Ababa with Particular Reference to Basha Woldie Chelot*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1992, ms.; Tamene Geremew, *A Survey of Barmaids in Keftegna 5 of Addis Ababa*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1993, ms.; Tekla Hagos, *Case Histories of Hotel Bar Girls in Mekanissa District*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994, ms.; Patricia Whelehan, *An Anthropological Perspective on Prostitution*, Lewiston, NY – Queenston – Lampeter 2001.

Ronald A. Reminick

Protestantism

Beginnings

The first person in Ethiopia to proclaim the Protestant conviction was the German Peter ↗Heyling who worked in the Gondär area in the 17th cent. At his departure his followers formed a brotherhood of devout churchmen which later became known as the "Evangelical Association". That movement which had no intention of establishing a church separate from the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC), spread during the following two hundred years.

During the reign of the emperors ↗Tewodros II, ↗Yoḥannəs IV and ↗Mənilək II, however, members of that evangelical brotherhood were detained, tortured or their property confiscated. In Šäwa *abunä* ↗Matewos was ruthless in his efforts to stop the movement, but without success. Members of the group were later active in founding the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus.

During the 19th cent. Protestant Missionary Societies from Europe tried to reform the EOTC from within and to counteract the spread of Islam. The ↗Church Missionary Society commissioned Samuel ↗Gobat, Christian ↗Kugler, Carl Wilhelm ↗Isenberg, Carolus Henricus ↗Blumhardt and Johann Ludwig ↗Krapf. Later the ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission sent Christian Friedrich ↗Bender, Friedrich Wilhelm ↗Brandeis, Johannes Martin ↗Flad, Gottlieb ↗Kienzlen, Johannes ↗Mayer, Karl ↗Saalmüller, Theophil ↗Waldmeier and others to Ethiopia. With a few exceptions, however, they did not reach their goal, though they contributed greatly towards the study of Ethiopian languages, the publication of educational books and the translation of the ↗Bible into vernaculars. Some of the missionaries, however, were dragged into political matters, either as craftsmen of local rulers or as interpreters and advisers to colonial agents (↗Colonialism).

In 1860 the ↗London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews sent Henry ↗Stern and Stephen Bronkhorst to join Flad in his activities among the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. They were allowed to preach on condition that converts be baptized in the Orthodox Church. They succeeded in setting up a small, but strong evangelical community within the EOTC. The work was continued by Ethiopians like *däbtära* ↗Bərru Wəbe and *aläqa* ↗Mikaʾel Arägawi until the 1920s.

Starting in 1853 the ↗Hermannsburger Mission, inspired by reports from Krapf, tried via East Africa to reach the Oromo regions then bordering Ethiopia, but without success. The St. Chrischona-Pilgermission also started an Oromo mission, encouraged by Krapf and the former Oromo slave Pauline ↗Fathme. Johannes Mayer began work in Šäwa in 1871 and ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥər Dästa became an Oromo missionary in Goǧǧam and Šäwa. In 1886 Oromo missionaries in Šäwa were expelled. In the 1860s, the ↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen hoped to reach the Oromo states travelling through Eritrea and the Sudan. ↗Ǝmkullu became an important centre for education, Bible translation and outreach endeavours. ↗Onesimos Näsib was the first freed Oromo slave desiring baptism and indigenous evangelical pioneers took the Gospel to the Oromo, reaching Ǧimmaa in 1884 and Wälläga in 1898.

Meanwhile another religious movement had started in Ḥamasen. In 1867 Orthodox priests at Ṣäᶜazzäga (↗Wäldä Śəllase Kənfu) discovered an Amharic Bible brought earlier by Flad and Krapf's associates. While studying Scripture they and other priests became convinced that regular Bible devotions were a prerequisite of a deeper spiritual life. These Ḥamasen Bible readers and reformers declared themselves Protestant, which resulted in harassment and heavy persecution. They stuck to their conviction and later built evangelical churches.

20th century

The 20th cent. began in Ethiopia with a new geographical and political situation. Onesimos was allowed by *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu in 1916 to preach his faith. After Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) was designated Heir to the Throne in 1916 he started appointing ministers open to modernization. Furthermore Evangelical Christians were employed by the Government or promoted to higher positions due to their education. Among them were *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, *käntiba* Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa or ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase. Evangelical Christians moving from Italian ruled Eritrea to Ethiopia enlarged that group.

The Regent wished to provide modern ↗education and health care to as many as possible. Knowing that the government had neither sufficiently trained personnel nor the resources, European churches and missions were welcome. Occasionally, the EOTC was reluctant to give its consent. Additionally, Protestant missions were allowed to teach Biblical subjects within their institutions though religious activities outside their compounds were not permitted.

In 1919 Thomas ↗Lambie started medical work in Dambi Dolloo and thereafter was responsible for improving medical facilities in the country (↗Hospitals). After Cederqvist's death, who had taught and cured people in Addis Abäba from 1904 to 1919, the Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen sent medical staff and teachers to run a school for boys and girls in Addis Abäba and to begin medical and educational work in Wälläga. In 1921 the Swedish Mission Bible-True Friends started educational and medical work in the capital and in Harär.

Another Protestant mission that transferred fellow workers from Italian-governed Eritrea to

Ethiopia was the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. The first missionary arrived in 1921 and opened a Training School for Girls and another for boys. Medical work was started in Däse and Gimbi and the Mission took over the operation of the Empress Zäwditu Memorial Hospital in Addis Abäba.

The Hermannsburger Mission entered Addis Abäba in 1927 and began by founding the German-speaking congregation and opening the German School. An orphanage for Ethiopian children was added. Its main activities were started in ↗Aᵓira (s. EAE vol. 5), Wälläga and in Illubabor.

The ↗Sudan Interior Mission entered Ethiopia in 1928 with the goal of christianising the borderlands of Ethiopia. The pioneers journeyed to Kämbata, Wälamo and Sidamo and later worked in Addis Abäba.

The last Protestant group to enter Ethiopia before the Italian occupation was the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society. Their aim was to work within the EOTC helping her to get back to Biblical foundations and further spiritual renewal. They tried to achieve this by producing Christian literature and opening a Bible school at ↗Fəčče.

In face of the Italian aggression the Protestant missions remained loyal to Ethiopia. Many of their medical doctors and nurses served in the Ethiopian ↗Red Cross, others organized help. During the Italian occupation (↗Africa Orientale Italiana) most of the Protestant missionaries were expelled from Ethiopia. Catholic missionaries remained and at several places tried to take over Evangelical work. Since by 1935 the number of Evangelical Christians, excluding Betä Ǝsraᵓel converts, hardly exceeded 1,000 P. seemed destined to disappear. But at this time Ethiopian Evangelicals came to the forefront. Personalities such as ↗Badəmma Yaläw, ↗Amanuᵓel Gäbrä Śəllase, and Amanuᵓel Abrəham in the capital, ↗Gidaada Solon, ↗Mammo Čorqa, ↗Dafaa Ǧammoo, Hunde Gutema and ↗Nasisee Liiban in Wälläga, Bərru Dubbale and Dästa Deyassa in Wälaytta, Šugute and Sabiro in Kämbata province, and many more became the leaders of the new churches movement, spreading in the west and south of the country. In spite of harassment and persecution many Evangelical gatherings started. In 1942 about 80 new congregations in Wälaytta, and 70 in Kambaata and Hadiyya, led by elders without formal theological training, were added to those in Eritrea, Wälläga, and Addis Abäba. In 1942, the number of Evangelicals was reported to be 20,000. By 1950 their number had grown to nearly 100,000.

Christmas celebration in a Protestant (Mekane Yesus) church in Qaališaa, Leemo-Hadiyya; photo 1999, courtesy of Dirk Bustorf

After the liberation in 1941 the evangelical churches also strove for independence and unity. In 1944 ten delegates from Addis Abäba and Wälläga met at Naqamtee and established the annual Conference of Ethiopian Evangelical Churches (CEEC). In the 3rd Conference, held in Addis Abäba in 1947, delegates from Wälaytta and Kambaata also attended, along with representatives of the "Bible-True Friends" and the "Society of the Followers of the Apostles". However, during the following meetings no agreement was reached on, e.g., a common confessional book, the question of leadership, or ordination by a bishop. In 1950 many became convinced that Protestants should organize as denominational churches and then form a Federation. The CEEC held its last meeting in 1963.

In spite of local repression by chiefs or Orthodox circles, P. expanded especially in areas declared "open" by Ḫaylä Śəllase I and national churches came into being. The first Protestant church in Ethiopia to be constituted was the Evangelical Church Bethel, which in 1947 officially separated from the United Presbyterian Church in North America. It had congregations in Wälläga, Illubabor, Käfa and Šäwa. In 1974 it joined the Mekane Yesus Church.

The Mekane Yesus was constituted in 1959. The Lutheran Church Bible-True Friends of Ethiopia followed in 1960. The Mäsärätä Krəstos Church, originally the Mennonite Mission Church, was established as a national church in several steps, finalized in 1964. In 1966 Pentecostals organized as Mulu Wängel with a policy of self-reliance and complete independence from foreign aid. The ↗Qalä Ḥəywät Church, one of the biggest Protestant denomination in Ethiopia, elected its first president in 1974. Besides the Bərhanä Wängel Baptist Church several smaller Baptist churches were formed.

During the 1950s and 1960s Protestant missions had built and financed many educational, medical and social institutions. The Lutheran Missions integrated all their institutions and personnel into the Mekane Yesus Church in 1969. The Mäsärätä Krəstos Church could not receive the Mennonite Mission's property, because it was not legally registered.

Under the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council P. endured a troubled period. Institutions and buildings were nationalized, churches closed and pastors detained. All Pentecostal churches were closed. In 1979 the General Secretary of the Mekane Yesus Church, ↗Guddinaa Tumsaa, was kidnapped and killed. The harassment, repression and persecution of Protestants varied from time to time and from area to area. While Evangelicals in Wälaytta were heavily persecuted, those in Kämbata enjoyed relative freedom. When, in the beginning of the 1980s, most of the Mekane Yesus churches in Wälläga were closed, congregations in the capital could conduct services. Protestant leaders from all denominations were detained, severely tortured and kept in prison for years without trial.

In spite of harassment from the authorities the Protestant Churches did not stop their social and development activities and the number of Protestants grew. Health services, child care, famine relief, water projects, afforestation and other activities continued or even intensified. Moreover, the pressure put on all Protestant churches by the socialist regime led to closer contacts among themselves and to the establishment of an umbrella organization for survival. In 1976 the Evangelical Churches Fellowship of Ethiopia (ECFE) came into being. The founding churches were: Mekane Yesus, Qalä Ḥəywät, Mäśärätä Krəstos, Mulu Wängel, the Gännät Church, the Ḥəywät Bərhan Church, the Baptist Church Ǝmnät Krəstos and the Lutheran Church in Ethiopia. The Fellowship had to operate underground for quite some time but in 1988 it was registered as a legal entity and got its own secretariat. After the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia had been constituted, many new churches, denominations and ministries came into being.

Numbers

In 2004 a total of 288 P. religious organizations was registered with the Interior Ministry, quite a number of them with Pentecostal or Charismatic background. ECFE's membership had increased by 2008 to 28 denominations. In addition 36 church-related organizations within Ethiopia and 18 Ethiopian evangelical churches in Diaspora are associate members of the Fellowship, which by now embraces more than 30,000 local churches.

The 1994 Census estimated the number of Protestants in Ethiopia to be 5,405,690 making 10.2 % of the total population. The 2007 Census, published in 2009, states that 18.6 % of the Ethiopian population are Protestants or 13,746,787 people. While in the north and east of the country Protestants make up less than 1 % of the population, they number 55.5 % in the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region and 70.1 % in the Gambella Region. Therefore, next to Orthodoxy and Islam, P. became the third largest religion in Ethiopia.

Src.: CSA 1996; interviews with Mäsärät Səbḥat Läᵓab (b. ca. 1920), 1970–90; Amanuᵓel Abrəham (b. 1913), ca. 1980; *qes* Badəmma Yaläw (b. 1885), 1957–65.

Lit.: ArEvang 34–37, 233, 409f., 438; Gustav Arén, *The Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia*: *in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers*, Stockholm 1999, 134f., 139; Johnny Bakke, *Christian Ministry*: *Patterns and Functions within the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Oslo 1987; Michael Bergunder – Jörg Haustein, *Migration und Identität: Pfingstlich-charismatische Migrationsgemeinden in Deutschland*, Frankfurt/M. 2006; EthMis; F. Peter Cotterell, *Born at Midnight*, Chicago, IL 1973; CrumMis; Debela Birri, *History of the Evang. Church Bethel*, Chicago, IL 1995, ms.; Øyvind M. Eide, *Revolution and Religion in Ethiopia*: *Growth and Persecution of Mekane Yesus Church*, Oxford 2000; Emmanuel Abraham, *Reminiscences of My Life*, Oslo 1995; Brian Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia*, *1927–1944*, Leiden 1996; Gidada Solon, *The Other Side of Darkness*, New York 1972; Staffan Grenstedt, *Ambaricho and Shonkolla. From Local Independent Church to the Evangelical Mainstream in Ethiopia*: *the Origins of the Mekane Yesus Church in Kambata Hadiya*, Uppsala 1995; Nathan B. Hege, *Beyond Our Prayers*: *Anabaptist Church Growth in Ethiopia*, *1948–1998*, Scottdale, PA 1998; Steven Kaplan, "Themes and Methods in the Study of Conversion in Ethiopia", in: *EthMis* 107–22; Johannes Launhardt, *Evangelicals in Addis Ababa* (*1919–1991*), Münster 2004; Id., *Uns erschrecken die Trommeln nicht mehr*, Erlangen 1982; James Quirin, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*: *a History of the Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1992; Olav Saeveraas, *On Church-Mission Relations in Ethiopia 1944–69*, Lunde 1974; Jürgen Wesenick, *Vitale Kirche in Äthiopien*, Hermannsburg 1976; WONDIYE ALI – GETACHEW BELETE, *The Story of the Kale Heywet Church* [Amharic], 3 vols., Addis Ababa 1998–2000.

Johannes Launhardt

Proto-Aksumite culture

The term P.A.c. is conventionally used with reference to the material evidence of the period corresponding to the earliest phase of development of the kingdom of ↗Aksum, when a new polity, with a peculiar culture, emerged at the site in the late 1st millennium B.C., after the collapse of the ↗pre-Aksumite state. The archaeological evidence for this polity consists of some elite tombs with evidence of administrative devices and the remains of a monumental building on the top of ↗Betä Giyorgis hill to the north-west of Aksum (ca. 400–50 B.C.). Sites dating to this period have been recorded as far as ↗Ǝnda Śəllase to the west of Aksum and ↗Mändäfära in Säraye (Eritrea), ca. 40 km to the north of Aksum. Main sites are ᶜOna Nägäśt (ON) and ᶜOna Ǝnda Aboy Zagʷe (OƎ) at Betä Giyorgis.

The dating of this period to ca. 400–50 B.C. has been established on three radiometric dates and imported materials from Betä Giyorgis.

The settlement pattern in the region of Aksum was characterized by a larger settlement at ON with an elite cemetery at OƎ on the top of Betä Giyorgis and small scattered settlements in the surrounding area, with a main cluster around ON.

The subsistence economy relied on hulled barley, emmer, *Eragrostis* esp., lentil, linseed (or flax), free-threshing wheat and perhaps bread wheat, as well as domestic cattle and sheep/goats.

Social organization apparently consisted of two main strata (kings/élite and ordinary people). The funerary cult of the élite embodied Nubian elements stressing a military aspect of the elite.

A conical bronze seal was found in a late P.A. tomb. The seal is different from the pre-Aksumite ones, and may be reminiscent of Meroitic conical seals.

Imported ceramics point to contacts with Southern Arabia, Ptolemaic Egypt, and Upper Nubia. The occurrence of P.A. potsherds in late pre-Aksumite assemblages near Gulo Mäḵäda (ᶜAgäme) and Mäṭära may also suggest contacts with the northern region.

Another P.A. polity was probably located at Mädage, ca. 6 km to the south-west of Aksum, where a ↗stelae-field with rough monoliths and P.A. ceramics similar to those from Betä Giyorgis were recorded.

The foundations of a P.A. monumental building were partially excavated at ON, including four (or possibly five) long narrow rooms, without entrances or windows, ranging between ca. 7 x 1.7 m and 6 x 1.3 m in size, built with a technique reminiscent of that used in the Ethio-Sabaean "palace" of Grat Bäᶜal Gäbri at ↗Yəḥa. The rooms were most likely in the basement of the building and may have been used as stores, as suggested by similar structures discovered in South Arabia and in the Near East.

No sure P.A. temple has been so far discovered. An open air cult was probably practiced, and excavations at the site of Gobo Ǝnda Näbri on the north-eastern edge of Betä Giyorgis brought to light a concentration of ceramics around and beneath large stone slabs and boulders, particularly to the north of a large horizontal, roughly rectangular stone slab. At least three phases of ↗pottery deposition were recognized, separated by layers of small stones. The good state of preservation of the ceramics suggested that they were *in situ*. Some pots were apparently intentionally broken with stones and covered with rubble. 23 complete or almost complete vessels included elongated beakers with handles, miniature vessels, and black-topped dishes or open bowls, most likely dating to late pre-Aksumite or early P.A. times. The miniature vessels as well as the general context of deposition suggested that this site was a ceremonial area, perhaps an offering place.

The early P.A. tombs were simple pit-↗graves, ca. 2 m deep, covered by small platforms and associated with rough stelae, ca. 2–3 m high. The monoliths were pointed stones, small pillars and flat slabs, suggesting three main social segments. The platforms were massive arrangements of rough stones, about 1.0–2.5 m high, and were covered with a surface of hard yellow marl mixed with gravel. A shaft was constructed in the platform around the opening of the graves. The occurrence of large fragments and almost complete pots within the construction suggests that the platforms were progressively heightened and extended to include new tombs, covering earlier levels. In late P.A. time the tombs were elaborated pit-graves, ca. 5 m deep and richer in grave goods. The stelae were monoliths, ca. 4–5 m high, with a vertical notch at the top, suggesting one dominant social segment. The platforms were constructed in a modular way. Pit-graves were excavated very close to each other and covered with a squared stone cairn, about 2.5 x 2.5 m in size.

Eventually, the spatial arrangement of contiguous cairns generated a platform. The discovery of human remains on top of the platforms and inside the upper shaft a pit-grave may suggest the practice of human sacrifice at this time.

The ceramics are another distinctive feature of the P.A.c. They were characterized by an orange/light orange, rarely pink, paste with many mineral inclusions of quartz, mica and ground stone. Some potsherds preserve evidence of an original orange, light red slip on the exterior surface. Decorations are rare and consist of rim and/or shoulder bands with impressed notches and punctuations, and less frequently molded decorations. Main forms were undecorated globular cups with straight rims and frequently flat, vertical handles; undecorated bowls with a foot-ring, flat vertical handles and/or horizontal grips; bowls with a short, straight neck frequently with flat, vertical handles or rounded horizontal grips, and sometimes a molded decoration on the shoulder and body; circular basins with ledge rims, probably with rounded bases, and incised or impressed points on the rim top; square basins with decorations imitating architectural elements; cylindrical basins with a flat base, frequently with a short everted rim, and thick grips on the body; small model pots.

The origins of the P.A.c. are still uncertain. The occurrence of P.A. sites from Šire to Säraye suggests that this was a local culture of the western plateau in Təgray and Eritrea. The use of stelae in a mortuary context indicates an ideological break with the earlier pre-Aksumite culture and may point to some kind of cultural continuity with the late prehistoric people of Kassala in the western Eritrean–Sudanese lowlands. The ceramics too reveal a discontinuity with the earlier culture. The construction of a monumental building in a pre-Aksumite technique, however, may suggest that some symbols of the earlier state were maintained.

Lit.: Kathryn A. Bard et al., "Aksum Origins, Kassala and Upper Nubia: New Evidence from Bieta Giyorgis (Aksum)", *Archéologie du Nil Moyen* 9, 2002, 31–39; Rodolfo Fattovich – Kathryn A. Bard, "The Origins of Aksum: a View from Ona Enda Aboi Zaguè (Tigray)", in: *PICES* 12, 16–25; Iid., "The Proto-Aksumite Period: an Overview", *AE* 17, 2001, 3–24; Iid. – Andrea Manzo, "Meroe and Aksum: New Elements of Comparison", *Archéologie du Nil Moyen* 8, 1998, 43–53; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (DAE *IV 3* = RIÉth *275*). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57 (Lit.); Andrea Manzo, "The Dynamics of External Contacts of Northern Ethiopia and Eritrea from Proto-Historical to Aksumite Times, Late 2nd Millennium BC–Late 1st Millennium AD, in Ethiopia and its Neighbours", in: *Äthiopien und seine Nachbarn. Ethiopia and its Neighbors. Akten der 3. Tagung von Orbis Aethiopicus vom 25.–29. September 1997 in Gniew/Polen*, Frankfurt am Main 1997, 35–52; Id., "Note sulla più antica fase archeologica aksumita", *RSE* n.s. 2, 2003, 37–50.

Rodolfo Fattovich

Protoevangelium Iacobi ↗Lədäta lämaryam

Proverbs ↗Oral literature

Provisional Military Administrative Council (P.M.A.C.)

In early 1974, following a period of growing public disappointment with the imperial government's failure to effect lasting economic and political change, the confrontation between traditional and modern political forces took a decisive turn (↗Revolution). While rising inflation, famine and student protests contributed to a severe political crisis there were several factions within the military claiming to speak for and represent the armed forces. Besides the ↗Imperial Bodyguard under the old high command, in late March, an informal inter-unit committee headed by Colonel ᶜAläm Zäwd Täsämma, a commander of an airborne brigade based in ↗Addis Abäba, was formed. Acting with the tacit approval of Prime Minister ↗Ǝndälkaččäw Mäkʷännən it came to be called the **የጦር፡ ኃሎች፡ አስተባባሪ፡ ኮሚቴ** (*Yäṭor ḫayločč astäbabari komite*; Armed Forces Coordinating Committee, AFCC).

After the arrest of a large number of disappointed airforce officers in early June, a dozen junior officers wishing to press the regime into major reforms broke away from the AFCC. Having requested every military and police unit to send three representatives to Addis Abäba to organize further action, in late June, some 120 soldiers, none above the rank of major, organized themselves into a new body called the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, the Imperial Bodyguard, the Police and Territorial Army (**የጦር፡ ኃሎች፡ የክብር፡ ዘበኛ፡ የፖሊስ፡ ሠራዊትኛና፡ ብሕራዊ፡ ጦር፡ አስተባባሪ፡ ኮሚቴ**, *Yäṭor ḫayločč, yäpolis ənna yäbəḥerawi ṭor astäbabari komite*). With most of its members remaining anonymous and electing two outspoken proponents for far-reaching change, Major Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam as the chairman and Major Aṭnafu Abbatä as the vice chairmanvice chairman it soon came to be commonly called the *Därg* (Amh., **ደርግ** 'committee' or 'council'; cp. **ደርገ፡ ሙሴ**, *därgä muse* 'sodality of 12–24 members' (KaneDic 1758). After assuming power the organisation omitted "Imperial bodygurd" from its name.

On 12 September 1974 the *Därg* formally deposed *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. Three days later, on 15 September, the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee transformed itself into the P.M.A.C. (Amh., **ጊዜያዊ፡ ወታደራዊ፡ አስተዳደር፡ ደርግ**, *Gizeyawi wätaderawi astädadär därg*) as the country's new ruling body (still called *Därg*). Lieutenant General ↗Aman Mikaᵓel ᶜAndom, although not a member of the *Därg*, became the de facto head of state, chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of defence and chairman of the P.M.A.C. Disagreeing with the majority of the *Därg*'s members on three major issues – the size and function of the P.M.A.C., the Eritrean insurgency and the fate of political prisoners – Aman Mikaᵓel ᶜAndom was killed resisting arrest on 23 November 1974. The same evening two *Därg* members, who had supported him, Colonel Yəgäzu Yämanä and Captain Dämise Šifäraw, as well as 59 political prisoners were executed – among them former prime ministers ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld and Ǝndälkaččäw Mäkʷännən.

Following the "Bloody Saturday" Brigadier General ↗Täfäri Banti, a Šäwan, became chairman of the P.M.A.C. and acting head of state on 28 November, while power was retained by Major Mängəśtu, who kept his post as first vice chairman, and Major Aṭnafu as second vice chairman. After preparations for a new offensive in Eritrea had been made, on 20 December 1974 plans for radical social and economic reform led to the proclamation of Ethiopian Socialism (**ኅብረተ፡ ሰባዊነት**, *ḫəbrätä säbawinnät*), a sort of indigenous Ethiopian communalism.

On 21 December 1974 a mass literacy 'campaign' (↗*zämäča*) was launched and some 60,000 students and their teachers prepared to be sent into the countryside. In January 1975 followed the nationalization of industry, banking, insurance, large scale-trade and extra dwellings till, in March, the "Public Ownership of Rural Lands Proclamation No. 31/1975" transferred all land to the state (↗Land tenure) and plans for the proposed constitutional monarchy were officially abandoned. Newly founded Peasants and Urban Dwellers Associations completed the new political system. In August 1975, Ḫaylä Śəllase was secretly buried after having died under questionable circumstances.

Finding itself under attack from various civilian groups demanding a "people's government", in April 1976 the *Därg* at last set forth its goals in greater detail in the Program for the National Democratic Revolution (PNDR). As announced by Mängəśtu, its objectives included progress towards socialism under the leadership of workers, peasants, and the petite bourgeoisie. The *Därg*'s ultimate aim was the creation of a one-party system. To accomplish its goals, it established an intermediary organ called the Provisional Office for Mass Organization Affairs (POMOA). Designed to act as a civilian political bureau, POMOA was at first in the hands of the All-Ethiopia Socialist Movement (Amh. acronym: ↗*MÄᵓISON*), headed by Ḫaylä Fida, the *Därg*'s chief political adviser. Ḫaylä Fida, as opposed to other leftists who had formed the ↗Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), had resourcefully adopted the tactic of working with the military in the expectation of directing the revolution from within.

A further clash came in July 1976 when a number of P.M.A.C. members – the most prominent Major Sisay Habtä and Major Kiros ᶜAlämayyähu – were ousted after opposing a military solution to the Eritrean question and advocating a return to civilian government. Following their execution, for the first time, a formal structure was elaborated with a congress comprising all *Därg* members, a Central Committee of 40 and a standing Committee of 17.

By late 1976, the *Därg* had undergone an internal reconfiguration as Mängəśtu's power came under growing opposition from Täfäri Banti and Aṭnafu Abbatä struggling for supremacy. The instability of this arrangement was resolved in January and February of 1977, when a major shootout at Mənilək's Palace in Addis Abäba took place between supporters of Täfäri Banti and those of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam. With the death of Täfäri Banti and his supporters in the fighting, most internal opposition within the *Därg* had been eliminated, and Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam proceeded with its reorganization becoming the sole vice chairman, responsible for the People's Militia, the urban defence squads, and the modernization of the armed forces. In November 1977 Aṭnafu Abbate, Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam's last rival in the *Därg* was also eliminated, leaving Mängəśtu in undisputed command.

While making variable use of a cabinet of ministers outside the *Därg*, ultimate authority rested with senior members of the P.M.A.C. While a minority of P.M.A.C. members still favoured a rapid transition to civilian rule, the *Därg* officers were themselves split by serious divisions. The

P.M.A.C. itself met in full on only a few occasions. From 1977 onwards it functioned more as a government body, via a system of committees and a hierarchical structure, and at the end of 1979 a new cabinet system was announced in which P.M.A.C. members took up some public ministerial positions for the first time.

Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam's raise to power was fully backed by the Soviet Union (↗Russia, relations with) whose long-standing wish for supremacy in the Horn of Africa was closely linked to the developments in Ethiopia. Thus the establishment and development of the P.M.A.C. must never be seen without connection to the geopolitical competitions of the major powers during the period of the cold war (cp. Patman 1990).

On 12 September 1984, the government announced the formation of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia. The new constitution was promulgated on 22 February 1987, and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia was proclaimed after the P.M.A.C. was formally abolished.

↗Revolution of 1974

Src.: KaneDic 1758; Provisional Military Administrative Council, *Basic Documents of the Ethiopian Revolution*, Addis Ababa 1981.

Lit.: Aberra Jembere, *Agony in the Grand Palace 1974–1982*, Addis Ababa 2002; Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia from Autocracy to Revolution*, London 1975; Stefan Brüne, *Äthiopien – Unterentwicklung und radikale Militärherrschaft*, Hamburg 1986; Marc Fontrier, *La chute de la junte militaire éthiopienne* (*1987–1991*), Paris 1999; Fred Halliday – Maxine Molyneux, *The Ethiopian Revolution*, London 1981; John W. Harbeson, *The Ethiopian Transformation*: *the Quest for the Post-Imperial State*, Boulder, CO 1988; Paul B. Henze, *Layers of Time*: *a History of Ethiopia*, London 2000, 282–333; Edmond J. Keller, *Revolutionary Ethiopia*: *from Empire to People's Republic*, Bloomington, IN 1988; David A. Korn, *Ethiopia, the United States and the Soviet Union*, Carbondale, IL 1986; René Lefort, *Ethiopie*: *la révolution hérétique*?, Paris 1981; John Markakis – Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*, Nottingham 1978; David Ottaway – Marina Ottaway, *Empire in Revolution*, New York 1978; Iid., *Soviet and American Influence in the Horn of Africa*, New York 1982; Robert Patman, *The Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa*, Cambridge 1990, 150–72; Pliny, the Middle-Aged, "The PMAC: Origins and Structure, part 1", *Ethiopianist Notes* 2, 3, 1978, 1–18; *ibid.*, [part 2], *NEASt* 1, 1, 1979, 1–20; Social Science Panel, Ethiopia, *Pre and Post February 1974 Revolution*, *History, Grade 10*, Addis Ababa, n.d., 262–323; Joseph Tubiana (ed.), *La révolution éthiopienne comme phénomène de société*, Paris 1990.

Stefan Brüne

Prutky, Remedius

P. (baptismal name Václav, b. 1717, Kopidlno, Bohemia, d. 9 February 1770, Florence) was a Czech Franciscan missionary who visited *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II's court at ↗Gondär in 1752.

P. studied medicine at Prague University before entering the Reformed Order of the ↗Franciscans in 1735. After ten months in Rome, he was posted to Cairo, at the time when Iyasu II sent a letter inviting the Franciscan missionaries in Cairo to visit him – and expressing a desire for skilled craftsmen, in particular gunsmiths. P. and two fellow Franciscans, Martin Lang and an Arabic expert, Fr. Antony of Aleppo, were accordingly dispatched, via Massawa, to Gondär.

They arrived on 22 February 1752 and were warmly received by the monarch, who nevertheless did so discreetly, in deference to the strongly anti-Catholic stance of the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yoḥannəs, and of the Orthodox priesthood in general. P., like ↗Bruce after him, won friends by practicing medicine. He remained in the country for 17 months, until he was expelled by the Emperor, and left, as he had come, by way of Təgray.

P. subsequently travelled widely, visiting *inter alia* al-Muḫāʾ, India, and Russia, whence he was expelled by Catherine the Great.

P.'s considerable importance for ↗Ethiopian studies lies in the fact that he visited Gondär two decades before Bruce, and wrote a detailed ↗itinerary describing the country, its physical environment, climate, minerals, wild life, agriculture, form of government, social customs, state of religion, attitude to foreign missionaries, etc. (English tr. of the Ethiopian part published in 1991) as well as a still unpublished *Vocabolarium linguae Gallicae, Arabicae et Abyssinicae.* P.'s writings are preserved in Prague University Library.

P. was also the first to have recommended an autochthonous Catholic bishop for Ethiopia (letter to ↗Vatican of 1754); subsequently, in 1788, ↗Ṭobiya Giyorgis Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer was dispatched.

Src.: J. Henry Arrowsmith-Brown – Richard Pankhurst (eds.), *Prutky's Travels to Ethiopia and Other Countries*, London 1991 (Lit.).

Lit.: Marek Dospěl, "Václav Remedius Prutký OFM: misionárem u pramenu Nilu", *Salve. Revue pro teologii a duchovní život* 13, 2, 2003, 67–75; Id., "Františkáni Rimar, Prutký a Schneider. Zdroje a možnosti interpretace jejich zpráv (nejen) o Egyptě 18. století", *PES Pražské egyptologické studie* 3, 2005, 25–37 (Lit.); Miloslav Krása – Josef Polišenský, "Czech Missionary's First Hand Account of the 18th Century Ethiopia, Arabia and India", *Archív orientální* 61, 1993, 85–90; Zbyněk Malý, "The Visit of Martin Lang, Czech Franciscan, in Gondär in 1752", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 17–25; Richard Pankhurst – Tony Pearson, "Remedius Prutky's 18th Century Account of Ethiopian Tacnicides and Other Medical Treatment", *Ethiopian Medical Journal* 10, 1, 1972, 3–6; Karel Petráček, "Handschriften zur Kenntnis Ägyptens und Abessiniens im 18. Jhdt. aus der Bibliotheca Pragensis in Conventu Fratrum S. Francisci Reformatorum S. Mariae ad Nives", *Archív orientální* 23, 1955, 90–98; Zdeněk Poláček, "A Diachronic Analysis of Amharic Vocabulary on the Basis of V.R. Prutky's Manuscript", *ibid.* 44, 1976, 28–42; Osvaldo Raineri, "Le relazioni fra Chiesa etiopica e Chiesa romana (Lettera di Remedio Prutky missionario in Etiopia nel 1752–1753)", *Nicolaus. Rivista di teologia ecumenico-patristica* 8, 1980, 351-64; Id., "La breve relazione del viaggio in Etiopia di Remedio Prutky, scritta il 15–12–1756", *QSE* 3–4, 1982–83, 176–93; Teodosio Somigli, "La francescana spedizione in Etiopia del 1751–54 e la sua relazione del P. Remedio Prutky di Boemia O.F.M.", *Archivum Franciscanum historicum* 6, 1913, 129–43; Id., "L'Itinerarium del P. Remedio Prutky, viaggiatore e missionario francescano (Alto Egitto), e il suo viaggio in Abissinia, 21 Febbraio 1752–22 Aprile 1753", *Studi francescani* 22, 1925, 425–60.

Richard Pankhurst

Psalter

In Ethiopian tradition, the P., being a Christian prayer book used liturgically and for the Daily Office (Lamb 1962: 49–70) as well as for private devotions, is a volume composed of the Book of Psalms attributed to King David (Ps, called **መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት**, *Mäzmurä Dawit*, lit. 'Psalm[s] of David', or simply *Dawit*), the Biblical Canticles (↗ *Mäḫaləyä näbiyat*), the Song of Songs (**መኃልየ፡ መኃልይ**, *Mäḫaləyä mäḫaləy*, attributed to King ↗ Solomon; s. also ↗ Wisdom books) and usually additional devotional texts, the most common of which are the ↗ *Wəddase Maryam* and the ↗ *Anqäṣä bərhan* (cp. Strelcyn 1974: 8f.). The 15 Biblical Canticles of the P. are as follows:

(1) First Song of Moses (Ex 15: 1–19); (2) Second Song of Moses (Deut 32: 1–21); (3) Third Song of Moses (Deut 32: 22–43); (4) Song of Hannah (I Kgs [I Sam] 2: 1–10); (5) Prayer of Hezekiah (Is 38: 10–20); (6) Prayer of Manasseh (apocryphal); (7) Song of Jonah (Jon 2: 3–10); (8) First Song of the Three Youths in the Furnace (Dan 3: 26–45); (9) Second Song of the Three Youths (Dan 3: 52–56); (10) Third Song of the Three Youths (Dan 3: 57–88); (11) Song of Habakkuk (Hab 3: 1–19); (12) Song of Isaiah (Is 26: 9–20); (13) Song of Our Lady Mary (Lk 1: 46–55); (14) Song of Zachariah (Lk 1: 68–79); (15) Song of Simeon (Lk 2: 29–32).

Most of the P. manuscripts, starting with the earliest known ones (14th cent.), contain the fixed set of these texts (cp. Knibb 2000: 107f.; this pattern is still followed today by numerous Ethiopian church editions).

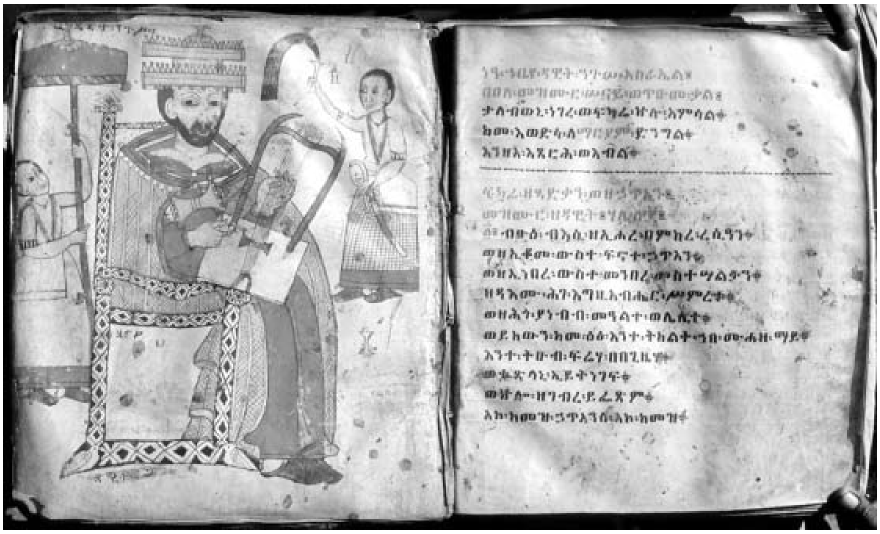
The Ps was translated from the Greek Septuagint (LXX) into Gəʿəz by the first half of the 6th cent. (↗ Bible translation); quotations from Ps appear in a few Aksumite ↗ inscriptions (RIÉ 192, 195, 270; s. Knibb 1999: 46-52), being not essentially different from the text known from the manuscripts. For the entire medieval period, the Ethiopic psalms show a remarkably fixed form of the text.

The Ethiopic Ps follows the Greek Septuagint (LXX) numbering. The difference between the numbers of psalms in the LXX and in the Hebrew Bible is due to variations in division and numbering of the individual psalms. In the Hebrew Ps, Ps 9–10 correspond to Ps 9 of the LXX; furthermore, Ps 114 and 115 of the Hebrew Ps are counted in the LXX as one Ps 113, but Ps 116 is split and corresponds to the LXX Ps 114 and 115; Ps 147 is also split and corresponds to the LXX Ps 146 and 147. The Ethiopic P. includes Ps 151, which is accepted as part of the Biblical canon only by the Eastern Orthodox Churches (although it is regarded by others as non-canonical, the Dead Sea Scrolls demonstrate that Ps 151 had actually existed originally in Hebrew, s. Flint 1997).

The texts of Ps, the Canticles, and the Song of Songs are always copied in a single column of text per page, in stichs; all other Ethiopic texts included within the P. are copied in two or three columns per page, depending upon the proportions of a page. Decoration is usually limited to the usual ↗ *ḥaräg* used to mark the incipit page of a book. The psalms themselves are divided into groups of ten; a *ḥaräg* is sometimes used to mark the first psalm (*nəguś*, lit. 'king') of each group. Author portraits may be introduced as a frontispiece miniature: David as author of Ps, Solomon as author of Song, or ↗ Moses as author of the first three Canticles.

Heads of ↗ monasteries and members of the ruling elite commissioned P. with greater varieties of additional prayer texts. *Aṣe* Mənilək II commissioned in 1895/96 a P. (ms. EMML 1414) with many additional prayers as well as the *Anaphora of Our Lady Mary* by Cyriacus of Behnesa (EMML IV, 487ff.). The book was probably used for Mənilək's private devotions.

An early example of an extensively illustrated P. commissioned by a member of the ruling elite is the 15th-cent P. of ↗ Bəlen Sägädä (Paris, BN, ms. d'Abbadie 105; s. Conti Rossini 1927; Balicka-Witakowska 1983; Heldman in PICEA 1, 5f.). With its 33 full-page miniatures, the P. presents a unique combination of figural miniatures, including an extensive Christological preface of full-page miniatures as found in *de luxe* Ethiopic ↗ Gospel books of the late 14th and 15th



Frontispiece miniature (King Dawit playing a *bägäna* [lyre]) and the beginning of Ps 1, a 17th-cent. manuscript, Ḥawzen Täklä Haymanot, Təgray; photo courtesy of the author

cent., and other miniatures, such as full-page author portraits that introduce Ps and Song and an iconic portrait of St. Mary with the Christ Child that introduces the *Anqäṣä bərhan*, as well as the depictions of the O.T. figures, Apostles and ↗saints.

Nəguś ↗Śahla Śəllase commissioned a *de luxe* illuminated P. (ms. EMML 1762) in 1839/40 which he donated to the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Esṭifanos. In addition to the usual additional texts, this unique P. includes numerous additional ↗hymns and ↗*mälkəʾ* and is adorned with over 100 miniatures (EMML V, 209–17).

Throughout history, the P. has been one of the most frequently copied works in Ethiopia; Ps was the first text to be memorized in the course of traditional ↗education. Ps exercised great influence on the entire ↗Gəʿəz literature; extracts from Ps have been extensively used in the Liturgy (cp. ↗*Qəddase*) and different liturgical texts. It was one of a few books which were in private possession of individuals, not only in monastic and church libraries. Besides, the P. has been believed to possess apotropaic and healing qualities, and Ps have been applied in traditional ↗medicine and ↗magic (cp. Strelcyn 1981, 1985; Turaev 1917). Ps inspired Ethiopian biblical scholars to write exegetical commentaries (*Tərgʷame Dawit*; ↗Bible commentary tradition; s. Cowley 1988; Stoffregen-Pedersen 1995; cp. ↗*andəmta*).

Ps was the first of the Ethiopian ↗incunabula printed in Europe (editions of 1513 and 1518 by ↗Potken, and by ↗Ludolf in 1701, on which s. Bausi 2003:251). Despite the importance of Ps, the only monograph devoted to it remains that by ↗Dorn (1825; to which the recent concordance can be added, Devens 2001, to the only available early 20th-cent. Ps edition by Francesco da ↗Bassano). A critical edition of the Ethiopic P. is a desideratum.

↗Painting: miniature painting

Src.: AfrZion no. 71; CRAbb 45–48, no. 19 [ms. Abbadie 105]; EMML nos. 1414, 1762; I–X, s. index; RIÉ nos. 192, 195, 270; Stefan Strelcyn, *Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester,* Manchester 1974, 7ff., no. 5.

Lit.: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, "Le psautier éthiopien illustré de Belēn Sägäd", in: *Imagines Medievales*, Uppsala 1983 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Ars Suetica 7), 1–46 (Lit.); Ead., "Un psautier éthiopien illustré inconnu", *Orientalia suecana* 33–35, 1984–86, 17–48; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Un codice illustrato eritreo del secolo XV", *Africa italiana* 1, 1, 1927, 83–97; Roger W. Cowley, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: a Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics,* Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38); Monica Devens, *A Concordance to Psalms in the Ethiopic Version*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 59) [review: Alessandro Bausi, *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 249–53]; Johannes Albrecht Bernhard Dorn, *De Psalterio Aethiopico commentatio*, Lipsiae 1825; Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, Leiden 1997; Michael A. Knibb, *Translating the Bible. The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1999 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995), 46–52; Id., "The Ethiopic Translation of the Psalms", in: Anneli Aejmelaeus – Udo Quast (eds.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen. Symposium in Göttingen 1997*, Göttingen 2000, 107–22 (Lit.); Marilyn E. Heldman, "An Ewostathian Style and the Gunda Gunde Style in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Manuscript Illumination", in: *PICEA* 1, 5–14; John Alexander Lamb, *The Psalms in Christian Worship,* London 1962; Kirsten Stoffregen-Pedersen, *Traditional Biblical Exegesis of the Book of Psalms,* Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 36); Stefan Strelcyn (ed., tr.), "'Les mystères des Psaumes', traité éthiopien sur l'emploi des Psaumes (amharique ancien)", *BSOAS* 44, 1981, 54–84; Id. (ed., tr.), "La version guèze des Mystères des Psaumes", in: Christian Robin (ed.), *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson*, Paris 1985, 369–79; Boris

Turaev, "Iz efiopskoj otrečonnoj literatury. I. Psalmy kak zagovory" ('From the Ethiopian Apocryphal Literature. I. Psalms as Charmes'), *Hristianskij vostok* 6–1, 1917, 63–74.

Marilyn E. Heldman

Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha

P. and A. are terms the meaning of which differs depending on the context and user. Both relate to pieces of para-Biblical literature. In Catholic tradition all books of this type are called A., whether related to O.T. or N.T., meaning literature which develops, adds new material to, and/or reinterprets the topics, usually narrative, of the ↗Bible. The Protestant canon removed the books "added" in the Greek (Septuagint, LXX) as opposed to the Hebrew canon, using the term "A." only for the "newer" books supposedly written in Greek, not in Hebrew or Aramaic. In the Catholic tradition these books are termed "deuterocanonial". Since the canon of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) was based on the LXX, the notion of the "A." in this sense is not relevant for Ethiopian ↗Christianity, and such texts as 3 Ezra or Psalm 151, which belong to the LXX, are omitted here. In the Protestant tradition the O.T. A. in the Catholic sense are termed "P." (i.e., works of false attribution).

Recognition of a given text as a P. or A. has always varied depending on the contents of the canon of the Bible as accepted in a given church. In some churches and in some epochs the canon was (and still is) different from that accepted in mainstream Christianity. The ↗*Revelation of John,* e.g., was primarily not accepted in the Syriac-speaking Churches, and is still not accepted by the East Syrian ("Nestorian") Church. In other churches, including the EOTC, the canon is not clear-cut. Therefore, to establish the "canonicity" of a given book, or lack of it, one has to use other criteria than the official lists of the holy books, such as its presence in ↗manuscripts containing clearly Biblical books, accepted by the rest of Christendom, or its being read during the services.

The scope of the present entry is determined by the Western point of view. Thus some books will be enumerated as P. and A., even though they are not regarded as such by the EOTC, and are listed in the canon-specifying ↗*Senodos* and the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*. This is the case of the *Book of* ↗*Jubilees*, and the "other Book of Maccabees", i.e., *Yosippon* or *The History of the Jews* (↗*Zena Ayhud*). Similar cases are those of the *Senodos* and the ↗*Qälemənṭos*.

It is impossible to provide a fully exhaustive list of P. and A., since, in fact, much of Ethiopic (or any other Christian) literature in one way or another concerns Biblical matters. The list below modifies Piovanelli (1993) and Marrassini (1999). It omits homiliaries of archangels (↗*Dərsanä Gäbrəᵓel,* ↗*Dərsanä Mikaᵓel,* ↗*Dərsanä Raguᵓel,* ↗*Dərsanä Rufaᵓel,* ↗*Dərsanä Uraᵓel*), ↗magic literature, and "apocryphoids", or texts vaguely related to Biblical matters, such as those dealing with ↗Alexander the Great, ↗Sibyl, or the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ṭomar* (CANT 50), as well as homilies and prayers, naturally mentioning Biblical figures.

The most famous (more outside Ethiopia than in it) P. and A. are the books which once belonged to the Jewish religious literature of the Second Temple period, and which were taken over by the Christian Church. Some of them were translated into Ethiopic and have been preserved in this version ever since, whereas they disappeared from the rest of the Christian world (and earlier from Judaism). In the first place one should name here such books as *The Book of* ↗*Enoch* (CAVT 61) and *Jubilees* (CAVT 132). A similar origin has *The Ascension of* ↗*Isaiah* (CAVT 218), of which the Gəᶜəz version is, however, not unique. These three were translated into Ethiopic from Greek, in the ↗Aksumite period, as was 4 Ezra (*Apocalypse of* ↗*Ezra*; CAVT 187) and the *Book of* ↗*Baruch* (= *Paralipomena Ieremiae*; CAVT 225). To those early P. and A. also belong *The Prayer of Manasses* (among the *Canticles* [↗*Mäḥaləyä näbiyat*] in the ↗Psalter), and *The Legend* or *Life of Jeremiah* (Piovanelli 1990: 214; CAVT 213).

The largest group of the O.T. P. and A. entered the Ethiopic literary tradition in the Middle Ages and later, being translated from Arabic (whatever the original language might have been). In this group there are such texts as: the *Gädlä* ↗*Addam* (CAVT 14); *Qälemənṭos*, which includes material from the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*; further *The Testament of Adam* (CAVT 3), transmitted both in *Qälemənṭos*, and separately (e.g., ms. EMML no. 3049); the Apocryphon on ↗Melchizedek, attributed to ↗Athanasius of Alexandria; the Testaments of the Three Patriarchs (*Gädlä* ↗*Abrəham, Gädlä* ↗*Yəsḥaq, Gädlä* ↗*Yaᶜəqob*), also attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria; *The History and Testament of Joseph* (EMML no. 1939; Piovanelli 1993, n. 43); ↗*Nägärä Muse*; ↗*Motä Muse* (CAVT 142); ↗*Motä Aron*, based on a homily of ↗Jacob of Serug (CAVT 143); *The Prophecy of Jeremiah Told to Pashur* (CAVT 228);

The Narrative of Zosimos, or *The History of the Rechabites* (cf. Jer 35) (CAVT 166; Picard 1967); *The Legend of Habakkuk* (CAVT 215); *The Lives of the Prophets and the Tribes of the Origin of the Apostles* (CAVT 213, Perruchon 1897–98); *The Apocalypse of Ezra on the Kingdom of the Arabs* (Piovanelli 1993: 214), which is of Syriac origin (Witakowski 2009).

There are also original Ethiopic compositions (even if sometimes based on translated apocryphal texts), including the national epos, the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, as well as such other texts as the *Apocalypse of* ↗*Baruch*, and, in later times, the Ethiopic *Book of* ↗*Maccabees* (*Ṣiruṣaydan*).

This list is far from being exhaustive, and one can add to it, e.g., the so-called *Vienna Protology* (Witakowski 2007), and the ↗*Ṭəntä haymanot*, on which the former is partly based.

Even more texts can be termed N.T. A. These are usually divided into four groups, in accordance with the four genres of the N.T.

Among the apocryphal gospels one may name the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*lədäta lämaryam* (CANT 50), usually regarded as an infancy gospel, but also part of Marian literature; the ↗*Täᵓammərä Iyäsus* (CANT 45), an all-covering apocryphal gospel; *The Vision* (or *Homily*) *of* ↗*Theophilus of Alexandria on the Mount Qusqam* (CANT 56); a passion gospel, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*dorho*, one of the parts of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gəbrä ḥəmamat*; *The Legend of* ↗*Abgar* (CANT 88); as well as the apocrypha on ↗Pilate (CANT 74, 75) connected to passion gospel literature. Although the *Infancy Gospel by Thomas* (CANT 57) does not seem to exist in Ethiopic as a separate text, its material is included in some manuscripts of the *Täᵓammərä Iyäsus*.

A particularly rich group of apocrypha are those concerning Virgin ↗Mary. In addition to the *Mäṣḥafä lədäta lämaryam*, one should name the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ᶜəräfta lämaryam* and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ᶜərgäta lämaryam* as well as the ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam* (some of the episodes).

The apocryphal Acts of the Apostles include a collection under the same title, also known as the *Gädlä* ↗*ḥawaryat*. Whereas this is a translation from Arabic, the *Acts of Mark* (Lusini in PICES 15; CANT 287, aeth. 2) were translated from Greek.

Except for *The Epistle of the Apostles*, apocryphal letters seem to be missing in Ethiopic literature. There are, however, several apocalypses: *The Apocalypse of* ↗*Peter* (CANT 317); the ↗*Fəkkare Iyäsus*; the ↗*Testamentum Domini in Galilea*, which contains *The Epistle of the Apostles* (CANT 22); *The Apocalypse of* ↗*Gorgoryos*, a ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel text.

A fifth genre of the N.T. apocrypha is pseudapostolic literature, usually termed "church orders". These texts are always preceded by a scene in which the Apostles, and sometimes holy women, are gathered after the resurrection, often in the Upper Room, and under the command of either the Holy Spirit or Jesus who appears to them, first divide the missionary areas between themselves, and then together establish liturgical or disciplinary church canons. Some such texts are included in the ↗*Senodos* (e.g., the *30 Canons of the Apostles*); others are the ↗*Testamentum Domini* and the ↗*Didəsqəlya*, early Christian compositions originating from Syria.

Also the above list of the N.T. apocrypha can be extended, e.g., by the martyrological accounts of Apostles and other figures of the N.T., included in the ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*. Here accounts of martyrdoms of Thecla, the disciple of Paul, of Stephen the Protomartyr can be found, and, separately, of the discovery of the latter's relics. Lives of the N.T. characters are also extant outside it, e.g. *Life of Centurion Cornelius*.

In addition to Christian P. and A., there is also Betä Ǝsraᵓel literature of this sort (s. EAE vol. 1, 558).

↗Gəᶜəz literature

Lit.: CANT [nos.]; CAVT [nos.]; Carlo Conti Rossini, "La leggenda di Habacuch nella versione etiopica", in: *CRStud* 17–40; EMML nos. 1939, 3049; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Ethiopia in the 4th Century: the Apocryphal *Acts of Mark* between Alexandria and Axum", in: *PICES* 15, 604–10; Paolo Marrassini, "Gli Apocrifi etiopici: alcune osservazioni", in: Nello del Gatto (ed.), *Corso di perfezionamento in Storia del Cristianesimo Antico diretto da Luigi Cirillo e Giancarlo Rinaldi. Atti*, Napoli 1999 (Serie Didattica 2), 238–66; Jules Perruchon, "Deux notes indiquant les tribus auxquelles appartenaient les apôtres, le seconde donnant la généalogie des moines d'Abyssinie depuis S. Antoine", *ZA* 12, 1897–98, 403–08; Jean-Claude Picard, "L'*Histoire des Bienheureux du temps de Jérémie* et la *Narration de Zosime*: arrière-plan historique et mythique", in: *Pseudépigraphes de l'Ancien Testament et manuscripts de la Mer Morte*, vol. 1, Paris 1967 (Cahiers de la Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses 41), 27–43; Pierluigi Piovanelli, "Un nouveau témoin éthiopien de l'*Ascension d'Isaïe* et de la *Vie de Jérémie* (Paris, BN Abb 195)", *Henoch* 12, 1990, 347–63 ; Id., "Les aventures des apocryphes en Éthiopie", *Apocrypha* 4, 1993, 197–224; Id., "Nouvelles perspectives dans l'étude des 'apocryphes' éthiopiens traduits du grec", in: *PICES* 10, 323–30; Witold Witakowski, "On Adam and Satanaᵓel, or *The Vienna Protology*", in: *Miscellanea Patristica*

Reverendissimo Domino Marco Starowieyski septuagenario …, Warszawa 2007 (= Warszawskie studia teologiczne 20, 2), 329–42; Id., "Syriac Apocalyptic Literature", paper presented to the symposium *Armenian Apocalyptic Literature,* Michigan State University, Ann Arbor, MI October 2008.

Witold Witakowski

Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Maḥrē

P. (d. after 775) was a monk in the Zuqnin monastery (near Amid in Mesopotamia, today Diyarbakır, Turkey) who authored a universal chronicle, also known as the *Zuqnin Chronicle*. His conventional name comes from his 18th-cent. erroneous identification with the patriarch of the Syrian Orthodox Church, Dionysius (d. 845), who also wrote a chronicle (preserved only fragmentarily). He otherwise remains anonymous.

P.'s work consists of four parts, based on: (1) the Bible and the *Chronicle* of ↗Eusebios; (2) the *Ecclesiastical history* of Socrates Scholasticus; (3) the *Ecclesiastical history* of ↗John of Ephesus, and (4) mostly own observations.

Part (3) contains material of interest for Ethiopia, and more specifically for the early 6th-cent. wars with ↗Ḥimyar. The material comes originally from the *Chronicle* of ↗John Malalas, via John of Ephesus. Moreover, it includes an abbreviated version of the *Letter* of ↗Simeon of Beth Arsham, on the persecutions of the Christians of ↗Naǧrān, probably also copied from John of Ephesus. The sequence of the lemmata on the Circum-Erythraean affairs ends with an abbreviated (as compared to what ↗Michael the Syrian has) account of the punitive expedition of the (unnamed) king of Ethiopia against the Jewish king of Ḥimyar.

Src.: Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle* (*Known also as the Chronicle of Zuqnin*): *Part III*, tr. by Witold Witakowski, Liverpool 1996 (Translated Texts for Historians 22), 50–64 (Lit.); [Id.], *Incerti auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, ed. I[ohannes]-B[aptista] Chabot, Parisiis 1933 (CSCO Scriptores Syri 3:1, 3:2 [CSCO 91, 104, Scriptores Syri 43, 53]); [Id.], *Chronicon anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum, II*, tr. by Robert Hespel, Lovanii 1989 (CSCO 507, Scriptores Syri 213), 40–51; [Id.], *The Chronicle of Zuqnin, Parts III and IV, A.D. 488–775*, tr. by Amir Harrak, Toronto 1999 (Mediaeval Sources in Translation 36), 75-86; Nina Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien*: *aus der Geschichte des byzantinischen Handels mit dem Orient vom 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1969 (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten 36), 325–35 ["Auszüge aus der syrischen Chronik des Pseudo-Dionysios von Tellmaḥrē"].

Lit.: Witold Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Maḥrē*: *a Study in the History of Historiography*, Uppsala 1987 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 7); Id., "Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius for the Third Part of His Chronicle", *Orientalia Suecana* 40, 1991, 252–75, here 263.

Witold Witakowski

Pseudo-Methodios, Apocalypse of

The A.P. (full title *Memra* [Syr. 'homily', 'treatise'] *Composed by the Blessed Mar Methodios, Bishop and Martyr, on the Succession of the Kings and on the End of Time*) was composed in Syriac in the 690s in Northern Mesopotamia, perhaps in the vicinity of Mount Singar (Ǧabal Sinǧār, today Iraq), on which the author is said to have received his revelation. The anonymous author, who used the name of Methodios (bishop of Olympus, martyred 311) most probably belonged to the Syrian Orthodox, or ↗Jacobite, Church.

The A.P. belongs to the genre of the so-called "historical" apocalypses, i.e., it contains both a *sui generis* historical and an eschatological part. The narrative of the former presents the history of mankind (chronologically based on the millennial system) beginning with the Creation, and adapted to serve the purpose of the author, whereas the eschatological part begins (ch. 11) in the seventh and last millennium with an account of the invasion of Muslim Arabs, called Children of Ishmael. They will defeat the kingdom of the Greeks (ch. 11, 1.3), whereupon tribulations will ensue for the Christians, but soon the End will come. The apocalyptic part contains some of the usual elements of the eschatological programme (such as the invasion of the peoples of Gog and Magog, or the coming of the Son of Perdition or Antichrist) but also includes new topics such as the legend of the Last Roman Emperor, who would first destroy the Ishmaelites, and then surrender his power to God. The origin of this figure is an invention of Pseudo-Methodios: the emperor is a descendant of an Ethiopian princess, Kusheth (or Kushyath), who was married to Buz, the founder of the city of Byzantion, whilest their daughter, Byzantia, would marry Armalos, king of the Romans, and their three sons would rule over the whole world divided into three respective parts (ch. 9). The Last Roman Emperor comes from this dynasty, and thus being an "Ethiopian", he fulfils the prophecy of Ps 68:31, the Syriac version (Peshitta, *Pəšīṭtā*) of which reads: "Ethiopia shall give hand (a Syriac idiomatic expression to be understood as "surrender") to God" (ch. 14, 5). The Emperor, having defeated all the enemies, will perform this act by hanging his crown on the Cross in Jerusalem, whereupon he will die.

As A.P. informs us (ch. 9,7), other "brethren" (monks) believed that the liberation of the Christians from the Muslim yoke would come from the hand of an Ethiopian king. The Syrians' eschatological expectation of salvation coming from Ethiopia, was in the imagination of the author no doubt evoked by the memory of the Ethiopian military intervention on behalf of the Christians of ↗Nağrān, martyred ca. 520 by a local king who had converted to Judaism. This, combined with the interpretation of Ps 68:31 and the legend of the Last Roman Emperor, seems to be the background of the otherwise quite fantastic pedigree attributed to him by the author of the A.P.

As the first apocalyptic text which dealt with the Muslims, the A.P. experienced enormous popularity in both the Christian Orient, the Byzantine Orthodox world and in the Latin West. Several translations into various languages testify to it: Greek (four versions known), from which those into Latin, Church Slavonic and Armenian are derived. Both the original and the translations in their turn influenced many other compositions of apocalyptic character in Syriac, Greek, Latin, as well as a series of apocalyptic writings in Arabic from Coptic Egypt (Martínez 1990; cp. ↗Samuʾel of Qalamun).

There are connections between the A.P. and the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (Alexander 1973). The A.P. can be regarded as one of the sources of the *Kəbrä nägäśt* or, alternatively, the two texts have a common source (Caquot 1989–90: 61). Perhaps the A.P. is even mentioned in the *Kəbrä nägäśt* (ch. 117) as "the book of Dämatiyos of Rome", with which the words of Gregory about the kings of Ethiopia and of Rome agree (cp. ↗Rom, EAE vol. 5). According to ch. 19 it was Dəmatyos, the patriarch of Rome (= Constantinople) who found in the Church of (Hagia) Sophia a manuscript in which the kingdom of the world would be divided between the Emperor of Rome and that of Ethiopia. Moreover both texts share the same, in fact Syriac, interpretation of Ps 68:31. The latter is quoted by the *Kəbrä nägäśt* twice differently: once (ch. 113) according to the Ethiopic ↗Bible, and the other (ch. 50) according to the Syriac version (Caquot 1994: 333).

Src.: WILLEM JOHAN AERTS – GEORGE A.A. KORTEKAAS (eds., trs.), *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius: die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen*, Lovanii 1998 (CSCO 569, 570 [Subsidia 97, 98]); GERRIT JAN REININK (ed., tr.), *Die syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, Lovanii 1993 (CSCO 540, 541 [Scriptores Syri 220, 221]); PAUL J. ALEXANDER (tr.), *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, Berkeley, CA 1985, 36–51; FRANCISCO JAVIER MARTINEZ (tr.), *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the early Muslim Period*: *Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius*, Ph.D. thesis, Washington 1985, 122–201.

Lit.: PAVEL ALEKSANDER, "Psevdo-Mefodij i Efiopija" ('Pseudo-Methodius and Ethiopia'), *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka* 10, 1973, 21–27; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'Éthiopie dans les Révélations du Pseudo-Méthode et dans le livre éthiopien de La Gloire des Rois", *Revue de la Société Ernest Rénan* n.s. 39, 1989–90, 53–65; ID., "Le *Kebra Nagast* et les *Révélations* du Pseudo-Méthode", in: *PICES* 10, 331–35; FRANCISCO JAVIER MARTINEZ, "The King of Rūm and the King of Ethiopia in Medieval Apocalyptic Texts from Egypt", in: WLODZIMIERZ GODLEWSKI (ed.), *Coptic Studies*: *Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies, Warsaw, 20–25 August, 1984*, Varsovie 1990, 247–59; M.V. KRIVOV, "Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara as a Source on History of Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 111–17; WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "The Eschatological Program of the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodios: Does it Make Sense?", *Rocznik orientalistyczny* 53, 1, 2000, 33–42.

Witold Witakowski

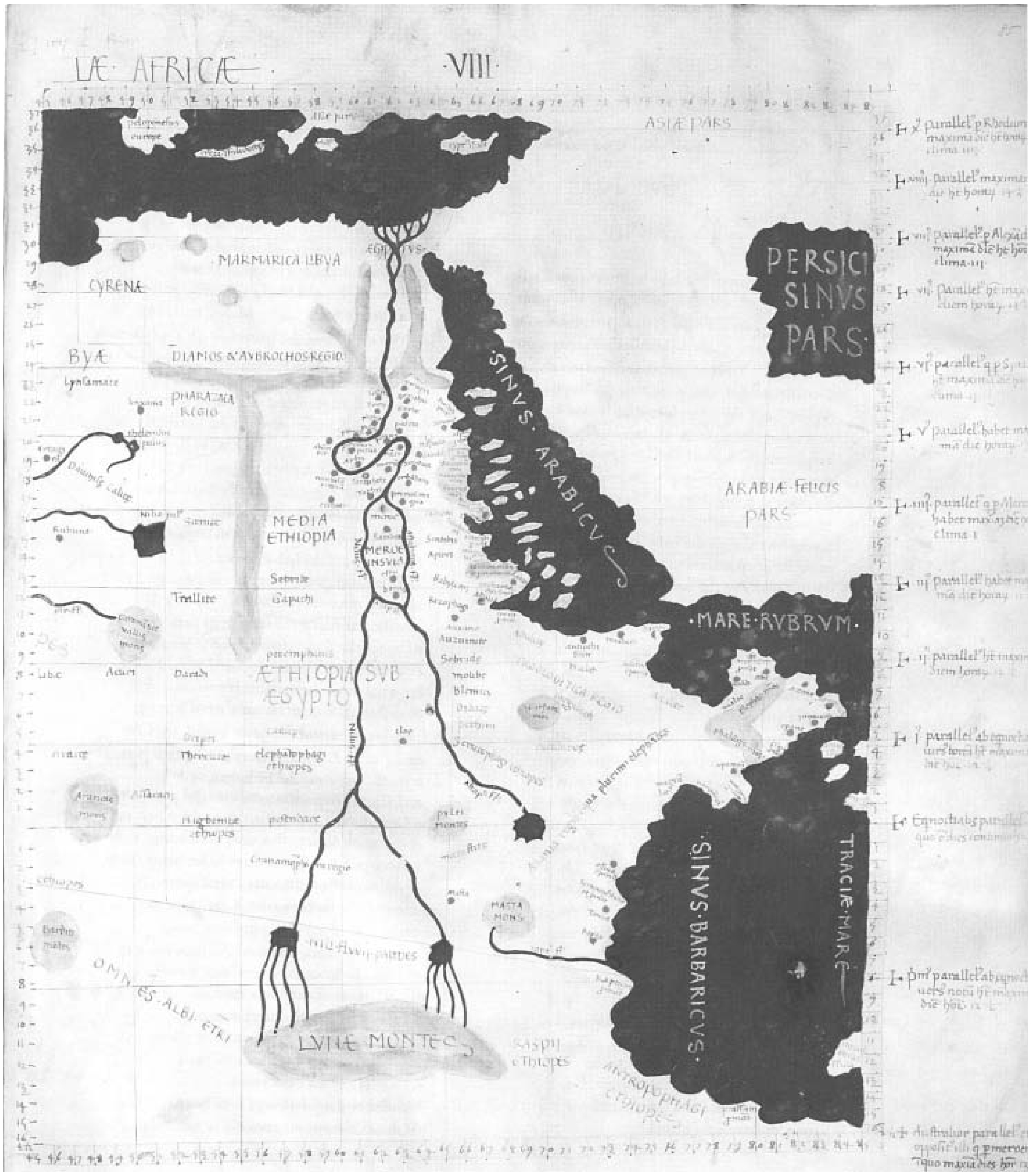
Ptolemy

P. (Claudius Ptolemaeus, d. after 161 A.D.; Eth. **በጥሊሞስ**, *Baṭlimos*; Ar. *Baṭlamiyūs*) was an astronomer, mathematician and geographer certainly active in Alexandria, Egypt, between 127 and 147/48 A.D.

His most famous works, all surviving in the Greek original, are the *Mathematical Syntaxis* (widely known as the *Almagest*), a 13-book treatise on astronomy in which, among other things, the foundations of modern trigonometry are laid; the *Tetrabiblos*, a "4-book" manual of astrology complementary to the previous one; and the 8-book *Geography*, an abridged version of which is the small *Canon of Latitudes and Longitudes* put under his name, although the co-ordinates for certain places are not the same.

P. codified the Greek geocentric view of the universe, and rationalized the apparent motions of the planets as they were known at the time – which was to be the accepted view until Copernicus proposed a heliocentric system in 1543.

An even more outstanding contribution was given by P. to the history of geography and cartography, as he was the first to project a sphere – the Earth – onto a plane. A critical summary of earlier writers' achievements, his massive *Geography* (*Geographikḕ hyphḗgēsis*, 'Geographic Introduction') contains instructions for laying out maps by three different methods of projection, provides co-ordinates for some eight thousand places, and employs systematically, for


LÆ AFRICÆ
VIII
ASIÆ PARS
PERSICI SINVS PARS
MARMARICA LIBYA
CYRENÆ
SINVS ARABICVS
MEDIA ETHIOPIA
MEROE INSVLA
ARABIÆ FELICIS PARS
MARE RVBRVM
ÆTHIOPIA SVB ÆGYPTO
LVNÆ MONTES
SINVS BARBARICVS
TRACIÆ MARE

Latin version of Ptolemy's *Geography*, map with the Red Sea area and the Horn of Africa; London, BritLib, Harley ms. 7182, fol. 85; from Whitfield 1998: 10.

the first time, such basic concepts as latitude and longitude. Yet, given the nature of its sources (mainly travellers' itineraries, but also local sources: e.g., for India, s. McCrindle 1885: XIX–XXIII), the factual content of the work is obviously inaccurate. Notorious errors are both the excessive east-west elongation of the Mediterranean and the proposed land connection between Africa and Asia, making the Indian Ocean into a lake (s. ↗"India" as name of Ethiopia).

In the late 13th-cent. ↗Byzantine empire, the *Geography* was rediscovered and its maps reconstructed (or replotted) and attached to the new copies of the text. The 1406–09 Latin translation by Emanuel Chrysoloras and Jacopo Angeli, illustrated with splendid maps, became a best seller both in the age of luxurious manuscripts and in that of print. Thus P. remained the great authority on the subject until the time of Columbus – possibly inspired to sail west for the Indies by P.'s representation of Asia, extended much too far east.

Oriental astronomy and geography were also deeply influenced by the writings of, or those ascribed to, P., which left a lasting impact on Islamic science through Arabic renderings and adaptations of most of them: the *Geography* was translated several times in the ᶜAbbasid period (Plessner in *EI*^{2} vol. 1, 1100ff.). P. then became the chief source of such authors as al-Ḫʷārazmī (d. after 232 H. [847 A.D.]), al-Baṭṭānī (d. 317 H. [929 A.D.]) and al-↗Idrīsī, whose works Arab geography relied on until as late as the 19th cent.

P.'s *Geography*, in the form of a list of toponyms with co-ordinates and brief annotations appended, covers the entire ↗Horn of Africa, especially ↗Nubia and Ethiopia (↗Aithiopía), although with some inconsistencies. It records ↗Meroë and the confluence of *Neîlos* and *Astápous* (White and Blue Nile) which flows from the *Kolóē límnē* (Lake ↗Ṭana), and into which the *Astasbóras* (↗Atbara) merges (IV, 7, 21f. and 24; but s. CRStor 118). It knows of ↗Adulis, of the town of Dḗrē/D(e)írē (Raᵓs Siyān or Dumayra, s. ↗Dumērá), "beyond the straits", i.e. Bāb al-Mandab, and of the *Aualítēs empórion* (to the south-est of ᶜAden: in the gulf of ↗Tağūra?), given quite a southern latitude (IV, 7, 9f.; cp. Desanges 1978a: 98 and 1978b: 300, 334). It also lists the Aksumites (*Auxoumîtai*, after the more conventional *Rhyzophágoi*, 'Root eaters'), ↗Aksum (*Auxoúmē*), "where the king's residence [*basíleion*] is" (IV, 7, 29 and 25; cp. ↗*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*), and other "cities": *Kolóē* (also a lake name: s. ↗Coloë, ↗Qoḥayto, ↗Ṭana) and the mysterious *Mastḗ*, with the *Mastîtai* (IV, 7, 24f. and 31). P.'s is indeed the first proper mention of Aksum – passed hence to the Arab geographers, starting from al-Baṭṭānī (cp. Monneret de Villard 1938: 131 and n. 1).

In Ethiopic, P. is known from explicit references to his *Almagest* (**መጽሐፈ፡ መጀስጢ**, *Mäṣḥafä mäǧəsṭi*) in the ↗*Abušakər* (chs. 8, 37 [with partial tr. of *Alm.* III, 1] and 39), as well as from two short treatises attributed to him. The first one is a fragment on cosmography, ms. BN d'Abbadie 20 (CRAbb no. 67), fols. 1r–3r (ed. Kračkovskij 1912: 129–36; cp. Conti Rossini 1943: 171f.; other mss.: Grottaferrata [Roma], Biblioteca della Badia greca, Aeth. 3 [R. 9], part II.*a*, fols. 3r–v; Berlin Staatsbiblioth. Preuss. Kulturbesitz Or. oct. 1299 [HamSixBerl no. 71], fols. 5r–8r, 9r–20r; EMML 3981, fol. 142v); the second one, a 24-ch. manual of divination (**መጽሐፈ፡ መቅድመ፡ ከሣቴ፡ ምሥጢር**, *Mäṣḥafä mäqdəmä käśate məśṭir*, 'Book of the Introduction to the Revelation of the Mystery'), BritLib Add. 16, 247 (DillmLond no. 82), fols. 67r–79r, also bearing on planets (ed. Conti Rossini 1940, with ch. 1 and contents in tr.). Like the anonymous "cosmogonical" sketch in ms. d'Abbadie 109 (CRAbb no. 238), fols. 6v–8r (ed. Kračkovskij 1912: 136–42), these treatises are not really dependent on Arabic writings (cp. GuiLet 95 and n. 1; Conti Rossini 1940: 66f.), as they can be traced to the hitherto unpublished Ethiopic version (a compendious reduction) of the Arabic chronicle of al-Makīn (↗Giyorgis Wäldä ᶜAmid), which is itself based on a variety of sources (Proverbio 2000: 543–51). Among them, the excursus on "geography" in the *Kitāb al-ᶜUnwān* ('Book of the Title') by the 10th-cent. Melkite bishop Agapius of Manbiğ (Mahbūb b. Qusṭanṭīn, ed. Vasiliev 1910: 604–27), which was once believed to have served as an immediate model for both treatises (Kračkovskij 1912: 129 n. 1, 143). As a matter of fact, the same indirect transmission might even account for such quotations from Agapius (Fəqur Wäldä Qʷäsṭänṭinos) as that in Abušakər's "Chronography" (6, 1–9, tr. Neugebauer 1988: 135–38, cp. 165).

Extensive excerpts from the *Almagest* catalogue of the stars are found in an equally short anonymous treatise, primarily astronomical: BritLib Orient. 810 (WrBriMus no. 385), fols. 8r–10r, here 10r (Neugebauer 1979: 217 and n. 10).

↗Geography, historical; ↗Greek literature in Ethiopia

Src.: CLAUDII PTOLEMAEI *Opera quae extant omnia*, ed. J.L. HEIBERG et al., 3 vols., Lipsiae 1898–1954; EIUSD. *Geographia*, ed. CAROLUS MÜLLERUS, 2 vols., Parisiis 1883–1901; ID., *Geographia*, ed. C.F.A. NOBBE, 3 vols., Lipsiae 1843–45 [repr. Hildesheim 1966]; ID., *The Geography*, tr. E.L. STEVENSON, London 1932 [repr. 1991]; ID. (KLAUDIOS PTOLEMAIOS), *Handbuch der Geographie*, ed. by ALFRED STÜCKELBERGER – GERD GRASSHOFF, 2 vols., Basel 2006 (mit Ergänzungsband, Basel 2009); ID., *Der Sternkatalog des Almagest*: *Die arabisch-mittelalterliche Tradition*, ed., tr. by PAUL KUNITZSCH, 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1986–91; ID., *Geographiae Codex Urbinas Graecus 82*, ed. J. FISCHER, 2 vols. in 4 parts, Leiden – Leipzig 1932; JOHN W. MCCRINDLE, *India as Described by Ptolemy*, London 1885 [repr. Calcutta 1927; Delhi 1977, with Introd., notes and add. maps by SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI; Whitefish, MT 2008], XIX–XXIII; GERALD JAMES TOOMER (ed.), *Ptolemy's Almagest*, London 1984;

CRAbb 109, no. 67 [ms. d'Abbadie 20]; 231, no. 238 [ms. d'Abbadie 109]; DillmLond 62, no. 82 [ms. Add. 16, 247]; WrBriMus 291f., no. 385 [ms. Orient. 810]; Delio Vania Proverbio, *Inventario sommario dei manoscritti arabi, ebraici, etiopici – con notizia dei turchi – conservati presso la Biblioteca della Badia di Grottaferrata*, Roma 2000 (= *MRALm* ser. 9^{a}, 12 [4]), 467–570, here 484, 542–51, no. 3, part II.*a* [ms. Crypt. Aeth. 3 (R. 9)]; HamSixBerl no. 71 [ms. Or. oct. 1295]; EMML V, 265, no. 3981; Ignatij Julianovič Kračkovskij, "Iz êfiopskoj geografičeskoj literatury" ('From the Ethiopian Geographical Literature'), *Hristianskij Vostok* 1, 1912, 127–43; Carlo Conti Rossini, "III. Il libro della rivelazione dei misteri attribuito a Tolomeo", *RSO* 19, 1940, 65–80; Otto Neugebauer, *Abu Shaker's "Chronography"*, Wien 1988 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte 498), 135–38, 165f., 168; Alexander Vasiliev (ed., tr.), *Agapius de Menbidj, Kitâb al-ʿUnvân – Histoire universelle, I (1)*, Paris 1910 (PO 5, 5), 604–27 [= 48–71].

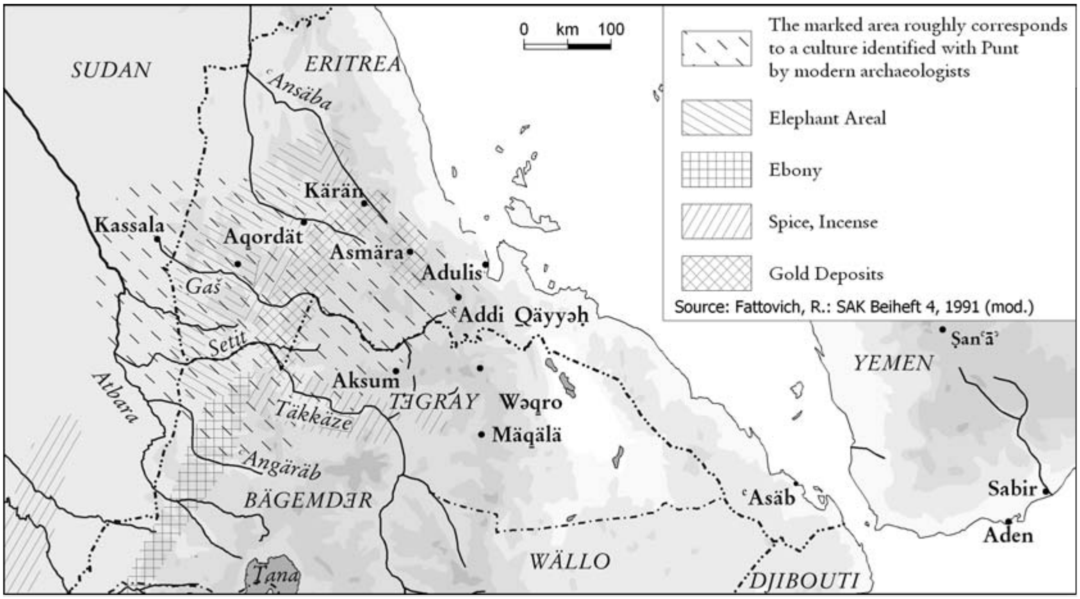
Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Geographica", *RSE* 3, 1943, 167–99, here 171f.; CRStor 118f.; Jehan Desanges, "Le littoral africain du Bab el-Mandeb d'après les sources grecques et latines", *AE* 9, 1978a, 83–101, here 98; Id., *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique (VI^{e} siècle avant J.-C. – IV^{e} siècle après J.-C.)*, Rome 1978b (Collection de l'École française de Rome 38), 275–78, 293–300, 334, s. index (440); Klaus Geus, "Ptolemaios – Reaktionär, Theoretiker, Plagiator?", in: Thomas Beck – Marília dos Santos Lopes – Christian Rödel (eds.), *Barrieren und Zugänge: Die Geschichte der europäischen Expansion. Festschrift für Eberhard Schmitt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 2004, 36–50; GuiSLett 95 and n. 1; Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, Roma 1938 (OrChrA 118), 131 and n. 1; Otto Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, Berlin – Heidelberg – New York 1975 (Studies in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences 1), vol. 1, 21–261, vol. 2, 917–41; Id., *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Wien 1979 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte 347), 217 and n. 11; Maximilian Plessner, "Baṭlamiyūs", in: *EI*^{2} vol. 1, 1100–02; Gerald James Toomer, "Ptolemaeus", in: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 11, New York 1975, 186–206; Id., "Ptolemy", in: *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford ^{3}1996, 1273–305 (Lit.); Peter Whitfield, *New Found Lands*, London 1998, 10 (ill.).

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Punt

The Land of P. (Egyptian *Pwn.t*) is mentioned in Ancient Egyptian sources between ca. 2500 B.C. (Pharaoh Sahure; Borchardt 1913: 15ff., 19, 23) and 14 A.D. (Emperor Tiberius; Herzog 1968: 21) as a remote country, which was at times regarded as the mythological origin of ↗Egypt's gods. In the long ages of direct contact by ship and via land – documented already for the reign of Pharaoh Sahure – it was Egypt's trade partner, delivering mainly ↗incense, ↗ivory, ebony, ostrich feathers and eggs as well as ↗gold, make-up, gum, dogs, monkeys as well as leopard furs. Today, most scholars agree that this toponym designated a flourishing ancient culture in the ↗Horn of Africa, preceding the ↗DʿMT kingdom.

The name P. is of unclear etymology (Zibelius 1972). According to orthographic rules for words with *wn* 'be', the Egyptian form could be reconstructed as **P˘wān˘t*. An etymological explanation by Meinhof (1941/42: 300ff.), based on a theory that located P. in eastern Africa further south, is outdated; the suggested connection with the Swahili locative *pwani*, 'beach' (< *kupwa*, 'get dry') is impossible, as the Bantu migration to eastern Africa took place long after P. flourished. Alliot (1951: 1–7) identified the Ptolemaic Greek toponym *Ὀπώνη*, *Opōnē* (i.e. Ra's Ḥāfūn in Somalia) found also in the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, with P. and reconstructed a "Hamitic" toponym **opūn*, from which the Egyptian form *Pwn.t* would have been borrowed; this is based on the assumption that P. was located in northern Somalia, which has, however, been put into doubt later. It is possible, however, that the people or country of Put, mentioned in the Biblical list of peoples (Gen 10: 6), could be identified with P. (e.g., Soggin 1997: 170). A still much debated hypothesis (Zyhlarz 1958; O'Connor 1982; SerHist 25) links some toponyms of southern regions occurring in topographical lists from the time of Thutmosis III (reg. ca. 1479–1425 B.C.) with the Ethio–Eritrean region *wḏlṯt* (no. 59 <*wç̌-rw-č-t*$^{\text{determinative}}$>) with ↗Adulis, *ꜣmśw* (no. 50 <*ꜣ-m-mś-św*>) with ↗Ḥamasen, and *tkꜣr.w* (no. 10) with ↗Təgray (the latter not being listed, however, directly under P. and therefore rather meaning a region outside P.); these toponyms were read as Outoulit, Amasu and Tekaru (s. SerHist 25), which is problematic. In principle, a connection is possible due to the great conservativity of onomastics in the region (all three terms are documented since Aksumite times). The inhabitants of P. are called *ḫbśtjw* (*jw* being the nisba, pl.), which, according to a new hypothesis, corresponds to ↗Ḥabašāt (i.e. the today's ethnonym Ḥabäša of the inhabitants of the northern highlands of Ethiopia/Eritrea). The reliefs from the mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsut (18th dynasty, reg. ca. 1479–58 B.C.) depict "a prince of P." (*wr.w n(i) Pwn.t*). It has not yet been possible to connect his name, *Pꜣ-r-h-w* (**Pal/rhu*), to any known language, although a comparion with names of Ethiosemitic origin has been proposed (Breyer in preparation). His wife is called


0 km 100
The marked area roughly corresponds to a culture identified with Punt by modern archaeologists
Elephant Areal
Ebony
Spice, Incense
Gold Deposits
Source: Fattovich, R.: SAK Beiheft 4, 1991 (mod.)
SUDAN
ERITREA
Ansäba
Kärän
Kassala
Aqordät
Asmära
Adulis
Gaš
ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ
Setit
Atbara
Aksum
TƎGRAY
Wəqro
Mäqälä
Täkkäze
Angäräb
BÄGEMDƎR
Tana
WÄLLO
ᶜAsäb
DJIBOUTI
Ṣanᶜāʾ
YEMEN
Sabir
Aden

Ity – a name hardly connected with the ancient Ethiopian Queen's title ↗*ətege*.

The exact location of P. is also a matter of discussion. The main source for reconstructing it is the relief from Hatshepsut's temple. The reliefs show several details such as housing, landscape and animals. This view is confirmed by other texts, which describe the Land of P. as terraced and mountainous, characterized by rainfalls. The inhabitants can be classified in three groups according to their vestments and headdress (Drenkhahn 1967: 6f.). Judging from the flora and fauna depicted (giraffes, rhinoceroses, baboons, doum palm and incense trees), the land had a tropical climate (Hilzheimer 1932; Hepper 1969; Dixon 1969; Störk 1977; Lüchtrath 1988). Sea animals featuring in representations of ship expeditions to P. are typical of the Red Sea (Danelius – Steinitz 1967). The aforementioned trade items are fitting in with the African continent in general. It has thus been common to place P. in Africa to the south of Egypt (cf. Kitchen 1971: 184–207).

Ethnographic details that can be elicited from the reliefs support the African theory. The houses are shown built on poles above cattle stalls (Phillips 1996: 206f.), a construction style with parallels in eastern Africa (Herzog 1968: 67–71). Iron bracelets and anklets similar to those shown to be worn by the figures on the relief are still in use in south-eastern Sudan. Herzog (1968) suggested the identification of the princess of P. from the reliefs with a bushman woman, but her obesity was rather of pathological nature (Brunner-Traut 1957: 307–11; Brunner-Traut 1974; reconfirmed by new medical data, Schmeller – Meier-Vollrath 2007).

Recently, Meeks ((2002 and 2003: 53–80) again brought up the possibility of P.'s placement on the Arabian Peninsula, in particular Arabia Petrea, but his indications are poor: he claims that the giraffe could have been imported to Arabia from another region, and that the rhinoceros is represented with only one horn, instead of two horns typical for the African species; however, Kitchen (1999: 173–78) has already shown that similar one-horn representations are found in Kerma (s. Nubia, EAE, vol. 5), where the African and not the Asian species are definitely meant.

Archaeologists have also been trying to place P. on the map. Quiring (1947: 161ff.) suggested a connection between P. and ruins in Zimbabwe – but those ruins are too recent and date back to the 10th–15th cent. A.D. Much more convincing is the proposal of Fattovich (1991; 1993), who connected P. with the cultures of Eritrea, northern Ethiopia and south-eastern Sudan, especially with the culture of the Gaš delta (↗Gaš group). He brought into relief the steady contacts the cultures of Nubia (C Group), southern Sudan/northern Ethiopia (↗Atbara ceramics tradition: Butana, Gaš, Aqordat and Ǧabal Mokram groups), Eritrea (↗ᶜOna culture A) and southern Arabia (Tiḥama culture) had among themselves and with Egypt. Evidence offered by rock art, ceramics and trade

Depiction of Punt houses, flora and fauna in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Punt Hall; photo 2002, courtesy of Karl H. Leser

objects suggests a localization of P. in the wider region around the rivers Gaš and Barka.

Contacts between Egypt and P. existed since the Old Kingdom. A pygmy is said to have been imported from P. during the reign of Djedkare Isesi (5th dynasty). Products from P. were probably traded via land route by help of Nubian mediators. During the Middle Kingdom, the trade had to be carried out by sea as it was necessary to bypass the rather strong kingdom of Kerma/↗Kuš. The starting point for Egyptian sea expeditions was the *wādī* Hammamat (Bradbury 1988; Farout 1994; Vandersleyen 1989; 1996: 110f.), which connected the ↗Nile valley and the Red Sea via the eastern Egyptian desert. At the end of the *wādī*, the port of Marsā Gawasis was constructed (Sayed 1983), marked by stelae of Egyptian expedition leaders, remainders of ship parts, tools and anchor stones. Hieroglyphic inscriptions prove that this could have been the port to P. (Sayed 1983). Recent excavations have shed more light on the logistics of the expeditions (Bard – Fattovich 2007). The travel schedule was dictated by the currents that were directed southwards from June to September and northwards from November to March. With ships making ca. 40–50 km per day, the distance of 900–1,300 km could be covered in 20–40 days, which leaves sufficient time for the described voyages into the country. The Puntite port should be therefore localized between Port Sudan and ↗Asmära, with P. stretching from the wider Gaš/Barka lowlands to the Red Sea coast.

With the rise of Kuš, the trade between Egypt and P. came to an end. The relationships resumed during the New Kingdom, trade being carried out from the Egyptian port of Aqīq (Ptolemais of the Huntings). It is also during this period that the Egyptians undertook an unsuccessful attempt to cultivate incense, the main P. export item, in the Nile valley (KRI II: 514).

It is possible that due to the growing connection of African cultures with southern Arabia, starting with the reign of Ramses South Arabia was also considered part of P. Recent archaeological findings in Sābir, Yemen, confirm the presence of a culture with strong connections to the African side in the “Puntite” period, which would support the idea that the culture(s) of P. also reached the southern Arabian side (Vogt – Buffa 2005).

A major drought in north-eastern Africa and the simultaneous disappearance of settlements along the Atbara and Gaš coincide with the end of the Egyptian–P. relationship. The demise could have also been brought about by the growing

South Arabian influences in north-east Africa, which culminated in D^{c}MT kingdom. From then onwards, and until the Ptolemaic and Roman times, trade was under southern Arabian control, and in Egypt P. remained a toponym only reported in legends and religious texts.

In the course of modern Somali nationalism, the term "P." was used for the construction of an ancient past, and one region, where Raʾs Ḥāfūn is located, was called Puntland.

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Francis Breyer

Pushkin, Alexander Sergeyevich

P. (Aleksandr Sergeevič Puškin; b. 6 June 1799, Moscow, d. 10 February 1837, Saint-Petersburg) was a Russian poet, novelist and dramatist, regarded as the founder of modern Russian literature, and traditionally believed to have been partly of Ethiopian (respectively Eritrean) origin, and as such sometimes claimed by Ethiopians as belonging to the history of Ethiopian literature. P. repeatedly referred to his descent from Abraham Ganibal [Hannibal] (b. ca. 1686, d. 14 May 1781 [Greg. Calendar] Suida/Saint-Petersburg), his great-grandfather, who was a godson of Tsar Peter the Great (1672–1725) and who rose to prominence in 18th-cent. Russia. P. made him the subject of an unfinished, largely fictitious, novel

The Moor of Peter the Great (1827/28, publ. 1837, first Engl. ed. 1875), and proudly refers to his descent elsewhere in his works, e.g., in notes to *Eugene Onegin*.

Some of P.'s works, poetic and prosaic, were translated into Amharic (s., e.g., Volpe 1988: 189). P.'s relationship to Ethiopia is symbolized by a bust of the poet, erected at Pushkin Square in Addis Abäba, in 1999. The origins of P.'s great-grandfather Abraham Ganibal, however, are not well documented. A petition written by him in 1742 documents that he was born in Africa at a place called Lago or Logon. Family tradition, first documented by his Baltic-German son-in-law in 1786, holds that he was an "Abyssinian"; he was one of about 19 children of a local (Muslim?) chief and, abducted by Ottoman troops, was shipped, like many other slaves (s. ↗Slavery), to Constantinople. His town of origin has been tentatively identified, by the present writer and others, with the "town" of Logo, in present-day Eritrea, indicated in ↗Salt's Map of Abyssinia (SalTrav 246), which may be identified with the historical region ↗Loggo Č̣əwa in ↗Säraye. At the time of his birth this was under the rule of *däggiyat* ↗Hab Śəllus, who may have had several minor conflicts with Ottoman troops from ↗Massawa. Another possibility is nearby ↗Loggo Särda further east, partially populated by Muslim ↗Sāho, who were tributary to the Ottomans and repeatedly rebelled (Solomon Ghebre-Ghiorghis 2002).

P.'s Ethiopian descent was accepted by most Soviet Ethiopisants. This identification is, however, rejected by a Benin author, Gnammankou (1996), who identifies Logon with Logone-Birni, south of the Chad lake, in today's Cameroon, as did Nabokov (1962); this was supported by Barnes (2005), whose most important argument seems to be that the motto on Abraham Ganibal's crest in an unknown language (FVMMO) would make sense in Kotoko, spoken in Logone; however, it more probably means Latin "Fortuna Vitam Meam Mutavit Oppido" (Cocks 2005).

Abraham's later life is better known. He was purchased in 1703 for Peter the Great, who had him baptized in 1705 in Vilnius, and subse-quently sent him, with a number of young Rus-sians, for modern education to France (1716–23), where he visited the military college in Metz. Abraham later followed a military career in the Tsarist army as a military engineer, among others fortifying the boundary to China, rising to the rank of General (in 1742 being the governor of Reval, Estonia), and married into the Russian aristocracy. Originally called Ibrahim, then Abraham Petrovič or Petrov (thus referring to his godfather Peter the Great), he later acquired the surname Ganibal, i.e. that of the Carthaginian leader Hannibal, this being one of the few Africans then known of in Russia. His estate, the village of Mikhailovskoye, was inherited by his great-grandson P.

Statue of Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin at Pushkin Square, Addis Abäba; photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Src.: Michael L. Volpe, "An Annotated Bibliography of Ethiopian Literature in Russian", *RSE* 32, 1990, 171–93; Alexander Serguevitch Pushkin, *The Moor of Peter the Great*, in: Id., *Russian Romance*, tr. by Mrs. John Buchan Telfer, London 1875 [repr. in *EthObs* 1, 8, 1957, 248–65]; SalTrav 246.

Lit.: Hugh Barnes, *Gannibal*: *the Moor of Petersburg*, London 2005; Frances Somers Cocks, *The Moor of St Petersburg*: *in the Footsteps of a Black Russian*, London 2005; Elaine Feinstein, *Pushkin*, London 1998; Dieudonné Gnammankou, *Abraham Hanibal*: *l'aïeul noir de Pushkine*, Paris – Dakar 1996; Vladimir Nabokov, "Pushkin and Gannibal: a Footnote", *Encounter* 19, 1, 1962, 19, 1, 11–26; PankIntro 423–26; Richard Pankhurst, "Pushkin's African Ancestry: a Question of Roots", *History Today*, September 1988, 44–46; Id. et al., "Pushkin's Ethiopian Ancestry", *EthObs* 1, 8, 1957, 241–68; Eugene Schuyler, *Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia*, New York 1884; Solomon Ghebre-Ghiorghis, *The Eritrean Ancestry of Alexander Pushkin*, ms., Asmara 2002.

Richard Pankhurst

Q

Qaalluu

Q. is a term used widely by ↗Oromo for two different types of major religious figures. The first of these refers to men who serve as the sacred ritual representatives of major Oromo groups, the second type of Q. are religious leaders in a wide sense. The first type of Q. mediate between humans and the supernatural world, preside over the most important ↗*gadaa* ceremonies, serve as the focus for major ↗pilgrimages, and thus help to give a sense of unity to widespread populations. Their followers believe that the rituals and other functions they perform are vital for "fertility, well-being, prosperity, peace, and justice" (Bassi 2005: 269). The Q. are intermediaries between humanity and ↗Waaqa and one of their major functions is to bless the people. Their positions are lifelong and are hereditary in certain lineages, and they are surrounded by sacred regalia (e.g., ↗*Kallačča* and a black turban, *ruufa*), numerous beliefs and myths, and retinues of retainers and servants who help them carry out both daily tasks and the sacred rituals and other activities necessary for the fulfilment of their duties.

In recent years the Q. have been prominent among the ↗Boorana of southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya, and among the ↗Guǧǧi Oromo (Hinnant 1978). They are associated with the organization of *gadaa* and play essential roles in the maintenance of that complex system by providing the sacred setting for the vital handing-over ceremonies (*gumii gaayoo*) every eight years, trying to ensure peace among various parties and claimants, anointing (↗*Muddaa*) participants, and, in some cases, choosing the new *gadaa* officials. The position of the Q. contrasts in several ways from the other officers in the *gadaa* system, both secular and ritual, who are elected for limited terms of eight years, and cannot either inherit or pass on their positions. On the other hand the Q. are supposed to be above party politics and must never bear arms. Despite these limits, however, Q. have sometimes been appointed to official governmental positions by Ethiopian government officials.

Today the Q. draw their followers mainly from among their own groups (the two Boorana main moieties each have their own Q., the Guǧǧi only one), but it is believed that the ancient (?) institution of the ↗*abbaa muudaa* Q. of ↗Bale, once fulfilled that function for most Oromo groups, before they were dispersed by migration. The *abbaa muudaa*'s ritual centre is a site of pilgrimage for some Oromo even today.

The term Q. is also applied widely to religious leaders of a different sort: spirit mediums whose power and importance comes as a result of their being possessed by *ayyaana* (↗Possession cults), a type of religious expert that resembles to a certain extent the ↗*qalləčča.* Incorporeal ↗spirits like the *ayyaana* are believed to take hold of individuals and make them do their bidding, speaking through the mouths of their human mediums, castigating those who have done wrong, answering questions from the afflicted, perhaps offering hope to the suffering. In some areas, at least, the *ayyaana* are believed to be guardians of morality, playing a role in punishing those who offend the social order (Knutsson 1967; Lewis 1990).

Although it is possible for an individual to inherit spirits, new Q. can arise spontaneously when they are "caught" by *ayyaana* and made sick or seemingly mad by them. The individual may subsequently reach a modus vivendi with the spirit so that he or she can live normally most of the time, but the *ayyaana* can be summoned by drumming, singing and dancing, and will appear when called upon by the faithful. On these occasions the Q., his or her entourage, and their followers, will gather at the temple (*galma*) dedicated to a spirit and will call upon the *ayyaana*, praising it, and begging it to seize the medium. When the spirit complies there will be a session, perhaps lasting many hours, as people lay their troubles before the Q., the *ayyaana*, and the public, telling of their illnesses, their fears, their troubles, and asking for children, health, relief, and aid. The crowds at the temple of a great Q. may number in the hundreds for days on end when the spirits will be present; they may be in the thousands when the Q. holds annual celebrations at a *galma*.

A Šäwa Oromo *qaalluu* Fayisa Innika, presiding over the annual celebration of *Masqali*-feast in his regalia, attended by his shield and spear bearers, at Tofe, between Holäta and Meṭi; photo 1966, courtesy of the author

Powerful Q. establish formal courts for conflict resolution and judicial proceedings on the sacred ground around the *galma*. Plaintiffs and defendants meet before panels of judges installed by the Q., and there are formal procedures similar to those in the government courts.

By all indications, this Q. institution is of recent origin, no more than a few generations old. It has been suggested that these new Q. are filling religious, social, and political vacuums left by the loss of the *gadaa* system, and its successors, war leaders (↗*Abbaa duula*) and wealthy landowners (↗*Abbaa lafa*), who lost their power as a result of the Ethiopian conquest. With their courts, their great ceremonials, the wealth they can accrue, and the following they develop as a result of the help they offer those in need, Q. can gain considerable influence both among their own people and vis-à-vis outside authorities. Despite having been discouraged, even banned, during the years of *Därg* rule, this form of belief, ritual, and leadership appears to be spreading in the 21st cent. as well.

Lit.: AsmGada; MARCO BASSI, *Decisions in the Shade*: *Political and Juridical Processes among the Oromo-Borana*, Trenton, NJ 2004; JOHN HINNANT, "The Guji: Gada as a Ritual System", in: PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – URI ALMAGOR, *Age, Generation, and Time*, London 1978; ID., "Guji Trance and Social Change: Symbolic Response to Domination", *NEASt* 12, 1, 1990, 65–78; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change*: *a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967; HERBERT S. LEWIS, "Gada, Big Man, K'allu: Political Succession among the Eastern Mech'a Oromo", *NEASt* 12, 1, 1990, 43–64.

Herbert S. Lewis

Qäbäle ↗Administrative divisions

Qabeena

Qabeena language

Q. (self-name: Wombisanat^{a}, Qabeensinat^{a}) belongs to the ↗Kambaata group of the ↗Highland East Cushitic (HEC) languages; its closest relative is ↗Allaaba (Crass 2001). Geographically the settlement area of the Q. is separated from that of the other HEC languages by several ↗Gurage languages. Most of the ca. 52,000 (2007 Census) Q. also speak ↗Amharic and/or one or more of the regional contact languages (↗Oromiffaa, ↗Čaha, ↗Ǝža, ↗Muḫər or ↗Wäläne).

The consonant system of Q. is: plosives *p*, *b*, *p̣*, *t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *k*, *g*, *q*, ᵓ; fricatives *f*, *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, *h*; affricates *č*, *ğ*, *č̣*; nasals *m*, *n*, *ñ*; approximants *l*, *r*, *y*, *w*. Consonant gemination is phonologically distinctive. The glottal stop is never geminated; the geminated glottal fricative *h* is realized as voiceless velar plosive *k*. The vowel system consists of five phonemically short and long vowels (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u*). Short vowels are voiceless in unstressed word final position. Stress accent is of grammatical importance, especially for the distinction of accusative and nominative. Morphophonological processes (mainly in the verbal inflection) include assimilation, palatalization, metathesis and epenthesis.

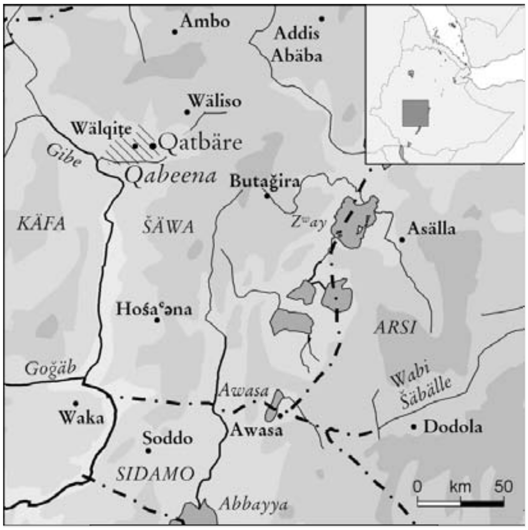
Nouns distinguish two genders: masc. (unmarked in the citation form [CIT]) and fem. (marked in the cit. form with the suffix -*t*^{a}). In respect of number, many nouns have three morphologically distinct forms: general number (bearing no reference to the number of entities), sg. and pl. (e.g., *č̣iwut*^{a} 'bird', *č̣iiččut*^{a} 'a bird', *č̣iwaakkat*^{a} 'birds'). Other nouns have two forms, either general number and pl. (e.g., *bokku* 'house', *bokkaakkat*^{a} 'houses') or sg. and pl. (e.g., *masičču* 'enemy', *masiččaakkat*^{a} 'enemies'). The singular can also be used to express the diminutive.

In respect of nouns (but not pronouns) Q. is a marked nominative language. The unmarked case is the accusative (ACC), which is used as cit. form and to mark direct objects and nominal predicates. The nominative (NOM) marks subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs. The other cases are genitive (GEN), dative, instrumental/comitative, locative (LOC; the latter two only distinguished in masc. nouns) and ablative. Nouns distinguish 13 inflectional classes. Proper names form a special word class. In some of their inflection classes the cit. form and the acc. are distinct forms (which never occur with nouns). Besides their primary use demonstratives are grammaticalized into markers of gender on nouns, copulas (Crass 2003) and nominalizers of verbs.

In verbal inflection, the 3rd pers. fem. is also used for the plural. The historical pl. form of the verb functions synchronically as the impersonal or polite form. Three sets of subject marker paradigms exist with distinct forms in the 1st pers. sg. and 3rd pers. sg. masc. (*y*, *ø*), the 2nd pers. pl. (*teen*, *toon*) and the impersonal/polite form (*ᵓeen*, *ᵓoon*). The other persons have only one morpheme: 1st pers. pl. (*n*), 2nd pers. sg./3rd pers. sg. fem./ 3rd pers. pl. (*t*). Independent verbs in the indicative are marked for subject (person, gender, number) and aspect (perfective, PRV: -*o*- and imperfective, IPV: -*a*-). The "additional morphemes", which follow the aspect vowel, can partly be considered secondary subject markers: they distinguish forms which are marked with one and the same primary subject morpheme. E.g., prv. *haam-t-oo-nt*^{i} 'you (sg.) went'; ipv. *haam-ø-aa-mm*^{i} 'I go'. The markers of the imperative (IMV) mood (including hortative and jussive, JUSS) and of converbs (CONV) are placed after the subject marker, i.e. in the position of the aspect vowels of independent verbs. Since the imv. mood and converbs lack the "additional morphemes", they do not distinguish either 1st pers. sg. and 3rd pers. sg. masc. or 2nd pers. sg. and 3rd pers. sg. fem.: e.g., negative juss. *háam-unka* 'I/he may/should not go!', purpose converb *haam-t-ot*^{a} 'in order that you (sg.)/ she go(es)'.

Verbs are derived by suffixes which follow the lexical base, e.g. -ᵓ or -*aqq* for middle, -*am* for passive, -*aqqam* for reciprocal, and -*is* or -*siis* for causative.

Q. is a strictly head-final language, i.e. all modifiers precede their head, and the unmarked word order is Subject – Object – Verb. E.g., *šif*^{i} *boorat*^{a} *ṭaafaan*^{i} *ᵓallaallo* (Shifa:NOM oxen:ACC *ṭef* field:LOC tend:PRV:3SG:MASC) 'Shifa tended the oxen in the *ṭef* field'. Nominal modifiers and relative clauses are marked by stress accent on the final syllable of the modifier. The function of the head noun in the relative clause remains unmarked. Verbal nouns are case marked and lack subject marking but the argument structure remains unchanged: *qurᵓaana* (ACC) *qaraᵓ-y-oo-mm*^{i} (PRV, 1SG) 'I read the Qurᵓān' vs. *qurᵓaana* (ACC) *qaraᵓi* (GEN) *diglálut*^{i} (NOM) 'the benefit of reading the Qurᵓān'.



Several areal features are attested, e.g. 1) the expression of the experiential perfect with a converb conveying the experienced event followed by the verb *kas*- 'know', e.g. *ᵓameerikaan*^{i} *ᵓorooᵓn*^{i} *kansoomm*^{i} (America:LOC go:CONV:1PL know: PRV:1PL) 'we have [the experience to have] been in America', 2) the use of the similative marker for complement and purpose clauses (Crass 2007).

Q. is influenced considerably in its lexicon by Ethio-Semitic languages and on a much smaller scale by Arabic. The basis for the integration of (Ethio-)Semitic verbs is the 3rd pers. sg. masc. perfective from which the final vowel is deleted, e.g. Arab. *kataba* > Q. *katab*- 'write', Amh. *kättäbä* 'he vaccinated' > Q. *kattab*- 'vaccinate'.

Amharic is the medium of instruction in primary schools. Q. is taught as one subject. An orthography based on the Ethiopic ↗script was devised in the late 1990s.

The ten-word list is as follows: *matu* 'one', *lamu* 'two', *sasu* 'three', *giirat*^{a} 'fire', *waa* 'water', *ᵓarriičut*^{a} 'sun', *ᵓaganču* 'moon', *qegu* 'blood', *ᵓarrabit*^{a} 'tongue', *ᵓinqut*^{a} 'tooth' (Crass 2001).

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 116; POPULATION CENSUS COMMISSION, *Summary and Statistical Report of the 2007 Population and Housing Census Results*, Addis Ababa 2008, 85 (http://www.csa.gov.et/pdf/Cen2007_firstdraft.pdf).

Lit.: Joachim Crass, "The Position of K'abeena within Highland East Cushitic", *AAP* 67, 2001, 5–60; Id., "The Copulas of K'abeena: Form, Function and Origin", *AuÜ* 86, 2003, 23–42; Id., *Das K'abeena. Deskriptive Grammatik einer hochlandostkuschitischen Sprache*, Köln 2005 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 23); Id., "Grammatical Borrowing in K'abeena", in: Yaron Matras – Jeanette Sakel (eds.), *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-linguistic Perspective*, Berlin – New York 2007, 91–105.

Joachim Crass

Qabeena ethnography

The Q. are an ethnic group of (in 1994) approximately 52,000 people (CSA 2007: 75 [population of Q. *wäräda*]) inhabiting the region of the upper ↗Gibe system. Most of them live in the Goro *wäräda* (since 2002 divided into the *wärädas* Qabeena and Abäšge) with the capital ↗Wälqiṭe which became part of the ↗Gurage Zone in the 1990s. Within the Highland East Cushitic cluster they are closely related to the ↗Ṭimbaaro, ↗Kambaata and ↗Allaaba. Culturally they have been very much influenced by neighbouring Gurage groups, particularly the ↗Čaha, ↗Ǝža, ↗Muḫər and Boz, and by Oromo groups of the upper Gibe such as the Wäliso and Amaya. The Q. belonged to the population of the old state of ↗Hadiyya and explicitly preserved the name "Hadiyya" as an ethnonym. More specifically they were called Womb Hadiyya. The term *womb*(*a*) is said to signify "the lower ones", because their settlements were mostly situated in the lower parts of the Gibe region (but cp. Crass 2005: 2).

The oral traditions of the Q. report that their ancestors originated from an area called Migo north of the Wabi Šäbälle bend (BrHad 155ff., 167–75). At the beginning of the 16th cent. they migrated together with the Allaaba to Qaweena in ↗Sidaama, and they still today consider the Qaweena subgroup of the Sidaama as their close relatives. In their oral traditions they claim to have spoken "Adäre", i.e. a Semitic language related to ↗Səlṭi. Together with the Allaaba their ancestors left Qaweena presumably during the first half of the 18th cent. and migrated in a northwesterly direction to southern Kambaata and Ṭimbaaro. In this area they abandoned their Semitic language in favour of the Cushitic Ṭimbaaro language. Ca. 1790 they proceeded from there to Waaččamo and Guuna in the present-day Hadiyya zone. Here, the Allaaba separated from the Q. and moved westwards in order to settle in the upper Bilate valley. This separation occurred ca. 1815. The Q. migrated in a northernly direction via the mountain of Mugo, Mafäd and Čaha in Gurageland to the valley of the upper Gibe, where they settled for a short period in the middle of the 19th cent. From there they proceeded via Abäšge and Čeka to Zenna-Bannär in the region east of Wälqiṭe which became their final domicile around 1860. Two decades earlier one faction had split from the bulk of the group in Mafäd and had crossed the Gibe to Abälti where they have preserved an ethnic enclave of the Q. in today's Ǧimma zone of Oromiyaa.

The title *qabeen* ↗*gärad* for the leader of the Q. was first documented by the Chronicle of *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob for the middle of the 15th cent. (PerrZarY 16–23). Although they have been under strong Muslim influence since then, the Islamic cadre seemed to have continuously weakened over time. By the middle of the 19th cent., a leader called ᶜAlī was reported as a member of the noble clan Aǧaamo who carried the Cushitic title of ↗*woma* ('chief' or 'king'). At this time *imām* ᶜUmar Bak(is)sa of the Mogomanna clan from Čaha, obviously initiated a process of re-Islamization. According to the oral traditions he became the successor of *woma* ᶜAlī and attracted renowned *šayḫs*, such as Šihab ad-Din Aḥmad Daniyye, a member of the Qadiriyya brotherhood from Wällo, to settle at the Q. capital Moǧär. As reported by the Italian travellers Bianchi (1884: 263, 284, 303, 339, 353, 485f.) and Cecchi (1888: 82–85, 94, 96), the Q. had by then gained political importance and became a regional centre of trading activities. Cecchi (1888: 94) estimated its population at 56,000 and its military capacity at 2,000 horsemen and 4,000 infantrymen. In the early 1880s ᶜUmar Baksa was replaced as leader of the Q. by ↗Ḥasän Ǝnǧamo from the neighbouring Gurage group of Duula. He carried out a militant expansion of Islam all over Gurageland and organized a "holy war" against the armies of Mənilək II which started invading the area in 1876 (Cecchi 1888: 96; CerFolk 163f.; Borelli 1890: 135, 395, 400, 402; BrHad 172, 260–65). The Ethiopian troops under *ras* ↗Gobäna Dač̣i and *ras* ↗Wälde Aššagari met spirited resistance and were repeatedly beaten between 1886 and 1888; they finally managed to conquer Q. in 1889. The area was then included in the Ethiopian province of Gurage.

With regard to their settlements, their houses, material culture and economy, the Q. do not notably differ from the neighbouring Gurage groups. They cultivate ↗*ənsät* as their main staple food in the higher parts of their country and millet and maize in the lower parts. Fruits, vegetables and coffee have increased their importance in the final decades of the 20th cent. The Q. are Muslims with a high density of Qurʾānic schools.

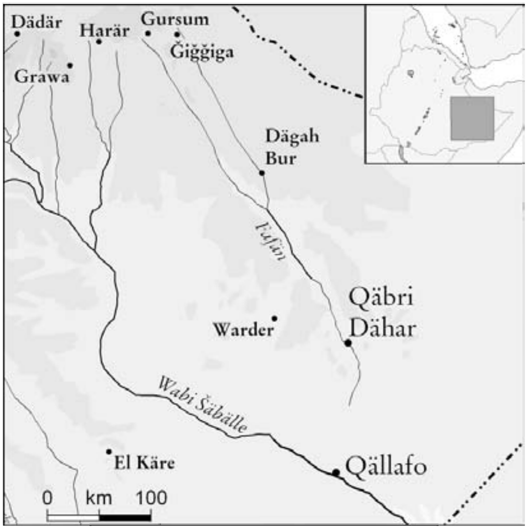
Src.: GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *Alla terra dei Galla. Narrazione della spedizione Bianchi in Africa nel 1879–80*, Milano 1884; JULES BORELLI, *Ethiopie méridionale. Journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama (septembre 1885 à novembre 1888)*, Paris 1890; ANTONIO CECCHI, *Fünf Jahre in Ost-Afrika. Reisen durch die südlichen Grenzländer Abessiniens von Zeila bis Kaffa*, Leipzig 1888; CerFolk 163f.; CSA 2007, 75; PerrZarY 16–23.
Lit.: BrHad; JOACHIM CRASS – RONNY MEYER, "The Qabena and the Wolane: Two Peoples of the Gurage Region and Their Respective History According to their own Oral Traditions", *AE* 17, 2005, 175–82; JOACHIM CRASS, *Das K'abeena. Deskriptive Grammatik einer hochland-ostkuschitischen Sprache*, Köln 2005 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 23), 1–8.

Ulrich Braukämper

Qäbri Dähar

Q.D. (Qabridahare, 6° 44' 24" N, 44° 16' 41" E) is a town located on a hill (550 m A.S.L.) overlooking the Tuug Faafan (Fafän) valley, a tributary of the ↗Wabi Šabälle River. From 1942 to 1987 it was the capital of the eponymous *awrağğa* which was a division of the ↗Harär region and from 1987 to 1991, it was part of the ↗Ogaden autonomous region. Since 1991 it has been the capital of the Q.D. *wäräda* in the Qorrahe zone, part of the Somali *kəlləl*.

In 1938 Q.D. had 200 inhabitants and in 1981 less than 2,000 inhabitants, the population limit for being counted among the towns by the Central Statistical Office. Its *awrağğa* had 89,000 inhabitants and covered 28,000 km² (i.e. a density of 3.2 inhabitants/km²; CSO 1982). In the 1994 census Q.D. had 21,521 inhabitants and recently its population has suffered a rapid increase: 30,039 inhabitants in 2003 and 34,615 inhabitants in 2005 (CSA).



Since the first Ethiopian raids in Ogaden up to the Ethio-Somalian conflicts of 1963–64 and 1977–78, Q.D. was used by the Ethiopian Army as a fort from where to exercise control and collect tribute among the Somali pastoralists. Today, it has an airport service.

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 1996; CSA 2004; CSO; EMAtlas; *Guida* 610; MesfAtlas².
Lit.: DAVID D. LAITIN – SAID S. SAMATAR, *Somalia. Nation in Search of a State*, London 1987, 61.

Alain Gascon

Qaç̣əl ↗Qəddase: Paraphernalia

Qaḍārif

Q. (Arab. قضارف, Engl. Gedarif) is the name of a Sudanese regional state at the Ethiopian border and of a city south-west of ↗Kassala (for location s. map for Qallābāt), which at times belonged to the Kassala province (↗Taka).

The city of Q. (capital of Q. state since 1994) was originally a caravan station and market, originally called Suq Abū Sin. It was mainly used by nomadic groups, such as the camel-herding Šukurīya, who dominated Q., but also ↗Ḥumrān, Bišarīn and other ↗Beğa groups, and Arabic groups such as the Arabic-Nubian Ğaʿaliyīn. In the 18th cent. the Šukurīya *šayḫ* of Q. was tributary to the king of ↗Sinnār, as reported by James ↗Bruce. In the course of the 19th cent., when the Ottoman–Egyptian administration was established in Kassala, Q. became a garrison, guarding the frontier to northwestern Ethiopia (↗Wälqayt), and a centre of administration. When in the 1880s the Mahdists expanded over virtually all of Sudan and into the Eritrean lowlands, they also used Q. as a centre, from where they raided the lowlands of Qafta and ↗Ḥumära in western Wälqayt and expanded further south. Q. is connected by road with Ḥumära and Gondär, ↗Mätämma (↗Qallābāt) and ↗Khartoum and has a railway station. The regional state of Q. includes Q. city, Faw, Qallābāt, and Fašaga.

Similar to the neighbouring region of Ḥumära the region is very fertile, has enough rain, but is afflicted with malaria. Originally a mainly nomadic area in the Sudanese borderlands, it has now changed into an area dominated by agriculture, with production of sesame, sorghum, sunflower, cotton and other seeds, especially since the consequent introduction of large-scale mechanized farming in the 1950s. This attracted migration from all parts of the Sudan (such as Furi from Darfur, Dinka, Nuba, Arabophone groups and even ↗Hausa, ↗Fellata etc.), Ethiopia and Eritrea. Traditionally Q. entertains close commercial relations with Ḥumära, Sudanese from Q. also settling there, and vice versa. Q. city's population today numbers ca. 350,000 inhabitants and has grown over five times in one generation. The northern part of Q. state included agricultural regions irrigated by the ↗Gaš and ↗Setit.

Src.: SAMUEL WHITE BAKER, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia and the Sword Hunters of the Hamran Arabs*, London 1867.

Lit.: DouinIsm III/1, 40 (map); PETER M. HOLT, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1881–1898*, Oxford 1958; ID. – MARTIN W. DALY, *A History of the Sudan*, Boulder, CO 1979; ANDREW PAUL, *A History of the Beja Tribes of the Sudan*, Cambridge 1954.

Wolbert Smidt

Qādirīya ↗Islamic brotherhoods

Qalä ^{c}Awadi

Əç̣ç̣age Q.^{c}A. (**ቃለ፡ ዐዋዲ**; d. 1686) was a prominent 17th-cent. ecclesiastic. He was first appointed ↗*əç̣ç̣äge* in April 1678 (GuiIohan 25 [tr.]), during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I, and was still in charge in September 1678 (ibid. 36).

In autumn 1679 a new *əç̣ç̣äge,* ↗Ṣägga Krəstos, is reported to have been present at the discussion concerning the relics of *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos (Perruchon 1899:175; GuiIohan 61; BassÉt 35; CerDLib II, 177).

Q.^{c}A. was reappointed in September 1686 by *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. Though designated by the monks of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, Q.^{c}A. is reported to have begged Iyasu not to appoint him, referring to the position as "the ruin of his soul" (GuiIohan 101f. [tr.]). Q.^{c}A. died before he could take office.

The process of the *əç̣ç̣äge*'s designation changed during the 17th cent., and it became possible to select an *əç̣ç̣äge* from heads of some other monasteries belonging to the network of Däbrä Libänos (Rossignol 2004: 28–33). The function of *əç̣ç̣äge* was a source of tension between the Emperor and the community of Däbrä Libänos. Iyasu I tried to scale down the office of *əç̣ç̣äge* and put him under his own authority. The interventionist policy of Iyasu destabilized the charge of *əç̣ç̣äge,* whose role changed significantly at the beginning of this Emperor's reign (Rossignol 2004: 105).

According to the list of the heads of Däbrä Libanos, Q.^{c}A. revised the musical notation of the ↗*Dəgg*^{w}*a* when he retired to ↗Betä Ləḥem, before or after his nomination (CerDLib II, 177; cp. ↗*Mələkkət*). Besides, Q.^{c}A. might be one of the owners of a manuscript containing the ↗*Wəddase amlak* and the Marian hymn ↗*Məsṭira ṣəgeyat* in Amharic (ms. EMML 1308, fol. 136a).

Əç̣ç̣äge Q.^{c}A. is mentioned in the royal chronicles (GuiIohan) but not in the "short chronicles" written in monastic circles (↗Historiography). This could indicate that he was criticized or condemned by his own monastic community.

Src.: BassÉt 35 (text) = 140 (tr.); BegCron 55; GuiIohan 24, 35, 63, 98 (text) = 25, 36, 61, 100ff. (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: Le règne de Yohannes (I^{er}), roi d'Éthiopie de 1667 à 1682", *RevSem* 7, 1899, 165–75; EMML IV, 322, no. 1308.

Lit.: CerDLib II, 177, 181; III, 170; ELSA ROSSIGNOL, *L'aqqäbe sa'ät et l'eččage*: *deux hauts-dignitaires éthiopiens entre l'Eglise et l'Etat* (*16ème–18ème s.*), M.A. thesis, Université de Paris I 2004, 148ff.

Elsa Rossignol

Qalä Ḥəywät

Q.Ḥ. (**ቃለ፡ ሕይወት**, 'The Word of Life', also Kale Heywet) has Baptist roots. Its beginnings are related to the ↗Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), which under the leadership of Dr. Thomas ↗Lambie started work in ↗Kambaata, ↗Hadiyya, ↗Wälaytta and ↗Sidaama in 1928. As a result of this work, during the Italian occupation and in the 1940s, local congregations came into being and an independent indigenous church leadership developed. In spite of opposition and harassment from local authorities, the number of believers grew and by 1955, 538 congregations had come into being. After 1951, as a result of a split that took place in Kambaata, a group of people asked for membership in the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus.

During the 1960s the number of congregations grew to 1,603 and by 1967 the believers were 143,990 (61,000 in Wälaytta, 42,087 in Kambaata and Hadiyya and 16,600 in Sidaama). To co-ordinate them the local churches formed an Evangelical Believers' Association which held annual meetings. Expatriate missionaries were not members of the Association and had no right to vote. In February 1971, a denominational church known as Q.Ḥ. was formed. The Church approved a constitution and Mulatu Baffa was elected as its first president with *ato* Täklä Wäldä Giyorgis as the first General Secretary. Initially, the Church was based in the SIM compound at *ras* Täsämma Śäfär.

During the *Därg* Regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) Protestant churches were closed, evangelists imprisoned and elders fined. In Kambaata and Hadiyya evangelical Christians experienced relative freedom to conduct their services but in Wälaytta nearly all churches were closed in the early 1980s. In Addis Abäba the Q.Ḥ. had five known congregations, out of which two were closed permanently and one temporarily.

The number of believers and congregations of the Q.Ḥ. has, nonetheless, steadily grown. In 1974, it had 2,030 congregations and close to 2 million members and in 1995 about 3,600 congregations with a membership of 3.2 million, making it the largest evangelical denomination in Ethiopia. In 2006 the number of members was about 5.7 million with 6,347 local churches.

During the 1990s and 2000s the Q.Ḥ. Church built its own buildings in the centre of Addis Abäba. The church carries out spiritual ministries across the country. It operates at least 115 lower Bible Schools training more than 4,000 students; 28 certificate-level Bible Schools for high school graduates in which the media of instruction is in Amharic. It has five diploma-level theological and ministerial training colleges in which the language of instruction is English at Dilla, ↗Hossaᶜəna, ↗Soddo, Durame and ↗Ǧimma. The Q.Ḥ. runs the Evangelical Theological College in Addis Abäba and in conjunction with other Evangelical churches of Ethiopia it owns the Evangelical Graduate School of Theology. Q.Ḥ. local churches run church educational ministries.

The Church has always offered social services in conjunction with its spiritual ministries. Following the 1973/74 drought it extended its social services and provided relief food in collaboration with partners inside the country and abroad. In the ensuing decades the focus of the development service shifted from relief and rehabilitation to long-range development, engaging in spring capping and drilling, in medical ↗HIV-AIDS programs, in establishing small-scale irrigation schemes, in providing fertilizers and farm tools and in other programs.

The Q.Ḥ. Church has no hierarchical structure and no office of bishop or archbishop. The local congregations are widely independent in administration and self-supporting led by elected elders. Leadership is mostly offered on a voluntary basis. The president of the Q.Ḥ. and Church offices are elected by the National General Assembly for a fixed period of time. The Church sent several cross-cultural missionaries both inside the country and abroad and is also active in Eritrea. The Q.Ḥ. is a member of the Evangelical Churches Fellowship of Ethiopia.

Lit.: AKLILU DALELO, *The Church and Socio-Economic Transformation*, Addis Ababa 2003; PETER COTTERELL, *Born at Midnight*, Chicago, IL 1973; BRIAN FARGHER, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia 1927–1944*, Leiden 1996; GETACHEW BELLETE, *The Story of the Kale Heywet Church in Ethiopia*, vol. 3: *1973-2000*, **ኤሎሄና፡ ሀሌሉያ** (*Elohenna Halleluya*, 'Agonies and Hallelujahs'), Addis Abäba 2000; JOHANNES LAUNHARDT, *Evangelicals in Addis Ababa* (*1919–1991*), Hamburg 2004; WONDIYE ALI – GETACHEW BELLETE, (ed.), *The Story of the Kale Heywet Church in Ethiopia*, vol. 1: *1927–41*, **በመከራ፡ ውስጥ፡ ያበበች፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Bämäkära wəsṭ yabbäbäčč betä krəstiyan*, 'Church out of Tribulation'), Addis Abäba 1998; vol. 2: *1942–73*, **የእኩለ፡ ሌሊት፡ ወገግታ** (*Yäʾəkkulä lelit wäggägta*, 'Awakening at Midnight'), Addis Abäba 2000.

Johannes Launhardt

Qäleməntos

The Q. (**ቀሌምንጦስ**, or **መጽሐፈ፡ ቀሌምንጦስ**, *Mäṣḥafä Qäleməntos*, 'Book of Q.') is a seven-book Gəᶜəz work of pseudoepigraphical, apocryphal and canonical content, partly arranged and partly literally translated from Arabic texts in the 14th cent. The Q. owns its name to the semi-legendary disciple of St. Peter, Clement of Rome, who is traditionally believed to have been Peter's successor in the see of Rome and is a main character in early Christian apocryphal literature, esp. as is represented by the Pseudo-Clementine romance (the main works are the Latin and Syriac *Recognitiones*, and the Greek *Homiliae*, cp. CANT no. 209), to which the Q. is only marginally related through faint allusions. The Q. is at present included in the Ethiopian Biblical canon (cp. Cowley 1974: 320, 322; Bausi 1990: 60–66). The Gəᶜəz form of the name Q. does not seem to derive from Arabic (*Aqlīmas* and similar forms), but is rather to be explained by the early acquaintance of the Ethiopian tradition with Greek texts of apocryphal (lists of Apostles and disciples) and canonico-liturgical genre (cp. Bausi 2006: 60, no. 7), where the name of Q. is attested (also in the variant proto-forms **ቀለሜንጦስ**, *Qälämenṭos*,

ቀሌሜንጦስ, *Qälemenṭos*, from the Greek genitive form Κλήμεντος).

The work is arranged within the weak narrative frame of a great apocalypse (revelation) of Peter (to whom primacy among the Apostles is explicitly acknowledged) to Clement, in which the latter, as a disciple, asks the Apostle to teach him the secret mysteries Jesus Christ had revealed on the Mount of Olives, esp. concerning the creation of the world and the history of human kind, starting from the first generations up to Mary, although the narrative in the Q. actually ends with Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat (cp. 1 Kgs 22:51). This section occupies the whole of Book I of the Q. and closely corresponds to the Arabic *Kitāb al-maǧāll*, 'Book of the Rolls' (up to Gibson 1901:47, l. 16 [text]: though the Arabic consistently proceeds up to the birth of Mary), paralleling and resuming narratives and materials of various related apocryphal writings: the *Vita of Adam and Eve*, also existing as a larger, independent work in Ethiopic (*Gädlä ↗Addam wäḥewa*, cp. CAVT no. 14), the *Cave of Treasures* (cp. CAVT no. 11; Toepel 2006) and the *Testament of Adam* (cp. CAVT no. 3; Bezold 1906). The *Cave of Treasures* and the *Testament of Adam* exist in Gəᶜəz as parts of the Q., not as independent works. Book II of the Q. opens again with the revelation by Peter to Clement concerning the mysterious secrets narrated by Jesus on the Mount of Olives 40 days after the Resurrection and before the Ascension. This revelation deals with cosmology and the creation of Heaven and Earth, the angelical hierarchies, the heavenly Jerusalem, Paradise, the fall of Satan and the development of the Christian faith, with a list of 70 heresies. The second part of Book II ends with an obscure historical apocalypse, generally believed to hint at mid-8th cent. events (succession to the caliphate and Byzantine-Islamic wars), in the style of Jewish, Christian and also Islamic historical apocalypses.

Both Books I and II of the Gəᶜəz Q. correspond to the portions included in the Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter to Clement*, a widely disseminated work, whose rich manuscript tradition has not yet been explored in detail (cp. GrafLit vol. 1, 283–92; Toepel 2006:9–13; cp. also Troupeau 1993), and which must not be confused with the Greek *Apocalypse of ↗Peter* (CANT no. 317). Some recensions of the Arabic work also contain a section of the *Acts of Peter* (CANT no. 205) actually related to the Pseudo-Clementine romance. Yet, the Gəᶜəz version of this section is not attested in the Q., but in revised and enlarged recensions (since the 17th cent.) of the *Gädlä ↗ḥawaryat*, where, in turn, since the earliest recensional phase a shorter genuine Pseudo-Clementine section of the *Acts of Peter* (CANT no. 204) is included.

At variance with Books I–II (a real first part of the Q.), no parallel can be ascertained for contents of Books III–VII (the second part of the Q.), apart from a generic correspondence with the Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter*. Of varying length and subjects, Books III–VII deal with several apocryphal and apocalyptical topics (eschatology, the advent of the Antichrist, the last judgment, demonological tales, fragments of apocryphal legends, exegesis), all instrumental to conveying canonical and penitential content, within the frame of general ecclesiastical discipline, which occupies by far the majority of the second part of the work. The final arrangement of Books III–VII may be due to an Ethiopian compiler, who worked starting from various sources and materials, although neither definitive evidence has yet been found (cp. Bausi 1992:32–35 for some clues), nor will it be possible till the manuscript tradition of the Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter* has been thoroughly studied.

At least some 30 manuscripts of the Q. are known (cp. detailed list in Bausi 1992:15f., Id. in WälYoh). The 14th/15th-cent. ms. EMML no. 1843 (a *↗Senodos* manuscript, where selected passages of Books III and IV of the Q. [against Sabbath observance, on the primacy of the patriarch of Rome, and on the observance of conciliar canons] were inserted on fols. 56va–58ra, cp. Bausi 1992:15) testifies to its early translation from the Arabic, probably not later than the 14th cent. Among the other more ancient manuscripts, Ṭānāsee 175 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 64 (15th cent.) and ms. Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli), Ms. 121 (15th/16th cent.) may be mentioned (cp. Proverbio 2004). Although ancient, the former depends upon a subarchetype common to the other six manuscripts where a significant mechanical transposition of a long passage in Book II occurs (cp. Bausi in WälYoh), also affecting ms. Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, M. aeth. 1 = M. a. IX 1 and ms. BN d'Abbadie 78, on which respectively Dillmann's fundamental study (1858) and Grébaut's translation (1911–21) were based.

There is neither an edition nor a unitary translation of the Q. Books I, II, part of III, and a few scattered passages from Books IV, V and VI have been translated by Grébaut (1911–21), also in collaboration with Roman (1927/28–30), on the basis of ms. BN d'Abbadie 78. Bausi (1992) has given an Italian translation of Books III–VII on the basis of mss. BritLib Orient. 751 (a facsimile of this ms. is also provided), also considering mss. EMML no. 1141, Tübingen, M. a. IX 1 and EMML no. 1843. Dillmann closely used the Tübingen manuscript for the compilation of his *Lexicon* (cp. DillmLex viif.). The critical edition of the Q. (for a preliminary analysis of the manuscript tradition on the basis of twelve manuscripts cp. Bausi in WälYoh) is an urgent desideratum.

As is to be expected in view of its various contents, the fortune of the Q. in Ethiopian literary tradition is twofold. On one hand, it has been widely used, also in the ↗ *andəmta* commentary tradition, as a source of information on Biblical history, cosmology and angelology (cp. Cowley 1988). On the other hand, the Q. is very often referred to (in hagiographical and theological writings) as one of the sources of ↗ Canon law, although the quotation of Clement might sometimes refer to other pseudepigraphical texts of canonical genre (first of all, the *Senodos*, where several texts are attributed to the disciple of Peter). The Q. must have played a decisive, probably still largely underestimated role, in the development of apocalyptic and exoteric writings at the turn of the 14th/15th cent.: e.g., the *Mäṣḥafä ↗ məśṭirä sämay wämədr* uses and quotes some apocalyptic sections of the Q. (cp. Bausi 1992: 35f.). According to some authors (cp. Getatchew Haile 1981: 103–09, and for a discussion of collateral implications, Fiaccadori 2004), a polemical and obscure passage of the *Mäṣḥafä ↗ məśṭir* by ↗ Giyorgis of Sägla (YaqMist II, 305f. [text] = 169f. [tr.]) aimed at contending the canonicity of the Q. Yet, it is now apparent that Giyorgis's statement must be put into a more complex frame by taking into consideration the number of texts Giyorgis was well acquainted with, and a reference to the Q. can not be taken for granted, it being much more likely that the target of Giyorgis's criticism was a canonico-liturgical collection (cp. Bausi in PICES 15). Although oral witnesses testify that *andəmta* commentary on the Q. still existed in the 19th cent., none seems to have survived (cp. Cowley 1977: 145, n. 7).

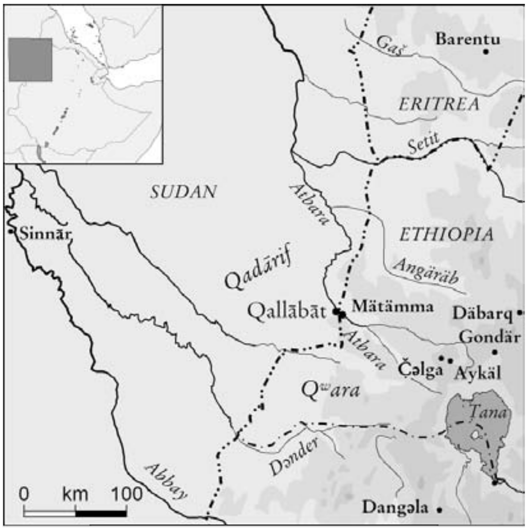
Src.: AbbCat (no. 78); Alessandro Bausi (tr.), **ቀሌምንጦስ፡** *Il Qalēmenṭos etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente. I libri 3–7*, Napoli 1992 (StAfEt 2) (Lit.); ChAbb (no. 78); CRAbb (no. 38); EMML nos. 1141, 1843; Margaret Dunlop Gibson (ed., tr.), "1. Kitāb al Magāll, or the Book of the Rolls", in: Ead. (ed., tr.), *Apocrypha Arabica*, London 1901 (Studia Sinaitica 8), 1–56 (text), 1–58 (tr.); Sylvain Grébaut (tr.), "Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. III Traduction du *Qalêmenṭos*", *ROC* 16, 1911, 72–84, 167–75, 225–33; *ibid.* 17, 1912, 16–31, 133–44, 244–52, 337–46; *ibid.* 18, 1913, 69–78; *ibid.* 19, 1914, 324–30; *ibid.* 20, 1915–17, 33–37, 424–30; *ibid.* 21, 1918–19, 246–52; *ibid.* 22, 1920–21, 22–28, 113–17, 395–400; Id. – Alcide Roman (tr.), *ibid.* 26, 1927–28, 22–31; Iid. (tr.), "Un passage démonologique du *Qalêmenṭos*", *JA* 211, 1927, 331–39; Iid. (tr.), "Un passage eschatologique du *Qalêmenṭos*", *Aethiops* 3, 1930, 21–23; Iid. (tr.), "Le livre V du Qalêmentos", *ibid.* 39–41; Delio Vania Proverbio, "Un nuovo testimone etiopico della *Rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente*: il ms. 121 del Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli)", *RANLmor* ser. 9ª, 15, 4, 2004, 665–77 (Monumento Nazionale di Casamari, Ms. 121); SixTana III (Ṭānāsee 175 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 64); Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, M. aeth. 1 = M. a. IX 1; WrBriMus (Orient. 751, 752, 753); YaqMist I–II.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 3, 113; Alessandro Bausi, "Alcune considerazioni sul «Sēnodos» etiopico", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 5–73; Id., "La *Collezione aksumita* canonico-liturgica", *Adamantius* 12, 2006, 43–70; Id., "The Aksumite Background of the Ethiopic 'Corpus canonum'", in: *PICES* 15, 532–41; Id., "The Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic *Qalēmenṭos.* A Short Note", in: *WälYoh* 47–57 (Lit.); CANT nos. 205, 209, 317; CAVT nos. 3, 11, 14; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il libro dello Pseudo-Clemente e la Crociata di Damietta", *RSO* 9, 1921, 32–35; Roger W. Cowley, "The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23, 1974, 318–23; Id., "New Testament Introduction in the *andemta* Commentary Tradition", *ibid.* 26, 1977, 144–92; Id., *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation. A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38), 136–40; August Dillmann, "Bericht über das äthiopische Buch Clementinischer Schriften", *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. Nachrichten* 1858, 185–99, 201–15, 217–26; DillmLex viif.; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropoliti Yesḥaq, Yāᶜqob e Mārqos d'Etiopia (sec. XV–XVI)", *RANLmor* ser. 9ª, 15/4, 2004, 679–90; Getatchew Haile, "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *OrChr* 65, 1981, 102–36; GrafLit vol. 1, 283–92 (Lit.); GuiSLett 42; RicLett 836; Alexander Toepel, *Die Adam- und Seth-Legenden in syrischen* Buch der Schatzhöhle. *Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung*, Lovanii 2006 (CSCO 618, Subsidia 119); Gérard Troupeau, "De quelques apocalypses conservées dans des manuscrits arabes de Paris", in: Samir Khalil Samir, S.J. (ed.), *Actes du 4e Congrès International d'Études Arabes Chrétiennes (Cambridge, septembre 1992)*, vol. 1, Kaslik 1993 (= Parole de l'Orient 18), 75–87.

Alessandro Bausi

Qallābāt

Q. (Amh. ጋላባት Galabat, Engl. Gallabat) is the Arabic name of a historical "Takruri" sultanate (↗ Tukrir), which was at times tributary to Ethiopian rulers. It is also the name of a border town in today's Sudanese province of ↗ Qadārif. The Q. sultanate had its centre in the city of al-



Matamma, which later took the name Q. on the Sudanese side, and ↗Mätämma on the Ethiopian side of the modern border.

Q. was possibly named after the village of Q. in Darfur. The name, originally only applying to a hill above al-Matamma, subsequently superseded the original name of the whole district, ↗Ras al-Fīl. From the beginning, the population of Q. mainly consisted of Muslim settlers, originally Ǧaᶜaliyyin. Starting from the late 18th cent., new migrants settled in this border region after their pilgrimage to ↗Mecca. Most of them originated from Bornu, Darfur and Wadai; they were generally subsumed under the term Takruri. They controlled the customs post and, at the start, were tributary to Ethiopian rulers.

In the 1820s ᶜUṯmān b. ᶜAbdarraziq, a Bornu leader, ruled Q. until Furi groups from Darfur defeated him and established their political domination over the whole district. The followers of ᶜUṯmān, the *bani* ᶜUṯmān, fled to the Qafta region, near ↗Ḥumära (probably forming the nucleus of some of today's Takruri groups in north-western Ethiopia). Under the leadership of the Furi *šayḫ* (or *al-makk*) Miri, Q. entered into tributary relations with the Egyptians in 1838. An Egyptian garrison then guarded the frontier at the town of al-Matamma. It was attacked by the governor of ↗Qʷara in 1848, who, however, was not able to reestablish Ethiopian overlordship. Later, ca. 1860, Q. became tributary to ↗Tewodros II when he was at the peak of his power. However, Q. continued to pay tribute also to the Egyptian governors. A quarrel between two competing rulers of Q. led to an intervention by the Egyptians in 1863 and the full inclusion of Q. into the Sudan. The population of Q. then comprised about 30,000 people, in about 24 villages (Robinson 1926/27: 51).

The Takruri managed to preserve their form of self-government in Q. Their assemblies elected their *šayḫ* until the British established themselves in the Sudan, the Takruri of Q. thus forming a politically "distinct entity" until the late 19th cent. (Robinson 1926/27: 52). Q. remains an ethnically distinct "island" until today.

Src.: Richard Pankhurst (ed., tr.), *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Téwodros of Ethiopia (1855–1868)*, London 1978/79 (Fontes Historiae Africanae, Series Aethiopica 1); Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. 2, London 1853, 356f.

Lit.: DouinIsm III, passim; Peter M. Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1881–1898*, Oxford 1958; Id. – Martin W. Daly, *A History of the Sudan*, Boulder, CO 1979, 85–113; Arthur E. Robinson, "The Tekruri Sheikhs of Gallabat (S.E. Sudan)", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 26, 101, 1926/27, 47–53; RubInd 227; TrIslam 124.

Wolbert Smidt

Qällafo

Q. (230 m A.S.L.) is the capital of the Q. *wäräda* in the Gode zone, a division of the Somali Region (for location s. map for Qäbri Dähar). Its name probably derives from Somali *aw* (*šayḫ*) Qalif. Located on the left bank of the ↗Wabi Šäbälle River it is an important market for pastoralists who exchange their products with the sedentary agriculturists who cultivate the irrigated valley. The river has occasionally flooded the town severely, e.g., in 1961 and 1968 (Lindahl ms.).

Q. was the centre of a sultanate of the Aǧuuraan clan (↗Hawiye) which was connected with the ports of ↗Mogadishu and ↗Hobyo.

Q. was one of the military posts which guarded the road to Bale and Arsi following the Wabi Šäbälle course and the Tug Fafän valley leading to Harär. As such Q. played a role in the ↗Italian war 1935–36. In 1933 the town, under the command of *fitawrari* Sämmo, was beleaguered by Somali–Italian troops. Even before the arrival of the Italians the area had already been raided by *sulṭan* Olol Dinle who became the most important collaborator of the Italian occupants (Lindahl ms.).

According to the 1994 census (CSA 1998) Q. town had 8,471 inhabitants. In 2004 the number is estimated at 13,623 inhabitants.

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2004; EMAtlas; Consociazione Turistica Italiana, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, scala 1 : 1 000 000, folio 6, Milano (after 1936);

Guida 473; BERHARD LINDAHL, *Local History of Ethiopia*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, ms. (updated 14 August 2006).

Alain Gascon

Qalləčča

The word Q. (ቃልቻ, Orom. *qalličča*) refers to a type of diviner-“shaman” prevalent in many parts of rural Ethiopia, but especially in the southwest. Presumably the term is derived from the Oromo word ↗*qaalluu*, a prestigious religious-ritual officiator (still retained among the ↗Boorana, ↗Guğği and part of the ↗Mäč̣č̣a), and was introduced by Amharic speakers as Q. in the rest of the country. The *qaalluu* was the most important religious official in the Oromo religion system, in touch with the sacred and descended from a “pure” lineage or family and of morally upright behaviour, but he also performed divination. The Q. has less social status, and being more of a healer-diviner connected to one or more spirits is often opposed to more “official” priestly or mediatory figures in society. He (or less frequently, she) assists people in distress and tries to solve personal and practical problems, i.e. thus having more of a problem-solving rather than a cosmological role.

Historically, the Q. was known in the 19th cent. (mentioned by Tutschek 1844) but specifically emerged in the late 19th–early 20th cent., perhaps as a response of recently conquered or dominated peoples in times of crisis and decline after conquest, when crisis cults emerged and spirit ↗possession increased. While Q. were known also among the Oromo alongside the *qaalluu* they emerged notably among the peoples of southern and western Ethiopia at the time. In central and northern Ethiopia the word Q. also refers to Muslim students and lower clerics (HusIslam) or spirit mediums. Q., while delegitimized and attacked by government officials since the time of the *Därg* regime, still occur among a large number of ethnic groups, among them ↗Hadiyya, ↗Sidaama, ↗Meʾen, ↗Dizi, ↗Yäm, ↗Benč̣, ↗Šeko, or ↗Maale (but also among southern townspeople of any background). They are known under other names elsewhere (such as *šarečč̣o* among the ↗Dawro or ↗Wälaytta). Little research has been done on the Q. as such or on their place and role in Ethiopian rural societies.

The Q. officiate as spirit mediums or magician-healers, responding to afflicted people’s needs in cases of misfortune, unexplained disease, possession, spiritual disarray or infertility. Their skills are usually inherited, the ancestry and reputation of their descent line giving them more credence. The Q. appeal to supernatural powers (God, gods or spirits), and have a strong personal, often charismatic personality. The clients either go through treatment on the spot, i.e. in the special compound of the Q. containing a kind of secluded sanctuary or spirit house, with the Q. performing a ritual (via induced trance) on behalf of them. Clients are often given the task of offering certain animals as a ↗sacrifice or offering, following food taboos, and paying the Q. a tribute. The Q. are also said to pronounce curses, which are much feared. The Q. are, however, not to be equated with Amh. ጠንቋይ (*ṭänqʷay*, ‘sorcerer’).

While the function of a Q. as a magician-healer-medium with supernatural or spirit-induced powers can, and often does, lend itself to abuse (e.g., high remuneration in money, goods or livestock), many of the Q. have a role as popular ↗healers and psychological “councillors” in rural societies that have no other means of treatment. Certain missionaries and other Christian and Muslim believers often translated Q. as “witch doctor”, but this is incorrect, as witchcraft (like in Bantu-speaking African societies) is a quite different phenomenon.

Src.: JON ABBINK, *Field Notes on Meʾen and Dizi*, 1990–96 (ms.); KARL TUTSCHEK, *Lexikon der Galla-Sprache*, München 1844, 87.

Lit.: HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58), 118, 126; HusIslam 111; KEBEDE DERIBE KASSAYE et al., “A Historical Overview of Traditional Medicine Practices and Policy in Ethiopia”, *Ethiopian Journal of Health Development* 20, 2, 2006, 127–34, here 129; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967, 66.

Jon G. Abbink

Qälləm

Q. (ቄለም, Orom. Qellem), more precisely Qellem Wallagga (also Qeellam Wallaggaa), is one of the four zones in Wallaggaa (↗Wälläga) which were established in 2005. Before the 1990s it was an *awrağğa*. Q. encompasses eleven *aanaa* (Amh. *wäräda*); these are ↗Sayyoo, ↗Gidaamii, Anfilloo, Garğeeda, Ğimmaa Horroo, Gaawoo Qeebbee, Daallee Sadii, Hawwaa Galaan, Yamaalogii, Haroo Sabbuu, and Laaloo Qilee. Today, its centre is the Sayyoo *aanaa*, while originally it was Gidaamii with the mountain Walal, regarded as sacred in local tradition. The administrative capital of Q. is ↗Dambi Dolloo in Sayyoo.

The holy mountain (Tuluu) Walal in Qälləm; photo 2008, courtesy of Negaso Gidada

The history of Q. is closely linked with the Leeqa kingdom of Q. which was founded in the 19th cent. At the very origin, Q. was just the name of a village in the Gidaamii district, were Q.'s first ruler *abbaa duulaa* Tulluu was born; the areas under his control were named after his village of origin. The name Q. was also transferred to the Leeqa Qellem ('Leeqa of Q.' [↗Leeqa]), Tulluu's group.

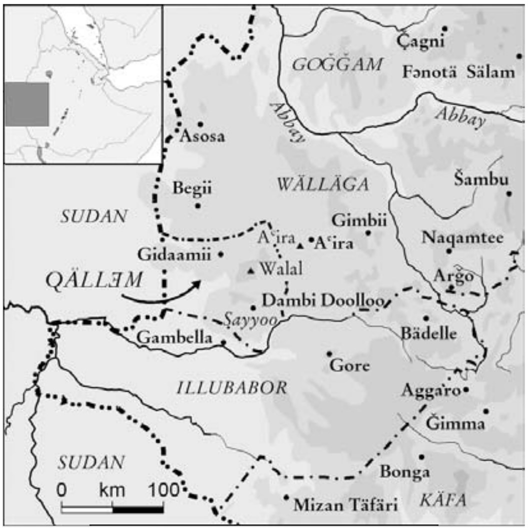
The Leeqa Q. live north of Walal in the Gidaamii (formerly Qumbaabii) region, beyond the Birbir River. Allegedly, they are of similar origin as the ↗Anfillo, but were classified ethnically as part of the larger ↗Mäč̣č̣a Oromo group (for Q. clans s. Negaso Gidada 2001:260f.). Starting from ca. 1730 Sayyoo groups had settled in the region (Negaso Gidada 2001:93–113, 241) and entered into a long history of competition with the Leeqa of Q. (ibid. 104). In the mid-19th cent., the Leeqa and Sayyoo were still organized socio-politically according to the ↗*gadaa* system, but later accepted the establishment of hereditary rule under local leaders (some data suggest that even before the arrival of the Leeqa and Sayyoo groups some social stratification had started in Q., s. Negaso Gidada 2001:94).

In the mid-19th cent. *abbaa duulaa* Tulluu unified the eight Leeqa groups of Gidaamii, Ǧimmaa and Horroo, becoming their ruler. His power over this newly formed kingdom of "Q." was based on the agricultural wealth of the area and the trade routes to the then Sudanese Fadasi, dominated by the ↗Berta (Fadaši). Tulluu's successor was his stepson *mootii* ↗Ǧootee Tulluu, who further annexed numerous neighbouring districts, such as Begii (↗Mao), the six Sayyoo subgroups, and the small kingdom of Anfillo (Terrefe Woldetsadik 1968:74), becoming the king of unified West Wallaggaa west of Aʾira (↗s. EAE, vol. 5) mountain. He retained the name Q. for this enlarged kingdom, and Gidaamii remained Ǧootee's centre of power. It was due to the threat of Ethiopian occupation, after the battle of ↗Əmbabo, that the *mootiis* of Sayyoo and Anfillo submitted to Ǧootee's rule in 1883/84 (Negaso Gidada 2001:236, 241).

At times he was helped by the ↗Mahdists (Triulzi 1981:162f.). However, in around 1886, the Mahdists established direct control over the region, levying taxes, which led to Ǧootee's resistance, in alliance with his neighbour, *mooti* ↗Moroda Bakaree of Leeqa ↗Naqamtee. As a counter-reaction, in 1888 the Ethiopian general *ras* Goobanaa (↗Gobäna Dač̣i) fought them with the help of the Leeqa (Triulzi 1981:164f.) and subdued Q., which became an Ethiopian fief under Ǧootee, now *däǧǧazmač* (ibid. 166).

Nevertheless, Ǧootee was deposed by ↗Mənilək II some years later, in 1908. In order to win the allegiance of Q., *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu then married into Ǧootee's family and re-installed him as the governor of Q. in 1913/14. After Iyasu's downfall, Q. was handed over in 1918 to Amhara governors directly ruled from Addis Abäba. This caused widespread resistance, which in turn provoked heavy punitive measures by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəʾel, after which many Leeqa Q. fled to Begii. Ǧootee was captured and imprisoned in ↗Däbrä Bərhan in North Šäwa, where he died after about six years. Starting from 1937, ↗Oliqa Dəngəl, a converted Protestant, initiated and led a considerably well-organized armed ↗resistance in Q. against Italian rule, with its centre in the Walal and Akaakil mountains and in the Sayyoo area.

After the incorporation of Q. into Ethiopia, a number of Leeqa and Sayyoo of Q. converted to Orthodox Christianity, and, during the short Mahdist domination in 1886–88, to Islam (Negaso Gidada – Crummey 1972; Triulzi 1975:66). The majority, however, continued to worship ↗*Waaqa*. From 1918, after the establishment of the American Presbyterian Mission in Dambi Dolloo, conversion to ↗Protestantism started, strongly furthered by *qes* ↗Gidaada Solan of Sayyoo. East of Q., the German ↗Hermannsburger Mission was established in Aʾira in Gimbii *awrağğa* in the late 1920s and spread the Lutheran denomination of Protestantism (furthered by *qes* ↗Dafaa Ǧammoo of Aʾira, ordained in 1941, and others). Today there are many thousands of followers of different Protestant denominations, including Adventists, and of Orthodox Christianity, Catholicism and Islam in Q.



Src.: Alessandro Triulzi – Tesemma Taʾa, የወለጋ፡ የታሪክ፡ ሰነዶች፡ ከ1880ዎቹ፡ እስከ፡ 1920 ዎቹ (*Yäwälläga yätarik sänädočč kä1880wočču əskä 1920woču*, ‘Documents of Wälläga History between the 1880s and the 1920s [A.M.]’), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003 A.D.]; ጫምሲቱ፡ ቅልም፡ ታሪካውና፡ ባህላዊ፡ መጽሔት (*Č̣amsitu*, *Qəlləm tarikawənna bahlawi mäṣḥet*, ‘Č̣amsitu, Qəlləm, The Historical and Cultural Magazin’), Dambi Dolloo 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.].

Lit.: Lambert Bartels, “Studies of the Galla in Wälläga”, *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 135–60; Donald Donham – Wendy James (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1986; Negaso Gidada – Donald Crummey, “The Introduction and Expansion of Orthodox Christianity in Qellem Awraja, Western Wallaga, from about 1886 to 1941”, *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 103–12; Negaso Gidada, *History of the Sayyoo Oromoo of Southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730 to 1886*, Addis Ababa 2001; Terrefe Woldetsadik, “The Unification of Ethiopia (1880–1935), Wälläga”, *JES* 6, 1, 1968, 73–86; Alessandro Triulzi, “Trade, Islam and the Mahdia in Northwestern Wallagga, Ethiopia”, *JAH* 16, 1975, 55–71; Id., *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy*, Napoli 1981, index (Lit.).

Wolbert Smidt – Negaso Gidada

Qallu

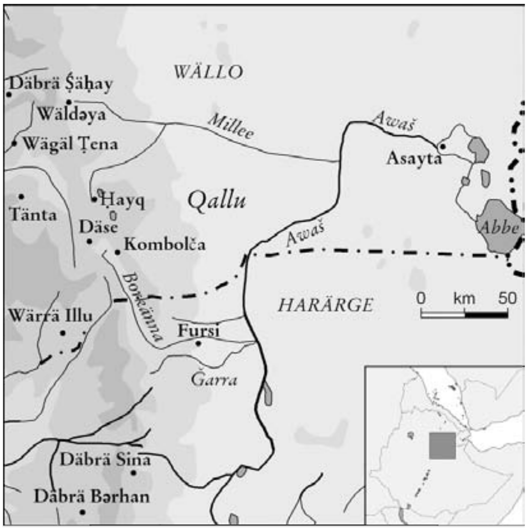
Q. is a historical area in south-eastern ↗Wällo. Its name is derived from Wärrä Qallu, the name of the Oromo clan who settled from the late 16th cent. in the valleys between the eastern escarpment and the western highlands of the mediaeval province of Amhara.

In the late 18th and early 19th cent, Q. became a chiefdom under its own hereditary dynasty, the most prominent member of which was ↗Bərru Lubo. Under him, Q. expanded to the south in order to subjugate Reqqe, Artumma and Däwwäy, districts on the frontier with the rising principality of Šäwa. This led to occasional conflicts with the Šäwan rulers. European travellers (s. IsKrapf, HarAeth, Combes – Tamisier 1838) described Q. as stretching from the border with the sultanate of ↗Awsa in the east to the ↗Millee River in the north-west, and to the Borkänna River in the west and the south.

The residences of the Q. potentates were at Ayn Amba and Gof. The principal market was Ančarro which was also a centre of the slave trade.

As a result of the interaction between the Oromo of Q. and the pre-Oromo inhabitants such as the ↗ʿAfar, the ↗Argobba and the ↗Amhara, the Oromo ruling families converted to ↗Islam. Whilst some of the later Q. rulers converted to Christianity, popular traditions portray them as attached to Islam. From the beginning, the heads of Q. were patrons of Muslim scholars and merchants and promoted long-distance trade with central and western Wällo, southern Təgray, Goğğam, Bägemdər and Šäwa, and with the Gulf of Aden coast through northern ʿAfar and the ports of Tağūra, Zaylaʿ and Berbera, and even with Yemen. By the 18th cent. Q. had developed into an important centre of Islamic learning. The traditional ↗education of Q. was particularly famous for such fields as Arabic grammar, law and mysticism. The area is also rich in shrines and centres of ↗pilgrimage such as Gäta, Mäğit, Ğäma Nəguś and Haroyye. Islam is still the dominant religion in the region today.

Q. Muslim scholars are renowned for their knowledge and for their teaching and preach-



ing abilities, as well as for resistance to forced conversion (cp. ↗Ṭalḥa b. Ǧaᶜfar). The *ᶜulamāᵓ* of Q. composed popular treatises in Arabic and Amharic (*ᶜağamī*) and Sufi poetry.

Q. as an autonomous administrative division was incorporated into the Ethiopian empire in the late 19th and early 20th cent., although members of the old dynasty were confirmed as governors. From 1946 to 1974, Q. was an *awrağğa* with the administrative capital in ↗Kombolča. Since 1994 it has been part of the South Wällo zone of the Amhara *kəlləl*. Its southern Oromo-speaking districts have been incorporated into the Oromiyya zone.

Modern infrastructure is still lacking in Q. The only motor road passing through Kombolča to ↗Däse and ↗Asäb was constructed by the Italians. The first (and the only) high school was opened in the late 1970s. A meat-canning and textile factories (and later a tannery) have been the only symbols of industrialization. Electric power for Kombolča was an extension from the main supply centre in Däse.

↗Administrative division

Src.: EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie dans le pays des Gallas, de Choa et d'Ifat*, Paris 1838, 4 vols.; HarAeth; IsKrapf.
Lit.: HusIslam.

Hussein Ahmed

Qalqašandī, al-

Q. (القلقشندي, full name: Šihābaddīn Abū l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī; b. 1355, Qalqašanda, north of Cairo, d. 1418) was born to a family of scholars. He received his education in Alexandria, where he studied literature, tradition (*ḥadīṯ*) and law, with the intention of becoming a judge (*qāḍī*). His early works focus on this field. After a time spent teaching, he began to work at the ↗Mamlūk chancery (*dīwān al-inšāᵓ*). As a *kātib ad-dast* ('secretary at hand'), Q. had to accompany the *kātib as-sirr* ('chief secretary') when the latter spoke justice together with the *sulṭān*. The new post changed his interests as an author. From then on, he composed mainly books that became tools for those who worked in the *dīwān al-inšāᵓ*. The most important of such books is his voluminous encyclopaedia for secretaries *Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā fī ṣināᶜat al-inšāᵓ* ('The Dawn of the Night-Blind on the Art of Composition').

This encyclopaedia reproduced as examples many original or allegedly original documents, among them Prophet ↗Muḥammad's letter to the ↗*nağāšī*, after the text transmitted by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 767; Qalqašandī 1913–19, vol. 6, 379; cf. Björkman 1928: 119), and the Ethiopian king's answer thereto (Qalqašandī 1913–19, vol. 6, 466f.; cf. Björkman 2928: 121). As an example of the correspondence with kings of the "unbelievers", Q. quotes the letters exchanged between the ruler of Ethiopia and the Mamlūk *sulṭān* Baybars in 1274 (Qalqašandī 1913–19, vol. 8, 39–41, 119f.; cf. Björkman 1928: 132, 134; Wiet 1938: 117). He also provides a list of standardized praise titles to be used in the official correspondence with the Ethiopian kings (Qalqašandī 1913–19, vol. 6, 80–94, cp. Gori 2002: 38–43).

Since a knowledge of geography was also necessary for a secretary, Q. included in the *Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā* a description of the world known to him. In his account on Ethiopia (*al-Ḥabaša*), Q. depends upon the *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* ('Routes toward Insight into the Capital Empires') by Ibn Faḍlallāh al-↗ᶜUmarī (d. 1349), whose information on the Muslim countries of Ethiopia goes back to ↗ᶜAbdallāh az-Zaylaᶜī (Qalqašandī 1913–19, vol. 5, 302–37; cf. Björkman 1928: 107f.). As to the rulers of Ethiopia, Q. enumerates the patriarchs of Alexandria. In the same vein is his statement that all Christians of Ethiopia are followers of the Jacobite patriarch, and that the Great King of Ethiopia is in his obedience (Qalqašandī 1913–19, vol. 11, 395). The geographical part of the *Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā* also contains references to the ↗Beğa (ibid., vol. 5, 273f.).

Src.: ABŪ L-ᶜABBĀS AḤMAD AL-QALQAŠANDĪ, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā* ('The Book of the Dawn of the Blind'), 14 vols., Cairo 1331–38 H. [1913–19 A.D.].

Lit.: WALTHER BJÖRKMAN, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928 (Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde 28); CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH, “al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī”, in: *EI*^{2} vol. 4, 1978, 509–11; ALESSANDRO GORI, “Sugli *incipit* delle missive inviate dalla cancelleria mamelucca ai sovrani d’Etiopia nel XIV e XV secolo”, *RSE* 44, nuova ser. 1, 1, 2002, 29–44; GASTON WIET, “Les relations égypto–abyssines sous les sultans mamlouks”, *Bulletin de la Société d’archéologie copte* 4, 1938, 115–40.

Ewald Wagner

Qämär

Q. (**ቀመር**) is the site in the western range of ↗Gär^{c}alta massif at the top of a mountain (2,385 m A.S.L.) overlooking the northern pinnacle of ↗G^{w}əḥ (s. map for Gär^{c}alta, EAE, vol. 2) and the location of a ↗rock-hewn church dedicated to the Four Heavenly Beasts (Qämär Arba^{c}ətu Ənsəsa).

The church, measuring ca. 11.5 x 9.5 x 4 m, is approached by an open rock-cut passage going along the north façade and turning west where it ends with a niche behind which there is the western doorway to the church, presently blocked. That place is used for the local ↗*maḫbär* celebrations. The church is excavated from white and beige sandstone. It has two aisles divided into six regular bays (three northern rectangular, three southern square) by two large cruciform pillars with simple bracket capitals. The pillars are connected by seven arches. Presently, two eastern bays, used as sanctuary, are partly screened by constructed balustrades. The southernmost bay is enlarged by a niche cut in the wall. The ceiling of each bay is flat and carved with decorative checkered patterns, except for the ceiling of the south-east bay which has a single large square-framed cross.

Qämär Arba^{c}ətu Ənsəsa, view towards the sanctuary; photo 2005, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Originally the north and south walls of the central and sanctuary bays had windows but they are now covered over. The doorway in the first northern bay is presently used as main church entrance. Small caves around the church are used as graves, the largest one behind the sanctuary. The church is difficult to date; so far, there is no information concerning manuscripts.

Lit.: DAVID BUXTON – RUTH PLANT, “Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province”, *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–267, here 207; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 63; EAD., “Notes on 17 Newly-discovered Rock-hewn Churches of Tigray (Ethiopia)”, *EthObs* 16, 1, 1973, 36–53, here 50f.; ROGER SAUTER, “Églises rupestres au Tigré”, *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 165; *abba* TEWELDE MEDHIN JOSEPH, “Introduction générale aux églises monolithes du Tigrai”, in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 83–98, here 96.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Qändil: Mäṣḥafä qändil

The M.q. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ቀንዲል**, lit. ‘Book of the Lamp’) is a ritual for performing the sacrament of ↗Unction of the sick in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church.

According to the published manuscript tradition, the service should be as follows: it should open with the usual introduction of the *śər*^{c}*atä qəddase* (i.e. as at Eucharistic liturgy, cp. ↗*Qəddase*) and a prayer over the ↗oil, which is then blessed with the sign of the cross. The Service comprises seven sections or “prayers”; each consists of the lighting of a wick, a supplication (*mästäbq*^{w}*ə*^{c} or *ṣäwatəw*, cf. VelMe II, 187 sq.; s. ↗Litanies), an epistle, the Trisagion, a Gospel reading preceded by the *Prayer of the Gospel* with incensing and a ↗*məsbak*, and a prayer. There follows the imposition of the Gospel book upon the patient’s head by all the priests, while the leading priest says the main prayer. Strophae, the *Our Father*, 41 *Kyrie eleison* and the *Prayer of Blessing* (found with the Anaphora of the Apostles) are also said. Now the anointing of the patient and of the people present takes place (as in the valuable Greek ms. Coislin 213: Mélia 1975: 219 and 226). A very long prayer “after the *qändil* has been completed” concludes the service.

The text is taken from the Coptic Church service of the *qandīl* (from the Gr. κανδήλη, ‘candle’, itself taken from Latin), which in turn is parallel to that of the Greek Church (cf. Burmester 1967). The M.q. was published by Chaîne (1913–14, with a Latin translation) from the oldest known ms., Paris BN éth. 78 (written in February 1561, most probably in Egypt); the title states that the book was translated from Arabic. The text of the liturgical editions of the M.q. fits more or less with that of Chaîne. The Rome 1974 edition, combined from several manuscripts, corresponds to the same *Vorlage*, but in a different translation.

Only a few details distinguish the M.q. from the Coptic service: there are minor discrepancies in the rubrics as to which usual prayers (e.g., *Our Father*, Creed, etc.) should be added; again, near the end of the first prayer (Chaîne 1913: 434, 435, line 15, between "days of his life" and "through the blood"), the Ethiopic does not include the sentence "yet, if it be ordained that [thy sick servant] be taken hence, let this be by the angels of light with power that will save him from the demons of darkness" (Burmester 1967: 147, lines 2ff.); the M.q. does not mention that "the sick man shall be anointed daily … [for] seven days" (a rubric which is found again in the Greek Coislin 213: Mélia 1975: 193), and has no mention either of extra prayers for severely ill people (Burmester 1967: 151); the last and very long prayer, full of Biblical allusions, of the M.q. (Chaîne 1914: 26–40), is not found in Coptic liturgical books. The readings of the seven turns are: (1) Ja 5: 10–20; Jn 5: 1–18; (2) Rom 15: 1–7; Lk 19: 1–10; (3) 1 Cor 12: 28–13: 8a; Mt 10: 1–8; (4) Rom 8: 14–21; Lk 10: 1–9; (5) Gal 2: 16–20; Jn 14: 1–20; (6) Col 3: 12–17; Lk 7: 36–50; (7) Eph 6: 10–18; Mt 6: 14–18.

As a whole, the Ethiopic seems to be a faithful 16th-cent. translation from a manuscript of the Copto-Arabic service.

Src.: MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Le rituel éthiopien – Rituel de l'extrême-onction", *Bessarione* 29, 4, 1913, 420–51; *ibid.* 30, 1, 1914, 12–41, 213–31; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ቀንዲል** (*Mäṣḥafä qändil*, 'Ritual of the Unction'), Addis Abäba n.d.; THE PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ክርስትና፤ መጽሐፈ፡ ተክሊል፤ መጽሐፈ፡ ቄደር፤ ወመጽሐፈ፡ ቀንዲል** (*Mäṣḥafä krəstənna, Mäṣḥafä täklil, Mäṣḥafä qedär, wämäṣḥafä qändil*, 'Ritual of Baptism; Ritual of Crowning (Marriage); Ritual of Penance [lit. 'Jar']; and Ritual of Unction'), Addis Abäba 1993 A.M. [2001 A.D.]; THE ROMAN CONGREGATION FOR EASTERN CHURCHES (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ቀንዲል፡ ወንስሓ፡ (ኑዛዜ) ወሥርዐተ፡ ውሂቦተ፡ ቍርባን፡ ለሕሙማን** (*Mäṣḥafä qändil wänəssəḥa* (*nuzaze*) *wäśərᶜatä wəhibotä qʷərban läḥəmuman*, 'Book of the Anointment of the Sick and of Penitence [Confession], and the Order for giving Communion to the Sick'), Rome 1967 A.M. [1974 A.D.].

Lit.: OSWALD HUGH EWART KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: a Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments,* Cairo 1967 (Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte 10), 144–51; KLAUS GAMBER, *Liturgische Texte aus der Kirche Äthiopiens,* Regensburg 1984, 26–52; A. GLADEL, "Übersetzung des Buches des Leuchters, d.i. der Gebete bei der Spendung der letzten Ölung nach äthiopischem Ritus", *Tübinger theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* 77, 1924, 650–65; ÉLIE MÉLIA, "Le sacrement de l'onction des malades dans son développement historique et quelques considérations sur la pratique actuelle", in: *La maladie et la mort du chrétien dans la liturgie, Conférences Saint-Serge, XXIe Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris, 1er–4 juillet 1974*, Rome 1975 (Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae", Subsidia 1), 193–228; ERNST CHRISTOPH SUTTNER, "Die Krankensalbung (das "Öl des Gebets") in den altorientalischen Kirchen", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 89, 1975, 371–96.

Ugo Zanetti

Qanna Sambata

Q.S. (b. 1945, Adda Bərga *wäräda* [ca. 60 km north-west of Addis Abäba], d. 1991) was an Oromo painter. He was taught by the painter ↗Bərhanu Yəmänu whom he met while working in Addis Abäba as a photographer around 1970.

Q.S. was supported by the French expatriates in Addis Abäba such as the technical adviser Denis Gérard, the anthropologist Jacques Bureau, and the archaeologist Rémy Audouin, in whose houses he stayed and worked. They supplied Q.S. with paints and canvas, acquired his paintings, and organized exhibitions for him in the Alliance Française. His patrons encouraged him to paint topical events: parades on the Revolution (now Mäsqäl) Square, literacy campaigns etc. However, Q.S. continued to reproduce traditional subjects such as the life of the Oromo, views of markets, Christian feasts, or scenes from the life of *aṣe* Tewodros II. Three Q.S.'s paintings were bought by the Society of Friends of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies and donated to its museum. Other paintings are in private collections.

Src.: Denis Gérard, personal communication, 5 April 2005.

Lit.: ELISABETH BIASIO, *Heilige und Helden – Äthiopiens zeitgenössische Malerei im traditionellen Stil*, Zürich 2006, 34f.; BERNARD DESESTRÉS – CONSTANTIN KAITERIS, *Peintures populaires éthiopiennes – Alemou, Berhanou, Kana. Croix éthiopiennes*, Maillot près Sens 1987; PAUL FABER, *Ethiopisch Panorama – Kleurrijke Schilderijen van Qanna Sambata (1945–1991)*, Amsterdam 1997; GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNIG, *Äthiopien in der volkstümlichen Malerei*, Stuttgart 1993, 70f., 94f.; LEIGHTON HOUSE MUSEUM, *The Shape of Memories – Adamu, Kidane, Qanna – Three Painters from Ethiopia*, London 1998; JACQUES MERCIER, "Die traditionelle Malerei in der Zeit der kommunistischen Mengistu-Regierung (1974–1991)", in: GIRMA FISSEHA (ed.), *op. cit.*, 38–39.; RAYMOND A. SILVERMAN, *Painting Ethiopia – The Life and Work of Qes Adamu Tesfaw*, Los Angeles, CA 2005, 35f.

Elisabeth Biasio

Qaññäw

Q. (ቃኘው, Engl. sp. "Kagnew") was the name of a US military base and radio station in ↗Asmära from the 1940s to 1970s (↗United States of America, relations with).

It was under the aegis of the Lend-Lease Act of 1939 that ↗Eritrea was to become the focal point of an American effort to blanket the ↗Middle East with airfields, ordnance depots and support bases. The Royal Air Force support base at ↗Gura^c (operated by the Douglas Aircraft Company), the US Naval Repair Base at ↗Massawa, and various other projects in Asmära, ↗Ginda^c and ↗Dängolo were established to support British forces fighting in Libya and Egypt (↗World War II). All were closed following the defeat of Germany's "Afrika Korps" in early 1943. The history of Q. Station started with a War Department memo dated 26 January 1943, titled *Establishment of a War Department Fixed Radio Station in Africa*, which detailed the operational objectives for what was to become the 4th Detachment of the Second Signal Service Battalion (re-named the Army Security Agency in 1945). On 30 April 1943 an Army lieutenant arrived in Asmära to conduct a feasibility study. By 17 May, he had been joined by six enlisted men. They refurbished Radio Marina – an abandoned Italian naval radio station on a hill above Asmära – and sent traffic samples to Washington. Eritrea's geographical location 15° N at an altitude of ca. 2,300 m A.S.L. contributed to anomalous propagation of radio signals. The quality of the samples caused the War Department to quickly expand operations. By 4 December, 54 American soldiers were working at what was then known as "Asmara Barracks".

The name Q. Station came with the signing of the Base Rights Agreement with Ethiopia on 22 May 1953. The term "Q." had several military associations in Ethiopian history. Q. was the name of a warhorse that, riderless, charged the Italians at the Battle of ↗^{c}Adwa in 1896, and Ethiopia deployed the Q. Battalion to Korea in 1951 (↗United Nations). Although the base was re-designated the 4th U.S. Army Security Agency Field Station in 1958, it was commonly known as Q. Station, especially in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Still today, the hill is often called Q. in local parlance, but also *Forto* or *Rädyo Marina.*

Shortly after the Base Rights Agreement was signed, a small newspaper, *The Weekly Gazelle,* began to be published. In 1955, it was re-named *The Kagnew Gazelle.* Although its focus was the Q. Station community, it included occasional articles on world events, Ethiopian history and travel destinations in East Africa.

The first group of wives and children arrived on 11 September 1946, and the first American baby was born in July 1948. On 7 March 1948, one Navy officer and six enlisted men established the US Navy Communications Unit 3. They joined another Army communications unit, the 3176th Signal Service Detachment, which maintained circuits to New Delhi, Teheran and Washington. In the 1950s and 1960s, US-$ 70 million were invested in expansion projects. Separate transmitter and receiver sites were built, as were such amenities as a school, hospital and gymnasium. KANU-TV, an affiliate of the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service began broadcasting in December, 1955. Barracks and family apartments were constructed to accommodate an American population that peaked at 4,200 in 1970. Apartments for 120 families were built on the original Radio Marina site which was known as Tract A. In January 1964 the Defense Department announced that a deep-space research facility would be built at Q. Station. Called Stonehouse, its then-secret mission was to monitor the Soviet Union's space explorations. By the end of the 1960s, Q. Station had grown to 13.7 km^2 of land with 185 buildings and 40 km of roads.

On 9 March 1972, the Army Security Agency (ASA) announced that it was withdrawing from Q. Station as a cost-saving measure. The Navy was designated to replace ASA as the host unit on 1 July 1973. The civil war that began in 1974 caused operations to be curtailed and evacuation plans to be prepared (↗Revolution). In April 1977 the Ethiopian Army seized Q.'s remaining facilities. The last contingent of Americans left Asmära shortly thereafter.

Src.: *Radio Marina USARS Daily News*, Asmara [ca. June/July 1953]; *The Weekly Gazelle, Kagnew Station* [later *Kagnew Gazelle*], Asmara, [known copies:] vol. 1, no. 21, 24 July 1953 to vol. 16, no. 29, 16 July 1971; *Kagnews, Printed Daily at Kagnew Station for U.S. Military Personnel and their Dependents Only*!, Asmara, [known copies:] vol. 8, no. 15, 16 December 1959, to vol. 10, no. 80, 10 February 1961.

Lit.: United States Army Garrison, Kagnew Station, Public Affairs Office (ed.), *A History of Kagnew Station and American Forces in Eritrea* [by John Rasmuson], Asmara 1973.

John R. Rasmuson

Qäññazmač ↗Azmač

Qärärto ↗Fukkära

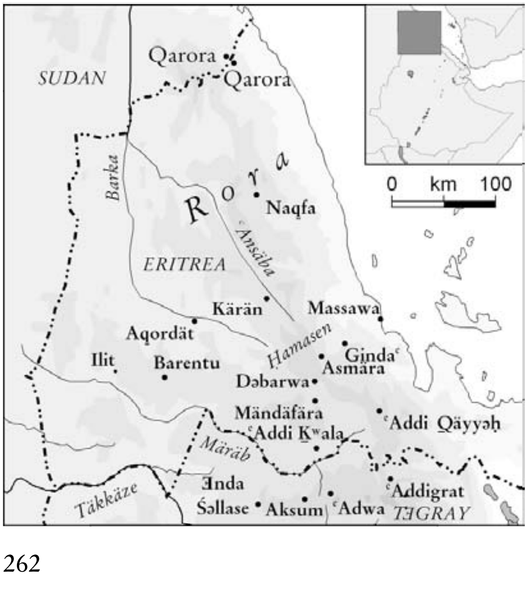
Qarora

Q. (ቃሮራ) is a small town in the Səmen Qäyyəḥ Baḥri administrative zone of northern Eritrea, on the border with eastern Sudan. A town with the same name is also located on the other side of the border formed by the Wadi Fagat, along the main road from al-Ġayn to Toker. The local population never took political separation seriously, and social and economic cross-border interactions were common.

Q. is the site of an ancient human settlement, as evidenced by the monochrome and polychrome ↗rock paintings at Abba Čakat, ca. 2 km south of Q. These comprise at least four groups of painted figures that include images of domesticated cattle, camels, unidentified zoomorphic figures, and a number of human figures, some of which are associated with painted depictions of cattle.

The Eritrean Q. town was established by the Italians in the 1890s. The then *kantibay* ʿUṯmān Ḥədad Ḥasan welcomed Italian administration in Q. His brother, *kantibay* Mahmūd Ḥədad Ḥasan, opposed Italian expansion and was eventually forced to escape to Sudan. Q. grew thanks to its position as an Italian customs post and a trans-border market place. Between 1936 and 1940 its present inhabitants, the ↗Ḥabab, migrated to the town.

During the period of the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation, the local population strongly supported the ↗Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM). Ethiopian troops installed a military garrison at Q. and arrested many ELM members, the remaining ones, together with their leader Idrīs Muḥammad Ḥasan, fled to Sudan. When in 1961 the newly established ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) tried to gain a foothold in Q., tensions arose between the ELM-loyal Ḥabab and the ELF-supporting ↗Bet Mäʿala. The Ethiopian army exploited these tensions and in 1967 it started to burn villages, fill up wells and confiscate animals in Saḥəl, including Q., forcing the population to flee to Sudan. During the civil war between the ELF and the ↗Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF) in 1972, the Ḥabab supported the latter. In 1977, Q. was under the control of the EPLF; it withdrew in 1979, and restored its control in 1984.



Src.: interview with *ato* Muḥammad Idrīs Banat, journalist from Qarora, Asmära, 30 and 31 October 2008.

Lit.: Giulio Calegari, "I testimoni impassibili", *Archeologia Africana. Saggi occasionali* 2, 1996, 31–46, here 25f.; Paolo Graziosi, "New Discoveries of Rock Paintings in Ethiopia", *Antiquity* 38, 1964, 91–98, 187–90; *Guida* 216; KilHDic 281; Alda Vigliardi Micheli, "Le pitture rupestri di Carora", *Rivista di scienze preistoriche* 11, 1956, 193–210; Zelalem Teka, "Distribution and Significance of Ancient Rock Art Sites in Eritrea", in: Peter R. Schmidt – Matthew C. Curtis – Zelalem Teka (eds.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 2008, 49–61; ʿUṯmān Ṣaliḥ Sabbī, *Tāʾriḫ īrītriyā* ('A History of Eritrea'), Beirut 1974, 175.

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad – Matthew C. Curtis

Qäsis

Q. (Gəʿəz [/Amh.]: **ቀሲስ**, pl. *qäsawəst;* Amh.: **ቄስ**, *qes*, pl. *qesočč*, *qäsawəst*; Tgn. **ቀሺ**, *qäšši*, *qäyši*, pl. *qäsawəsti*, *aqəšti*; connected with Syr. *qaššīšā* 'old, elder; presbyter', *qaššā* 'presbyter') refers to the literal as well as ecclesiastical notions of 'presbyter' (πρεσβύτερος, 'elder, priest'), in contrast to *kahən*, 'sacerdos' (s. ↗*Kəhnät*). While the *Sacrament of* ↗*Ordination* (*Məśṭirä kəhnät*) refers to the Christian sacrament of Holy Orders in general, and is shared by bishops, priests and deacons, *qəssənna* ('priesthood') refers only to the presbyterate, which however does not exclude the use of *kahən* (cp. ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*, chs. 6, 9).

Before becoming a Q., the person should serve as a ↗*diyaqon* for some years and settle either as a **ባለ፡ ሕግ** (*balä həgg*, lit. 'master of the law', i.e. sacramentally married) secular (*ʿalämawi*) person or as a (celibate) monk, as stipulated by the *Fətḥa nägäśt* and as is common in the Eastern Churches. Married priests prefer to take spouses from other priestly families. Widowed Q. may not remarry; a new marriage would result in their removal from the ranks of the clergy, although if sufficiently learned they may serve as a ↗*däbtära*. Worthy candidates are then introduced to their local bishop (while formerly only the metropolitan could ordain). Upon ↗ordination to the order of *qəssənna*, a Q. becomes the normal minister of the Eucharistic liturgy (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qəddase*, ch. II, no. 1) as well as one of the leaders of the community he is sent to: all the priests of a given community belong to the *säbäka gubaᵓe* (‘parish council’) of which the president is the ↗*aläqa* of the church (EOTC Holy Synod 1998/99).

In common language, the Q. is a married priest, as opposed to the *kahən,* usually the priest-monk. He can be addressed as ↗*abba*, for additional reverence, or ↗*mämhər*, to underline the Q.’s learnedness. Nowadays “Q.” can also be used as a title or a term of address.

The Q. acts as ↗*näfs abbat*, in addition to celebrating the liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) and the other sacraments or rituals, essentially ↗funerals. A Q. may serve as main minister (the *kahən* of the liturgical books) when he qualifies as **ቀዳሽ** *qäddaš* (first celebrant at the Liturgy, one of the *qäddašočč* appointed to assume responsibility for the liturgical services in a place with many priests). He may serve as *nəfqä kahən* (lit. ‘half-kahən’, i.e. the assistant priest) or not at all if he does not qualify well enough and if there are enough priests to serve. Q. may alternate their liturgical roles between officiating and just attending or singing with the choir. Officiating requires abstaining from intercourse with their wives three days before and two days after the service, hence the usefulness of the system of *sämunäñña* (‘hebdomadary’, pl. *sämunäññočč*; cp. ↗*Sämon*), which is used as an alternative word for clergy.

When celebrating the Eucharist and major services, the Q. wear liturgical vestments (↗Clothing: Ecclesiastical vestments). On a daily basis, the Q. can be distinguished by the hand-↗crosses they carry. They may don a white turban (*ṭəmṭəm*) and a *kuta* type of toga. Sometimes, they carry horsehair fly-whisks and umbrellas (↗*Dəbab*). As clerics in general, the Q. prefer to follow the traditional way of clothing. A recent custom of wearing headgear, only distinguishable from the monastic *qobᶜ* by a small hole in the middle of the top, was reproved by the Holy Synod in 2008.

At various times in Ethiopian history attempts were made (notably by *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob; cf. CRRicBerhan I, 19ff., 48–53) to raise the level of candidates for the priesthood and the faithful. In modern times this has become one of the primary missions of theological colleges such as ↗Holy Trinity Theological College and the various Clergy Training Centres administered by EOC/DICAC (Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission).

Country priests live off the ↗*gʷəlt* of the church, which they cultivate with their families, as do their neighbours; in the past, they also received income from church lands. Stipends offered for services celebrated on request are an important source of income, as is the support of their spiritual children.

When greeting each other, Q. kiss their crosses or their right hands in order to acknowledge their mutual acceptance of their sharing in the same priesthood. A priest does not bless another priest (cp. BauSen 41, 73 [text]). At the time of blessing which concludes the Liturgy, priests kiss the palm of the celebrant’s hand instead of receiving the imposition of his hand as do deacons and the faithful (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, Anaphora of the Apostles no. 162).

The same term is used among the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel for a married priest.

↗Churches and Church administration; ↗Ep̣p̣isqop̣p̣os; ↗P̣ap̣p̣as

A group of priests from Gännätä Maryam, Lalibäla; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Src.: BauSen 41, 73 (text) = 19, 36 (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 349–56, 510; OSWALD HUGH EWART KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: a Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments,* Cairo 1967 (Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte 10), 88–94 (tr. of Ms. Coptic Museum 253); CRRicBerhan I, 19ff., 48–53 (text) = 11f., 27–30 (tr.); DillmLex 433; EOTC HOLY SYNOD, **ቃለ፡ ዐዋዲ። የሰበካ፡ መንፈሳዊ፡ ጉባኤ፡ ደንብ** (*Qalä ᶜawadi*: *yäsäbäka mänfäsawi gubaᵓe dänb*, 'The Voice of the Herald: Regulations of the Parish Spiritual Council'), Addis Abäba ³1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.], 11, 16, 61; KaneDic 753; KaneTDic 963; LesCDic 447; *abba* MARQOS Ityopyawi Zädäbrä Bizän, **መጽሐፈ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ሢመት፡ ዘሥዩማነ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ኢትዮጵያዊት** (*Mäṣḥafä śərᶜatä śimät zäśəyyumanä betä krəstiyan ityopyawit*, 'The Ritual Book of the Nomination of the Officials of the Ethiopian Church'), ms., ca. 1933–35 A.M. [1941–42 A.D.], 41–49; **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ በግዕዝና፡ ባማርኛ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase bägəᶜəzənna bamarəñña*, 'The Book of the Liturgy in Gəᶜəz and Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.]; PAULOS TZADUA (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast*. **ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት**. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 43–47, 54–64.
Lit.: STÉPHANE ANCEL, *Épiscopat et encadrement des pratiques religieuses en Éthiopie chrétienne contemporaine. Caractéristiques et évolutions,* Ph.D. thesis, INALCO, Paris 2006; ANDEMARIAM TESFAMICHAEL, *Il Metropolita copto-alessandrino della Chiesa Ortodossa Tawāḥdo. Il sacerdozio ministeriale presso i Cristiani Abissini*, Gorle (BG) 2003, esp. 157f., 203-22; EMMANUEL LANNE, "Les Ordinations dans le Rite Copte. Leurs relations avec les Constitutions Apostoliques et la Tradition de Saint Hippolyte", *L'Orient Syrien* 5, 1960, 81-106; LevWax 166–74; *abune* MEKARIOS (ed.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations,* Addis Ababa 1996, 14; PankSoc 93.

Emmanuel Fritsch

Qaṭ

Q. (with variants: *qaṣ, qaṣo, qʷaṭ*) is a high-ranking administrative title of an uncertain origin (for some untenable etymologies s. BTafA 241ff.) used in both Christian and Islamic Ethiopia. The form *qāṭ* is peculiar to Arabic Islamic texts and possibly comes from *qaṣ*, with the evolution *ṣ>ṭ* common in the Southern Ethiopian Semitic Languages (Cerulli 1931: 44f. and n. 5 [= CerIslam 142, n. 15], CerStud I, 17). Chronologically, however, the form *qāṭ* is attested first, as it is mentioned by al-ᶜUmarī (UmMasGaud 6; UmMasSezg 18) who states that it is the title of the ruler (*mālik*) of ↗Ifāt (see also TrIslam 67). Indeed, the 14th-cent. ↗ᶜAlī b. Ṣabraddīn of Ifat is called *qāṭ* in the Walašmaᶜ Chronicle (Cerulli 1931: 44 [= CerIslam 142]). In this same text, a *qāṭ* Naṣraddīn is mentioned as the father of an Ibrāhīm, apparently a usurper not from the ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty, who reigned in ᶜAdal for ten months in 1487–88 (Cerulli 1931: 49 and n. 3 [= CerIslam 147 and n. 41]).

During the reign of ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam the title *qaṣ* was bestowed by the ruler on the governor of ↗Wäğ (PerrZarY 112). In the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, the title *qāṭ* is borne by ᶜUmar, one of the chief horsemen of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (BassHist *index s.v.*), who combined it with another title, *awraᶜī*, as a descendant of Balaw ᶜAbdallāh (for the title *awraᶜī* s. BassHist 255 n. 2 [tr.]; Cerulli 1931: 47 and n. 3, 78 and n. 1 [= CerIslam 145 and n. 30; 184 and n. 187]) Later, in ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl's time, the title *qaṣ* was borne by the chief of Konč who "as a good servant" (*gäbr ḫer*) welcomed the king and his troops beyond the River Zəbe (CRHist 33). During the reign of Susənyos, the unfaithful governor of Wäğ, ↗Dämä Krəstos, still bore the title of *Wäğ qāṣ* (PerChron 36). According to ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis, Q. could mean "governor of all the ↗Gurage", and the local governors in ↗Mänz and Märhabete were also called Q. (BTafA 241ff.).

This scant amount of information provides few clues about the evolution of the use of Q. (CerStud I, 17). It is likely, however, that Q. (*qāṭ*) could be originally, in the 14th cent., an Islamic dynastic title of at least some of Walašmaᶜ rulers. Maybe at the same time it was also used (as *qāṣ*) in the Christian state, but for the lower position of a local governor. The rank of the Q. was slowly lowered also among Muslims and eventually disappeared from the hierarchical pyramid, while it survived among Christians until the 17th cent.

Src.: BassHist 255 n. 2 (tr.), s. index; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ᵃ, 4, 1931, 39–101 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206]; CRHist 33 (text) = 38 (tr.); PerChron 36 (text) = 29 (tr.); PerrZarY 112; UmMasGaud 6; UmMasSezg 18.
Lit.: BTafA 241ff., 958; CerStud I, 17; TrIslam 67.

Alessandro Gori

Qatbäre

Q. (**ቃትበሬ**) is the name of a village, a *qäbälä* and an important Islamic centre, about 10 km east of ↗Wälqiṭe (for location s. map for Qabeena). Q. is situated in the territory of the ↗Qabeena ethnic group, which has a clan by the name Q. During the 19th cent. the place served as a merchants' camp on the trade route between ↗Ğireen and ↗Šäwa.

Q. owes most of its fame to the activities of *šayḫ* ᶜIsa b. Ḥamza of Q. (also known as "Qatbäriye" or *šayḫočč*; 1858–1941 A.M. [1865–1947 A.D.]). Besides *šayḫ* (*šayḫočč*) *sayyid* Budälla of ↗Abrät (s. EAE vol. 5), *šayḫ* ᶜIsa was one of the most venerated Islamic teachers among the ↗Gurage and the neighbouring ethnic groups. He allegedly even reached the position of *tallaq quṭb* or ‘great pole’, the highest rank in the hierarchy of the Qādirīya ↗Islamic brotherhood (Umär Bäšər 2005: 121).

Šayḫ ʿIsa of Q. was born in Abanğa Kurey (Kursiye) in ↗Ǝža as the son of Ḥamza Bäṭure and Ağəyat (probably the female title *adyät*) Geswät. According to an abridged genealogical list composed in Amharic verse (untitled ms. recording the genealogy of Ḥamza Bäṭure), his father claimed to have Sharific descent. *Šayḫ* ʿIsa’s education started in ↗Mäsqan, where he was taught Qurʾān by the *šayḫ* of Bidara. He was introduced into Islamic esoteric knowledge by the Šāfiʿīte *šayḫ* Saʿīd Ḥaw in Gädäbano (↗Wälane) and continued his studies under *šayḫ* Abbaye in Č̣änno, ↗Yəfat. He was initiated into the Qādirīya by the famous *šayḫ* Aḥmad b. Adam of Dana (“Daniye”) in ↗Yäğğu (Gori 2005: 80f.). Being authorized by the latter, *šayḫ* ʿIsa started teaching in Lahme (Yəfat) but then returned to Gurageland, where he first settled in Mafäd, ↗Ǝnnämor, on the land of his *təb* (‘clan’) Ǝnnämakki. After the conquest of Gurage by *aṣe* Mənilək II’s army *šayḫ* ʿIsa was granted seven *gašša* in Q. by *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis. He also received land grants in Ǝža. Q. was then established as *šayḫ* ʿIsa’s main seat and became a centre of Islamic ↗education and religious practice. The *Šayḫ* also founded a second centre in Mäsqan which later became the nucleus of the ↗Butağira Friday mosque, a centre in Inseno and in Božžäbär (Ǝža) [oral informants].

Oral traditions describe *šayḫ* ʿIsa of Q. as a wise theologian and jurist as well as a man gifted by God with the ability to work miracles (*karāma*). However, his popularity is mainly due to his engagement as a great advocate for the rights of Ethiopian Muslims. During *ras* Täfäri’s regency he applied to the future emperor (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) for the recognition of Islamic marriage and other ↗*šarīʿa* institutions. After having at first rejected this request, the Regent agreed to tolerate the appointment of *qāḍīs* (Islamic judges). *Šayḫ* ʿIsa himself became *qāḍī*, allegedly the first to be officially recognized by a modern Ethiopian government (Gori 2005: 82; oral informants).

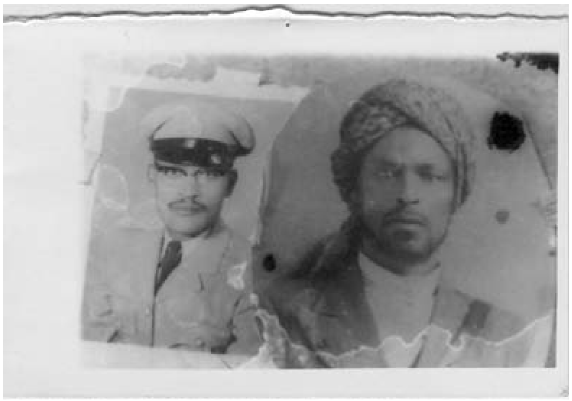
Šayḫ ʿIsa of Q. was successful in leading a Muslim movement for the establishment of a ↗mosque in Addis Abäba. Public prayer was, till then, prohibited for Muslims who had to gather in the private compounds of Arab merchants in the Arada area. *Šayḫ* ʿIsa of Q. applied to *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis and, after having his approval, raised funds among the merchants. The Masğid an-Nūr was constructed in Benin *säfär* of the Ethiopian capital in 1911. *Šayḫ* ʿIsa’s commitment took him into prison on several occasions. While he was in custody in Goğğam, due to his initiative a mosque was erected in Däğän in this province (Gori 2005: 82f.; oral informants).

Šayḫ ʿIsa of Q. was in good terms with the *imām* of the Ottoman consulate and consul general-in-chief *ḥağği* Tawfīq *bey* (in Ethiopia ca. 1915–22) who stayed in Q. for some time as the *Šayḫ’s* guest. *Ḥağği* Tawfīq married Nuriye, a daughter of a Wälane chief and relative of *šayḫ* ʿIsa (Dikbaş 2007).

During the Italian occupation *šayḫ* ʿIsa was able to maintain his influential position among Ethiopian Muslims. The Italian administration, attempting to foster its relationship with the Muslim population, recognized him as *qāḍī*. The *Šayḫ* entered into distanced but pragmatic relations with the Italians. Thus, certain combatant groups from the region collaborating with the Italians, in a war song nick-named themselves *Yäqatbäre banda* (‘the group of Qatbäre [*šayḫ*]’), as oral informants relate.

After *šayḫ* ʿIsa’s death his son, *ḥağği* Sulṭan, a *šäläqa* in ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase’s army, succeeded him as leader of the centres in Q. and Mäsqan. *Šayḫ* Faris, ʿIsa’s grandson and successor of Sulṭan, died in 1994.

Today, the significance of Islamic education in Q. has declined. The centre, mainly benefiting from the prestige inherited from *šayḫ* ʿIsa of Q. and his son, cannot compete with modern



Photographic collage (original size 7.6 cm x 5 cm) showing *šäläqa ḥağği* Sulṭan b. ʿIsa (left) and *šayḫ* ʿIsa b. Ḥamza (right) distributed among the visitors of the *zāwiya* as a religious souvenir; from the collection of the author

Islamic schools. In the religious life of southern-central Ethiopia it still has its place, e.g., during the ᶜ*īd* festivals (↗Feasts, Islamic). For such events the current *šayḫ* Badru *šayḫ* Faris, a successful businessman in the United States, is regularly present in Q. The *šayḫ's* family still today holds traditional rights on several forests (*yäšayḫočč bahərzaf*, 'eucalypt of the grand *šayḫ*') in their homeland Ǝža (oral informants).

Src.: interviews in Mäsqan with *šayḫ sayyid* Salman *šayḫ* Faris, Inseno, 17 January 2006, and Muhammäd Abdulkarim, Butağira, 1 December 2005; interviews in Ǝža with Barada Bəka, Ilas, Božžäbär, 13 November 2009; Ğamal Saido, Wərt, Agänna, 15 November 2009; untitled ms. (Amh., *ağāmī*) recording the genealogy of Ḥamza Bäṭure; *šayh* UMÄR BÄŠƎR, **ጥሮና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቀደምትና፡ ታላላቅ፡ ኡለማዎች፡ ታሪክ፡ የወለኔ፡ ሸክ፡ የተጻፈ** (*Ṭərona. Yäʾityoṗya qäddämtənna talallaq ulämawočč tarik, Yäwäläne šäk yätäṣafä*, 'Ṭərona. The History of the Ethiopian Earlier and Great [Islamic] Scholars, Written down by the *Šayḫ* of Wäläne'), ed. by ABDULFETAH ABDÄLLAH, Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2005 A.D.], 121; KADIR DIKBAŞ, "Necaşi'nin ülkesinde son Osmanlı konsolosu" ('The Last Ottoman in the Land of the Nağāšī'), *Aksiyon Dergisi* 650, May 2007, internet source.

Lit.: BrHad 426; GUNNAR HASSELBLATT, *Äthiopien. Menschen, Kirchen, Kulturen*, Stuttgart 1979, 54–57; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Contemporary and Historical Muslim Scholars as Portrayed by the Ethiopian Islamic Press in the 1990's", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 72–94, here 79–83; BURKHARD PETER, *Kulturelle Identität und religiöses Bekenntnis*: *Synkretismus bei den Hadiyya Südäthiopiens*, Mainz 1999, 123f., 288f.

Dirk Bustorf

Qäwəsṭos

Q. (**ቀውስጦስ**, fl. late 13th–early 14th cent.) is a saint venerated by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. The main source for Q.'s life is his Vita (↗*Gädl*), a relatively late but complex work of hagiography (ed. Raineri 2004 based on recent mss.), which resembles in its style and composition such Vitae as those of ↗Tadewos of Däbrä Maryam or ↗Yoḥannəs Məsraqawi, and shows a strong link to the hagiographic tradition of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot.

According to his Vita, Q. was a son of Gälawdewos, the governor of ↗Däwaro, and Ǝmmənä Ṣəyon, daughter of Matewos, governor of ↗Wägda and Kätäta. The birth of Q. was preceded by a raid of ↗Motälämi, who captured Ǝmmənä Ṣəyon and Ǝgziʾ Ḫaräya (the future mother of Täklä Haymanot); both were later saved by angels. After his birth, Q. was baptized by the priest Ǝndrəyas and Ṣägga Zäʾab, the father of Täklä Haymanot. Q. was later given for rearing to Ḥəywät Bənä Bäṣəyon, Täklä Haymanot's grandfather, and they were brought up together. Through a "prophecy" (Raineri 2004: 74–127) Ḥəywät Bənä Bäṣəyon explained that Q. and Täklä Haymanot were distant relatives (ibid. 83), and told how their predecessors came to ↗Šäwa from northern Ethiopia. Further on, he vehemently spoke in favour of two ↗Sabbath-days, building his arguments on the story of Israel as told in the Bible and the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (the reference to "King Ǝmnät" is certainly taken from one of the hagiographies of Täklä Haymanot, s. Nosnitsin 2007: 157, n. 43).

At the age of six years and six months Q. was consecrated deacon, together with Täklä Haymanot, by *abunä* Gerlos (↗Qerəllos), apparently in the last years of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty. Later, Q. and his father Gälawdewos went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Egypt (Raineri 2004: 172–79). Q. was consecrated as a priest at 42 by *abunä* ↗Yoḥannəs (ibid. 182f.) and returned to Wägda. From there, he started preaching Christianity, fighting "pagan cults" and performing miracles (Raineri 2004: 192–213). He also built a church at Däbrä Yäy, and baptized the people of Gälan, Gamo, Qäčäma, Zəm, Wälaso and Mäḥaggəl. He established the sanctuary of Nəbge Maryam (which still exists in Ṣəlaləš, ↗Bulga), went to Särmat, defeated the "witch" Sariti by means of the ↗Anaphora of Our Lord and re-built a church of St. Peter and Paul, calling it Däbrä Ǝlla Žanbär (ibid. 238–41; the church was originally established by ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa, ibid. 236f.). At Däbrä Səgale he established a church of St. Aboli, and built one more church at Bäwa. After 45 years, Q. met Täklä Haymanot and received from him the monastic habit. Later, he also met ↗Zena Marqos in Morät, and was "officially" dispatched by *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob to Särmat and Mäḥaggəl. He is said to have proceeded as far as ↗Käfa and Žänğäro (cp. ↗Yäm). Finally, he criticized *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I for his marital habits, but was beaten and imprisoned in Bäyo, and killed in ↗Ǝnsaro on 21 *Ṭərr*. The Vita enhances the dramatic character of his ↗martyrdom telling that Q. was a half-brother of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak (whom Ǝmmənä Ṣəyon was supposed to have born from Täsfa Iyäsus, Raineri 2004: 224f.).

The colophon of the Vita claims that it was composed during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit (II) by Q.'s disciple Mäbaʾa Ṣəyon of Ǝndägäbṭon (cp. ↗Mäbaʾa Ṣəyon). Even though these claims can hardly be granted, the tradition of Q.'s veneration apparently predates the current version of his Vita.

The Vita of ↗Filəppos of Däbrä Libanos recounts that Q. was indeed one of the 12 *mämhəran* (Turaiev 1908: 198; cp. also TadTChurch 176, 183–86). Some of the place names referred to in the Vita are historical toponyms (like Mäḥaggəl, Särmat); some can be located in (central) Šäwa, a few of them being of more recent origin, suggestive of the late 16th-cent. Oromo migration ([Däbrä] Səgale, Gälan; cp. also Žänğäro [Raineri 2004: 268f.], which originally might refer to Ğənğäro, the river and region in Morät). The church at Bäyo is apparently today's Bäyä Qäwəsṭos (in Dännäba, Morät, Tägʷəlät – Bulga). Some of the hundreds of still little-known churches in central Šäwa might have been founded by *abunä* Q.

Src.: Osvaldo Raineri (ed., tr.), *Gli atti di Qawesṭos martire etiopico* (*Sec. XIV*), Città del Vaticano 2004 (Studi e testi 418); Boryssus Turaiev, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*. IV. *Gadla Filpos seu acta sancti Philippi*, Louvain 1908, repr. 1961 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 198 (text) = 178 (tr.); BudSaint 531.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 2, 238ff. (Lit.); vol. 5, 33; KinBibl 87, no. 127; Denis Nosnitsin, "The Ethiopic Synaxarion: Text-Critical Observations on Täklä Haymanot's Commemoration (24 *Näḥase*)", *OrChrP* 73, 1, 2007, 141–83, here 157, n. 43; Osvaldo Raineri, "Qawesṭos", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 915–16; TadTChurch 176, 183–86.

Denis Nosnitsin

Qəbʾa Krəstos

Q.K. (**ቅብአ፡ ክርስቶስ**, fl. 1618–29) was a noble and governor. He was the brother of Aṣmä Giyorgis and Zämaryam and *aṣe* ↗Susənyos's son-in-law. According to Barradas and Almeida, Q.K. was married to *wäyzäro* "Phanae" with whom he fathered "Anfur" (BecRASO IV, 291; VII, 57, 243, 247, 441; XII, 281; XIII, 44).

Q.K. led a series of military operations for Susənyos: against the ↗Funğ king Ǝrubat in May 1618, at a time when he was *liqä ṣäbaʾit (*PerChron ch. 51, 155); in May–September 1620, against ↗Yonaʾel's rebellion in ↗Angot, where he was *blattengeta* (ibid. 188–91); in September–October 1625, against the Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel) in Səmen, where he appears as *däğğazmač* (ibid. 218); in 1628–29, against the *təgre mäkʷännən* and *baḥər nägaš* ↗Täklä Giyorgis (ibid. 227, 229; Lobo 1971: 425–34).

According to Manoel Barradas, Q.K.'s *kätäma* was situated then at ↗Ḥawzen, Təgray and "Adecrrô" [ᶜAddi Qoro], close to ↗Dəbarwa, where he was also active (BecRASO IV, 22f., 141). Q.K. died during the war against rebels in Lasta, in April–December 1629 (PerChron 233, 238; BecRASO VII, 53; VIII, 269–73).

According to Jesuit sources, Q.K. was one of the first to have converted to Roman Catholicism at the court, thereafter becoming a staunch supporter of the new faith. He was also described as a virtuous, brave and ingenious man close to Susənyos (cf. BecRASO III, 379, 434; VI, 418; VII, 4, 26, 53, 56f.; XII, 282). The Jesuits attributed the rapid decline of their mission to the death of such supporters as Q.K. (ibid. XII, 387, 423f.).

Another namesake Q.K., son of a sister of ↗Yonaʾel, died during the rebellion of Yonaʾel in Angot in late 1620 (PerChron 190).

Src.: BecRASO III, 379, 434; IV, 22f., 141, 291; VI, 418; VII, 4, 26, 53, 56f., 243, 247, 441; VIII, 269–73; XII, 281f.; XIII, 44, 387, 423f.; Jerónimo Lobo, *Itinerário e outros escritos inéditos*, ed. by M. Gonçalves da Costa, Porto 1971, 425–34; PerChron ch. 51, 155, 188–92, 218, 227, 229, 233, 238 [tr.].

Dimitri Toubkis

Qəbat

Q. (**ቅባት**; Amh., lit. '[an]ointment', from Gəᶜəz *qəbʾat* [/*qəbᶜat*], s. DillmLex 436f.), is, in Ethiopia, a designation for a Christological doctrine existing from the early 17th cent. and also known as **መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ቅብእ** (*Mänfäs qəddus qəbʾ*, 'the Holy Spirit is the ointment', an abridgement of the formula "The Father is the anointer, the Son the anointed and the Holy Spirit the ointment"; Getatchew Haile 1990: 34) or **በቅባት፡ ወልደ፡ ባሕርይ** (*Bäqəbat wäldä baḥrəy*, 'Son of nature by Unction').

Like its opponents, esp. the ↗*Karra* who maintained that "the Son is the anointer, the anointed, and the ointment", Q., which called itself **ሃይማኖት፡ መሲሓዊት** (*Haymanot mäsiḥawit*, 'Messianic [i.e. Christian] faith', Getatchew Haile 1990: 34), was not a mere Christological creed, its followers being part of Ethiopian political life for nearly three centuries (cp. ↗Christology). It had a regional base in ↗Goğğam, in ↗Däbrä Wärq, but spread as far as ↗Ḥamasen (AbbSejour vol. 1, 218, n. 1).

↗Kidanä Wäld Kəfle distinguishes three types of Q. (KWKDict 780). He also exemplifies the animosity and mutual rejection between the *Karra*, Q. and ↗*Ṣägga* doctrines (ibid. 384, 743, 779f.). The Q. followers condemn the Jews, Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius, Leo, the Council of ↗Chalcedon, those who say "son by grace" and "two natures" (Getatchew Haile 1990: 3f., 11).

The *Qəbatočč* (adherents of the Q. doctrine) are often associated with the house of *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos (GuiIohan 47, 63 [text]; Raineri 1983: 477, 499; Conti Rossini 1925: 472);

in fact, it seems that the hostility between Q. and the ↗Däbrä Libanos-based ↗*Täwaḥədo* is part of the continuation of the old rivalry and quest for supremacy between the two monastic families.

The core of the dispute between the opposing Christologies was the role of the Holy Spirit in the Incarnation of the Son. The Q. motto is **በቅባት፡ ከበረ** (*Bäqəbat käbbärä*, 'He was honoured by the unction'), against **በተዋሕዶ፡ ከበረ** (*Bätäwaḥədo käbbärä*, 'He was honoured by the union').

Like *Karra*, Q. believed in ↗*Hulätt lədät*, the "two births" of Christ. Both doctrines defended their Christological tenets invoking Biblical and Patristic witnesses. Often the same text would be brandished with contrasting interpretations. E.g., the Cyrillian elliptic statement *bäzätäsäbʾa täqäbʾa* ('By the fact that he was incarnated he was anointed'; Weischer 1977: 76, Yaqob Beyene 1981: 37) became official doctrine ca. 1739, during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II. According to the *Karročč*, the statement's meaning was that the union of the Logos with humanity constituted an anointing, while the Q. saw in Cyril's expression a confirmation of their position, that the Incarnation demanded an anointing. Confusing are also phrases like *täqäbʿa bäśəga* ('he was anointed in the flesh'; Getatchew Haile 1990: 2.4); "the meaning of Q. [anointing] *nəśʾat* [receiving], and *ḫədrät* [dwelling/resting] is the same. And with this anointing he became the natural Son, natural king and high priest" (ibid. 29 [text]).

The point of departure for the Christological elaboration of the "unction" are the N.T. passages on the role of the Holy Spirit in the conception of the Son and in his public ministry (e.g., Mt 1:18, Lk 1:35, 4:18, Acts 10:38). Remote roots of the controversy are also found in the first four Ecumenical Councils (↗Nicaea – Chalcedon). In Ethiopia, the beginnings of the controversy can be traced back to as early as ca. 500–25, even if it did not become fully appreciated at that time (Grillmeier 1996: 341). The key terms "union" and "unction" feature prominently in the ↗*Qerəllos*, translated into Gəʿəz during the ↗Aksumite period.

The conflict erupted during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, in concomitance with the arrival of the ↗Jesuits. The specific role played by the missionaries either in raising the issue of the anointing of Christ or in expressing their position on that regard is unclear; the quality of the language and the argumentation of all the conflict sides are anyway totally Ethiopian.

In 1621/22 (Guidi 1900: 11) Susənyos was engaged in a campaign to defend Goǧǧam and Ǝnnarya from the Oromo, when two groups of monks came to him to ask for arbitration in a *Täwaḥədo* vs. Q. dispute. Whilst the official verdict was postponed until the completion of the military campaign, the Emperor warned that "anyone teaching that the union served as anointing stood condemned" (PerChron I, 217f.). The following year Susənyos held the council to resolve the conflict. According to ms. EMML 6285, fol. 92r. (tr. Getatchew Haile 1990: vii n. 3), the meeting took place in ↗Fogära. Susənyos officially endorsed Q. and ordered physical punishment against *abba* Kəfle (labelled Käfale, 'the divider') Krəstos who refused to obey. *Azzaž* Zädəngəl, the other main representative of *Täwaḥədo*, was barred from teaching his doctrine (PerChron I, 237ff.).

During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, two councils were held at ↗Aringo. The first was held on 23 June 1655 (according to a "short chronicle", it was convened at Rača, s. BegCron 52), and the Emperor subscribed to Q., a verdict apparently backed by the Metropolitan ↗Mikaʾel IV who anathematized anyone deviating from the doctrine (Getatchew Haile 1990: 34f.). The second gathering took place in 1667 (BassÉt I, 347; BegCron 50f.). The controversy was disputed between Addam *zäʾənfraz* ('of ↗Ǝnfraz') for *Täwaḥədo* and ↗Zäʾiyäsus *ʿəwwur* ('the blind') for Q. (the latter's presence at the council has been questioned by newly emerged sources, s. Kindeneh Endeg 2004). This time the former's arguments were considered valid, and the Emperor was reportedly disgusted by Zäʾiyäsus's abusive language (Guidi 1893: 599f.). The victory of the *Täwaḥədo* was the result of political demands such as the rebellion of ↗Lasta, an area which took a symphathetic attitude towards the *Täwaḥədo*, and was on the verge of protecting the persecuted Catholics. Fasilädäs felt vulnerable and targeted a compromise at the expense of the followers of Q. (BegCron 52; Dei Sabelli 1936: 318ff.). It is possible that the Lutheran Peter ↗Heyling played some role in the Christological dispute.

The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I registers several meetings which debated the issue of the anointing (GuiIohan 23f., 40ff., 47f., 54f. [text]). A synod was held in ↗Gondär in 1668 (BegCron 53). At the council of 1681 the Q. were represented by *abba* Akalä Krəstos, and the *Täwaḥədo* by *abba* Niqolawos. The Q. lost, *and* Akalä Krəstos was excommunicated (BegCron 55).

Iyasu I held a council in 1687. The Q. was again condemned. In an attempt to reconcile the parties, the Emperor convened another gathering in Yəbaba in 1688. The *Täwaḥədo*, represented by *abba* Bete Krəstos and *abba* Wäldä Krəstos, won the dispute. The Q. leaders *abba* Ṭäbdan and *abba* Qozmos refused to submit and were condemned (BegCron 57f.). Thereafter, the Q. followers became *sədudan* ('outlaws'). In April 1697, Iyasu presided over another council, and the Q. *abba* Wäldä Tənsaᵓe and his brother *abba* Təᵓmərte were condemned (BegCron 72). In 1699 there was a confrontation between *abba* Bete Krəstos and the Q. *abba* Arkä Dəngəl which resulted in the latter's excommunication (BegCron 74f.). Violence against the Q. followers proved to be one of the major challenges of Iyasu's reign. The embittered *Qəbatočč* may have been involved in his assassination.

Also *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot I's treatment of the Q. could have been a factor in his murder. After the council he held in March 1707 the Q. leaders were condemned and jailed (BegCron 87).

The reign of *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos brought a change in the Q.'s favour. Soon after his accession to the throne he made binding the formula *Bäqəbat wäldä baḥrəy* – a political decision aimed at winning over the allegiance of Goǧǧam (BegCron 90f.).

The situation remained favourable to Q. in the following years, especially during the reign of ↗Dawit III, who was overtly against the monks of Däbrä Libanos and had the Q. formula officially proclaimed in late March 1720 (BegCron 101). The Metropolitan ↗Krəstodolu III supported the Däbrä Libanos party, but at that time the latter suffered particular losses from an Oromo attack, in which many monks including *abba* Niqolawos were killed (BegCron 102; Guidi 1900: 20).

Under *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, Q. was the state doctrine (GuiIyas 14, 101f., 202). The Council at ↗Kayla Meda in Gondär, 1–5 October 1763, represents a turning point in the Christological disputes. The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Iyoᵓas registers a split within the "house of Täklä Haymanot". The *Täwaḥədo* of Azäzo joined forces with the Goǧǧame Ewosṭateans to counter a splinter group (GuiIyoas 198). As the focus of the debate shifted to the question of the "births" of the Son, Q. ceased to be the main issue.

However, on 19 August 1854, Kaśa Ḫaylu (a year later crowned as ↗Tewodros II) presided over a meeting at ↗Amba Čara near Gondär in which Q. and ↗*Ṣägga* were condemned (Crummey 2006). *Däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Mərč̣a (future Emperor ↗Yoḥannəs IV), in late 1868 or early 1869 issued an edict banning Q. and all its adherents from his land (Conti Rossini 1925: 472). At the council of ↗Boru Meda (May 1878), seen as the last (official) chapter of the Christological controversies, Q. was not even on the agenda. The Q. doctrine seems to continue to quietly live on in Goǧǧam.

A detailed account of the various positions regarding the anointing is expressed in the **መጽሔተ፡ ልቡና** (*Mäṣḥetä ləbbuna*, 'The Mirror of Intelligence'). The text, inspite of claims to have been composed in 1614 (Cerulli 1960: 139), mentions issues from a later period (ibid. 139, 159f.) and seems to be a summary of two centuries of debates.

Src.: AbbSejour vol. 1, 215–22; BassÉt I, 339–409; BegCron 50–53, 55, 57f., 72, 74f., 87, 90f., 101f.; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Epistolario del Debterà Aseggachègn di Uadlà", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 1, 1925, 449–90, here 472, 475; DillmLex 436f.; Getatchew Haile (ed., tr.), *The Faith of the Unctionists in the Ethiopian Church* (*Haymanot Mäsiḥawit*), Louvain 1990 (CSCO 517, 518 [SAe 91, 92]), 2ff., 11, 34; Ignazio Guidi, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia d'Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 3, 1893, 577–605; Id., "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia", *Bessarione* 7–8, [49–50], 1900–01, 10–25; GuiIohan 23f., 40ff., 47f., 54f., 63 (text) = 23ff., 40–44, 48ff., 55f., 61f.; GuiIyas 14, 101f., 198–202; ᶜ*aqqabe säᶜat* Käbte, **መጽሐፈ፡ ምእላድ** (*Mäṣḥafä məᵓəllad*, 'The Book of the Birth'), ms., here 117–21; KWKDic 384, 743, 779f.; PerChron I, 217f., 237ff. (text); II, 167f., 182ff. (tr.); Osvaldo Raineri, *Atti di* abuna *Abrānyos, santo eritreo* (*1633–1718*), Roma 1983 (= MRALm 380, ser. 8ª, 26, 4), 435–530 (text) = 562–622 (tr.), here 424f., 477, 499; Bernd Manuel Weischer (ed., tr.), *Qērellos III*: *Der Dialog 'Daß Christus einer ist' des Kyrillos von Alexandrien*, Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 2), 76; Yaqob Beyene, *L'Unzione di Cristo nella teologia etiopica. Contributo di ricerca sui nuovi documenti etiopici inediti*, Roma 1981 (OrChrA 215), 37.

Lit.: Aymro Wondmagegehu – Joachim Motovu (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 132f.; Andrzej Bartnicki – Joanna Mantel-Niećko, "The Role of the Religious Conflicts and People's Movements in the Political Life of Ethiopia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", *RSE* 34, 1971, 5–39; Enrico Cerulli, *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, part II: *La Storia dei Quattro Concili ed altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (Studi e testi 204), 139–60; CrumMis 23ff., 32f., 50f.; Donald Crummey, "Orthodoxy and Imperial Reconstruction in Ethiopia 1854–1878", *JThSt* 29, 1978, 427–42 ; Id., "Church and Nation: the Ethiopian Ortodox *Täwahedo* Church (from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century)", in: Michael Angold (ed.), *Eastern Christianity*, *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 5, Cambridge 2006; Id. – Getatchew Haile, "*Abunä* Sälama: Metropolitan of Ethiopia, 1841–1867. A New Geᵓez Biography", *JES* 37, 2004, 191–209; Luca dei Sabelli, *Storia di Abissinia*, vol. 2, Roma 1936; Ignazio

Guidi, "La Chiesa abissina", *Oriente moderno* 2, 1922, 123–28, 186–90, 252–56; Getatchew Haile, "Materials on the Theology of Qəb^{c}at or Unction", in: *PICES* 6, 205–50; Alois Grillmeyer, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 2/4, London 1966, 332–51; Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው፡ ቀደምት።** *La foi des pères anciens*, 1. *Texte éthiopien. Enseignement de Mamher Kefla Giyorgis …*, ed. by Berhanu Abebbé, Stuttgart 1986 (SKK 79); Kindeneh Endeg Mihretie, *The Role of the Qebatoč in the Christological Controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church* (*1620–1764*), M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2004; Austin Frederick Matthew (tr.), *The Teaching of the Abyssinian Church, as Set Forth by the Doctors of the Same*, London 1936, 12f.

Tedros Abraha

Qedär: Mäṣḥafä qedär

The M.q. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ቄደር**, lit. 'Book of the Jar') is a ritual of ↗Penance (the so-called "Baptism of Penance"), meant to reconcile an apostate or a great sinner with the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church.

The term *qedär* (from Arab. *qidra*, 'jar', the term used for the original ritual of the ↗Coptic Church) refers to the container in which water for this ritual was kept. Once the jar is filled with water, the minister, a priest, with the liturgical vestments (↗Clothing, ecclesiastical vestments) and ↗incense, pours drops of oil into the jar three times, that is, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit (↗Trinity). During his prayers for the penitent, whom he calls by his baptismal ↗name, the priest lays his hands on the sinner and breathes repeatedly on the water ready for the washing ritual.

The ritual may take place in the church or at the penitent's house. It has seven sections, including an introduction, sets of psalms (↗Psalter), a reading from the ↗Epistles, a reading from the ↗Gospel, intercessory ↗prayers and the Nicene Creed. Each time, a priest, in the company of two deacons (↗*diyaqon*), starts with the prayer of thanksgiving (*akk^{w}ätet*) which introduces the *Śər^{c}atä* ↗*qəddase*.

The first set of psalms includes Ps. 50; 6; 15; 24; 29; 31; 34; 38; 75; 102; 114; 115; 117 (numbers given according to the Ethiopian/LXX tradition). Passages from 1 Tim 1:3ff; 1 Pe 5:5ff. and Joel 2:28ff. are read. The ritual prescribes the recitation of Ps 41; 48; 56; 109; 112; 123; 126; 132; 133; 141; 142; 143; 149; 150 and the Magnificat. After a set of prayers strongly relying on the Psalms themselves, the readings continue with Ps 13; 16; 27; 42; 76; 77. Another set of prayers is followed by Ps 9; 32; 58; 59; 65; 67; 72; 80; 99; 101; 104; 105. Finally, Hannah's prayer (1 Sam 2) precedes the reading of the Gospel.

After Ps 67:28–29a and Ps 50:3b–4b, the story of the lost sheep and the lost coin (Luke 15:3ff.) is read to underline the theme of joy that comes as a result of conversion. This is followed by a prayer for those who bring offerings. Other gospel texts may be used as an addition, or as an alternative. Mk 12:28ff. is suggested for the first commandment of "loving God with one's all heart …" after Ps 87:1b-2; Mt 5:33ff. is suggested for the prohibition of swearing falsely, preceded by prayers for catechumens and the Church as well as verses from Pss. 50, 19 and 30. Verses from Ps 50 and Luke 18:18–25 are also indicated after a series of prayers: prayers for the archbishop and the church, and a prayer for censing. The prayer for the dead and the laying on of hands constitute the last collection of supplications.

At the end of the prayers, the priest pours the water on the head of the penitent.

The M.q. seems to have been translated from Arabic. It was probably originally composed in the 14th cent. to address the problem of apostasy during the Islamic conquest of Egypt, at a time when Coptic Christians were forced to convert (cp. MacCoull 2000). Well before that, however, this rite of "baptism of penance" seems to have been administered in ↗Jerusalem (at least 8th cent. A.D.) to those who had committed apostasy (Brakmann et al. 2009:113–16).

The earliest manuscript in Ethiopic dates to the 14th–15th cent. (EMML 1496). The rite may vary considerably from manuscript to manuscript; the printed edition (1974), upon which the above description is based, is a conflation of different versions of the ritual (s. Cowley 1987:373).

The main difference between the Coptic and the Ethiopian rite is that in the Coptic tradition, unction with oil is performed after the pouring of water, the forehead, the heart, the middle of the penitent's shoulders and the hands being anointed, whilst in the Ethiopian one there is no anointing with oil.

The list of sins for which the ritual may be prescribed seems to have grown considerably nowadays. The introduction to the M.q. in the edition of 2001 lists "apostasy, sexual relation with an unbeliever, witchcraft, criminal theft, murder, grave false testimony, blasphemy".

Src.: **መጽሐፈ፡ ቄደር፡ ወቀኖና፤ ጥምቀተ፡ ንስሓ** (*Mäṣḥafä qedär wä-qännona. Ṭəmqätä nəssəḥa*, 'Ritual of the Jar and Penance. Baptism of Repentance'), ed. by Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase, Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1970 A.D.]; **መጽሐፈ፡ ክርስትና፤ መጽሐፈ፡ ተክሊል፤ መጽሐፈ፡ ቄደር፤ መጽሐፈ፡ ቀንዲል** (*Mäṣḥafä krəstənna, Mäṣḥafä täklil,* *Mäṣḥafä qedär, Mäṣḥafä qändil*; 'Ritual of Baptism; Ritual of Crowning (Marriage); Ritual of Penance [lit. 'Jar']; and Ritual of Unction'), ed. by Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase, Addis Abäba 1993 A.M. [2001 A.D.].

Lit.: Heinzgerd Brakmann – Tinatin Chronz – Ugo Zanetti, "Der Palästinische Rekonziliationsritus für Apostaten: *al-uṣmūn = hilasmos*. Eine Anmerkung zur Passio des Martyrer-Abtes 'Abd al-Masiḥ vom Sinai", *OrChr* 93, 2009 [2010], 113–16; Oswald Hugh Ewart Khs-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: a Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments,* Cairo 1967 (Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte 10), 316–20; Roger Cowley, [review of EMML VIII], *JSS* 32, 2, 1987, 372–74 (Lit.); Leslie S.B. MacCoull, "The Rite of the Jar: Apostasy and Reconciliation in the Medieval Coptic Orthodox Church", in: Diane Wolfthal (ed.), *Peace and Negotiation: Strategies for Coexistence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Turnhout 2000, 145–62; Gérard Viaud, "Le Qidra dans la tradition égyptienne" *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 37, 1988, 117–20.

Daniel Assefa

Qəddase

Q. (**ቅዳሴ**, Gə^{c}əz, lit. 'sanctification, hallowing', cp. Arabic *al-quddās*; also: *śər^{c}atä qəddase*, 'the order of the hallowing') is an Ethiopian term denoting the Eucharistic liturgy of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC), i.e. the ritual as a process of transformation of a community into the body of Christ through the growing communion brought about by the Holy Spirit. It fully corresponds to the Eucharist of the Roman, Byzantine, Syriac, Armenian or Coptic Churches and is understood as the continuation of the tradition begun by Jesus Christ himself at the Last Supper (cp. 1 Cor 11:24-26, Lk 22:20).

Held in the highest regard, the celebration of the Q. gathers the Christian people of a certain area according to the rhythm of Sundays and certain ↗feasts (cp. ↗Calendar). The feast days may concern all communities or only those who possess a ↗*tabot* with a name matching the event or saint commemorated (Fritsch 2001:67). The Q. may be celebrated almost every day of the year, early in the morning if there is no ↗fasting period or in the afternoon if there is a fast; always in the afternoon on weekdays in ↗monasteries (except from Easter to Pentecost). The early hour of the celebration relate it with the rising of the sun, cosmic symbol of Jesus Christ who is "the Sun of righteousness". A midnight mass is celebrated at ↗*Fasika*, ↗*Lədät* and ↗*Ṭəmqät* because Christ's return has not yet taken place. The Q. must always be after at least the *Ṣälotä ^{c}əṭan* (cp. ↗Incense: Use of incense in the liturgy of the EOTC) and the *Ṣälotä kidan* (from the ↗*Testamentum Domini*) have been performed before on the same day. However, the Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday of Holy Week (cp. Fritsch 2001:228; cp. *Fasika,* ↗*Gəbrä Ḥəmamat*) are aliturgical. The Q. is celebrated in ↗Gə^{c}əz, at least for the sung parts or as a reference language, and, in Ethiopia, often in ↗Amharic for the rest, while ↗Təgrəñña is used in Eritrea.

People support the clergy at the offering of the Q. especially on each day of ↗Lent and the two weeks preceding Assumption (↗*Fəlsäta*), as well as on the occasion of ↗baptisms and ↗funerals or the anniversary of the death of relatives (↗*Täzkar*), and the less frequent occasion of a sacramental ↗matrimony. They will particularly offer wheat (called **ግብር**, *gəbər*), dried grapes (**ዘቢብ**, *zäbib*), incense (**ዕጣን**, *^{c}əṭan*) and wax tapers (**ጧፍ**, *ṭ^{w}af*).

The norm is that five ordained ministers, the *qäddasyan* or *sämunäññočč* (↗*Sämon*) conduct the service (cp. ↗*Kəhnät*). This number matches the ↗*Amməstu a^{c}əmadä məśṭir*. The Patriarchate of the EOTC allows the number of two priests (↗*Qäsis*) and one deacon (↗*Diyaqon*) in the case of a shortage (the faculty is applied abroad only, where even fewer ministers may celebrate the Q., but never within Ethiopia). One presbyter (**ሠራዒ፡ ካህን**, *śära^{c}i kahən,* 'the acting priest', or **ገባሬ፡ ሠናያት**, *gäbare śännayat*, lit. 'the doer of good things') only presides over the liturgy. It has become the unfounded custom that if the bishop is present at his seat, he does the blessings and absolutions (except that of the Father, s. no. 69, below) while the priest conducts the service. He is assisted by the *nəfqä kahən* ('assistant [lit. 'half-] priest') and two or three deacons: the *śära^{c}i diyaqon*, 'acting deacon', or *gäbare śännayat*; the *nəfqä diyaqon,* 'assistant deacon'; the *abri* ('assistant of the celebrant', who may be a priest).

The particular importance given to the Q. demands serious preparation. Those who wish to receive sacramental communion must prepare themselves by fasting from any food or drink 18 hours beforehand. Married persons abstain from intercourse during three days before and two afterwards and must receive communion at the same Q. (one spouse may not approach if the other one is not willing or able to do so). Confession (↗Penance) to the ↗*näfs abbat* is a normal requisite, but not necessarily on each occasion. None of those who have received the communion wash their hands until the day after.

The book for the celebration is essentially the Missal, or the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qəddase*. It contains the

Communion, Church of Gofa Gäbrəʾəl, Addis Abäba; photo 2009, courtesy of the author

prayers and the rubrics (*təʾəzazat*) as well as a number of certain other texts associated with the Eucharist (also found in the ↗*Məᶜəraf*), the ↗litanies, and sometimes the ↗*Təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat*. The *Mäṣḥafä qəddase* usually lacks some elements necessary for the Q.: the short *Ṣälot zäzäwätər* (initial prayers found in the ↗Psalter), the *Aśərqot* at the *Ṣälotä ᶜəṭan*, the *Mälkəʾa qʷərban* (↗*Maḫbärä məʾmänan*), the ↗*Dəggʷa* antiphons for the bringing in of the offerings (**አግብኦተ፡ ግብር**, *agbəʾotä gəbər*), the *Mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat* for the Resurrection hymn and dialogue proper to Eastertide. Besides, three distinct books should be added to *Mäṣḥafä qəddase* for the celebration of Q.

a) the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gəṣṣawe*, which provides for the Scripture readings and the text of the ↗*məsbak*, and indicates which ↗anaphora should be used on the particular day;
b) the ↗New Testament, traditionally in its separate volumes, which gives the pride of place to the Four Gospels;
c) the ↗*Zəmmare* hymns at Communion time.

It can be assumed that the Q. had been introduced by Frumentius (↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan), the first bishop of ↗Aksum (the view supported also by the Ethiopian doctors of the Church). Some clues as to the way the Q. might have been celebrated in the Late Antique period may prudently – insofar as Ethiopia is expected to have followed the mother ↗Coptic church and, on the other hand, as such sources reflects actual practice – be obtained from Alexandrine and other documents (Brakmann 1995; cp. BrakKirche 157–62), such as the prayer book of Sarapion of Thmuis (Johnson 1995) or the liturgy of St. Mark (Cuming 1990). Among those found in Gəᶜəz are, e.g., the ↗*Traditio apostolica* attributed to ↗Hippolytus and preserved as the first part of the ↗*Senodos* (Bradshaw–Johnson–Phillips 2002: 37–54); the liturgy of the ↗*Testamentum Domini* (Beylot 1984: 32–44 [text], 165–73 [tr.]); a Sermon added to the commemorations of 28th *Ṭərr* in the 15th-cent. ms. of the ↗*Sənkəssar* (d'Abbadie 66–66bis, fols. 149vb–51vb, 45ra–45vb, 152ra–52vb, s. Beylot 1983–84: 113–16; ColSyn IX, 214–31); a page of Yaᶜəqob of Wäsim's description of the Eucharistic rites in the course of 7th-cent. Egyptian monastic stories (Arras 1988: 235f.). One can also recall the 10th-cent. letter of Macarius about the chrism (Villecourt 1923) and the later Coptic *diataxeis* of Ibn Sabbāᶜ, Abū l-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (Villecourt 1923–25) and Pope Gabriel V (ᶜAbdallah 1962) etc. In addition, the archaeological study of ancient ↗church buildings, starting with the Aksumite ones, e.g., at ↗Adulis, ↗Mäṭära etc., then those found in Eastern Təgray and elsewhere, matched with both the archaeology of Egyptian churches, although not exclusively, and the study of the textual documents we possess on the Eucharistic liturgy in Egypt, particularly, allows some understanding of the development of the Q. from the earlier stages (Fritsch – Gervers 2007).

In contrast with certain ancient dispositions of the Missal which are still carried out in the same way (e.g., the ministers wash their hands and feet before entering the church to minister; while the celebrant gives the bread in communion to the assistant, he receives the chalice from the assistant and both give communion to the other ministers; those who have received communion do not use water for the whole day afterwards etc.) the Q. has at times had a complicated history due to historical or theological developments. It is especially striking in the following instances:

a) The preparation of the bread and wine is done at the altar itself at the beginning of the public celebration, with a set of actions and prayers intertwined with the ancient *prothesis* ('setting forth' of the bread and wine), *enarxis* ('initial section') and pre-anaphora. These actions and prayers used to follow a quite different order from the beginnings to ca. the 4th cent. in Egypt, and then between the middle of the 12th cent. to the turn of the 13th cent. in ↗Lalibäla (Fritsch 2008), triggered by Coptic changes: previously prepared before the public celebration by deacons, then by deacons and priests (usually) in the northern *pastophorion* beside the sanctuary (cp. ↗*Mäqdäs*), the offerings were thereafter directly transferred from the *betä ləḥem* to the altar at the beginning of the celebration, and no longer from the *betä ləḥem* to the *pastophorion* for the preparation (*prothesis*) just before Mass and then to the altar after the Gospel and homily (Fritsch – Gervers 2007).

b) The anaphoral *praefatio* is interrupted by the Diptychs and other commemorations and intercessions in imitation of St. Mark's liturgy. However, whereas they come naturally in the latter, they look like an interpolation in other anaphoras.

c) The Communion rites, significantly the transfer of the rite of the Fraction of the bread from its Coptic original position just before the *Our Father* (where the ↗*andəmta* of Q. maintains it to this day) to the conclusion of the anaphora as a continuation of the *Epiclesis*.

Certain features of the Q. such as Greek words or anaphoral elements point to Upper Egypt (cp. Lanne 1958: 11f.) before the movement to uniformity with Lower Egypt launched by Pope Gabriel Ibn Turayk's 26th canon (Burmester 1935: 40f.). Further creative developments, especially regarding the anaphoras, are due to theological developments in Ethiopia (Getatchew Haile 1981).

Another trend has prevailed in a far more dramatic way than in the Coptic milieu which triggered it, which has almost all ritual actions connected with the sanctuary or the *betä ləḥem* kept secret (*məśṭir*) from the faithful themselves. This is illustrated by the evolution from the open hall-churches of the 14th–15th cent. to circular churches, which have flourished from the Gondärine period up to the present, where active participation is made impossible by closed doors and curtains (↗*Mägaräğa*) that remain drawn, despite a growing tendency to correct this trend in the modern "cathedrals".

The authoritative work in which the *Śərᶜatä qəddase* is translated into Amharic, commented on and sometimes explained is essentially the *andəmta* of Q. by Archbishop ↗Mikaᵓel (Gärima Wäldä Kidan 1995/96). Previous attempts, much given to allegory, were the different "orders of the Church", or ↗*Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan* (e.g., Kənfä Gabrəᵓel Altayyä – Getaččäw Däğäne 2006). Such books refer to the Holy Scriptures, the ↗*Senodos*, the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* etc. (the latter still somehow rules liturgical life, but very far from every detail of it).

Within the Q. several parts can be distinguished, according to Ethiopian scholars:

a) the Preparation – partly called the *Śərᶜatä Gəbṣ* ('Rite of Egypt') – up to the *Mimäṭän*, 'How (terrible) …' or the public section of the preparation.

b) the *Śərᶜatä qəddase* (from the *Mimäṭän*, through the *prothesis* and *enarxis* to the Liturgy of the Word, inclusively).

c) the Q. itself, i.e. in this context the *Akkʷätetä qʷərban* (anaphora).

The little book *Ṣälotä qəddase, yähəzb täsäṭwo* (here repr. 1989 A.M. [1997 A.D.]) indicates in its introduction a threefold structure of the Eucharistic service:

a) the Preparation section, from "O my brother…" to "How (terrible) …"

b) the Teaching section, from "How (terrible) …" to "Catechumens, go forth".

c) the *Fəre qəddase* (lit. 'The Fruit of the Hallowing') section, from "Catechumens, go forth" onwards. It includes the anaphoras. The phrase *Fəre qəddase* is used in reference to the sacramental Flesh and Blood of Christ and in contrast with the *Śərᶜatä qəddase* is employed to refer to all that precedes it.

According to liturgiology, the outline of the Q. may be arranged as follows (a structural detail, not mentioned, is that the liturgy unfolds structured by the recurrent dialogue: Deacon: "Stand up for prayer". People: "Lord, have compassion on us". Priest: "Peace to you all". People: "With your spirit"):

Part I. The introduction to the Liturgy

1) Ministers wash hands and feet before they enter the church to conduct the service
2) Deacons prepare bread and wine in the *betä ləḥem*
3) The Matins or Divine Office for the early morning, in various forms and more or less developped, but always including the *Ṣälotä ᶜəṭan* and the *Ṣälotä kidan*

Prothesis

4) Preparation of the Priest; of the altar
5) Celebrant's washing of the hands
6) Antiphon as procession with offerings enters the church

Qəddase

(The public service begins here)
7) Initial monition of the Priest (*Mimätạ̈n*)
8) Selection and preparation of the bread
9) Preparation of the chalice
10) Blessing of the offerings
11) Priests' expression of mutual support
12) Doxology 'One is the Holy Father' (*Aḥadu ab qəddus* + Ps 116)
13) Prayer of thanksgiving of St. ↗Basil
14) Supplication for those who bring an offering
15) Prayer of oblation (of the *prothesis*)
16) Covering of the offerings
17) Deacon's warning introducing the Absolution
18) Absolution of the Son (↗*Fətḥat zäwäld*)
19) ↗Litany

Censing

20) *Aśərqot* (even if already performed at Matins)
21) Prayer
22) Blessing of the five grains of incense
23) Laying of three grains of incense
24) Praise
25) Prayer of the incense
26) Intercessions
27) Hymn to the "Golden Censer"
28) Solemn incensation towards the four corners around the altar, in the *qəddəst* and all the church

Part II. The Liturgy of the Word

29) Reading from the Pauline ↗Epistles
30) Reading from another Apostle
31) Reading from the Acts of the ↗Apostles.

For each reading: a preparatory prayer; the reading towards a cardinal point; a concluding chant

32) Intercessions
33) Praise of Our Lady ↗Mary
34) Hymn of the Incense
35) *Trisagion* and Prayer of the Covenant
36) Gospel: Prayer of the Gospel
37) Psalm versicle (*məsbak*)
38) Blessing towards the four corners (Prayer of entrance)
39) Other prayers
40) Censing of the Gospel Book
41) Procession
42) Reading
43) Acclamation
44) Universal prayer by the Assistant Priest
45) Homily by celebrant, unless done before the final blessing by someone else

Part III. The Liturgy of the Eucharist

Pre-anaphora

46) Dismissal of the Catechumens.
47) Prayer of the veil, to access the altar
48) the Three Prayers for peace, the hierarchy and the assembly
49) Creed (*Amäknəyo* [from the *Didəsqəlya*], or Nicene [cp. Nicaea])
50) Washing of the hands
51) Greeting of peace

Anaphora [pattern of the Anaphora of the Apostles]

52) Title
53) Dialogue
54) Thanksgiving (1st part)
55) Diptychs
56) Prayer of Blessing (more intercessions including for the departed)
57) Thanksgiving (2nd part of the *praefatio*)
58) Pre-*sanctus* (with leader to Sanctus)
59) *Sanctus*
60) Post-*sanctus*
61) Institution narrative, concluded by the Command to Repeat
62) Anamnesis
63) *Epiclesis*, developed by a first *Consignatio* and the symbolical "breaking of the bread" (*fättəto*)

Communion

64) Prayer of the Fraction
65) *Our Father*
66) Embolism
67) Hymn *The Hosts of the Angels of the Saviour of the world*
68) Prayer of inclination
69) Absolution of the Father
70) *Sancta sanctis* ("The holy things for the holy!")
71) Elevation-Invocations: "O Lord, have mercy on us, O Christ …"
72) Prayer for the Reconciliation of Penitents
73) Confession of Faith in the Eucharist including a second Consignation, then the Commixture
74) Reading from the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*
75) Communion of the ministers followed by non-officiating clergy; singing of the *Mälkəʾa qʷərban*
76) Communion of the faithful, incl. the *Comminutio* (*Fəttate*)
77) Thanksgiving
78) The celebrants consume what remains of the Eucharist and purify the sacred vessels, singing the second part of the *Mälkəʾa qʷərban*
79) Homily by preacher, eventually the ↗*Mälkəʾa Maryam*, ↗*Mälkəʾa Iyäsus*, ↗*Wəddase Maryam* of the day]

Conclusion

80) Blessing and absolution
81) Dismissal
82) Imposition of the celebrant's hand
83) Blessed water is distributed
84) Clergy alone consumes the *eulogia* (bread not selected for consecration and additional bread)

The Q. has been sung according to the practice and teaching of the monastic centre of ↗Däbrä Abbay since about the time when Gondär ceased to be the capital. Before that (as it is taught in the ↗*qəddase bet*), the main chant was in the gentle tone of *säläl kulla* (called so after Sälläl Kulla, the district in ↗Šäwa). However, there still exist a few other traditions or the "unacademic" practice of imitating musical elements taken from here or there because they are easier to perform.

The chanting is always the same until the acclamation after the Gospel. The chant is then executed either in ↗*ᶜəzəl* mode or in the ↗*gəᶜəz* mode in the periods of *Astämḥəro* (Fritsch 2001: 81). To be precise, all the first part from the beginning of Mass to the acclamation of the Gospel (s. above, Part II, 41) is always in the *gəᶜəz* mode, except the antiphon at the beginning when it is Eastertide (*Yosef wäniqodimos*, from Fasika to Pentecost) and the *Trisagion* and *kidan* (s. above, Part II, 35), which are in ↗*araray* mode. Starting with the acclamation of the Gospel (s. above, Part II, 41) and on, *gəᶜəz* or *ᶜəzəl* are used according to the type of the period of year (*ᶜamät qäläm*: fast or not, solemnity etc.). It is easy to observe in the missals which have the ↗*mələkkət* that there may be two lines of those, one black (*gəᶜəz*, O.T., fast) and one red (*ᶜəzəl*, N.T., *fəssək*, i.e., non-fasting day). According to the degree of solemnity, it may take from two to three hours to celebrate the Q.

The Q. is one of the important fields of traditional ↗education. The lead is also given in this matter by the monastery of Däbrä Abbay and the masters trained there. The manuals are the *Mäṣḥafä qəddase* and the study mainly develops around the *andəmta* commentary.

Src.: Alfonso ᶜAbdallah (ed., tr.), *L'Ordinamento Liturgico di Gabriele V°, 88° Patriarca Copto* (*1409–1427*), Cairo 1962 (Studia Orientalia Christiana: Aegyptiaca 14); Victor Arras (ed., tr.), *Quadraginta historiae monachorum*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 505, 506 [SAe 85, 86]), 235f. (text) = 154f. (tr.); Robert Beylot (ed., tr.), *Testamentum Domini éthiopien*, Louvain 1984, 32–44 (text) = 165–73 (tr.); Id., "Sermon éthiopien anonyme sur l'eucharistie", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 79-116, here 113-16; Oswald Hugh Ewart KHS-Burmester, "The Canons of Gabriel Ibn Turaik, LXX Patriarch of Alexandria (First Series)", *OrChrP* 1, 1935, 5–45; ColSyn IX, 212–31; CRAbb nos. 157, 158 [mss. d'Abbadie 66, 66bis]; Geoffrey J. Cuming (ed.), *The Liturgy of St Mark*, Rome 1990 (OrChrA 234); Marcos Daoud (tr.), *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, rev. by *blatta* Marsie Hazen, Addis Ababa 1954 [= MD]; *mämhər* Gärima Wäldä Kidan (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ** … (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase* …, 'The Book of the Hallowing …'), Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.]; Emmanuel Lanne, *Le Grand euchologe du Monastère Blanc*, Paris 1958 (PO 28, 2), 11f.; Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis. A Literary, Liturgical, and Theological Analysis*, Rome 1995 (OrChrA 249); **ጸሎተ፡ ቅዳሴ፤ የሕዝብ፡ተሰጥዎ** (*Ṣälotä qəddase, yäḥəzb täsäṭəwo*, 'The Prayer of the Hallowing, the Response of the People'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1997 A.D.]; Louis Villecourt, "La lettre de Macaire, évêque de Memphis, sur la liturgie antique du chrême et du baptême à Alexandrie", *Le Muséon* 36, 1923, 33–46; Id., "Les observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l'Église copte", *ibid*. 36, 1923, 249–92; *ibid*. 37, 1924, 201–80; *ibid*. 38, 1925, 261–320.

Lit.: Paul F. Bradshaw – Maxwell E. Johnson – L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition*: *a Commentary*, Minneapolis, MN 2002, 37–54; John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*: *the Origins, Development, and Meaning of the Stational Liturgy*, Rome 1987 (OrChrA 228); Heinzgerd Brakmann, "Le déroulement de la messe copte: structure et histoire", in: Achille Maria Triacca – Alessandro Pistoia (ed.), *L'eucharistie*: *célébrations, rites, piétés. Conférences Saint-Serge, 41ᵉ Semaine d'Études Liturgiques* (*Paris 1994*), Rome 1995 (Bibliotheca "Ephemerides liturgicae", Subsidia 79), 107–32; Id., "Σύναξις καθολική in Alexandreia. Zur Verbreitung des christlichen Stationsgottesdienstes", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 30, 1987, 74–89, esp. 87f.; BrakKirche 157–62; Christine Chaillot, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*, Paris 2002, 104–09; Emmanuel Fritsch, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures, Special Issue IX–X); Id., "The Churches of Lalibäla (Ethiopia) Witnesses of Liturgical Changes", in: *Acts of the First SOL Congress, Eichstätt 2006*, Rome 2008 (= *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* ser. 3ª, 5), 69–112; Id. – Michael Gervers, "*Pastophoria* and Altars: Interaction in Ethiopian Liturgy and Church Architecture", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 7–51; EOTC (ed.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church. Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Ababa ²1996, 30ff., 39f.; Getatchew Haile, "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *OrChr* 65, 1981, 102–36; Habtemichael Kidane, "Origine ed evoluzione della 'Liturgia Gəᶜəz'", in: *Acts of the First SOL Congress, Eichstätt 2006*, Rome 2008 (= *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* ser. 3ª, 5), 113-46; *liqä kahənat* Kənfä Gäbrəᵓel Altayyä – *qäsis* Getaččäw Däğäne, **ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan*, 'The Order of the Church'), Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2006 A.D.], 91–136; Archdale A. King, *The Rites of Eastern Christendom*, Rome 1947 [repr.: Piscataway ²2007], vol. 1, 572–646; *abba* Mälkä Ṣedek, **ትምህርተ፡ ክርስትና** (*Təmhərtä krəstənna*, 'Catechism'), Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.], vol. 2, 132–75; Arietta Papaconstantinou, "La liturgie stationnale à Oxyrhynchos dans la première moitié du 6ᵉ siècle. Réédition et commentaire du POxy XI 1357", *Revue des études byzantines* 54, 1996, 135–59; Sergew Hable Sellase (ed.), *The Church of Ethiopia*: *a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa 1970, 67, 78f., 88; Paulos Tzadua, "The Divine Liturgy According to the Rite of the Ethiopian Church", in: John Madey (ed.), *The Eucharistic Liturgy of the Christian East*, Kottayam – Paderborn 1982, 37–68.

Emmanuel Fritsch

Paraphernalia

The celebration of the Q. requires that a suitable place be prepared, properly equipped with sacred vessels available, along with an appropriate place to prepare the bread and wine for the sacrament, vestments etc. The *qesä* ↗*gäbäz* holds the overall responsibility for this.

I. Places

In addition to the church itself, the church compound includes the following buildings:

a) *Gəbər bet* (**ግብር፡ ቤት**, lit. 'house of the action') is a one room building (sometimes the first room of a larger *betä ləḥem,* s. below) meant for the storage of the wheat destined for the ↗Eucharist ([*fəre*] *gəbər*, lit. '[the fruit of] the action') which is measured in *mägäbbärəya* (ca. 3 kg). There is a white cloth on which the *gəbər läqami* (lit. 'the grain sorter') sorts the grain and grinds it to produce the flour. The ^{c}*aqqabi* (fem. ^{c}*aqqabit*, 'keeper') or *mäbälät* (lit. 'widow') keeps the key to the *gəbər bet* and provides the deacon and the assistant deacon with the flour on the eve of the Q.

b)*Betä ləḥem* (**ቤተ፡ ልሔም**, lit. 'Bethlehem') is a one room building located east to north-east of the church equipped with the necessary items for preparing the bread and wine for the Eucharist. It corresponds to a similar feature of Coptic churches (and, together with the *gəbər bet* and the ↗^{c}*əqa bet*, to the *skeuophylakion,* e.g., of Constantinople). Fresh water is brought for each Q. by a virgin or elderly woman. Outside the door of the *betä ləḥem*, water is found for each of the ministers to wash their hands and feet as they arrive, before they enter the church and begin the service. Water is used to make the dough and the wine, and is brought to the ↗*mäqdäs* in a water jug (*k^{w}əsk^{w}əst*) or a smaller ewer (*mäq^{w}ərärit*) for the three washings of hands and ablutions at Mass. It is distributed to the communicants after communion to "cover the Eucharist" or to those who came but were not able to receive the Eucharist. It is also drunk as a medicine.

A large wooden bowl *mägäbbärəya* (*quna* when made of basketwork or *ladan* when made of metal) is used to mix flour and water. The "dough" (*ḫariṣ*) acquires the leaven (*śənś*, lit. 'pregnancy') from the ambient air only.

The oven (^{c}*əton*) is made of a clay tray (*ṣə^{c}ədot*) supported by three stones (*mänbär*) placed over the top of the fire of the wood gathered by the *sämon azzaž* (cp. ↗*Sämon*); it is covered with an earthenware lid (*aklil*, 'crown'). A table covered with a clean tablecloth is used to prepare the dough, impress it with the stamp (*maḫtäm*) and lay the freshly baked loaves before they are all wrapped in a single piece of cloth (*maḫfäd*) to be placed in the *mäsobä wärq* (s. below).

To make the wine, the *qesä gäbäz* gives to the deacon 12, 24, or more (or at least five or seven) middle sized red or black raisins (*zäbib*) evoking blood, with the pips inside, but not completely dry. A kind of chalice or container only used for this purpose (called *həyäntä ṣəwwa^c*, lit. 'in lieu of chalice') is used to wash the raisins, which are then pounded in a bowl with a polished stone by the deacon who removes the pips from each raisin before he squeezes it into a pulp. After he has added the water, he forces the liquid through a sieve or strainer (*maṭarəya*) which in the past used to be a piece of cloth. The addition of water is necessary for it refers to the water which came out of Christ's side together with the blood signified by the *zäbib* (Jn 19:34).

The ashes of the oven are called *əmnät* (lit. 'faith') which the sick drink mixed with water in the hope of being healed (the ashes of the censer taken from the *azäqt* ['pit'] of the sancuary are passed over the limbs of patients before they are cold).

c)^c*Əqa bet*.

d)*Dede sälam* (**ዴዴ፡ ሰላም**, Amh. *däğä sälam*, lit. 'the threshold of peace') is often a gatehouse equipped with a room above a large porch on either side of which benches are arranged so as to allow for people to rest or share food made for celebrations, e.g., the weekly meetings of ↗*sänbäte* or ↗*täzkar* (a large hall is often built to house the same activities).

II. Sacred vessels

Sacred vessels (**ንዋየ፡ ቅድሳት**, *nəwayä qəddəsat*) are the vessels consecrated with holy Chrism (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase* ed. 1995/96 [hereafter MQ], ch. I).

1. The ↗*tabot* or *ṣəlle* (more common in the pl. *ṣəllat*), also known in the liturgy as the *məśwa^c* ('altar'). During and outside services, the *tabot* is wrapped in a veil (*mägg^{w}äna ṣäfiya*). In the sanctuary, it rests on the *mänbärä tabot*.
2. The *ṣaḥəl* (**ጻሕል**,'paten'), a flat circular dish ca. 25 cm in diameter with its edge turned upwards for receiving the bread (MQ, ch. II, *Qänona* §§43f.).
3. The *ṣəwwa^c* (**ጽዋዕ**, 'chalice'), receives the wine. It may be low in height and very shallow in depth or high and deep (MQ, ch. II, *Qänona* §§45f.).
4. The ^{c}*ərfä mäsqäl* (**ዕርፈ፡ መስቀል**, lit. 'the handle of the cross', MQ, ch. II, *Qänona* §§47ff.), communion-spoon, is likened to the pincers used by the cherub to purify the prophet Isaiah's lips with a coal from the altar (Is 6:6–7). It is used for administering the wine to all who take communion.

Outside the services, the sacred vessels are stored in the *kärśä ḥamär* (lit. ‘the womb of the ship’), i.e. the inside of the *mänbärä tabot*, or in niches made in the wall of the sanctuary, or in the *ᶜəqa bet*.

In addition, the following two items are kept in the place called *ḫaddafe näfs* (lit. ‘pilot of the soul’; s. EAE vol. 3, 766) and indeed anywhere in or around the sanctuary:

a) The *ᶜawəd* (**ዐውድ**, Gr. δίσκος) is a large circular tray upon which the paten is laid.
b) The *agobär* (**አጎበር**, ‘canopy’, Gr. ἀστερίσκος) is a tripod placed on the *ᶜawəd* to prevent the veil it supports over the paten from touching the bread during the distribution of Holy Communion. Only presbyters may touch it.

III. The vessels of the church

The vessels of the church (**ንዋየ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን**, *nəwayä betä krəstiyan*) include other vessels but also religious images found at or near the altar.

1. Nowadays, the altar is adorned with the image of St. ↗Mary and the Child (called **ሥዕለ፡ ሉቃስ**, *śəᶜəlä Luqas*, lit. ‘the picture of [St.] Luke’), so as to witness to the Incarnation of the Word of God which forms the premise for the reality of the Christian mysteries, and with the image of the ↗Crucifixion (**ሥዕለ፡ ዮሐንስ**, *śəᶜəlä Yoḥannəs*, lit. ‘the picture of John [the Evangelist]’, s., e.g. Bosc-Tiessé – Wion 2005: 107).
2. The *maḫfädat* (**ማኅፈዳት**) are five pieces of material of various sizes laid upon the *tabot* (the *təlləq* [large] *maḫfäd*, which falls down before the altar), within the paten, around the Eucharistic bread, above the chalice and upon the *ᶜawd* (MQ, ch. II, *Qänona* §§ 41f.). Traditionally the inner face of these veils is white while the outer is dark so as to express the invisibility of the mystery of the Resurrection at work in the Eucharist. A larger veil covers both paten and chalice.
3. The *mudayä ᶜəṭan* (**ሙዳየ፡ ዕጣን**) is the ↗incense box in which there may be the spoon for the incense; it is placed on the right of the altar.
4. The *ᶜədä mäsqäl* (**እደ፡ መስቀል**) is the ‘hand-cross’ which rests on the left of the altar. It is used to give the blessings *zäʾafʾa* (‘outer’, i.e. on persons), not *zäwəsṭ* (‘inner’, i.e. on the offerings).
5. Altar lights are two wax candles (**ሰምዕ**, *sämᶜ*) lit on or beside the altar (MQ, ch. II, *Qänona* § 66).
6. Lit wax tapers (**ጧፍ**, *ṭʷaf*) guide the processions and provide light for symbolical as well as practical purposes. The assistant deacon often carries a lit *ṭʷaf* to accompany the deacon or in processions or at the distribution of Holy Communion. The fifth minister (*abri*) uses one to illuminate the Missal for the celebrant, who holds it himself when he reads the Gospel.
7. The Missal rests on a lectern (**አጥሮንስ**, *aṭrons*), at the left side of the altar.
8. The *ṣəna* (↗*Maᶜəṭänt*) hangs on a stand around the south-western corner of the altar. The *mäčariya* (**መጫሪያ**, or **ጉጠት**, *guṭät*) is a kind of little shovel for putting the coals into it.
9. The *mäṣor mäsqäl* (**መጾር፡ መስቀል**, ‘staff-mounted cross’) is carried by the deacons leading the ceremonies. This cross is also used by the priest to proclaim the Gospel or (nowadays separated from its handle) to introduce the *Kidan* (↗*Testamentum Domini*), to give important blessings including the final one at Mass; by the preacher to preach; by the cantor to execute the intoned part of the *angärgari* hymn at the festive ↗*Maḫlet*.
10. The ↗*dəbab* is held over the Gospel, the Eucharist and the *tabot* during the *nägś* procession, sometimes over dignitaries.
11. The *qaqel*, *qaqil* or *qačəl* (**ቃቄል/ቃቂል/ቃጭል**, ‘[small] bell’) is rung during the bringing of the offerings from the *betä ləḥem* into the *mäqdäs* (*agbəʾotä gəbər*), during the *Ǝgziʾota* (MQ, *Anaphora of the Apostles* § 92), during the distribution of Holy Communion (MQ, *Anaphora* §§ 117, 128), at processions around the altar, and between the Hours of the Holy Week. This item, mentioned by ↗Alvares (BeckHuntAlvar 125, 199f.), seems to have been practically inexistent beforehand and perhaps was borrowed from the Roman liturgy of the Portuguese.
12. The *ləbsä täkəhəno* or *albasat* (**ልብሰ፡ ተክህኖ/አልባሳት**, ‘[liturgical] vestments’) distinguish the ministers (Paulos Tzadua 1968: 82; Hammerschmidt in PICES 3, vol. 2; Tekle Maryam Semharay Selam 1930): *qämis*, *lanqa* and *aklil* (↗Crowns) for the deacons; *qämis*, *qaba lanqa* and occasionally *moṭaḥət* for the presbyters, with the monastic ↗*qobᶜ* as headdress for the religious, the *aklil* or *həbbane* for the married clergy. These should be white because of the Transfiguration (MQ, ch. II, *Qänona* §§ 63ff.) but today almost any colour is used (cp. ↗Clothing: Ecclesiastic vestments).
13. The *mänṭolaᶜət* (**መንጦላዕት**) curtains screen the sanctuary and altar (s. ↗*mägarädža*). The

oldest known ones seem to go back to the 17th cent. and were one pieces of cloth (cp. Mordini 1952; Staude 1959: 70, ill.; Gigar Tesfaye 1979: 98ff.).

14. The *mäsobä wärq* (**መሶበ፡ ወርቅ**, lit. 'golden basket'), though it may be made of metal (gold, silver or brass), is generally a basket made of dried grass by a virgin girl (likened to St. Mary) and adorned with velvet, bells, etc. It is covered with a veil when the Eucharistic bread is carried in it to the sanctuary (MQ, ch. II, *Qänona* §§ 50f.).
15. With a ewer for the three washings of hands and ablutions, there is a platter or basin to collect the water and throw it away.

IV. Books

To the paraphernalia, service books such as the *Mäṣḥafä qəddase, Mäṣḥafä ↗gəṣṣawe*, N.T. books (Four ↗Gospels, the ↗Epistles, the Acts of the ↗Apostles, the ↗Revelation of John), *Mäṣḥafä ↗zəmmare*, *↗Haymanotä abäw*, and the *Mäṣḥafä ↗sənkəssar* also belong.

Several of the items listed above have figured as donations recorded in manuscripts, e.g., on fol. 25v of the Gospel of ↗Iyäsus Moʾa, EMML 1832: *kʷəskʷəst*, *ṣəwwaᶜ*, one *ᶜərfä mäsqäl* of gold and one of silver (cp. also CRAxum 13 [text]). Besides, the items were sometimes listed in special inventories (**ዝርዝር**, *zərzər*), also found in manuscripts of church and monastic libraries.

Src.: CRAxum 13 (text) = 14 (tr.); EMML 1832, fol. 25v; Alfonso ᶜAbdallah (ed., tr.), *L'Ordinamento Liturgico di Gabriele V°, 88° Patriarca Copto* (*1409–1427*), Cairo 1962 (Studia Orientalia Christiana: Aegyptiaca 14), 437f., 440–59; BeckHuntAlvar 125, 199f.; **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'The Book of the Hallowing'), Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.], I, II §§ 37–56, 62–72; Paulos Tzadua (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast.* **ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት**. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, chs. 1, 12, 13.

Lit.: Claire Bosc-Tiessé – Anaïs Wion, *Peintures sacrées d'Éthiopie. Collection de la Mission Dakar–Djibouti*, St-Maur-des-Fossés 2005; Gigar Tesfaye, "Notes sur Gunda Gundé et d'autres couvents stéphanites dans le Tigray", *Abbay* 10, 1979 [1981], 93–100; Ernst Hammerschmidt, "The Liturgical Vestments of the Ethiopian Church: a Tentative Survey", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 151–56; Id., "Kultsymbolik der koptischen und der äthiopischen Kirche", in: Ferdinand Herrmann (ed.), *Symbolik des orthodoxen und orientalischen Christentums*, Stuttgart 1962 (Symbolik der Religionen 20), 167–233; Kənfä Gäbrəʾel Altayyä – *qäsis* Getaččäw Däğäne, **ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan*, 'The Order of the Church'), Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2006 A.D.], 58–88; Emmanuel Fritsch, *The Celebration of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Ethiopian Church Today*, in preparation; Archdale A. King, *The Rites of Eastern Christendom*, Rome 1947 [repr. Piscataway ²2007], vol. 1, 552–62; *abba* Mälkä Ṣädeq, **ትምህርተ፡ ክርስትና** (*Təmhərtä krəstənna*, 'Catechism'), Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.], vol. 2, 132–35; Antonio Mordini, "Un'antica pittura etiopica", *RSE* 11, 1952, 29–32; Wilhelm Staude, "Une peinture éthiopienne datée dans l'église de Beta-léhem (région de Gaynt, province de Begemder)", *Revue d'histoire des religions* 156, 1959, 65–100; *abba* Tekle Maryam Semharay Selim, *De Indumentis sacris ritus Aethiopici* …, Roma 1930; Id., *Règles spéciales de la Messe éthiopienne*, Rome 1936–37.

Emmanuel Fritsch

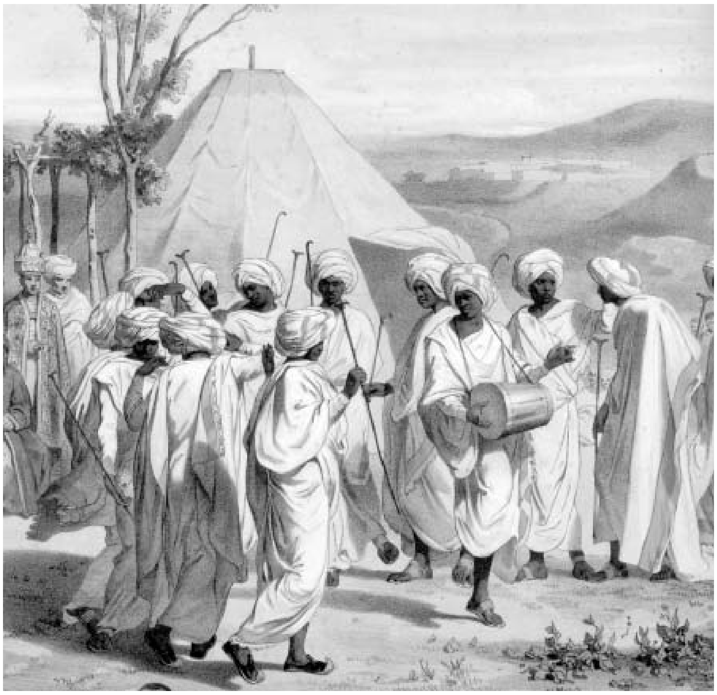
Liturgical music and dance

The liturgical ↗music of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) is a vast and complex body of vocal practices, instrumental performance conventions, and prescribed movements that vary according to the liturgical occasion and its place within the annual liturgical cycle. The entire corpus of Church music as well as its notational system is credited in Church oral and written traditions to the inspiration of St. ↗Yared. The two main bodies of liturgical music for Ethiopian Christian worship are performed for the Q. and for the *Səbḥatä Ǝgziʾabəḥer* or *↗Maḫlet*.

The Q. (Mass) consists primarily of unaccompanied prayers and chants and is intoned weekly by ordained priests, with the support of deacons and the participation of members of the congregation on prescribed passages. The more elaborate forms of Ethiopian Christian liturgical music performance, however, are found within the *Maḫlet,* which is performed on holidays in the early morning hours prior to the celebration of the Q. The *Maḫlet* employs instrumental accompaniment on repetitions of certain chant portions, as well as includes patterned movement and dance.

The chants of the Q. are set mainly in two of the three Ethiopian **ስልት** (*səlt*, 'modes'), in *↗gəᶜəz* and *↗araray*, which are performed in antiphonal and responsorial style by the priests before the reading of the Gospel. The chants of the Q. are considered to be simpler to learn than those of the *Maḫlet*, which are often referred to collectively by the name of the main hymnary, the *Dəggʷa*. The *Maḫlet* is mastered only after many years of study in special church schools by *märigetas,* highly trained leaders of Church musicians called *↗däbtära*.

The *Maḫlet* for a given day includes multiple chants traditional for the occasion, drawn from the various chant collections and sung in one or more of the three *səlt* as convention and the occasion require. Certain important chants are sung



*Däbtära*s performing *aqqʷaqʷam* (liturgical dance) "in front of the Ark"; depiction from LefAbyss, pl. 34

without accompaniment, then repeated several times with different instrumental accompaniments. Following a performance of one plain chant (↗ *Qum zema*), the instrumental accompaniment commences with ↗ *zəmmame*, which entails moving the prayer staff (↗ *Maqqʷamiya*) rhythmically up and down in the air as well as from side to side, sliding it through the hand and striking it on the floor. Next follows a repetition of the same chant accompanied by rhythmic patterns sounded by the ↗ *ṣänaṣəl* (sistrum). The subsequent repetitions of the portion are termed the *wäräb*, marked by the entry of the ↗ *käbäro* drum. There are several stages of the *wäräb*, which become increasingly animated, culminating with a section called *čäbčäbbo*, featuring drumming at double the prior pace. During the final stages of the *wäräb*, the *däbtära*s put down their sistra and prayer staffs, and join in dancing (*masräggäd*), as the congregation claps and ululates. The number of dancers depends on how many *däbtäras* are available that day – 24 is the optimum number since it permits two lines with twelve dancers each, symbolizing the number of Christ's apostles. Whatever their number, the dancers divide into two lines that face each other, each line moving alternately forward and backward in stylized patterns of four steps in each direction. The combination of liturgical chant, instrumental practice, and dance are the subject of specialized study in special church schools. The study of instrumental practice and liturgical dance is termed ↗ *aqqʷaqʷam*.

Throughout its history until the late 20th cent., only male priests and *däbtära*s participated in public performance of Ethiopian Christian liturgical music. However, since the 1980s, women have begun to participate in choirs which sang newly composed hymns known as "Sunday School songs". By the 1990s, these choirs had become widespread at urban churches in Ethiopia as well as throughout the Ethiopian diaspora. Nowadays, women sometimes participate in choirs that sing after the *Maḫlet* or Q., or even perform with *maqqʷamiya*, *ṣänaṣəl*, *käbaro*, and liturgical dance, although there is resistance to such innovations.

Src.: interviews with *aläqa* BƎRHANU MÄKʷÄNNƎN, Addis Ạbäba, June–September 1975; *abba* P̣EṬROS GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, New York City, June–December 1975; Father ṢÄḤAY BƎRHANU, Cambridge, MA, 28 February 2007.

Lit.: KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant*: *an Anthology*, vols. 1–2, Madison, WI 1993–94; LefAbyss, pl. 34 (ill.); TITO LEPISA, "The Three Modes and the Signs of the Songs in the Ethiopian Liturgy", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 162–87; BERNARD VELAT, "Chantres, poètes, professeurs: Les Dabtara éthiopiens", *Cahiers coptes* 5, 1954, 21–29; VelMe I, II.

Kay Kaufman Shelemay

Qəddase: Mäṣḥafä qəddase

The M.Q. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ**, lit. 'Book of the [Eucharistic] Consecration/Hallowing', i.e. 'Missal') is the most important liturgical book of the ↗ Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC). It essentially comprises the text of the Eucharistic celebration, or Mass (s. ↗ *Qəddase*), together with related prayers used in different instances.

There is no study on the diachronic development and arrangement of the various sections in the M.Q. The numerous printed editions consist of three distinct sections: (1) the rite of the Consecration or Hallowing from the beginning to the Pre-anaphora, i.e. Preparation, Prothesis, Enarxis, Liturgy of the Word, Pre-anaphora, commonly called *Śərʿatä qəddase* (‘The order of the hallowing’) and corresponding to the *Ordo communis*; (2) the 14 canonical ↗Anaphoras (and an additional six, of which two [*Mark* and *Mäʿaza qəddase*] are in occasional use in the EOTC); (3) priestly prayers for various situations; intercessions (↗*Mästäbqʷəʿ*), ↗litanies and prayers. These sections may be preceded by the ↗*Təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat* (*Mystagogia,* i.e. *Doctrina arcanorum*), which was probably used at an earlier period at every divine service, while today it is only used on several days. The three sections (e.g., in M.Q., Asmära 1993) include:

(1) (a) Ch. 1: Prayer over New Vessels (*Ṣälot laʿəlä nəwayatä ḥaddisat*): paten, *meron*, chalice and Eucharistic spoon; (b) Ch. 2: the beginning of the Mass itself; the subsection is dedicated to the preparation of the ministers and of the altar (*Śərʿatä qəddase zäyədällu läqäsis wälädiyaqon*) [cp. nos. 4–6 in the outline of the *Qəddase* above]; (c) Ch. 3: public liturgy up to, and including, the Gospel reading and homily (*Śərʿatä qəddase əskä gize mənbab zäwängel*) [cp. nos. 7–45 in *Qəddase*]; (d) Ch. 4: the pre-anaphora: from after the reading of the Gospel till the fruit of consecration (*Śərʿatä qəddase əmdəḫrä wängel əskä fəre qəddase*) [cp. nos. 46–51 in *Qəddase*];
(2) the 14 Anaphoras;
(3) (a) Prayer of the Covenant [of the three hours] (*Ṣälotä kidan zäśälästu gizeyat*); (b) litany for morning and evening, and litany for the Saturday of the Victory (*Liṭon zänägh wäzäśärk wäzäqädam śəʿur*); (c) intercessions; (d) prayer “the one who reigns” attributed to St. ↗Yared (*Zäyənaggəś zäʾabunä Yared*); (e) other intercessions (*Kalʾat mästäbqʷəʿat*).

The M.Q. was first printed for the EOTC at Addis Abäba in 1918 (Hammerschmidt 1987: 35; cp. ↗Incunabulas: Early prints in Ethiopia and Eritrea). Ethiopian editions (cp., e.g., M.Q. 1959) comprise parallel Amharic translations (cp. HamTana I, 27f.); editions with Təgrəñña translation have also been recently printed in Eritrea (cp. M.Q. 1993).

Editions of the M.Q. for the use of the Catholic community, however, were already printed in Kärän starting from 1890, on the initiative of the ↗Capuchin Mission, and in Asmära in 1914/15 on the initiative of the Sacra Congregatio de propaganda fide pro negotiis Ritus orientalis (↗Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus). The Catholic editions of Kärän and Asmära can be characterized as heavily Latinizing (i.e. resembling the liturgical practice of the Roman Catholic Church), although they were an attempt to resume the practice of the Ethiopian rite after a period of the Roman rite in Gəʿəz.

A new edition of the M.Q. was prepared by the Vatican press in 1945 under the supervision of Arnold van Lantschoot, then *Consultor pro Ecclesia Orientali* (cp. Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali 1944; van Lantschoot 1937, 1946), in order to correct the shortcomings of the previous editions. The arrangement of this intentionally non-critical edition is substantially different from the average EOTC editions of the M.Q.: it comprises the *Təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat*, the ↗*Kidan zänägh* and the *Kidan zäsärk*, supplications, the *Liṭon zänägh*, the *Ṣälotä ḥaddisan*, excerpts from the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*, the *Śərʿatä qəddase*, and finally the ↗*Akkʷätetä qʷərban* consisting of 17 Anaphoras: of the Apostles, of Our Father, of Mary I, of Mary II, of John the Evangelist, of James Brother of Jesus, of Mark, of the 318 Orthodox, of Athanasius, of Basil, of Gregory of Nyssa, of Epiphanius, of ↗John Chrysostom, of ↗Cyril, of ↗Jacob of Serug, of ↗Gregory and of Dioscorus (although the index, p. 7, does not attribute it explicitly to the Alexandrian bishop, as explicitly – and correctly – stated by the editor, cp. van Lantschoot 1946; cp. also HabUff 126, n. 120, and 142, n. 56, but names it “the Anaphora by which the Missal ends”; however, the Catholic Church has now started to rectify its tradition and has resumed referring to this Anaphora by the name of “Dioscorus of Alexandria”, cp. Fritsch – Cogavin 2001:147–56). The edition was conducted on eclectic criteria, and for the purpose of putting an orthodox text at the Catholic community’s disposal.

It is not clear when the M.Q. emerged as a structured and autonomous liturgical book, as the relationship between the manuscript tradition of the single texts and the earliest emergence of the M.Q. as a unitary book has not yet been systematically analysed. Judging by the dates of the most ancient manuscripts in major collections (hundreds of M.Q. are recorded in library catalogues), as well as by the absence of the M.Q. in ancient inventories of monastic libraries, its *terminus ante quem* is probably not earlier than the 17th cent.:

cp., e.g., BritLib Orient. 545, dating to 1670/75; BN d’Abbadie 13 and 72, dating to the 17th cent.; EMML no. 1434, dating to 1680; no. 4190, of 1671/93; no. 2811, of 1671/75; nos. 2021, 3084, 3553, 3649, 3945, 4742, dating to the turn of the 17th/18th cent.; VatLib Comboni B 30, of 1660/65, and S 7, of 1676/94; Ṭānāsee 68 = Dabra Māryām 10, of 1683; Ṭānāsee 156 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 45, of the 17th/18th cent., where the *Təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat* is still retained.

The *Śərʿatä qəddase* was already printed in the first Roman edition of the N.T. of 1548, fols. 158–

67, by Täsfa Ṣəyon (s. EAE vol. 5), also translated in Latin by the same in 1549 (and furtherly Latinized in comparison to the edition by the mutilation of the invocation, in addition to the insertion of the *Filioque* in the Creed, probably by Pietro Paolo Gualtieri), then reprinted several times (cp. Brightman 1896: lxiiff.). The widely known, yet largely unreliable contribution by Mercer (1915; cp. Duensing 1916), had the only merit of publishing a facsimile edition with translation of *Ordo communis* and *Anaphora of the Apostles*, an English translation having been already published by Brightman (1896: 194–244).

The M.Q. is clearly composed of pieces of different provenance and age (translations as well as indigenous compositions), and undoubtedly preserves texts dating to the Aksumite period. The *Anaphora of the Apostles* as well as some of the *mästäbqʷəʿat* certainly belong to the earliest layer of the Ethiopian liturgy (cp., e.g., the *Euchologion* in the so-called "Aksumite collection", Bausi 2006: 60f.) and are transmitted within the ↗*Senodos*; the same is true for the *Təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat* within the *Kidan zäʾəgziʾənä Iyäsus Krəstos* (↗*Testamentum Domini*).

Musical notation (↗*Mələkkət*) usually accompanies the text of the M.Q.; in some of the most ancient available mss. the notation was clearly added later on by a different hand (cp. mss. BritLib Orient. 545 and 547).

Src.: Gəʿəz and Gəʿəz–Amharic editions of the M.Q. are fully listed in HamTana I, 27f.; cp. also ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Berlin 1961 (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 25) [repr. Stuttgart ^{2}1987 (AeF 25)] (Lit.); CRAbb nos. 70, 71 [mss. d'Abbadie 13, 72]; FRANK EDWARD BRIGHTMAN (tr.), *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I: *Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford 1896, 189–244; EMML nos. 1434, 2021, 2811, 3084, 3553, 3649, 3945, 4190, 4742; MARCOS DAOUD – MARSIE HAZEN WOLDE KIRKOS (tr.), *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Cairo 1959; **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ። ከቀድሞ፡ አባቶች፡ ጀምሮ ፡ ሲወርድ፡ ሲዋረድ፡ የመጣው፡ ንባቡና፡ ትርጓሜው፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሊቃውንት፡ እንደጻፉትና፡ እንደተረጐሙት** (*Maṣḥafä qəddase. Käqädmo abbatočč ǧämməro siwärd siwwarräd yamäṭṭaw nəbabunna tərgʷamew yäʾityoṗya liqawənt əndäṣafutənna əndätäräggʷämut*, 'The Book of the Hallowing [The Missal]. Its Reading and Interpretation as transmitted from the Ancient Fathers, as the Ethiopian Doctors of the Church had written and interpreted it'), Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.]; **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ። ግዕዝ፡ ምስ፡ ምልክቱን፡ ትግርኛን** (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase. Gəʿəz məs mələkkətun təgrəññan*, 'The Book of the Hallowing. Gəʿəz with Notation and Təgrəñña'), Asmära 1986 A.M. [1993 A.D.]; SAMUEL ALFRED BROWNE MERCER, *The Ethiopic Liturgy*, London – Milwaukee 1915 (The Hale Lectures 1914–15); PETRUS ETHYOPS [TÄSFA ṢƎYON] [– PETRUS PAULUS GUALTERUS] (tr.), *Modus baptizandi … item Missa qua communiter utuntur quae etiam Canon universalis appellatur nunc primus ex lingua chaldaea sive aethiopica in latinam conversae*, Romae 1549; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Codices Comboniani Aethiopici*, In Bibliotheca Vaticana 2000 (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti 47), nos. 30 [ms. Comboni B 30], 279 [ms. Comboni S 7]; SixTana III, no. 45, Ṭānāsee 156 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 45 (Lit.); VelMe; WrBriMus nos. 132, 134 [mss. Orient. 545, 547].

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "La *Collezione aksumita* canonico-liturgica", *Adamantius* 12, 2006, 43–70, here 60f.; CONGREGAZIONE PER LE CHIESE ORIENTALI, *Liturgia – Etiopi. Revisione e ristampa del "Messale Etiopico"*, Città del Vaticano 1944; HUGO DUENSING, [review of Mercer 1915], *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1916, 625-56; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures. Special Issue 9–10) (Lit.); ID. – BRENDAN COGAVIN, *The Ethiopian Rite Missal. English Language Edition for Weekday Celebrations of the Eucharist with Seven Anaphoras*, Addis Ababa 2001, 147–56; HABTÄ MIKAʾEL KIDANÄ, **ታሪኻዊ፡ ኣመጻጽኣን፡ ምዕባለን፡ ናይ "ሥርዓተ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ ግዕዝ"** (*Tarik̠awi ammäṣaṣəʾan məʿbalän nay "śərʿatä qəddase gəʿəz"*, 'Origin and Development of the Gəʿəz Divine Liturgy'), Aśmära 2005 (Lit.); HABTEMICHAEL KIDANE, *Bibliografia della liturgia etiopica*, Roma 2008 (OrChrA 280); HabUff 123–27 and *passim* (Lit.); ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Notes sur quelques prières qu'il conviendrait de supprimer dans l'ORDO COMMUNIS de la liturgie eucharistique éthiopienne pour le réserver au pontifical*, Città del Vaticano 1937; ID., "A propos d'une nouvelle édition du missel éthiopien", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 60, 1946, 386–88.

Alessandro Bausi

Qəddase bet

Q.b. (**ቅዳሴ፡ ቤት**, lit. 'house of the liturgy') is the second stage (after the ↗*nəbab bet*) of traditional ↗education within the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC). At this level, the students focus on the ↗*Qəddase* and the associated prayers, including the ↗Anaphoras, the ↗litanies, the intercessions (*mästäbəqʷʿat*), and the prayer for the Sacraments. Among the prayers are also the so-called **አንቀጽ፡ ዘኪዳን** (*Anqäṣ zä-kidan*, lit. 'the Gate of the Covenant'), the nine prayers of the *Kidan* (↗*Testamentum Domini*), distributed for reading in the morning, at midday and in the evening. The students also learn the ↗*Təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat* and the ↗*Säʿatat*.

The teacher of the Q.b. is referred to as **መጋቤ፡ ኅሩያን** (*mäggabe ḫəruyan*, 'the administrator/ teacher of the elected ones'). Whilst at Q.b. the students learn the texts and the melody (↗*Zema*) of the liturgical texts, their hidden internal meaning and the traditional interpretation (↗*Andəmta*) are only taught at the ↗*Mäṣḥaf bet*.

The first part of the Q.b. is the **አንቀጸ፡ ቅዳሴ** (*Anqäṣä qəddase*). Here the students learn the three modes of chant, ↗*gəʿəz*, ↗*araray*, and

↗*əᶜzəl*, and the Order of the Liturgy (*śərᶜatä qəddase*), i.e. their application to the parts of the liturgy to be performed by the deacon (*gəbrä diqunna*) and by the priest (*gəbra kəhnät*). The deacon's part is called **ተሰጥዎ** (*täsäṭəwo*, 'answer, response'); its mastering is necessary for one to be able to be ordained deacon (↗*Diyaqon*). The texts to be sung and their order are fixed, except for the particular readings.

At the next level of the Q.b., the singing of the 14 anaphoras used by the EOTC is taught.

Since the modes of chants are seen by tradition as having been introduced by St. ↗Yared, it is also to this saint that the foundation of the first Q.b. is ascribed.

Places famous for their Q.b. today are ↗Däbrä Abbay (Təgray) and Säläl Kulla (Wällo). *Abunä* ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba is believed to have learnt the *zema* in a chain going back directly to Yared, and the monks claim an uninterrupted tradition ever since. The Q.b. of Säläl Kulla was similar, and it is said that *mämhər* Gäbrä Iyasus, a Q.b. teacher in Säläl Kulla, later taught at Däbrä Abbay. Zur Amba used to be a centre of education in *Qəddase* and ↗*Mäwaśəᶜət* but has lost its exclusive position.

Lit.: CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*: *a Brief Introduction to its Life and Spirituality*, Paris 2002, 83–100; ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, "Old Testament Introduction in the *Andəmta* Commentary Tradition", *JES* 12, 1974, 133–74; ID., "New Testament Introduction in the *Andəmta* Commentary Tradition", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 26, 1977, 144–92; ID., "Patristic Introduction in the Ethiopian *Andəmta* Commentary Tradition", *ibid.* 29, 1980, 39–49; HabTent 127–43; ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH, *The Church of Ethiopia, Past and Present*, Addis Abäba 1997, 46 (Amh.) = 52 (Eng.); HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "The Ethiopian Orthodox Church School System", in: *The Church of Ethiopia*: *a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa ^{2}1997, 81–97; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, "The Musician and Transmission of religious Tradition: the Multiple Roles of the Ethiopian Däbtära", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 3, 1992, 242–60.

Habtemichael Kidane

Qəddəst Śəllase

Q.Ś. (**ቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ**), the Cathedral of the Holy ↗Trinity, is one of the main churches of ↗Addis Abäba, and one of the most important places of worship of the country. *Aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I decided to build it as part of his policy of strengthening Orthodox Christianity and spreading western civilization in the country. The Cathedral was grounded on 15 *Taḫśaś* 1924 A.M. [25 December 1931 A.D.], when foundation stone was laid by the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Qerəllos and the other bishops. The construction was stopped for five years because of ↗Italian war 1935–36 and subsequent occupation. When the Emperor returned, in 1942 the work resumed, and on 17 *Ṭərr* 1936 A.M. [26 January 1944 A.D.] the first liturgy was celebrated there. On this day the bones of a daughter of Ḫaylä Śəllase I, Princess Romanä Wärq (who died in 1941 in Italy, in captivity) and the bones of the patriots who perished in the struggle against the Italians (↗Resistance) were buried with great honour in the crypt. In 1952, the bones of Ethiopian soldiers who died fighting in Korea were buried in Q.Ś. as well.

Since the number of the faithful was increasing, in 1946–47 the building was extended towards the North, South and West, and at that time it was given its present full name: Mänbärä Ṣäbaʾot Qəddəst Śəllase (**መንበረ፡ ጸባኦት፡ ቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ**). A third time the building was extended and decorated in 1960s during three year of extensive works; on 16 January 1968 A.D. it was re-opened with great celebration. The whole area of the Cathedral became 1,200 m^2, the height was 35 m, with the capacity of accommodating over 3,000 people standing or more than 1,500 chairs.

The style of the building imitates European Baroque in its eclectic form. It is a transeptal basilica with ceiling supported by 30 pillars, a cupola over the eastern part and two bell towers flanking the protruded western portico. The Cathedral has three altars: the main dedicated to the Holy ↗Trinity, the other two dedicated to ↗John the Baptist and ↗*Kidanä Məḥrät*. The Cathedral has 10 large windows and 18 small windows. On the ceiling and the walls of the Cathedral there are painting representing the 24 Heavenly Priests and the Angels; in the court, there are statues of four Evangelists, by a Greek artist.

The paintings were executed by Ethiopian artists: *aläqa* Asrässaḵäñ, ↗Agäññähu Ǝngəda, Ǝmmaʾəlaf Ḫəruy, Aläfällägä Sälam, ↗Mäzmur Dawit. The stained glass was produced by a Belgian artist; the paintings within the dome were executed by the Greek Artist Jereminis.

On the eastern wall of the sanctuary (cp. ↗*mäqdäs*) there is the ↗Crucifixion, below from right to left an image of the Baptism of Christ, Ḫaylä Śəllase and *ətege* ↗Mänän praying before Christ, the Assumption (↗*Fəlsäta*). To the South, there is an image of Ḫaylä Śəllase addressing the ↗League of Nations with his historical speech in 1935; to the North Ḫaylä Śəllase planting the Ethiopian flag in ↗Omedla. Near to the south entrance there is a picture of St. ↗George killing the dragon.

The special thrones of honour used by the Emperor and Empress, with their canopies, with four additional seats of honour for the royal family on each side were placed in the sanctuary. The graves of Mänän and Ḫaylä Śəllase (the latter reburied there on 5 November 2000) are in the northern part of the transept. Other members of the Imperial family are buried in the crypt under the building. The cemetery of the Cathedral is reserved for burial of the famous persons and high-ranking state officials and church ecclesiastics.

Below the building of Q.Ś., there is an older octagonal Mäkanä Śəllase church, built by *aṣe* Mənilək I in 1891, which is now known as the church of the Son (Baläwäld). Today, the courtyard houses are a museum.

The head of the Cathedral bears the title *liqä səlṭanat*. The most important church ceremonies take place in Q.Ś., such as the consecration of the Ethiopian patriarchs (↗Ordination; ↗*P̣ap̣p̣as*), as well as the national celebrations.

Src.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 76–100 [235–59]; **መንበረ፡ ፀባዖት፡ ቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ።** *The Holy Trinity Cathedral*, Addis Ababa 1957 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; **ትንሣኤ** (*Tənśaᵓe*, 'Resurrection'), Addis Abäba n.d. [journal published by the Ethiopian Orthodox Apostolic Society under the auspices of the Cathedral]; **የመንበረ፡ ፀባዖት፡ ቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ፡ ካቴድርል፡ የ፲ዐመት፡ የሥራ፡ ውጤት** (*Yämänbärä ṣ́äbaᶜot qəddəst śəllase katedral yä10 ᶜamät yäśəra wəṭṭet*, 'The Results of the Ten-year Work of the Holy Trinity Cathedral'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1973 A.D.].

Lit.: DAVID BUXTON, *Travels in Ethiopia*, New York 1967, 62, figs. 38–41; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "The Establishment of Churches in Addis Ababa", in: CentAddis 57–78; MILENA BATISTONI – GIAN PAOLO CHIARI, *Old Tracks in the New Flower*: *a Historical Guide to Addis Ababa*, Addis Ababa 2004, 105ff.; Guida 492; YOLANDE MARA, *The Church of Ethiopia*: *the National Church in Making*, Asmara 1972, 111ff., 123f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art", *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, 5–80, here 18f.

Joachim Persoon

Qəddəstä Qəddusan ↗Church buildings

Qəddəste

Q. (**ቅድስቴ**; also **ቅድስተ፡ ክርስቶስ**, Qəddəstä Krəstos; d. *Mäggabit* 1704) was the favourite concubine of ↗Iyasu I. Her home was Bahrkänta on the south-western shore of Lake ↗Ṭana, just north of Qʷənzəla.

The chronicles report little about her beyond her name; it is obvious, nonetheless, that in the later years of Iyasu's reign he spent increasing amounts of time with her and that she became the chief recipient of his affection (cp. BruNile vol. 2, 511: "a mistress whom he tenderly loved"). Her death set in motion the events that brought Iyasu's reign to its tragic end. Iyasu mourned Q. greatly, spending much time in various monasteries and retreats of southern Ṭana in grief and contemplation. His absence provoked scheming among the nobles at court. They had grown estranged from Iyasu and feared that their opponents in Damot and Goǧǧam would rally around Iyasu (as they eventually did) and threaten their control of the kingdom. Another of Iyasu's concubines, ↗Mäläkotawit, feared that Iyasu would favour Dawit, his son by Q., for the throne instead of her son, the future ↗Täklä Haymanot I. These circumstances led to Iyasu's dethronement by the court nobles in March 1706 and to his murder the following October at the hands of Täklä Haymanot, Mäläkotawit, and her brothers. Two of Q.'s sons eventually ascended the throne – ↗Dawit III and ↗Yoḥannəs II.

Src.: BassÉt 56–61 (text) = 167–71 (tr.); BegCron 79f., 82ff., 86 (tr.); BruNile vol. 2, 511–17; DombrChr 235–42 (tr.); GuiIohan 230 (text) = 244 (tr.); OSVALDO RAINERI, "Il regno di Iyasu I, re d'Etiopia dal 1682 al 1706", *OrChrP* 58, 1992, 213–40, here 229–32.

Lit.: LAVERLE BERRY, "Ras Fares and the Tewahido Coalition in Late Seventeenth Century Gondar", in: *OrbAethChoj* 69–82, here 76–79.

LaVerle B. Berry

Qəne

Q. (**ቅኔ**, pl. *qəneyat*, from **ቀነየ**, *qänäyä*, 'to intone, to compose, to sing a hymn', but also 'to worship, to subject [to God]', s. Admasu Ǧämbäre 1971/72: 9; LesCDic 437ab; DillmLex 447; KWKDic 798f.) is a genre of ↗Gəᶜəz literature. In the practice of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, it is a ↗hymn expressing adoration, praise or thanksgiving, improvized by the ↗*däbtära* during the celebration of the Divine Office and during the Mass after the distribution of Communion (↗*Qəddase*; HabUff 209ff., 223). Q. are not performed during ↗Lent. Like other hymns, Q. usually praise God and the ↗saints, but can also be composed in honour of secular and ecclesiastical personages (e.g., rulers) as well as particular places and events. Q. can also take the form of admonitions or castigations or have the character of a ↗prayer. In the past, emperors, local governors, princes etc. used to compose Q. on religious festivities whenever they wanted to address their people conveying them messages, guidelines, suggestions (Dästa Täklä Wäld 1953/54:97f.).

The Q.'s main feature is its spontaneity: it may be called **እንግዳ፡ ድርሰት** (*əngəda dərsät*, lit. 'guest text', i.e. improvisation). A Q. is composed only for a particular church and occasion and cannot be reused, even by its author. However, some Q. may be written down and preserved (e.g., in collections known as **መዝገበ፡ ቅኔ**, *mäzgäbä qəne*, 'the treasury of Q.') for the use of students, to be learnt by heart, as well as of traditional scholars, to maintain the cultural patrimony (Admasu Ǧämbäre 1970/71; Yəḫeyyəs Wärqe 1967/68: 132; LevWax 8; HabUff 220f.).

According to the position of church scholars (*liqawənt*), the Q. goes back to St. ↗Yared, since one can find short Q.-like compositions in the ↗*Dəggʷa*, traditionally ascribed to this 6th-cent. saint. These hymns, however, cannot be defined as Q.

The Q. has a rigid structure and must embrace at least three requirements: it must not break the ↗*zema*; it must have **ሰም** (*säm*, 'wax'), i.e. the immediate significance, and **ወርቅ** (*wärq*, 'gold'), i.e. the inner meaning (↗*Sämənnä wärq*), but still remain comprehensible; it must be rhymed, i.e. the final syllables at least must be identical, ending with the same consonant in the same order.

During the Mass, Q. are generally sung after psalms and canticles or they are interpolated after a certain number of lines of particular psalms. Some *Dəggʷa* elements may have the ↗*məlṭan* which can play the role of Q. In this case the *məlṭan* are called **ህየንተ፡ ቅኔ**, *həyäntä qəne* ('instead of Q.').

The main basic Q. modes (known as **ሙሉ፡ ቤት**, *mulu bet*, 'full verses') are, in order of learning in traditional ↗education: (1) *gubaʾe qana*: two *bet*, seen as symbolizing Christ's divinity and His humanity, sung in ↗*gəᶜəz* or ↗*ᶜəzəl* mode; (2) ↗*zäʾamlakiyä*: three *bet*, sung in *ᶜəzəl* mode; (3) ↗*mibäzḫu*: three *bet*, sung in the *mäwäddəs adäraräs* in the *gəᶜəz* mode; (4) ↗*wazema*: five *bet* in *räǧǧəm* ('long') *wazema*, three *bet* in *mahakkäläñña* ('medium'), two *bet* in *ač̣č̣ər* ('short'), sung in *araray* mode; (5) ↗*śəllase*: six *bet*, sung in *ᶜəzəl* mode; (6) ↗*zäyəʾəze*: *räǧǧəm* with five *bet*, sung with the *Nunc dimittis* (Lk 2:29) in *gəᶜəz* mode, and *ač̣č̣ər*, or *śaḥləkä*, with three *bet*, in *araray* mode; (7) ↗*mäwäddəs*: *fətaḥ litä* with eight *bet*, ↗*kʷəlləkkəmu* with 9 *bet*, sung in *araray* mode. The *mulu bet* Q. are used as the pattern for composition of any Q.

The Q. composed during the *Qəddase* fall into two types: ↗*kəbr yəʾəti* and ↗*ᶜəṭanä mogär*. Their chanting mode (*gəᶜəz* or *ᶜəzəl*) is defined by the melody of the *Qəddase*, and their length in turn by the chanting mode. *Kəbr yəʾəti* in *ᶜəzəl* has four *bet*, in *gəᶜəz*, three *bet*; *ᶜəṭanä mogär* in *ᶜəzəl* has eleven *bet*, in *gəᶜəz*, seven *bet*. The second strophe of the *ᶜəṭanä mogär* (fifth *bet* in *ᶜəzəl*, third *bet* in *gəᶜəz*) is called *aśärä nəguś* (lit. 'Footprint of the king') and is meant to praise the ruler and civil authorities, especially if present in the church. On various occasions, e.g., on Monday and Tuesday of the *Niqodimos* (last week of Lent), the *kəbr yəʾəti* and *ᶜəṭanä mogär* Q. can be replaced by *ḥawaryatihu käbäbä* (lit. 'He gathered his Apostles') and *ḥənṣeha* ('Her edification'), both of two *bet* (Yəḫeyyəs Wärqe 1967/68: 87, 144; Admasu Ǧämbäre 1970/71: 22; Elyas Abrəha 1996/97: 49). These two Q. modes are obsolete, except for a few churches in Goǧǧam. All Q. composed during the celebration of the *Qəddase* must always be devoted to the Holy Body and the Holy Blood of Christ and their effect on the communicants (s. HabUff 218f.; Elyas Abrəha 1996/97: 49). They are not learnt following a special course; advanced students learn them by having heard them.

The main categories of Q. verse-making are: *bet*, a verse, of varying length; *ḥaräg*, a phrase, which can be longer or shorter than a *bet*; *mändärdärya*, the second *bet* of *zäʾamlakəyä*, *wazema*, *śəllase* and *zäyəʾəze*, the third of *mäwäddəs*, the fourth of *ᶜəṭanä mogär gəᶜəz*, and the sixth of *ᶜəṭanä mogär ᶜəzəl*; *bʷahe*, the fourth verse of *mäwäddəs*; *läᶜaläm*, the sixth *bet* of *mäwäddəs*; *mäṣəfya*, the fourth *bet* of *wazema*, *śəllase*, *zäyəʾəze* and the ninth *bet* of *mäwäddəs* and *əṭanä mogär ᶜəzəl* (Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase 1926/27: 9ff.; HabTent 182; HabUff 220).

Q. is taught at the ↗*qəne bet*. The main centres are ↗Wadla (Wällo), ↗Gonǧ (Baḥər Dar, Goǧǧam), ↗Wašära (Damot, Goǧǧam); ↗Gondär (s. Admasu Ǧämbäre 1971/72: 10). They each have distinct traditions. The Wadla Q. is particularly difficult on account of its composition and interpretation, using many equivocal words, allusions and allegoric figures. The Gonǧ Q. is difficult to understand due to its profound meaning, using complicated concepts and images, often only understandable to the author. The Wašära Q. is relatively simple; its meaning can be caught even by someone who is not specialized in Q. The Gondär Q. is characterized by its melancholic mood; it is didactic, making allusion to the teaching of the Q. teachers.

The one who can compose (improvise) the Q. on the spot on the topic given to him, may be referred to as **ቅኔ፡ ዐዋቂ** (*qəne ᶜawaqi*, ‘expert in Q.’), or **ባለ፡ ቅኔ** (*balä qəne*, ‘master of Q.’), or **የሰምና፡ ወርቅ፡ ቅኔ፡ ባለቤት** (*yäsämənna wärq qəne baläbet*, ‘the master of wax and gold *qəne*’), after the techniques of traditional rhetoric used in *qəne*-poetry (↗*Sämənna wärq*). Anyone who can continue a Q. started by another is called **ቅኔ፡ ዘራፊ** (*qəne zärafi*, lit. ‘raider, looter of Q.’).

Today, the study of the Gəᶜəz Q. at the *qəne bet* goes hand in hand with the study of the Amharic Q. The latter must follow the Gəᶜəz Q. in length, rhythm and the number of *bet*-verses. In both cases the composer must keep in mind the melody on which the Q. must be sung. Usually, the Amharic Q. are composed for special occasions, to praise someone; they are never sung during Church services.

Src.: Admasu Ğämbäre, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ፡ (ዝክረ፡ ሊቃውንት)** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne* [*zəkrä liqawənt*], ‘The Book of the *Qəne* [The Memory of the Scholars]’), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; CRAbb 222–32; Dästa Täklä Wäld, **ግእዝ፡ መሠረተ፡ ትምህርት። ርባሐ፡ ስም፡ ወአንቀጽ። የስምና፡ የአንቀጽ፡ ርባታ** (*Gəʾəz mäśärätä təmhərt. Rəbaḥa səm wäʾanqäṣ. Yäsəmənna yäʾanqäṣ rəbata*, ‘Gəʾəz is the Basis of Learning. The Declination and Conjugation of the Name’), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1953/54 A.M.], 97f.; DillmLex 447; Ethiopian Language Academy (ed.), **የግዕዝ፡ ቅኔያት፡ የሥነ፡ ጥበብ፡ ቅርስ፡ ንባብ፡ ከነትርጓሜው** (*Yägəᶜəz qəneyat yäśənä ṭəbäb qərs nəbab kännätərgʷamew*, ‘The Art of Interpretation of Gəᶜəz Qəne, their Text and Translation’), Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1991/92 A.D.]; Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne*, ‘The Book of the Qəne’), Addis Ababa 1918 A.M. [1926/27 A.D.]; KWKDic 798f.; LesCDic 437ab; *aläqa* Yəkunno Amlak Gabra Śəllase, **የቀድሞ፡ ቅኔዎች፡ ከነ፡ ትርጓሜአቸው** (*Yäqädmo qənewočč kännä tərgʷameʾaččäw*, ‘Early Gəᶜəz *Qəne* with their Explanation’), *JES* 4, 1, 1966, 76–119; *mämhər* Yəḫeyyəs Wärqe, **ንባብ፡ ወትርጓሜ፡ ዘቅኔያት፦ አዕማደ፡ ምስጢራት** (*Nəbab wätərgʷame zäqəneyat*: *aᶜəmadä məsṭirat*, ‘Text and Interpretation of the *Qəne*: the Pillars of Mysteries’), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.].

Lit.: Alemayyehu Moges, “Geez and Amharic Study without Qene is Incomplete”, in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 99–116; Id., “Language Teaching and Curricula in Traditional Education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church”, *The Ethiopian Journal of Education* 4, 1, 1973, 87–114; Enrico Cerulli, “Inni della Chiesa Abissina”, *RSO* 12, 1929–30, 361–407; Id., “Di alcune varietà di inni della Chiesa Abissina”, *Orientalia* nova ser. 3, 1934, 294–305; Id., “Canti burleschi di studenti della scuole abissine”, *RSO* 13, 1945, 143–71; *mämhər* Elyas Abrəha, **ይትበሀል፡ ዘጎንደር፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሥርዐተ፡ ማኅሌት** (*Yətbähal zägondär, zäwəʾətu śərᶜatä maḫlet*, ‘The Tradition of Gondär, which is the Divine Office’), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D.]; *aläqa* ᶜƎnbaqom Qalä Wäld, **ስለ፡ ቅኔ፡ ትምህርትና፡ ስለ፡ ጥቅሙ** (*Səlä qəne təmhərtənna səlä ṭəqmu*, ‘About the Teaching and the Importance of the Qəne’), in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 117–32; Luigi Fusella, “Notes on the Qene”, in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 511–20; Eric Godet, “La métrique du qənē guèze”, *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 117–203; Id., “La versification gueze”, in: *PICES* 9, vol. 5, 77–90; Ignazio Guidi, “Di alcuni inni abissini”, *RSO* 1, 1907, 217–20; Id., “‘Qene’ o Inni abissini”, *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 9, 1900, 463–510; Id., “La raccolta di qene nel Ms. d’Abbadie 145”, *ibid*. 16, 1907, 529–69; HabTent 172ff.; HabUff 207–22, 275, 282f., 315, 321, 341; Haile Gabriel Dagne, “The Ethiopian Orthodox Church School System”, in: *The Church of Ethiopia*: *a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa ^{2}1997, 81–97; LevWax; Mengistu Lemma, “A Possible Role for Geez Qene in Ethiopian Vernacular Poetry”, in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 729–37; Martino Mario Moreno, *Raccolta di qĕnē*, Roma 1935; Murad Kamil, “The Metre in the Ethiopic Verse ‘The Gene’”, in: *Actes du XXI^{e} Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris 23–31 Juillet 1948*, Paris 1949, 97–99; Anton Schall, *Zur äthiopischen Verskunst*, Wiesbaden 1961.

Habtemichael Kidane

Qəne bet

The Q.b. (**ቅኔ፡ ቤት**, ‘house of the ↗*qəne*’) is a stage of the traditional church ↗education in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. It follows upon the ↗*nəbab bet*, the ↗*zema bet*, the ↗*qəddase bet* and precedes the ↗*mäṣḥaf bet*. In the Q.b. the students focus on the theory and practice of the composition of *qəne*.

The Q.b. student is frequently compared with the hermit (**መናኝ**, *männañ*, from *männänä*, ‘to renounce’; KaneDic 272f.) and hunter (**አዳኝ**, *addañ*), because he leaves everything, even his native village and relatives, in order to study *qəne*-poetry (ᶜƎnbaqom Qalä Wäld in PICES 3, vol. 2, 117).

The way to the Q.b. is long and difficult. The pupil must first perfectly master ↗Gəᶜəz and build up his vocabulary, which is the main instrument of learning as well as composing and interpreting *qəne*. He must also profoundly study traditional cultural, social, intellectual and educational values (Alemayyehu Moges 1973: 92). In turn, the knowledge of Q. is a precondition of the study of ↗*andəmta* in the *mäṣḥaf bet*. The Q.b. takes from three to five years.

The teacher of the Q.b. is called **መጋቤ፡ ምሥጢር** (*mäggabe məśṭir*, ‘the teacher/administrator of mystery/secret/sacrament’). A newcomer must ask him for permission to attend his classes. The advanced student of the Q.b. acting as assistant teacher is called **ዘራፊ** (*zärafi*, lit. ‘raider’). He can be permitted to teach the beginners; he can improvise *qəne*, continue a

Q. started by another, lecture *qəne* but always standing, until his graduation day as *qəne* master, and he is able to interrupt an author composing *qəne* (KaneDic 803b). The daily life in the Q.b. basically consists of hours of independent work, when the students memorize and analyse famous *qəne*, learn vocabularies and try to compose *qəne* of their own; and sessions where they recite their poems in front of the teacher and other students receiving the most profound critical evaluation of their work, accept from the teacher lessons and work on them etc. Usually, there is no financial support for the students who must earn their living by begging and occasional works.

On the day of his graduation the student is asked, by the guests and students present, to improvize as many *qəne* as they wish. At the end the graduation ceremony is closed by inviting him to sit on the chair (*wämbär*) of his master. The Q.b. teachers say that once the student has been taught the way of right thinking, he attains a position to express himself or to criticize others' views. He is thus able to analyse the *qəne* composed by other experts and thus learn the composition skills in greater depth.

There are different Q.b.; the main centres of learning are in ↗Wadla (Wällo), ↗Gonǧ (Goǧǧam), ↗Wašära (Damot, Goǧǧam); ↗Gondär (s. Admasu Ǧämbäre 1971/72: 10). The Q.b. schools differ in their thinking and teaching methods. Some students try to attend more than one master in more than one school, in order to reach a higher level of mastering *qəne.* Despite hardships during the time of studies, many students hope for a good position in the Church, where the masters of *qəne* have always been greatly appreciated.

Src.: KaneDic 272f., 803b.

Lit.: Admasu Ǧämbäre, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ፡ (ዝክረ፡ ሊቃውንት)** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne* [*zəkrä liqawənt*], 'The Book of the *Qəne* [The Memory of the Scholars]'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; Alemayyehu Moges, "Geez and Amharic Study without Qene is Incomplete", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 99–116; Id., "Language Teaching and Curricula in Traditional Education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *The Ethiopian Journal of Education* 4, 1, 1973, 87–114; Christine Chaillot, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*: *a Brief Introduction to its Life and Spirituality*, Paris 2002, 87–90; *aläqa* ʿƎnbaqom Qalä Wäld, **ስለ፡ ቅኔ፡ ትምህርትና፡ ስለ፡ ጥቅሙ** (*Səlä qəne təmhərtənna səlä ṭəqmu*, 'About the Teaching and the Importance of the Qəne'), in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 117–32; Id. (Imbaqom Kalewold), *Traditional Ethiopian Church Education*, tr. by Menghestu Lemma, New York 1970, 25–28, 33-38; HabTent.

Habtemichael Kidane

Qəne maḫlet ↗Church buildings

Qəññət

Q. (**ቅኝት**, from Amh. **ቃኘ**, *qaññä*, 'to tune a musical instrument; to sing in a low voice … the hymn so that the other singers can begin singing it properly', s. KaneDic 803) refers to tuning systems or to melodic principles. For a ↗*mäsinqo* player Q. could also describe specific finger placement patterns or finger technique.

Q. is usually referred to in English as scale or mode. Various definitions have been offered for Q., based on general overviews of Ethiopian music or analyses of the music specific to a geographical region and/or a linguistic group. Q. can be regarded as a system of instrument tuning, melody type, interval set, or combination thereof.

Mondon-Vidailhet (MonVidMus) speaks about the "tuning" of the ↗*kərar* and ↗*bägäna* (without, however, mentioning the term Q.). Powne (1968), basing his research on instruments housed at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) and Mondon-Vidailhet's writings, uses *kərar* and ↗*wašənt* instrument tunings to determine Q.

In traditional secular ↗music, Ashenafi Kebede (1971) defines Q. as a system of instrument tuning. He recognizes four Q. commonly used among ↗*azmari* – namely, *anči hoy* (**አንቺ፡ ሆይ**), *təzzəta* (**ትዝታ**), *ambasäl* (**አምባሰል**), *batti* (**ባቲ**) –, dependent on relative pitch, tonality, dynamics, meter, and range of melodies. The instrumental introduction sets the vocalist's tessitura and melody (tones) in the proper Q. Song repertoires correspond to pentatonic melodic pattern types often bearing the same name.

Timkehet Teffera's study of children's songs in Goǧǧam (1998) shows that Q. is determined by melodic principles coupled with musical instrument tunings; it is less important as to which Q. a melody belongs. She asserts the theoretical pitch-sequence determinations of Q. are virtually unknown outside Addis Abäba.

Ezra Abate (2007) defines Q. as a scale, an important factor in identifying music of ethnic groups possessing different scales. Whilst the pentatonic scale is dominant, other types include *təzzəta* (with major and minor), *bati* (major, minor), Lydian (minor with raised fourth, major with raised fifth), *ambassäl*, *ančihoy*, Dorian pentatonic, Phrygian pentatonic, mixolydian pentatonic, diatonic minor scale, diatonic major scale, and other scales possessing 2–3 tones.

Zenebe Bekele (1987) distinguishes Q. (tuning) and *səlt* (**ስልት**, mode, scale). He recognizes seven modes: five pentatonic (hemitonic and unhemitonic), one hexatonic, and one chromatic.

For Amhara *mäsinqo* music, Kimberlin (1976, 1980, 2006) formulates a more broadly based theory of Q. as a fixed set of intervallic relationships in which each set consists of five pitches plus the octave. Since pitch is determined by the vocalist's tessitura, Q. is defined by the distance between fixed intervals rather than by fixed pitches. Amhara *mäsinqo* music possesses at least four pentatonic Q., each corresponding to interval sequence calculated in cents (an octave equals 1.200 cents): *ančihoy*: 135–370–115–345–235, *təzzəta*: 200–175–350–130–325, *ambassäl*: 115–345–235–135–370, *bati*: 325–200–175–350–150 (intervals that define a particular Q. are based on an average that falls within a pre-determined range deemed acceptable within the music tradition and by the musicians who practise it). *Təzzəta* and *anči hoy* are the basic and the older interval sets, with *bati* and *ambassäl* subsequently formed as intervallic permutations from the original; the latter two are named after a region and a town in Wällo. Other Q. types may also exist.

Src.: KaneDic 803; LesCDic 437.

Lit.: Ashenafi Kebede, *The Music of Ethiopia*: *its Development and Cultural Setting*, Ph.D. thesis, Wesleyan University 1971, 49, 55f., 234f.; Ezra Abate, "Ethiopian Kinit (Scales): Analysis of the Formation and Structure of the Ethiopian Scale System", paper at the 16th *ICES*, 2007; Cynthia Tse Kimberlin, *Masinqo and the Nature of Qəññət*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California at Los Angeles 1976, 401; Ead., "The Music of Ethiopia", in: Elizabeth May (ed.), *Music of Many Cultures*: *an Introduction*, Berkeley, CA 1980, 232–52; Ead., *Ethiopia III*: *Three Chordophone Traditions*, Paris 1986 [stereo disc, reissued as CD 1996]; MonVidMus [repr. in: *AE* 19, 2003, 149–88, here 166–70]; Michael Powne, *Ethiopian Music. An Introduction*: *a Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968, 48–60; Timkehet Teffera, "Children Musicians: Observations Made in the City of Bahir Dar – Region Gojjam", paper for *International Council for Traditional Music* (*ICTM*) *Study Group*, 1998; Zenebe Bekele, *Music in the Horn. A Preliminary Analytical Approach to the Study of Ethiopian Music*, Stockholm 1987, 54–57.

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Qerəllos

The Q. (**ቄርሎስ**, 'Cyril') is a patristic collection, for the major part translated from Greek into Gəᶜəz in the Aksumite period (cp. ↗Aksum) – as a whole, one of the most important works of ↗Gəᶜəz literature. Named after ↗Cyril of Alexandria, it contains writings originating in the context of the Council of ↗Ephesus (431) and its immediate aftermath, with the later addition of a few patristic writings. Essentially of "a verbal-monophysite, anti-nestorian and achalcedonian" character (Weischer 1971: 93), the theological position of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church faithfully reflects the Cyrillian Christology of the Q.

The Q. as it is, is the result of the conflation of two main different collections, with the addition of later materials. Both compiled in Alexandria (Egypt), the first section focuses on Christological questions debated at the council of Ephesus (431). It contains 18 writings (for the references to CPG [here inclusive of CPG Suppl.]; Lusini's [1987: 470f.] and Brakmann's [BrakKirche 164ff.] minor errors and omissions are corrected here; for additional references on the Coptic tradition cp. Lucchesi 2004):

three major treatises of Cyril of Alexandria:

(1) Prosphoneticus to the Emperor Theodosius II on the right faith (CPG no. 5218, Weischer 1973);
(2) Prosphoneticus to the Princesses Arcadia and Marina on the right faith (CPG no. 5219, Weischer 1993, which contains only the portion corresponding to ms. Ṭānāsee 42 = Kebrān 42, fols. 35^{ra}–44^{v}: indeed, the Prosphoneticus continues up to fol. 101^{va} with a long list of biblical witnesses which are still to be edited): it also includes a christological florilegium (cp. also Weischer 1980b);
(3) the Dialogue on the Unity of Christ (CPG no. 5228, Weischer 1966, 1967a, 1968, 1977a), and 15 homilies and letters (Weischer 1979a):
    homilies by
(4) Theodotus of Ankyra (CPG no. 6127);
(5) Cyril of Alexandria (CPG and Suppl. no. 5246 [omitted in Lusini 1987 and in BrakKirche, which probably depends upon the former]);
(6) Severus of Synnada (CPG no. 6145, preserved only in Gəᶜəz);
(7) Acacius of Melitene (CPG no. 5792);
(8) Juvenal of Jerusalem (CPG no. 6712);
(9) Cyril of Alexandria (CPG no. 5249);
(10) Rheginus of Constantia (CPG no. 6486);
(11) Cyril of Alexandria (CPG no. 5250);
(12) Eusebius of Heracleia (CPG no. 6143);
(13) Theodotus of Ankyra (CPG no. 6132 [omitted in Lusini 1987]);
(14) Firmus of Caesarea (CPG no. 6121, preserved only in Gəᶜəz);
(15) letter of the Council of Ephesus to John of Antioch (not preserved in Greek and not mentioned in CPG);
(16) homily of Cyril of Alexandria (CPG no. 5260, from his *Ancoratus*);
(17) letter of John of Antioch to Cyril of Alexandria (CPG no. 6310);
(18) letter of Cyril of Alexandria to John of Antioch (CPG no. 5339).

The second section consists of seven writings (homilies and symbols) on christological and trinitarian questions:

(19) a homily by Epiphanius of Cyprus (d. 403; CPG no. 3765), followed by
(20) a symbol of faith of the same (CPG no. 3744; cp. Weischer 1977b);
(21) a homily by Proclus of Cyzicus, Patriarch of Constantinople (d. 446; CPG no. 5800; nos. 19–21 ed., tr. by Weischer 1979b);
(22) a homily by Severianus of Gabala (d. 408; CPG no. 4206; Rodinson 1960; Colin 2003);
(23) a symbol of faith by Gregory of Neocaesarea (d. 270; CPG no. 1764; cp. Weischer 1977b);
(24 and 25) two homilies by Cyril of Alexandria on ↗Melchizedek (CPG no. 5280, preserved only in Gəʿəz: nos. 22–25 ed., tr. by Weischer 1980a).

Although some of the authors included in this section died long before the Council of Ephesus, they were considered theological authorities by Cyril of Alexandria, and thus their inclusion in the collection might be explained: Epiphanius of Cyprus was a fervent adversary of the Apollinarists and Severianus of Gabala called the Holy Virgin *theotókos*, and so did the fierce opponent of the Nestorians, Proclus of Cyzicus.

The second section of the Q. was probably also compiled in Alexandria, and added to the former by initiative of the Ethiopian translators and compilers (the statement by Weischer 1971: 87f., that this part of the Q. "was added ... in Alexandria", and that "the original corpus which became the first theological manual in the Ethiopian Church, was enlarged with theological treatises" is ambiguous).

A third, minor section of the Q. contains writings translated at a much later time (probably not earlier than the 13th cent.), from an Arabic *Vorlage* (Weischer 1969):

(26) a treatise on Melchizedek (together with a *Story of Melchizedek* and Cyril's two homilies from the second section of Q., it forms a small "Melchizedek dossier" in ms. BN d'Abbadie 94, fols. 34va–55^{rb}, where the third piece is attributed to ↗Rətuʿa Haymanot);
(27) a small treatise on the 318 Bishops of ↗Nicaea;
(28) on the birth and life of Jesus;
(29) an antiheretical treatise (on Arians, Chalcedonians, Nestorians, Severus of Antioch, Macedonius, Paul of Samosata etc.).

Finally, in some manuscripts of the Q. a short biography of Cyril is added, compiled from various hagiographical and historical works of the post–Aksumite period (↗*Sənkəssar*, Chronicle of ↗John of Nikiu, ↗*Abušakər*, History of ↗Giyorgis Wäldä ʿAmid).

Together with the ↗Bible, the Q. is to be regarded as the main Ethiopic linguistic monument of the Aksumite age. There is a general agreement on dating the translation of the Q. to the early 6th cent. (or to the 5th/6th cent.), on the basis of strong linguistic evidence: the Greek *Vorlage* of the Q. was a better and more complete Greek text than the presently transmitted one; the translator (certainly not a Greek speaker) did not correct the errors of the Greek text and provided a slavish word for word rendering; particles and gerunds were abundantly used as calques of Greek particles and participles, as especially appears in older mss. (cp. Weischer 1969), while the gerunds tend to be replaced in later manuscripts by the actually more usual coordinated perfects (cp. Rodinson 1960: 389–95; Weischer 1971: 89, 1973: 41f.). Yet, all in all, the transmission of the text is stable and consistent, with minor textual variants. A few adaptations were applied to proper names, where the corresponding Arabic forms (e.g., *Əllä Əskəndərya*) have often substituted the original Greek-based ones. Some theological terms were also updated (cp. Weischer 1967b). The linguistic, esp. lexical peculiarities of the collection have stimulated the development of exegetical tools devoted to the Q. in the form of ↗*Säwasəw*, where difficult terms are glossed by more common words (cp. DillmLex XV; Weischer 1973: 21–24). On the contrary, a general traditional interpretation does not seem to be particularly developed and/or attested (cp., however, the Amharic commentary on the Q. in ms. EMML no. 1669, dated between 1952 and 1957, fols. 246r–333r).

As far as the historical circumstances of the translation of the Q. into Gəʿəz are concerned, opinions vary. Some have suggested (Rodinson 1960; Weischer 1971: 89) that it was inspired by a reaction against Arianism and Judaism in South Arabia (in coincidence with ↗Theophilus the Indian's mission and the later military confrontation between Aksum and ↗Ḥimyar in the 6th cent.). Others have stressed the possibility of a polemical campaign against Julianists in Ethiopia and South Arabia (cp. Weischer 1973: 49; BrakKirche 165f.). The existence of a Nestorian target in the Kingdom of Aksum itself has also been suggested (cp. Fiaccadori 2006: 71, with n. 150). It is also possible that the arrangement of the collection was partly intentional, and partly the result of accidents of the transmission. What is clear is that the Q. has been acknowledged for centuries (till the translation of the ↗*Haymanotä abäw* in the 16th cent., and beyond, if we have a look at the relatively late date of most of the manuscript witnesses) as the Ethiopian theological collection *par excellence*.

Notwithstanding its great importance, the Q. has a very recent manuscript tradition: out of the 33 manuscripts listed by Weischer (1973: 16–19), apart from two fragmentary manuscripts in Erevan, Armenia, dating to the 14th and 15th cent. (cp. Weischer 1969), one ms. of the 15th cent. (Ṭānāsee 42 = Kebrān 42), and a couple from the 17th, all the others date from the 18th cent. onwards (the two mss. in Addis Abäba, ↗National Archives and Library are nos. 246, 20th cent., and 247 [cp. nos. 30–31 in Weischer 1973: 18, dated here to the 18th and 19th cent., respectively]). There are at least 14 additional manuscripts: RaiCer no. 57 (1923/24); EMML nos. 68 (20th cent.); 639 (19th cent.); 688 (20th cent.); 747 (1926/27); 1193 (1969); 1764 (18th/19th cent.), fols. 146^{r}–224^{v} (only nos. 1, 2 and 3 of the first section); 1993 (1768 A.D.: also includes a *Säwasəw zäqerəllos* and the biography of Cyril of Alexandria); 2108 (19th cent.); 2119 (17th/18th cent.); 2385 (18th/19th cent.); 4448 (17th cent.); 4459 (18th cent.); 4655 (18th/19th cent.).

The research on the Q. has marked important chapters in ↗Ethiopian studies. It was first substantially approached by Dillmann (cp. DillmLex and DillmChr), who largely underestimated the number of Q. texts of which a Greek *Vorlage* was preserved (cp. also SimDillmChr 303ff.), but it was Rodinson (1960) who posed the problem of the historical significance of the whole collection. His hypothesis (cp. above) was discussed and criticized at length by Altheim (1962) and Id. – Stiehl (1964ff.). Although at present, since Weischer's decisive contributions, the two German scholars have apparently been totally forgotten, they translated large portions of the text (Q. texts nos. 1–2, 5–6, 11 [only the beginning], 13, 15–16, 21, 23 [only the end], 24–26: but cp. the just and severe criticism by Weischer 1968: 132ff., 1971: 84, 90f.), either from Dillmann's *Chrestomathia* (DillmChr) or from a ms. of Addis Abäba, National Archives and Library of Ethiopia (cp. Altheim – Stiehl 1964: 441: indeed, the manuscript is vitiated by some transpositions) and animated the discussion on the Q. for ten years at least with a series of very polemic contributions (cp., e.g., Altheim – Stiehl 1971: 432–36, 462f.). They maintained the untenable hypothesis – in accordance with the late dating of the introduction of Christian faith into Ethiopia, not before the 5th cent. – that the Q. was translated in the 10th cent. from Arabic into Gəᶜəz. In the very same time Weischer was working on a complete critical edition of the Q. on a large ms. basis. The resulting edition is not totally satisfactory from the methodological point of view. Surprisingly enough, no attempt has been made at individuating any genetic relationship between the up to 22 mss. prior to the 19th cent. used for the edition; simply, the most ancient ms. Ṭānāsee 42 = Kebrān 42 has been chosen as the base ms. Moreover, a number of ameliorations by a second hand from a different textual branch ("nach einer anderen Vorlage"), which apparently bear "better" readings, have tacitly been inserted into the base text with no remark in the critical apparatus (cp. Weischer 1973: 28f.). All this notwithstanding, the completion (apart from the section of biblical quotations in the *Prosphoneticus to the Princesses Arcadia and Marina*, text no. 2) by Weischer of the Q. edition in 1993, 30 years after its beginning, is to be considered a fundamental scientific achievement.

Src.: Franz Altheim (tr.), *Geschichte der Hunnen*, vol. 5, Berlin 1962, 148–52 (Q. text no. 24), 152f. (no. 6); Id. – Ruth Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, vol. 1, Berlin 1964, 639–44 (no. 25), 644–47 (no. 13); vol. 4, Berlin 1967, 363–460 (no. 1), 461–85 (no. 2 [part]), 486–91 ("Folgerungen"), 640–99 (facsimile text); vol. 5, 1, Berlin 1968, 96–99 (no. 26), 100f. (no. 16), 102ff. (no. 5), 105ff. (nos. 11 [only the beginning] and 23 [only the end]), 107–22 (no. 21), 123–26 (no. 15); vol. 5, 2, Berlin 1969, 293–344 (no. 2 [part]); Gérard Colin (tr.), "L'Homélie sur la Foi en la Trinité de Sévérien de Gabala", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 70–110 (Q. text no. 22); DillmChr 70ff. (Q. text no. 17), 72–76 (no. 18), 77–88 (no. 22), 88–93 (no. 24), 93–98 (no. 25), 99f. (no. 6), 100ff. (no. 8), 102f. (no. 12), 103–06 (no. 13), 106f. (no. 14); EMML nos. 68, 639, 688, 747, 1193, 1669, 1764, 1993, 2108, 2119, 2385, 4448, 4459, 4655; RaiCer no. 57; Maxime Rodinson (ed., tr.), "L'homélie sur la Foi et la Trinité de Sévérien de Gabala", in: *PICES* 1, 387–96 (Q. text no. 22); Bernd Manuel Weischer (ed., tr.), "Der Dialog 'Daß Christus Einer ist' des Cyrill von Alexandrien", *OrChr* 51, 1967a, 130–85; *ibid.* 52, 1968, 92–137; Id. (ed., tr.), "Die äthiopischen Psalmen- und Qērlosfragmente in Erevan/Armenien", *ibid.* 53, 1969, 113–58; Id. (ed., tr.), *Qērellos I. Der Prosphonetikos 'Über den rechten Glauben' des Kyrillos von Alexandrien an Theodosios II*, Hamburg – Glückstadt 1973 (Afrikanistische Forschungen 7); Id. (ed., tr.), *Qērellos III*: *Der Dialog 'Dass Christus einer ist' des Kyrillos von Alexandrien*, Wiesbaden 1977a (AeF 2); Id. (ed., tr.), "Die Glaubenssymbole des Epiphanios von Salamis und des Gregorios Thaumaturgos im Qērellos", *OrChr* 61, 1977b, 20–40; Id. (ed., tr.), *Qērellos IV 1*: *Homilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesos*, Wiesbaden 1979a (AeF 4); Id. (ed., tr.), *Qērellos IV 2*: *Traktat des Epiphanios von Zypern und des Proklos von Kyzikos*, Wiesbaden 1979b (AeF 6); Id. (ed., tr.), *Qērellos IV 3*: *Traktate des Severianos von Gabala*,

Gregorios Thaumaturgos und Kyrillos von Alexandrien, Wiesbaden 1980a (AeF 7); Id. (ed., tr.), "Das christologische Florilegium im Qērellos II", *OrChr* 64, 1980b, 109–35; Id. (ed., tr.), *Qērellos II: Der Prosphonetikos 'Über den rechten Glauben' des Kyrillos von Alexandrien an Arkadia und Marina.* Teil 1: *Einleitung mit christologischem Florilegium*, Stuttgart 1993 (AeF 31).
Lit.: Franz Altheim – Ruth Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, vol. 3, Berlin 1966, 436–57 ("Der äthiopische Ḳērĕlōs"); Iid., *Christentum am Roten Meer*, vol. 1, Berlin 1971, 432–36, 462f.; BrakKirche 164ff.; CerLett 26f.; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 8, 1899, 197–220, 263–85, here 203; CPG [and CPG Suppl.]; DillmLex vii, xv; GuiSLett 17f.; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: Albrecht Berger (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin – New York 2006 (Millennium–Studien 7), 48–82; Enzo Lucchesi, "Le dialogue *Quod unus sit Christus* de Cyrille d'Alexandrie en copte. Appendice. Cyrille d'Alexandrie dans la littérature copte", *Orientalia* nova ser. 73, 3, 2004, 289–301 (Lit.); Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Appunti sulla patristica greca di tradizione etiopica", *Studi classici e orientali* 38, 1987, 470–93, here 470f.; RicLett 812f.; SimDillmChr 303–06; Bernd Manuel Weischer, "Die christologische Terminologie des Cyril von Alexandrien im Äthiopischen", in: Wilhelm Hoenerbach (ed.), *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5. April 1966*, Wiesbaden 1967b, 733–41; Id., "Historical and Philological Problems of the Axumitic Literature (especially in the Qérellos)", *JES* 9, 1, 1971, 83–93.

Alessandro Bausi

Qerəllos

Abunä Q. (**ቄርሎስ**, fl. 13th–14th cent.) was an Ethiopian metropolitan (↗*Ṗappas*). The historicity of Q. seems to be proved by a charter from the "Golden Gospels" of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ham issued by *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak in ca. 1270 (CRDLib no. 11). The beginning of Q.'s tenure (after ↗Giyorgis'?) remains unknown; but a few Arab authors quote a letter the Mamluk *sulṭān* Barsbāy (1260–77) received from an Ethiopian king in ca. 1274–75, with the request to send a new metropolitan (MHAlex I, 195–99), likely because the one in charge – probably Q. himself – had died. In terms of chronology, the Ethiopian ruler must have been *aṣe* Yəkunno Amlak; however, it seems that a new metropolitan from Egypt did not arrive during his reign.

These documents are further supported by a few Ethiopian hagiographic sources, like a brief ↗*Sənkəssar* commemoration of *abunä* Täklä Haymanot, who is said to have been consecrated deacon by *abunä* Q. under the ↗Zagʷe (Nosnitsin in VarAeth 156f.; in this source, the mention of the Coptic metropolitan Benjamin [1327–39] as the saint's contemporary is puzzling). The same episode also appears in the more recent versions of Täklä Haymanot's Vita. In addition, a few other works present some 13th–14th cent. saints (of the "generation" of *abunä* Täklä Haymanot and in most cases related to him) as those who received priesthood from *abunä* Q.: so *abunä* ↗Qäwəsṭos (Raineri 2004, s. index), or ↗Zena Marqos, Q. being sometimes styled Ger(əl)los (as in some later hagiographic traditions on of Täklä Haymanot), which is in fact the name by which ↗Cyril of Jerusalem is usually referred.
Src.: CRDLib 195f., no. 11; Ignazio Guidi, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* ser. 1^{a}, 6, 1899, 1–16, here 4, 9, 14f.; Osvaldo Raineri, *Gli Atti di Qawesṭos martire etiopico* (*sec. XIV*), Città del Vaticano 2004 (Studi e testi 418), s. index;
Lit.: Belaynesh Michael, "Qérelos", in: DicEthBio 135; MHAlex I, 195–99 (Lit.), s. index; TadTChurch 70; TedEthPrel II, 1009–10; Denis Nosnitsin, "Wäwähabo qobᶜa wäᵓaskema …: Reflections on an Episode from the History of the Ethiopian Monastic Movement", in: *VarAeth* 115–47, here 156.

Denis Nosnitsin

Qerəllos

According to tradition, *abunä* Q. (**ቄርሎስ**; d. ca. 1828) was the 106th metropolitan of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC). He took up his office in 1816 and served until his death perhaps in 1828.

Q.'s tenure of office was troubled. He had been sent by the then ruler of Təgray, *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase. However, less than four months after his arrival, Wäldä Śəllase died. Already Q. had come into conflict with the clergy of Təgray over doctrinal issues (CRNuov 362f.). These issues had become embroiled in politics, as leading noblemen, according to conviction, or perception of political advantage, used doctrinal differences to discredit opponents and to rally support. Like his principal successors, Q. upheld a strict interpretation of Alexandrine doctrine, known pejoratively as ↗*Karra*. However, the teaching of ↗*Qəbat* was widespread in Təgray. Q. found a new champion in *däğğazmač* ↗Säbägadis, who aspired to replace Wäldä Śəllase as the dominant figure in northern Ethiopia. A year after his arrival Q. found himself further in conflict, this time in his attempt to recover the patrimony of his office, control of the district of ↗ᶜAddi Abun, near ᶜAdwa (Pearce 1831: 129f.). In this struggle, which lasted for at least a year, he enjoyed the support of the local clergy. On another occasion, he tried to use his authority to avert war between two contesting noblemen (ibid. 166f.).

In 1819 Q. was summoned to Gondär by *aṣe* ↗Iyoas II and *ras* ↗Gugsa to help resolve a doctrinal dispute. He arrived in June and met with obdurate resistance from the Gondär clergy, advocates of the ↗*Ṣägga* doctrine, led by *əč̣č̣äge* Wäldä Yona. A formal council was held in front of the Emperor and his court. Unable to assert his authority, Q. withdrew and returned to Təgray, where he lived out the remainder of his days (CRNuov 364f., CRReal 825–28). At least one source (CRReal 893) notes that he enjoyed the support of *däǧǧazmač* Säbägadis, while the list of metropolitans (Guidi 1899:14) claims that he was murdered by this same prince.

Q. sanctioned a number of *gʷəlt* grants, one by *aṣe* Gigar and *ras* Gugsa to Säbagadis (CRAxum no. 73; no. 81 taking reference to another grant of Q. and Gigar) and three grants by Säbagadis, one to Sərw Anbäsa or Däbrä Gännät Śəllase, Aṣbi (no. 82; cp. Nosnitsin 2008), one to an individual (no. 83) and one to the church of Mädḫane Aläm, ᶜAdwa (CRAxum no. 84).

Src.: CRAxum nos. 81–84; CRNuov 362–65; CRReal 825–28; Ignazio Guidi, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 6, 1899, 1–17; Denis Nosnitsin, "Historical Records from Ethiopia: a Trilingual Document from Aṣbi Däbrä Gännät Səllase, Təgray", in: *Proceedings of the Workshop "European Schools of Ethiopian Studies; Poland & Germany" October 18–20, 2006*, Warsaw 2008 (= *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures* 41), 17–47; Nathaniel Pearce, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce, written by Himself, during a Residence in Abyssinia from the Years 1810 to 1819*, vol. 2, London 1831, 55, 66, 73–76, 129ff., 160, 166f., 199f., 220ff., 261f., 266, 270f.

Lit.: James Theodore Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians being a Record of the Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893*, London 1893, 127 (ill.); TedEthPrel II, 1032f.

Donald Crummey

Qerəllos VI

Abunä Q. (**ቄርሎስ**, formerly Sidārūs al-Anṭūnī; b. ca. 1880, Naghāmiš, Upper Egypt, d. 22 October 1950, Cairo) was the last Egyptian metropolitan (↗*Ṗappas*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) and also the first to be appointed over the first five Ethiopian Bishops (cp. ↗*Eppisqoppos*).

Q. was consecrated Archbishop of Ethiopia in Alexandria, on 2 June 1929, along with three bishops (the following year Patriarch John XIX consecrated *əč̣č̣äge* Gäbrä Giyorgis, the future metropolitan *abunä* ↗Basəlyos as the fourth bishop). Q. blessed, anointed, and crowned *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən as Ḫaylä Śəllase I on 2 November 1930 in Addis Abäba.

Despite Ḫaylä Śəllase's reforms that effectively marginalized the Church and the *abun*, Q.'s service was comparatively unproblematic until the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 and subsequent Italian occupation. Q. stayed in Addis Abäba, and on 14 May 1936 he officially declared loyalty to the Italian government hoping to be confirmed in his position (TedEthPrel 1041). This led him to be remembered by most Ethiopians as a traitor who betrayed the country and the fighters of the ↗Resistance. However, some sources note that the Emperor, before his exile, begged Q. to stay in Addis Abäba and maintain calm among the people (del Boca 1965:201). He tried to persuade the Italian leaders to secure his position and the sovereignty of the Church. He tried to rescue *abunä* ↗Ṗeṭros from execution (Märša Alläḵäññ 2004:76f.). But his efforts failed due to the Italians' pro-Islamic policy (Sbacchi 1985:36). Attending the birthday party of the Prince of Naples on 19 February 1937 in the compound of the little *Gəbbi*, Q. was wounded on the right arm when nine hand grenades were detonated by resistance fighters.

Q. went to Rome on 21 May 1937 with the objective of receiving treatment and discussing the newly drafted regulation of the church by the invading power. His archiepiscopate was officially entrusted to the aged *abunä* Abrəham in the interim. Q. met ↗Mussolini and tried to prevent the breaking of the connection between the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Churches envisaged by the Italians. His efforts failed and Q. went to Egypt, whilst the Ethiopian clergy chose *abunä* Abrəham as the Archbishop of Ethiopia and he, with the support of the Italian government, ordained more bishops violating the long standing agreement between the two sister Churches. The Coptic Holy Synod excommunicated the new Ethiopian Archbishop and the bishops ordained by him. Outraged by the massacre at Däbrä Libanos and the plan of the Italians to separate the Ethiopian and the Coptic Churches, Q. openly condemned the Fascists (cp. Shenk 1972:128-32).

Q. returned to Ethiopia in 1942, accompanied by a delegation from John XIX, the then Patriarch of the Coptic Church. He then regained his office but with the precondition that his successor be an Ethiopian within the framework of "the See of St. Mark". The Ethiopians, wishing emancipation from Coptic domination and an

Abunä Qerəllos in Addis Abäba; from Rikli 1935:36

Ethiopian *abun*, made conditions unbearable for Q.; he was hardly able to perform even minimal ceremonial duties. In 1947, Q. left Ethiopia and retired to his convent in Egypt. Eventually, the Holy Synod agreed that upon Q.'s death an Ethiopian *abun* could be appointed.

Q.'s death marked the conclusion of the long historical domination of the ↗Coptic Church over Ethiopia. In January 1951, the Ethiopian Basəlyos was consecrated in Cairo as the Metropolitan. In 1956, he became the head of the new autocephalous church.

Lit.: ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Ethiopia under Mussolini*, London 1985, 36; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *The Ethiopian War 1935–1941*, Chicago, IL 1965, 201; ADUGNA AMANU, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Becomes Autocephalous*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1969; TedEthPrel 1040–44 (Lit.); HAGGAI ERLICH, "Identity and Church: Ethiopian–Egyptian Dialogue 1924–59", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32, 2000, 23–46, here 28; YOLANDE MARA, *The Church of Ethiopia: the National Church in Making*, Asmara 1972, 34–55; OTTO MEINARDUS, "A Brief History of the Abunate of Ethiopia", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 58, 1962, 59–61; MÄRŠA ALLÄḴÄÑÑ, ዜና፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን (*Zena p̣ap̣p̣asat ityop̣yawəyan*, 'History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 76f.; MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935, 36 (ill.); CALVIN E. SHENK, *The Development of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and its Relationship with the Ethiopian Government from 1930 to 1970*, Ph.D. thesis, New York University 1972 (Lit.).

Mersha Alehegne

Qərš

Q. (Amh. ቅርሽ, also *gərš*, Tgn. *qərši*) is the word used for silver thaler (including ↗Maria Theresa Thaler, the main currency of Ethiopia for many centuries) as well as currently for local currency units in Təgrəñña-speaking areas (i.e. as a colloquial synonym for *bərr* or *naqfa*).

The term is believed to derive from the Arabic name for small money (piaster) *qirš* or *ġirš* (plural *qurūš* or *ġurūš* respectively). The form *qurūš* or *ġurūš* itself is borrowed through the Turkish *ġurūš* from the German *Groschen*, based on Latin *grossus*.

Src.: KaneDic 723, 1933; WOLF LESLAU, "Arabic Loanwords in Amharic", *BSOAS* 19, 1957, 221–44, here 242f.; ID., *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic*, Wiesbaden 1990, 209, 339; REINHART PIETER ANNE DOZY, *Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes*, Beyrouth ²1981, vol. 2, 206.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "A Preliminary History of Ethiopian Measures, Weights, and Values" (III), *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 45–86, here 63, 78f., 83; ANTON SPITALER, "Materialien zur Erklärung von Fremdwörtern im Arabischen durch retrograde Ableitung", in: HANS KRAHE (ed.), *Corolla Linguistica. Festschrift Ferdinand Sommer zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Mai 1955 …*, Wiesbaden 1955, 211–20, here 214 [repr. in: ANTON SPITALER, *Philologica. Beiträge zur Arabistik und Semitistik*, ed. by HARTMUT BOBZIN, Wiesbaden 1998 (Diskurse der Arabistik 1), 163–73, here 166]; STEFAN WENINGER, "Lateinische Fremdwörter im Äthiopischen", *Biblische Notizen* 102, 2000, 141–45.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Qes ↗Qäsis

Qesä gäbäz ↗Gäbäz

Qirqos

St. Quiricus (also Cyriacus, Cyriac, Cyr, Gr. Κυριακός, Eth. Q. ቂርቆስ, Č̣ərqos ጭርቆስ) and his mother St. Julitta (also Julietta, Gr. Ἰουλίττα, Eth. ኢየሉጣ Iyäluṭa) were martyred in 304 A.D., under Diocletian, in Tarsus (in some sources: in Iconia or Antioch). According to their Acts (listed in the 6th cent. as apocryphal, *Decretum Gelasianum*) Q. was three years old, when he and his mother were tortured and beheaded.

Both saints were particularly popular in Ethiopia and are commemorated on 15 *Ṭərr*. The long version of their martyrdom appears in the earliest copies of the ↗*Gadlä sämaʿətat* (cp. Bausi 2002: 7f., n. 21), a shorter one is included in the ↗*Sənkəssar.* Some of Q.'s posthumous miracles make him a highly venerated warrior saint.

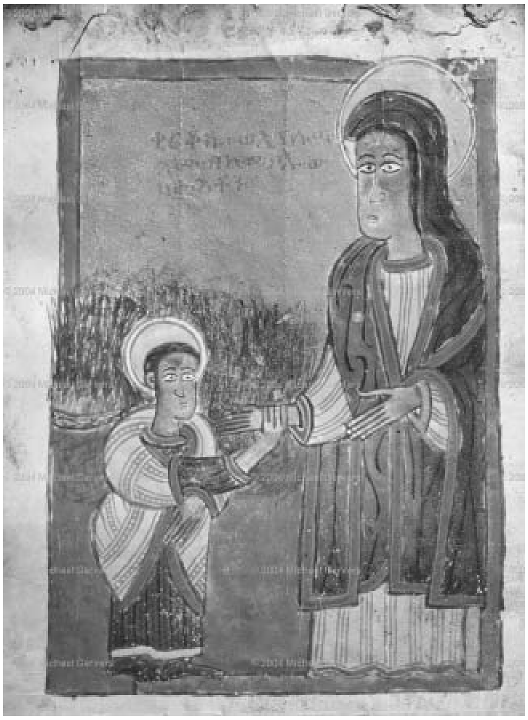
Besides the texts of the Vita there are the collections of Q.'s miracles (↗*Täʾammər*; the richest one containing over 20 stories) and numerous homilies (↗*Dərsan*), ↗*sälam* and ↗*mälkəʾ* devoted to both saints (e.g., mss. EMML nos. 303, 486, 615). A text containing a vision of Christ to Q. in connection with his ↗*kidan* appears in ms. EMML no. 519. Thanks to some of his posthumous miracles in which Q. appear as a holy warrior he joined the group of ↗equestrian saints highly venerated in Ethiopia.

Many Ethiopian churches are dedicated to Q. (e.g., Bole Q. in Addis Abäba; ↗Wəq̱ro Q., Sawne Q., Agwo Q., Wərra Q. in Təgray, Bilbäla Q. in Lasta). One of the most venerated shrines of Q. was the monastic church at Ṭana (↗Ṭana Qirqos), richly endowed by several Ethiopian rulers (Bosc-Tiessé 2008). Its ↗*tabot* was used as a *palladium* by ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (Wajnberg 1936: 18ff.). The tale about Q.'s intervention to protect his main Ethiopian shrine from an attack by Farešämali, a general of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (also ascribed to St. ↗Fasilädäs), was one of the most popular and often copied miracles of the saint. *Aṣe* ↗Iyasu I visited the place several times at the yearly commemoration of the saint (GuiIohan 83, 96 [text]). *Tabotat* of Q. also appear in churches dedicated to other saints (e.g., ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos).

Q. and his mother are a frequent subject in Ethiopian ↗painting. One of the oldest depictions is found in the Gospels of ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa of Ḥayq (fol. 16r) dating to 1280/81 (EMML no. 1832). In the 14th and 15th cent. their representations are often included in the illuminated *Gädlä sämaᶜətat* (e.g., ms. EMML no. 2514; a fragment kept in the treasury of the Aksum cathedral, s. Leroy 1967) and sometimes in paintings on wood (e.g., IES 4053). From the end of the 17th cent., the scene of the torture of Q. and Julitta by burning was introduced to the programme painted on the external walls of the ↗*mäqdäs* (e.g., ↗Däbrä Sina, Gorgora, ↗Maryam Dəngəlat, Ḥaramat).

Q. was also very early represented as an equestrian saint (e.g., 13th-cent. wall paintings in the churches Bilbäla Qirqos and ↗Gännätä Maryam, both near ↗Lalibäla). From the end of the 15th cent., he appears on some paintings on wood (e.g., IES 4001); from the beginning of the 18th cent. he is always one of the holy warriors depicted on the north side of the *mäqdäs*.

Every church dedicated to Q. owns at least one manuscript with Q.'s Acts, some of them illustrated. One of the finest examples is the manuscript executed in 1775, at one time in the possession of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot II (BritLib Orient. 720), with 30 miniatures of the Second Gondär school of painting.



Sts. Quiricus and Julitta, miniature from a 15th-cent. *Maṣḥafä säᶜatat* manuscript, fol. 52v, Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa, Šire, Təgray; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

In Betä Golgota, ↗Lalibäla, one of the relief figures of the Apostles was at a later date identified by a secondary ↗inscription as Q., which is evidence of the popularity of the saint.

Src.: BHO nos. 193f.; BudSaint 497–500; ColSyn IX, 106-10; GuiIohan 83, 96 (text) = 84, 98 (tr.); Isaak Wajnberg (ed., tr.), *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana ᵓEgzīᵓ*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 18–22; EMML nos. 303, 486, 519, 615, 1832, 2514; Sylvian Grébaut, "Les miracles du saint enfant Cyriaque", *ROC* 13, 1913, 419–23; *ibid.* 19, 1914, 93–95; *ibid*. 20, 1915–17, 106–30; *ibid.* 21, 1918–19, 409–21; *ibid.* 25, 1925–26, 187–91; Id., "Un nouvel recueil des miracles de l'enfant Cyriaque", *Aethiopica* 3, 1, 1935, 33–36, 85–91; IES nos. 4001, 4053; WrBriMus 194, no. 297 [ms. Orient. 720].

Lit.: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, "Les peintures murales de l'église rupestre éthiopienne Gännätä Maryam près Lalibela", *Arte Medievale* ser. 2ᵃ, 12–13, 1998–99, 193–209, here 200, fig. 16; Alessandro Bausi, *La versione etiopica degli* Acta Phileae *nel* Gadla samāᶜtāt, Napoli 2002 (Supplemento n. 92 agli Annali vols. 60–61), 7f. and nn. 17, 21; Claire Bosc-Tiessé, *Les îles de la mémoires. Fabrique des images et écriture de l'histoire dans les églises du lac Ṭānā, Éthiopie, XVIIᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècle*, Paris 2008, *passim*; GerKir [Eng] 101, fig. 74; Michael Gervers, "The Rock-Cut Church of Maryam Dəngəlat (Ḥaramat Təgray)", in: *PICES* 15, 435–45, here 439, 444, fig. 3; Sylvian Grébaut, "Les manuscrits éthiopiens de M.É. Delorme", *ROC* 17, 1912, 113–36, here 113–27; JOSEPH HABIB, "Ciriaco e Giulietta", in: *EncSan* 491; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gondar Dynasty*, London 1967, 11, 14, 52, figs. 3, 6, xv; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Santi guerrieri a cavallo. Tele etiopiche di Qes Adamu Tesfaw,* Clusone 1996, 119–23.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

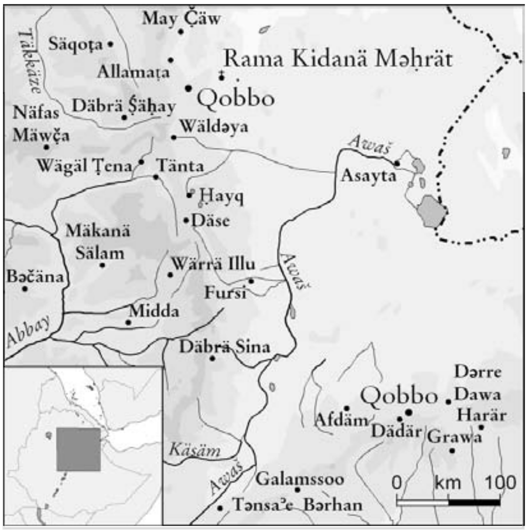
Qirqos ↗Ṭana Qirqos

Qobbo

Q. (Orom. *qobbor*, lit., 'castor plant', Amh. ጉሎ, *Gullo*) is the name of two towns and a *wäräda* in northern and eastern Ethiopia. In northern Ethiopia (North Wällo Zone) there is a Q. *wäräda* with a capital of the same name. It borders to the north on Alamata and ↗Wäfla, to the east on Gollina and Ewha, Harbu and Gubalafto to the south and Gidan to the west. The *wäräda* covers an area of 2,312 km^2.

Towards the 14th or 15th cents., ↗Dobaᵓa people are reported to have occupied what today is the Q. *wäräda* and its environs and in the ensuing cents. Amhara and Oromo people also settled in the region. Currently, the Q. *wäräda* hosts different ethnic groups – Amhara, Oromo, Təgray – though the Amhara are the majority. In 1999, it had a population of 197,995 and in 2006 of 250,000, the majority of them (over 82 %) farmers.

In eastern Ethiopia (Eastern Harärge Zone) there is the Q. town, in the Deder *wäräda*. In a recent population estimate the number of inhabitants was about 8,000. Though different ethnic groups live in the town, the Oromo represent the majority of the population.


May Čäw
Täkkäze
Säqoṭa
Allamaṭa
Rama Kidanä Məḥrät
Qobbo
Näfas
Däbrä Ṣäḥay
Mäwča
Wäldəya
Awaš
Wägäl Ṭena
Tänta
Asayta
Ḥayq
Däse
Mäkanä Sälam
Bəčäna
Wärrä Illu
Awaš
Fursi
Midda
Abbay
Däbrä Sina
Dərre Dawa
Harär
Qobbo
Afdäm
Dädär
Grawa
Käsäm
Awaš
Galamssoo
Tənsaᵓe Bərhan
0 km 100

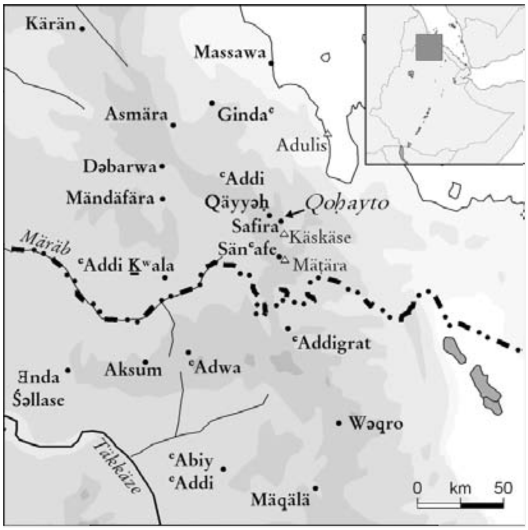
Src.: CSA 1996.

Lit.: FEKADU BEGNA, *Land and Peasantry in Northern Wollo 1941–1972*: *Yejju and Qobbo Awrajas*, MA thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1990; NATIONAL URBAN PLANNING INSTITUTE, *Qobbo Development Plan Project*, Addis Abäba 2000.

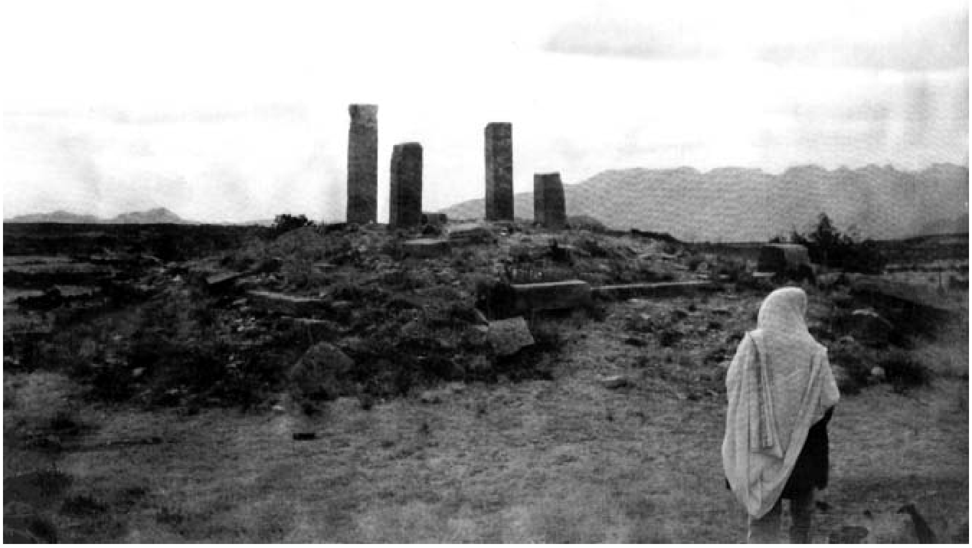
Tarekegn Gebreyesus Kaba

Qoḥayto

Q. (ቆሐይቶ) is a large plateau, averaging 2,600 m A.S.L. and of ca. 32 km^2. It is situated in ↗Akkälä Guzay (*zoba* Däbub administrative zone), Eritrea, between 39,40°–39,44° E and 14,77°–14,91° N. It is partly bordered by steep escarpments and is inhabited by ↗Sāho-speaking Muslim agro-pastoralists scattered over more than 40 small villages and hamlets (ca. 4,000 inhabitants in 1997). The main village is Safira, in the area of which there are several ancient ruins.


Kärän
Massawa
Asmära
Gindaᶜ
Adulis
Dəbarwa
ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ
Qoḥayto
Mändäfära
Safira
Käskäse
Sänᶜafe
Mäṭära
Märäb
ᶜAddi Kʷala
ᶜAddigrat
Ǝnda Śəllase
Aksum
ᶜAdwa
Wəqro
Täkkäze
ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi
Mäqälä
0 km 50

The plateau is accessed by two valleys, the Ḥaddaš Valley (north and west) which ends near ↗Ḥəšmele, and the Komayle Valley (north and east), which ends near Sänᶜafe/↗Mäṭära. Both connect the highlands with the Red Sea (Gulf of ↗Zula, ancient port ↗Adulis), from where the caravans reached the highlands. According to the author of the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, caravans needed three days from Adulis to ↗Coloë, and from there a further five days to Aksum. Some scholars consider Q. to be identical with Coloë (s. Voigt 1999:91f.), a trading post for ivory. Others (Kobishschanov 1979) proposed instead Mäṭära as the ancient Coloë.



The columns of a podium construction, Qoḥayto; photo 1997, courtesy of Rainer Voigt

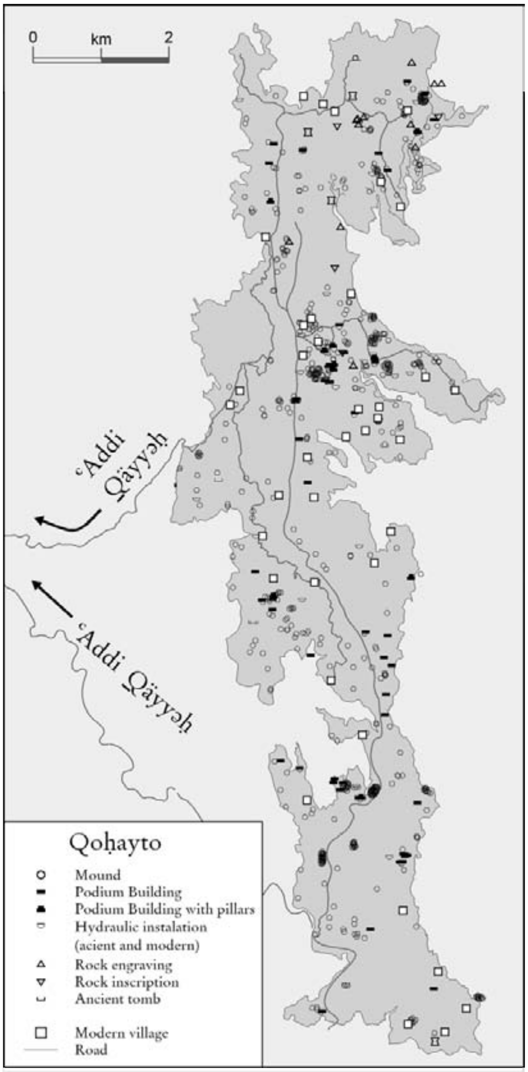
The ruins on the plateau were first mentioned by Eduard ↗Rüppell (1838: 322) and then visited by Count Stanislas Russel and Giuseppe ↗Sapeto in 1859 (Sapeto 1871), Theodore ↗Bent in 1893, Max ↗Schoeller and Georg ↗Schweinfurth in 1894, Giotto ↗Dainelli and Olinto Marinelli in 1905 and the members of the ↗Deutsche Aksum Expedition (DAE) in 1906.

Max Schoeller considered the site as having once being a summer resort for wealthy people from Adulis, who spent the hot season there, an opinion that was widely accepted (Schoeller 1895). However, the ruins on the plateau might reveal several clusters of bigger and smaller villages or even "towns", separately built villas, cisterns, roads (?) and churches thus making it difficult to speak of a single town.

During their stay Schoeller and Schweinfurth investigated the so-called "Egyptian Tomb" with a stone superstructure and two rooms cut into the rock. The fact that in each chamber there is a cross carved on the walls has led scholars to consider it as early Christian, although it has not been proven that the crosses were not later additions. They also found about 70 skeletons wrapped in skins, 31 (not 32 as said in DAE II, 152) skulls were brought by Schweinfurth to Berlin where 29 still exist (s. Jungklaus in preparation). Bent described several ruins as well.

The DAE described ten monuments during its sojourn at Q.: the dam/cistern at Safira (DAE II, 148–52), the tomb (ruin no. 9, ibid. 152f.), ruins 1–8, 10 (ibid. 154–62). The dam (cistern) was said by many to be of pre-Aksumite origin, but all evidence points to an Aksumite origin (ibid. 148; Brunner 2006). In the vicinity of Safira there are house ruins and several podium buildings, both of Aksumite date. In addition, the DAE recorded many graffiti, mainly monograms (DAE IV, nos. 40–100 [RIÉ nos. 388–443]; for ↗inscriptions recorded later, s. Ricci 2002, 2003) and took a few small finds back to Berlin.

Recently, the plateau has been extensively studied by two archaeological missions, the German Archaeological Mission to Eritrea from Humboldt University and the ↗ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ Archaeological Survey Project of the National Museum of Eritrea and the University of Florida (both in 1996–97). The first expedition found nearly 900 ruins and ruined complexes mainly from the Aksumite period. It also documented a few rock drawings and inscriptions, lithic tools and Islamic features and produced an archaeological map. It has been suggested that Q. belonged to the hinterland of Punt (Wenig 2003; Smidt – Habtom Gebremedhin in preparation). The second mission researched dozens of complexes to the west of the plateau.


0 km 2
ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ
ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ
Qoḥayto
Mound
Podium Building
Podium Building with pillars
Hydraulic instalation (acient and modern)
Rock engraving
Rock inscription
Ancient tomb
Modern village
Road

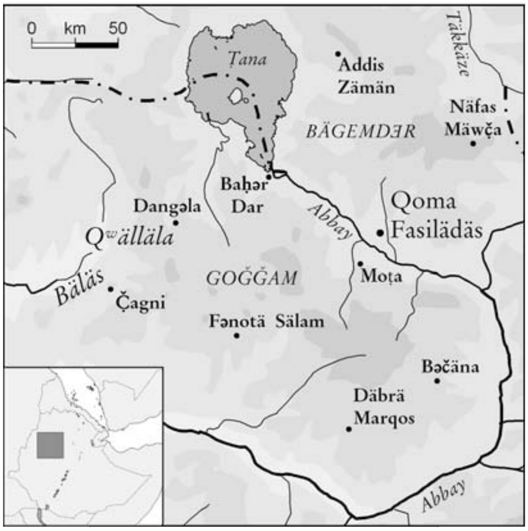
Plan of the Qoḥayto plateau based on the data from the German Archaeological Mission to Eritrea (GAME); courtesy of Steffen Wenig

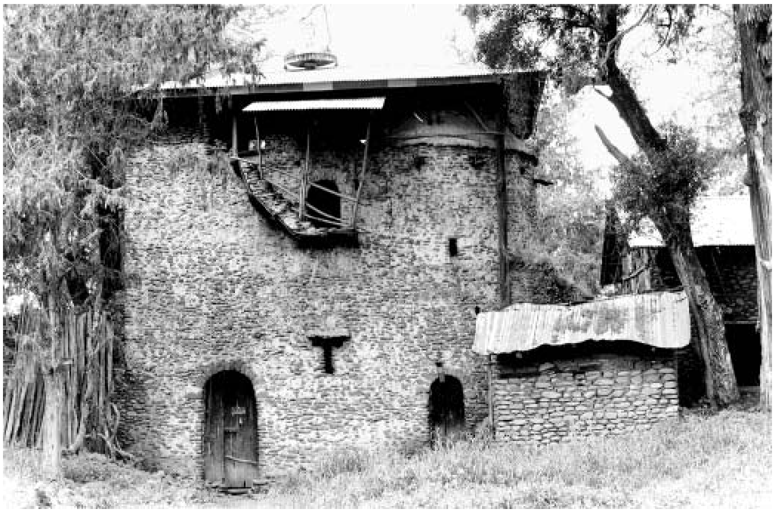
Src.: DAE; RIÉ nos. 388–443; LANFRANCO RICCI, "I. Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea: (Koḥaytò) Sàro. – II. Tokhondȁ'", *RSE* new ser. 1, 1, 2002, 63–84; ID., "Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea – [Koḥaytò]: Bukhwābùkh; Sariddoleḍȁ(h): Ṣihillò; 'Tomba dell'Egiziano'; Cristianesimo", *RSE* new ser. 2, 2003, 51–76; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abessinien*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main 1838, 322; STANISLAS RUSSEL, *Une mission en Abyssinie*, Paris 1884; GIUSEPPE SAPETO, "Ambasciata mandata nel 1859 dal governo francese a Negussiè …", *Bolletino della Società Geografica Italiana* 6, 1871, 22–71.
Lit.: THEODORE J. BENT, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians being a Record of Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893*, London 1893; UELI BRUNNER, "Die Zisterne von Safira", in: *WenDAE* 1, 381–87; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Ricerche e studi sull'Etiopia", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, ser. 4, 1, 1900, 104–20, here 107; GIOTTO DAINELLI – OLINTO MARINELLI, "Le prime notizie sulle rovine del Cohaito nella Colonia Eritrea", *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia* 3–4, 1908, 51–52; DIETER EIGNER, "Die Podiumsbauten von Qohayto", in: *WenDAE* 1, 369–79; ERIC GODET, "Répertoire des sites pré-axoumites et axoumites d'Éthiopie du Nord. IIème partie: Érythrée", *Abbay* 11, 1980–82 [1983], 73–113, here 106ff.; BETTINA JUNGKLAUS, "Anthropologische Untersuchung der Schädel aus Qohayto/Eritrea", in: *WenDAE* 3, in preparation; YURI M. KOBISHCHANOV, *Axum*, ed. by JOSEPH W. MICHELS, University Park, PA 1979; THOMAS SCHEIBNER, *Qohaito. Archaeological Survey 1997. Catalogue*, ms. 1998; ID., "… 90 Jahre später. Qohayto 1996/97. Die Feldforschungen der German Archaeological Mission to Eritrea", in: *WenDAE* 1, 363–67; MAX SCHOELLER, *Mittheilungen über meine Reise in der Colonia Eritrea* (*Nord-Abessinien*), Berlin 1895; GEORG SCHWEINFURTH, "Reise in der Colonia Eritrea und Schädelfunde in Kohaito", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 26, 1894, 326–27; WOLBERT SMIDT – HABTOM GEBREMEDHIN, "The Lands and Hinterlands of Punt – Observations Based on Actual Geographic and Ethnographic Data", in: *WenDAE* 3, in preparation; RAINER VOIGT, "Κολόη und Ḳoɦayto ('Auf-/Ausblick'): Studien zur äthiopischen Toponomastik. 1", *Aethiopica 2*, 1999, 90–102; STEFFEN WENIG, "German Fieldwork in Eritrea", *Nyame Akuma* 48, 1997, 20–21; ID., "Enno Littmanns Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 und die German Archaeological Mission to Eritrea (G.A.M.E.) 90 Jahre später", *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie* 18, 2003, 79–98; ID., "Das Hochplateau von Qohayto: Impressionen", in: *WenDAE* 1, 353–62; ID. – MATTHEW CURTIS, "Qohaito: An Ancient Highland Urban Center", in: PETER SCHMIDT – MATTHEW C. CURTIS – ZELALEM TEKA (eds.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 2008, 287–300.

Steffen Wenig

Qoma Fasilädäs

Q.F. (**ቆማ፡ ፋሲለደስ**) is a monastery located near the village of Qoma, in southern Bägemdər. Its origins


0 km 50
Täkkäze
Tana
Addis Zämän
Näfas Mäwča
BÄGEMDƎR
Baḥər Dar
Dangəla
Qʷälläla
Abbay
Qoma Fasilädäs
Bäläs
Čagni
GOǦǦAM
Moṭa
Fənotä Sälam
Bəčäna
Däbrä Marqos
Abbay


The ʿ*əqa bet* of Qoma Fasilädäs; photo 1999, courtesy of the author

go back to the early 1620s, when queen ↗Wäld Säʾala, wife of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and mother of his successor, *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, founded a church at Qoma, overlooking the ↗Abbay gorge. She richly endowed it with land and created a large parish able to sustain more than 200 members of the nobility and chosen clergy. Fasilädäs did not recognize the creation of this monastery as this community supported his younger brother and rival *abetohun* ↗Gälawdewos. The Coptic metropolitan *abunä* Marqos III was supporting the queen Wäld Säʾala and Gälawdewos; he was exiled and maybe killed in 1648. The monastery preserved in its archives a *waqf* written by Marqos. Later, 1648, Wäld Säʾala negotiated with Fasilädäs and the church was re-dedicated to St. Basilides and obtained legal status.

The church compound is encircled by a 3-m-high stone wall. Today, the entrance to the compound is through a door in the north-western part of the wall. According to oral tradition, however, the main access used to be through the ↗ʿ*əqa bet*, with two 3-m-tall metal doors, one on the inner and one on the outer side of the building. The stone building is topped by an egg-tower (cp. ↗*ənqulal gəmb*) with a European-style bell, which was donated by queen Wäld Säʾala at the time of the foundation.

The church itself is circular, 30 m in diameter. 16 pillars, called "golden pillars" and made of different imbricated types of wood, support the roof. The four walls of the *mäqdäs* are covered with impressive mural ↗paintings, dating back to the foundation time. These are among the best preserved 17th-cent. murals, beside the ones of Wäyzazər Kidanä Məḥrät, in Qʷälala. On the eastern wall, two hapax were created: Jacob-Israel blessing his great sons Manasse and Ephraim, giving the precedence to the younger and ↗Melchizedek blessing Abraham. On the southern wall, the queen Wäld Säʾala is depicted with her father confessor, *abunä* Arsanyos. Above them, the first *mämhər*, Fəre Mäsqäl, receives his ordination from *abba* Sinoda, the founder of the Goǧǧame monastery of Däbrä Ṣəmmuna.

The church was restored by *abunä* Tadewos during the 1970s. The traditional thatched roof was replaced by a tin one, and the *qəne maḫlet* was widened by one meter, to better support the weight of the new roof.

From its very foundation, Q.F. has belonged to the ↗*Qəbat* monastic network. It is home to a distinct tradition of liturgical chant, *qomi zema*.

Src.: mss. *Täʾammərä Maryam*, Qoma Fasilädäs, H2-IV-701; *Täʾammərä Maryam*, Qoma Fasilädäs, H2-IV-714; *Mäṣḥafä liq*, Qoma Fasilädäs (mf. Illinois/IES 88.XIX.20–27); BlunChr 360ff.; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Due nuovi manoscritti della 'Cronaca abbreviata' di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6a, 2, 1926, 357–421, here 378.

Lit.: CrumLand s. index; ANAÏS WION, "Un nouvel ensemble de peintures murales de premier style gondarien: le monastère de Qoma Fasilädäs", *AE* 17, 2001, 277–306; EAD., "The Monastic Library of Qoma Fasilädäs", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 275–300; EAD., *Aux confins le feu, au centre le Paradis*: *Qoma Fasilädäs, un monastère royal dans l'Éthiopie du 17ème siècle*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris-1 Sorbonne 2003; EAD., "Why did King Fasilädäs Kill his Brother? Sharing Power in the Royal Family in Mid-17th c. Ethiopia", *Journal of Early Modern History* 8/3–4, 2004, 59–293.

Anaïs Wion

Qomos

Q. (Gəʿəz **ቆሞስ**, pl. *qomosat*, via Arab. *qummuṣ*, from Gr. Ἡγούμενος, 'the one who governs') is an Ethiopian ecclesiastic title. It originates from the older Coptic and Byzantine traditions, where Q. was primarily the monk-priest who is the superior of a monastery, i.e. the abbot (cp. ↗*mämhər*).

In Ethiopian annals Q. appears since ca. 15th cent. as one of the high-ranking ecclesiastics. The title does not seem to be found in the ↗*Senodos* and not even in the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*. Occasionally, it is recorded in a charter of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Ya^{c}əqob (Kropp in VarAeth 119, 133), and in a few Vitae (some of them associated with ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, RicEnbYoh III, here 77, 95–98). A Q. accompanied metropolitans ↗Yəsḥaq and ↗Marqos (Kur 1972: 88). In recent times, a document linked to *abunä* ↗Qerəllos refers to a Q. he appointed for a church in Aṣbi, Təgray (Nosnitsin 2007: 28).

Possibly there used to be married Q., whose role may have corresponded to that of a ↗*liqä kahənat*, since the title appears in contexts which lead to assume that it belonged to a married priest and not a (celibate) monk (cp. Nosnitsin 2007: 28). This would be congruent with the Coptic evolution of the title and practice into a kind of honorific degree of priesthood. Coptic monasteries having become empty structures in the course of the Middle Ages, they became parishes served by a married priest who used to accommodate his family in the buildings, was given the title of the former monastery and was ordained its *qommoṣ* (in the Egyptian context), a title which took the sense of "dean" or "archpriest" and a rank that both monastic and secular priests may receive. It is still frequent in Egypt. In today's Ethiopia, however, the Q. must be a monk, as in earlier times, but without having to be an authentic abbot.

Nowadays, for a priest-monk to be selected and ordained to the rank of the *qumsənna* ('Q.-ship') by the bishop, he must be outstanding in learning as well as conduct – like the *liqanä liqawənt* (cp. ↗*liq*) – the more so because the bishops are in turn selected from among the Q.

The ↗ordination rite for Q. (the Western Church would speak of an abbatial installation) is found in the *Mäṣḥafä pappas* (van Lantschoot 1940). It follows the same pattern as the major orders and includes the laying-on of hands. The bishop prays that the candidate may receive the grace of the Holy Spirit "so that he may … be an example to those who are under his obedience by his deeds, and that he may teach them the commandments of the Law, … provide for them in purity and love, that being saintly and without blemish, he may bring them to Christ the Bridegroom of heaven". This ministry concerns "the holy altar of the Orthodox loving city N." (Burmester 1985: 97), a detail made to match the ordinations proper and more fitting in an ecclesiastical than in a monastic context.

In fact, a Q. may nowadays be given charge of certain important monasteries or churches, be delegated by his bishop to receive widows and widowers into the monastic life, giving them the *qob*^{c} blessed for them by the bishop; he may bless the land where a church is about to be built and dedicate a new church, installing a ↗*tabot* sent for it by the bishop; he may re-dedicate a *tabot* or a church which has been defiled in some way etc. In such functions, as well as in questions of authority, the rapport the Q. may have had with the *əč̣č̣äge* needs to be clarified (cp. RicEnbYoh III, 95–98), especially since the Q. was not frequent until modern times.

Once ordained, the Q. may wear the Greek *rason* (Amh. *färäǧiya*) and *kamilauka* (Amh. *yägrik qob*^{c}, a cylinder headgear with edges) as well as the same large shawl (Amh. *šarp* – *šawəl*) with purple bands on his shoulders as bishops, although the Patriarchate currently requires that the shawl be dropped (2008 A.D.).

↗Churches and Church administration

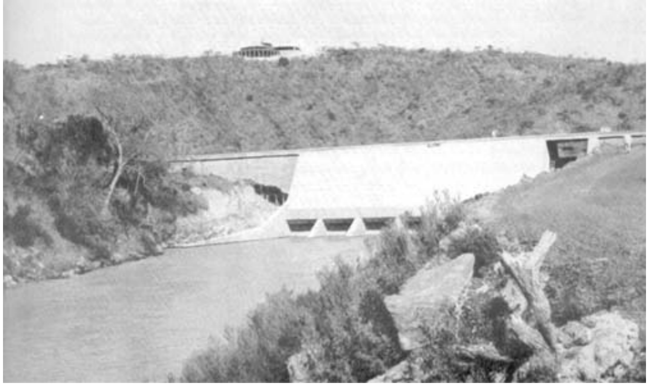
Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003a (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]), §36; OSWALD HUGH EWART KHS-BURMESTER, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church* …, Cairo 1967, 164ff.; ID. (ed.), *Ordination Rites of the Coptic Church*, Cairo 1985, 94–101 [tr. Ms. 253 Lit. Coptic Museum]; DillmLex 419; GuiVoc 249; ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ጳጳስ** (*Mäṣḥafä pappas*, 'The Pontifical'), Città del Vaticano 1940; KWKDic 786; MANFRED KROPP, "«Antiquae restitutio legis». Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als *imago imperii* und *notitia dignitatum* in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zär'a Ya'qob im *Condaghe* der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: *VarAeth* 115–47, here 119, 133; LesCDic 432; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marha Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [62, 63]), 88 (text) = 80 (tr.); *abba* MARQOS Ityopyawi zädäbrä Bizän, **መጽሐፍ፡ ዘሢመተ፡ ክህነት። መጽሐፍ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ሢመት፡ ዘሥዩማን፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ኢትዮጵያዊት** (*Mäṣḥaf zäśimätä kəhnät. Mäṣḥaf śər*^{c}*atä śimät zäśəyyumanä betä krəstiyan ityopyawit*, 'Book of the Ordination of Priesthood. Book of the Ordination Rules of those Ordained of the Ethiopian Church'), ms., *Mäggabit* 1933 A.M. – *Taḫśaś* 27, 1935 A.M. [1941/42 A.D.]; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "Historical Records from Ethiopia: A Trilingual Document from Aṣbi Däbrä Gännät Səllase, Təgray", *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures* 41, 2008, 17–47.

Lit.: EMMANUEL LANNE, "Les Ordinations dans le Rite Copte. Leurs relations avec les Constitutions Apostoliques et la Tradition de Saint Hippolyte", *L'Orient Syrien* 5, 1, 1960, 81–106; RicEnbYoh III, here 77, 95–98 (Lit.).

Emmanuel Fritsch

Qopreyanos ↗Cyprian of Antioch

Qoqa

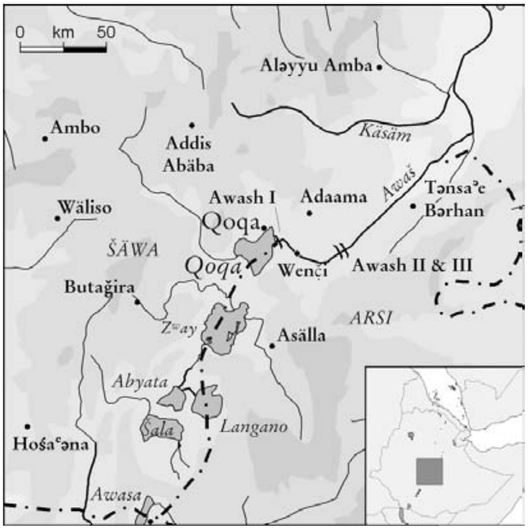


The Qoqa dam in the 1950s; from Ministry of Information 1969:215

Q. (ቆቃ, 08° 26' N, 39° 02' E) is the name of a town in Məsraq Šäwa zone of Oromiyaa *kəlləl.* Between December 1957 and May 1960 the Q. barrage was constructed across the River ↗Awaš to provide hydroelectric power. Capital for the project was obtained from Italy through the War Reparations Fund (*Bərr* 30,641,000). The poet ↗Täsämma Ǝšäte promoted the idea of the dam and was involved in the identification of the site. It was built by Italian engineers in a narrow gorge carved in a faulted basalt ridge that the Awaš River crossed, falling by ca. 20 m. The 454 m long barrage towers above the valley with a maximum 48 m in height. High water level reaches 42 m and low water 32 m.

After running through the Q. hydraulic turbines, water flows downstream through the two hydroelectric plants of Awaš II and Awaš III which generate 107,2 MW. With a 132,000 V high-voltage line, the first ever installed in Ethiopia, electricity is conducted over 450 km to Addis Abäba, Dərre Dawa and Harär.

In the last 40 years the capacity of the reservoir declined from 1,65 Mm³ to 1,186 Mm³ (i.e. a decrease of 0,464 Mm³) due to upstream deposits from the Awaš river and its tributaries (among them the Moǧǧo river) that drain a watershed of more than 10,000 km². The Q. dam impounded the "Qoqa Reservoir" or Lake Gälila in the Rift between the cities of Q. in the north and Ṭena Aläm in the south. Its average level is 1,595 m A.S.L. Depending on the season the triangular shaped lake changes its surface area from 180 km² to 250 km². Before the dam blocked the valley, the Awaš flow-off ranged from 650 m³/sec to 2 m³/sec while today it remains between 15 m³/sec and 90 m³/sec that allows a major water diversion for downstream ↗irrigation. The reservoir cannot retain the highest Awaš floods which, as in 2006, inundated and destroyed crops and flower greenhouses.



After the construction of the barrage the ↗Wänči sugar plantation was established. Later sugar and citrus fruit commercial farms (total area ca. 70,000 ha) followed downstream in the middle and lower Awaš valley. The lake is a rich resource for the fishing industry. Tourists from the capital who want to watch ↗hippopotamus and ↗birds are attracted to Lake Gälila. Since the valley has become a lake, outbreaks of ↗malaria occur.

On 28 March 1972 in Q. town an agreement was signed by envoys sent by President Ǧaˁafar Nimeiry of Sudan and Joseph Lagu, the leader of the Anya Nya Sudanese resistance movement, which granted broad autonomy to the Southern Sudan. The treaty was repudiated by Nimeiry and the rebellion resumed under the leadership of John Garang. After the fall of Nimeiry in 1985 another meeting was held at Q. in March 1986. This time representatives of the National Salvation Alliance, in power in Khartoum, met the envoys of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army. However, no agreement could be reached.

Src.: Photos and notes of Täsämma Ǝšäte in possession of Taddälä Yətnäkaččäw Täsämma.

Lit.: CHRISTIAN DELMET, "Les relations Nord-Sud au Soudan (1983–1993)", *Égypte monde arabe*, 1ère sér., 17, 1994, 39–77; EMAtlas; ALAIN GASCON, "Les enjeux des aménagements hydro-agricoles en Éthiopie et en Érythrée", *Les Cahiers de la Recherche-Développement* 38, Dossier: *Systèmes irrigués*, 1994, 33–48; GasEth 151, 162, 164; *Guida* 461; HELMUT KLOOS, "Development, Drought and Famine in the Awash Valley of Ethiopia", *African Studies Review* 25, 4, 1982, 21–48; GEOFFREY C. LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary School*, Addis Ababa 1963, 177–80, JONATHAN LAUTZKE et al., "Effect of a Large Dam on Malaria Risk: the Koka Dam Reservoir in Ethiopia", *Tropical Medicine and International Health* 12, 2007, 8, 982–89; MELAKU MESFIN – CLAUDIU TUDORANCEA – ROBERT MACCALLUM BAXTER, "Some Limnological Obervations on Two Ethiopian Hydroelectric Reservoirs: Koka (Shewa Administrative District) and Finchaa (Welega Administrative District)", *Hydrobiologia* 157, 1, 1988, 47–55; MesfGeogr 135f.; MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, *Ethiopia: the Handbook for Ethiopia*, Nairobi 1969, 215 (ill.).

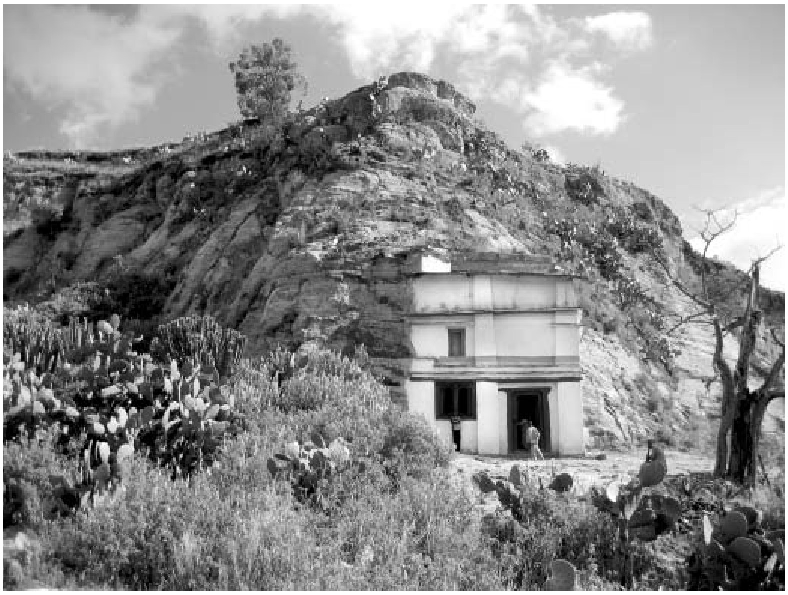
Alain Gascon

Qorqor

Q. (ቆርቆር) is a mountain of the ↗Gärʿalta massif and the site of a rock-hewn church dedicated to St. ↗Mary (s. map for Gärʿalta, EAE vol. 2). Known as Q. Maryam, the church was founded by the 13th-cent. *abba* ↗Danəʾel (of Däbrä Maryam; a small chapel dedicated to him is located on the very top of the mountain).

Originally, the church was a three-nave basilica (ca. 16 x 10 x 8 m) with a vestibule. The entire space is divided into five bays by four pairs of cruciform and one pair of squared pillars, all with bracket capitals and connected by the arches. The sanctuary in the shape of a horse-shoe is covered by a semi-cupola and communicates with a square chapel added to the east end of the north aisle. The chapel is connected via a tunnel with adjacent burial caves, also accessible directly from the church via secondary openings in the north aisle, cut 2 m above the floor level. The ceiling sections seems to have been originally carved to simulate roofing constructed of wood with cupolas, crossed beams, etc. Aksumite type friezes run below the ceilings of the sanctuary and the central nave, except for the central bay covered by an elaborate cupola with an imposed cross and a large boss in its centre. The ceilings of the first and second bay of the central nave and of the southern aisle, as well as the first southern pillar have collapsed; that part is presently divided by secondary pillars and a wall. The façade, except for its northern part and the south-west corner of the church, is a recent construction. To the left of the entrance there is a circular cell.

Whilst the cutting is poor, revealing irregularities both in the ground plan of the church and in most architectural elements, the interior is richly decorated with an extensive set of carved and painted ornaments. On the walls of northern aisles there are blind arcades framed with interlaces and filled with heraldic birds and antelopes; in the sanctuary and northern chapel there is the motif of false windows; the arches joining the pillars are accentuated by interlaces and decorated with intertwined crosses; crosses appear also inside the squared ceiling sections; the cupolas have spiral bands.


Qorqor Maryam Church, west façade; photo 2007, courtesy of Zara Thiessen

The walls, ceilings and the sides of pillars facing west and the central nave are decorated with ↗paintings. The programme includes scenes and figures from the O.T. (Adam and Eve, the Sacrifice of Abraham, ↗Moses on Tabor, the prophets Daniel and Jonah, the Youths in the Furnace martyrised in presence of King Nabuchadnezzar), the N.T. (Visitation, Entry into Jerusalem, the Evangelists) as well as the archangel Fanuʾel and a large group of saints (the ↗equestrian saints

Theodore and Cyriacus [↗Qirqos] with Julitta, Marina, Stephen, ↗Anthony, Onouphrios, *abba* ↗Gärima). Stylistic features point to three or four different painters. Some peculiarities bear witness to the preservation of the Early Christian iconographical tradition (e.g., the depiction of a jewelled cross flanked by two birds; the juxtaposition of the Entry into Jerusalem with the ↗*Maiestas Domini*, placed on the north wall; typology of the scenes with Moses and Abraham), others suggest a connection with the imagery of Coptic ↗Egypt and ↗Nubia (e.g., Punishment of the sinful souls added to the Adam and Eve scene; St. Mary presenting the Christ Child framed by a circular *clipeus*, locally called *ṭənsəta;* three sun-like faces of angelical beings known as the watchers; a figure wearing a crown reminiscent of the headgear of Nubian rulers). There is also a scene of a jousting or court festival, with horsemen and musicians – one of the earliest secular representations in Ethiopian painting.

The carved and painted decoration was probably executed at the turn of the 13th-14th cent., shortly after the completion of the church and, according to a partially preserved inscription added to the representation of Christ in Majesty, on the initiative of *abba* Danəʾel. The painted decoration is in poor state due to dissolution of the rock surface and careless treatment.

The church possesses several ↗manuscripts, including an 18th/19th-cent. copy of the Vita of *abba* Danəʾel (recently microfilmed, IES mf. 194) and a 15th-cent. ↗*Gädlä ḥawaryat*. It also preserves a ↗crown of the *zäwd*-type attributed by an inscription to *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob and a staff iron ↗cross with a gilded top, which may have belonged to *abba* Danəʾel.

The main church celebrations are two Marian ↗feasts: *Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam* (6 *Ḫədar*) and *Qəddase beta* (21 *Säne*).

Src.: BudSaint 211f., 1020ff.

Lit.: David Buxton, "The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 1-99, here 55f., figs. 15, XXVIIA; Id. – Ruth Plant, "Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province", *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–267, here 186f.; Stanisław Chojnacki, "Les trois hébreux dans la fournaise: une enquête iconographique dans la peinture éthiopienne", *RSE* 35, 1991 [1993], 13–45, here 19–22 fig. 2; ChojPaint 174–79; Marie-José Friedlander, *Ethiopia's Hidden Treasures*: *a Guide to the Paintings of the Remote Churches of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2007, 98–105; GerKir [Eng] 80–83, figs. 338f., pls. 35–43; Otto Jäger – Ivy Pearce, *Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, Stuttgart ^{2}1974, 117ff.; Claude Lepage, "Histoire de l'ancienne peinture éthiopienne (X^e–XV^e siècle). Résultats des missions de 1971 à 1977", *Comptes Rendus de l'Accademie des Inscriptions & Belles Lettres*, avril–juin 1977, 325–75, here 342–45; Id. – Jacques Mercier, *Art éthiopien. Les églises historiques du Tigray*, Paris 2005, 112–25; LusStud 54; Jacques Mercier, *Vierges d'Ethiopie*, Montpellier 2004, 52f.; Ruth Plant, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 40f.; Walter Raunig (ed.), *Etiopia. Storia, Arte, Cristianesimo*, Milano 2005, 182–85; Roger Sauter, "Églises rupestres au Tigré", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 165; *abba* Tewelde Medhin Joseph, "Introduction générale aux églises monolithes du Tigrai", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 83–98, here 93f., 96; Tania Costa Tribe, "The Word of the Desert: the Wall-Paintings of the Debra Maryam Korkor (Ger'alta, Tigray)", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 35–61.

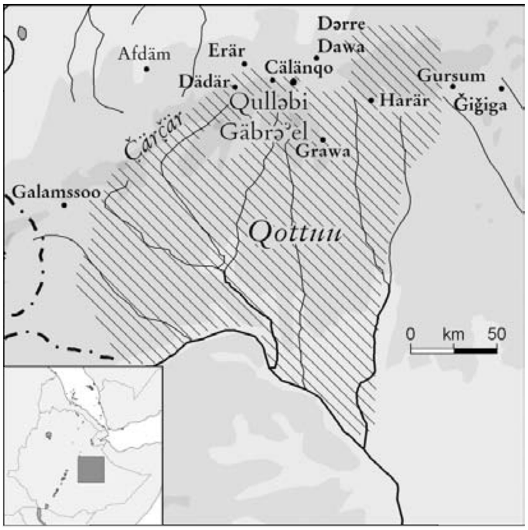
Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Qottuu

The term Q. became an ethnic label used for the Muslim ↗Oromo of the ↗Harär plateau. In Oromiffa Q. means "a person who cultivates the soil", i.e. someone who digs or ploughs (Akkaadaamii 1996: 481; da Thiene 1939: 281; Paulitschke 1893: 63). The term Q. was probably imposed, in a descriptive sense, by neighbouring groups (Paulitschke 1888: 421ff.; Brooke 1956: 67) but it contained no pejorative meaning. Observers who accompanied the Egyptian occupation of Harär in 1875–84, promoted the term externally, implying a notion of "industrious farmer" in contrast to "predatory pastoralist" (Mohammed Mokhtar 1876; HMSO 1884: 120ff.; Paulitschke 1887).

During the second half of the 19th cent., "Q." designated sedentary agriculturalists, belonging in political terms to the Afran Qalloo (also Afran Qalluu) federation, including the clans of the Ala, Baabbile, Noole, and Oborra (Michels 1937: 33f.; TrIslam 206), who had their villages in "the outer circle" of Harär (Yusuf Ahmed 1960: 21; Abdurahman Garad 1990: 42–45). Following the battle of ↗Č̣älänqo in 1887, and the inclusion of Harärge into the Ethiopian empire, "Q." was also used to mark the Islamized peasantry among the ↗Ittuu of the ↗Č̣ärč̣är mountains, and among the Annya, between the Erer and Ramiz rivers. The language of the eastern Oromo became known as *afaan qottuu* (Paulitschke 1893: 63; Seifu Metaferia 1978: 476).

Culture, Islam and language among the Q. developed in close interaction with neighbouring Somali, the Harari, and in accordance with the legacies of pre-16th cent. agricultural populations of the region, the ↗Harla and the ↗Argobba (Azaïs – Chambard 1931; Wagner 1978: 54–58). Among the Afran Qalloo, Q. relates to a regional



longue durée of peasantisation, starting during the late 16th cent., and associated with processes of sedentarization, exchange (of spouses and goods), social stratification (private ownership of land), administrative and religious changes (Waldron 1984: 35; Braukämper 2002: 110). The clan-system of the Q. became highly integrative of strangers, due to the needs of mutual assistance in the agricultural village life (Million Tesfaye 1961).

↗Sorghum appeared as the central staple food (s. Seifu Metaferia 1978: 487ff.). Rain-fed agriculture was sometimes intensified by terracing and irrigation techniques. The digging stick (Orom. *dongoraa*) and a wooden spade (Orom. *akaafaa*) were used until the ox-↗plough came into more general use during the Egyptian occupation (Paulitschke 1893: 216; Rosen 1907: 82; McCann 1995: 40f.). During the late 19th cent. Q. were prominent for the production of *wars*, a kind of saffron. Since the late 19th cent. ↗coffee and ↗*čat* became the cash crops that determined general economic development among the eastern Oromo (Paulitschke 1888: 245ff.; Ezekiel Gebissa 2004).

Until 1875 the Afran Qaalloo were organized by a version of the ↗*gadaa* system known as *raaba-doorii* (de Salviac 1901: 183ff.; Michels 1937: 106–20), and loosely linked as allies to the Harär Emirate (Mohammed Hassen 1980: 230f.; Caulk 1977: 382). The Egyptians enforced Islamization, and imposed the Harari hierarchy of security, land-ownership, and tax-farming estate-holders. The *damina* (Orom. from Arab. *amīn*, 'guarantor') became responsible for territorial security. The *garaada* (↗*Gärad*) received land rights and imposed tax obligations on the formerly collective land. This strengthened the land-holding class. Since 1887 the Ethiopian administration retained the Harari model of administration of the conquered Oromo and the rule of Amhara soldier-settlers (↗*Näfṭäñña*), known regionally as the ↗*mälkäñña* system ,was superimposed (Mohammed Hassen 1980: 236f.; Brooke 1956: 72). Q. became synonymous with the exploited ↗*gäbbar*.

The Italian colonial interlude (1936–41) abolished the *mälkäñña* system. Under the *Governo dell'Harar*, an expanded programme of road constructions integrated the Q. into wider market structures (Brooke 1956: 65ff.). The reconstitution of Ethiopian rule saw several regional uprisings, and an integration of politics among the Q. with pan-Somali and pan-Oromo ideas (Braukämper 2002: 123; Zitelmann 1994: 77f., 267f.). During the 1960s *afaan qottuu* became a medium of radio diffusion from Somalia (Gow 2004: 309), and the "Afran Qalloo" re-emerged as a symbol for cultural revival (Zitelmann 1994: 98).

Islam among the Q. appeared as a fusion of the popular veneration of saints, literate Sufism and Sunni orthodoxy (TrIslam 205ff.; Braukämper 2002). With the integration of the Q. into the Ethiopian empire, adherence to Islam provided a means of opposition.

Src.: Richard Francis Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa, or, an Exploration of Harar*, New York 1987 (London ¹1856), 179; Her Majesty's Stationary Office (HMSO), *Report on the Egyptian Provinces of the Sudan, Red Sea, and Equator*, London 1884; Mohammed Mokhtar, "Notes sur le pays de Harrar", *Bulletin de la Societé Khediviale de Géographie* 4, 1876, 351–97; Philipp Paulitschke, "Le Harar sous l'Administration Égyptienne" in: *ibid.*, ser. 2, 10, 1887, 575–91; Id., *Harar. Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 245ff.; Id., *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, vol. 1: *Die materielle Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1893; Felix Rosen, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907; Ewald Wagner (ed., tr.), *Legende und Geschichte. Der Fath Madīnat Harar von Yahya Naṣrallāh*, Wiesbaden 1978.

Lit.: Abdurahman Garad, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Afrika (1825–75)*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1990 (Europäische Hochschulschriften 426); Akkaadaamii Afaan Saboota Itoophiyaatiin, *Galmee Jechoota Afaan Oromoo*, Finfinnee 1996; François Bernardin Azaïs – Roger Chambard, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie*, vol. 1, Paris 1931; Ulrich Braukämper, *Islam History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia. Collected Essays*, Hamburg – Münster 2002, 106–27; Clark Harding Brooke Jr., *Settlements of the Eastern Galla, Hararghe Province, Ethiopia*, Ann Arbor, MI 1956, 72; Richard Caulk, "Harar Town and its Neighbours in the Nineteenth Century", *JAH* 17, 3, 1977, 369–86; Martial de Salviac, *Les Galla. Un Peuple Antique au Pays de Ménélik*, Paris 1901, 183ff.; Ezekiel Gebissa, *Leaf of Allah. Khat and Agricultural Transformation in Harerge Ethiopia, 1875–1981*, Oxford 2004; Greg Gow, “Translocations of Affirmation: Mediascapes and Cultural Flows among the Stateless Oromo”, *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 7, 2004, 301–19; James McCann, *People of the Plow*, Madison, WI 1995, 40f.; Jacob Peter Michels, *Beiträge zur Soziologie und Wirtschaft der Galla*, Wien 1937, 106–20; Million Tesfaye, “Mutual Aid Associations among the Ḳottu-Galla of Harar”, *University College Addis Ababa Ethnological Bulletin* 2, 1, 1961, 71–81; Mohammed Hassen, “Menilek’s Conquest of Harar, 1887, and its Effect on the Political Organizations of the Surrounding Oromos up to 1900”, in: Donald Donham – Wendy James (eds.), *Working Papers on Society and History in Imperial Ethiopia: the Southern Periphery from the 1880s to 1974*, Cambridge 1980, 227–46; Seifu Metaferia, “The Eastern Oromo (K’ottus) of Ethiopia and their Time-Reckoning ‘System’”, *Africa* (Roma) 33, 1978, 475–508; TrIslam; Sidney Waldron, “The Political Economy of Harari-Oromo Relationships, 1559–1874”, *NEASt* 1, 2, 1984, 23–39; Yusuf Ahmed, “An Inquiry into some Aspects of the Economy of Harar and the Records of the Household Economy of the Amirs of Harar”, *University College Addis Ababa Ethnological Bulletin* 10, 1960, 7–39; Thomas Zitelmann, *Nation der Oromo. Kollektive Identitäten, nationale Konflikte, Wir-Gruppenbildungen*, Berlin 1994, 77f., 98, 267f.

Thomas Zitelmann

Qozmos

Q. (**ቆዝሞስ**, fl. 14th cent.) was, according to the Acts of ↗Yafqərännä Ǝgziʾ, a monk who came from Aksum to a monastary called Zäzo. Due to a quarrel over the consecration of women as nuns he moved to a monastery called Wäyna.

Q. was an extreme ascetic who lived in a separate cell and refused all cooked food, as well as the Eucharist. He fled to ↗Səmen when he was threatened with arrest. Because of his miraculous powers and his ability to write, Q. was readily accepted by those who practiced the “religion of the Jews” (*haymanotä ↗Ayhud)* in Səmen and ↗Ṣällämt. He is said to have written the *Orit* (↗Octateuch) for them, and they are said to have viewed him as a semi-divine, even messianic figure. With Q. at their head the *Ayhud* rebelled once again, and defeated the ↗*käntiba* of Dämbəya, who was forced to join them. Because of his bitter memories, Q. appears to have singled out the clergy as special targets of his rebellion. *Aṣe* ↗Dawit II was forced to send fresh troops from Təgray (led by ↗Akḥadom, the governor of Təgray), which resulted in defeat of the rebel forces and death of Q.

Although the passage dealing with Q. is a brief episode in the text, it is of scholarly interest from several perspectives. Q.’s extreme asceticism is an excellent example of the tension which could arise between individual ascetics and the demands of communal ↗monasticism. Moreover, Q. appears to have played an important role in the emergence of monasticism and perhaps literacy among the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel.

The story of a Christian monk joining the *Ayhud* and inspiring their religious-political opposition to the Ethiopian monarchs is echoed in Betä Ǝsraʾel oral traditions.

Src.: Carlo Conti Rossini, “Appunti di storia e letteratura falascia”, *RSO* 8, 1920, 563–610, here 571; Id., “L’agiografia etiopica e gli Atti del santo Yâfqeranna Egziʾ (Secolo XIV)”, *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 96, 2, 1936–37, 403–33, here 419f.; Isaac Wajnberg (ed., tr.), *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana ’Egzī’*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 50–60.

Lit.: Steven Kaplan, *The Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *in Ethiopia*: *from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1991, 56; James Arthur Quirin, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*: *a History of the Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1991, 51f., 67ff.; Id., “Oral Traditions as Historical Sources in Ethiopia: the Case of the Beta Israel (Falasha)”, *History in Africa* 20, 1993, 297–312, here 302f.

Steven Kaplan

Quaderni di Studi Etiopici

The Q.S.E. (Amh. **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ጥናቶች፡ መጽሔት፡**, *Yäʾityoṗya ṭənatočč mäṣḥet*) was a journal published from 1980 to 1988 by Brother Ezio Tonini, head of the Catholic Pavoni Social Centre in Asmära. Prior to Eritrea’s independence, the Centre had sponsored the local Centro di Studi Etiopici. Beside the Catholic Church, the journal was also supported by ↗Addis Ababa University; there was also limited cooperation with ↗Asmära University.

The fascicles appeared annually, sometimes two volumes appearing as one biannually. The publication was stopped after vols. 8–9 (1987/88) due to the unstable political situation in Ethiopia and, mainly, in pre-independence Eritrea. After Eritrean independence, the publication was not resumed, as its name – in fact rather neutral, as it referred to the broad definition and framework of “classical” ↗Ethiopian studies – was felt to be no longer appropriate in the new political situation.

The aim of the Q.S.E. was to promote knowledge about Ethiopia and the ↗Horn of Africa in various fields, such as history, archaeology, arts, linguistics, nature, ethnology, religion, constitution and legislation, folklore, literature and the humanities. The editions covered a wide field and contained photographs for illustration.

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Quaderni
di
STUDI
ETIOPICI

Asmara 1985-1986

The title page of the Quaderni di Studi Etiopici, no. 6-7, Asmära 1985–1986

Contributions were mainly written in Italian and English, some in French and Təgrəñña, both by prominent and lesser known scholars from Europe and Ethiopia. They covered cultural issues concerning various ethnic groups, beyond the limits of the boundaries of the then Province of Eritrea. The Q.S.E. also included book reviews on current literature relating to Ethiopian studies; vol. 3–4 (1982/83) additionally contained notes on congresses and a list of doctoral dissertations with a focus on the Horn of Africa submitted to US Universities in 1970–82.

Src.: *QSE* 1–8/9, 1980–87/88.

Nicole Hirt

Qubba

Q. (Sudanese Arabic; Amh.: Gubba) was a Muslim–Sudanese state north of the ↗Abbay River that emerged around the end of the ↗Funǧ kingdom (↗Sinnār) on the Ethio–Sudanese frontier. According to oral tradition, Q. was founded about nine generations ago by a certain *šayḫ* Ḥammad on the Dungul hill. By giving 25 years to each generation, Q. would have been founded about 225 years ago, around 1780 (cf. also Cheesman 1968: 370). According to the traveller Juan Maria ↗Schuver, Q. was in existence at least starting from Muḥammad ᶜAli's occupation of the ↗Sudan in 1821 (James – Baumann – Johnson 1986: 174), and enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. Originally it may have been an autonomous province under the Funǧ. Q. corresponds to the present-day Gubba area in Wallaggaa (Wälläga).

Today, the people of Gubba trace their origin to the period of Funǧ rule, calling themselves Fuñ or Gubawi (oral sources; Tesser 1932: 273; Garretson 1980: 198). The population comprises ↗Gumuz, ↗Šinašša and ↗Berta. The rulers of Q. were most probably of Sudanese Arab descent, Ǧaᶜalīn mixing with the local population.

Some years before Schuver visited Q. in 1882, the Protestant ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission tried to establish a missionary station in Q. in 1867, but failed. An Italian hunter, Luigi Mondo, then spent two years with the chief of Q. in the mid 1870s in an attempt to procure Guereza monkeys for the Hamburg zoo. At that time, the chief of Q. was Ibrāhīm, the father of Abušok and Q. was not just emerging, but was already a well established state enjoying relations with its neighbours ↗Goǧǧam and Wälläga (James – Baumann – Johnson 1986:189f).

The late 19th-cent. ruler Abušok further consolidated Q. and re-asserted its independence during the collapse of the ↗Mahdist state, but thereafter it quickly became tributary to Ottoman–Egyptian rule. He expanded Q. and subdued several Gumuz, Berta and Šinašša villages. His son Ḥamdan then conducted a large-scale expansion and administrative consolidation.

In the 1880s, there were five divisions within Q. These include Q. proper with several Gumuz villages and with the seat of the chief; other Gumuz villages to the south-west; the Berta on the Beri hills who had fled from Famaka due to raids; the Šinašša to the east of Q.; and the Kadalo, who also lived in the Sudan. The territory and population of Q. then seem to have been as large as those of ↗Beni Šangul and Ḵomoša (James – Baumann – Johnson 1986:185).

However, the *šayḫs* of Q. were far from exerting the same degree of control over their territories as the rulers of ↗Beni Šangul (esp. *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷağali), since the Gumuz had preserved much of their old autonomy in their respective hills. Thus the chiefs of Q. were not given equal recognition by Ottoman-Egyptian rule as the chiefs of Ḵomoša or Beni Šangul. Q. was considered to be under the distant chief of Ǧabal Gule, situated beyond Famaka. However, it was as important as Famaka, particularly as a centre of trade.

Until 1898, Q. was not effectively included under neither the Sudan nor Ethiopia. Having controlled the Bäläya region, *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of ↗Goǧǧam seems to have moved to incorporate Q. as well. He appointed a certain Yəggəzaw Č̣ufaa as governor of Bäläya who then attempted to annex Q. He attacked its chief, *manǧil* Abušok, captured him and handed him over to Täklä Haymanot. The *nəguś* imprisoned Abušok at Ǧəbbälla Amba when he marched to the Battle of ↗ʿAdwa. Then, during his Wänbära campaign of 1898, Täklä Haymanot released Abušok and sent him with troops to Q. to collect tribute. Abušok however, turned against these Goǧǧame troops; they escaped, and Abušok went on to consolidate Q. (Täklä Iyyäsus Waqǧiraa, ms., 143f.). This was later continued by his son *šayḫ* Ḥamdan, known as *däǧǧazmač* Banǧa.

Manǧil Ḥamdan succeeded his father, Abušok, as governor of Q. in ca. 1898. He was more concerned with coffee, cotton and tobacco trade and plantations and sought to expand his domains. Through raids he took full control of Beri, Dasifi and other Gumuz hills. Q. gradually incorporated other neighbouring hills such as Yaringe, Yabattal, Fanguso, and Damtay. Though temporarily, Ḥamdan was also able to occupy Abu Ramla in 1918 on the other side of the Dindir River, upon the death of *nəguś* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis. These expansions forced many Gumuz to desert their villages and to flee to the south of the Blue Nile River and to the Sudan (James 1986: 122).

At the height of its extension, Q. (ca. 1880s–1948) included relatively vast territories that helped it to defy orders from Ethiopian officials. *Šayḫ* Ḥamdan Abušok was directly responsible to Addis Abäba, but preserved his autonomy, owing partly to the consolidation of his power along the border and the strategic location of Q. Formally under Ethiopian control, Q. continued to exist on the fringes of the two states. By 1932 Ḥamdan was increasingly turning towards the Sudan, having included some members of the former Sudan Defence Force in his personal bodyguard and sent some of his children to Sudanese schools. At the local level, cross-border relations were close, reflecting a historical unity in the Blue Nile basin (Garretson 1980: 201).

The Ethiopian garrisons along the frontier were mostly responsible for collecting taxes rather than implementing effective central administration in the lowlands. From time to time, they raided the region for tribute. They considered the frontier peoples (as far as the White Nile) tributary, but actually the frontier peoples were not effectively incorporated.

After the death of Täklä Haymanot in 1901 the balance of power shifted to *ras* Mängäša, and Q. (now Gubba) was controlled by ↗Bägemdər. This went on until 1948 when a new administrative structure was introduced. The new ↗Mätäkkäl *awraǧǧa,* was created with its centre at ↗Čagni that included Gubba, Dangur, Wänbära, and Gʷangʷa *wärädas.* Gubba retained its close links to the Sudan; e.g., its police uniforms were copied from the Sudan (PerGov 326f.). In the 1960s, two other sub-districts were given separate *wäräda* status for more effective control, raising the number of the districts administered under the new *awraǧǧa* from four to six. These were Mandura and Dəbaṭi *wärädas*. Until then, Gubba and Dangur had been administered as out-lying districts of Bägemdər. In 1992, another new administrative structure was implemented that placed the whole of the Mätäkkäl *awraǧǧa* under the Beni Šangul-Gumuz National Regional State.

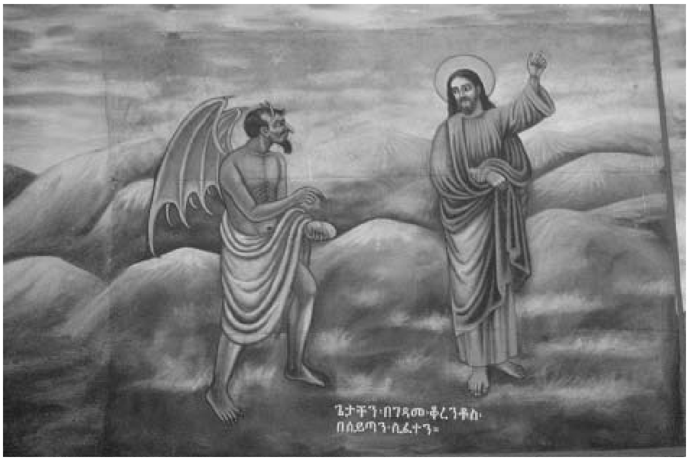
Src.: interviews with Algamar Banǧa, grandson of Abušok; Täfärra Usman, Gubba, 2003.

Lit.: Robert Cheesman, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*: *an Abyssinian Quest*, London 1968, 370; Peter P. Garretson, "Manjil Hamdan Abushock (1898–1938) and the Administration of Qubba", in: Joseph Tubiana (ed.), *Modern Ethiopia*: *From the Accession of Menelik II to the Present,* Rotterdam, 1980, 197–210; Wendy James – Gerd Baumann – Douglas Johnson (eds.), *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North East Africa 1880–1883*, London 1996, 174, 185, 189f., 198, 203, 246; Wendy James, "Lifelines: Exchange Marriage among the Gumuz", in: Donald Donham – Wendy James (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1986, 119–47; PerGov 325ff.; N. Tesser, "Sulla regione di Gubba", *Rivista delle colonie italiane* 6, 1932, 273–79; Täklä Iyyäsus Waqǧira, **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ማጠራቀሚያ** (*Yäzämän tarik maṭṭäraqämiya*, 'A Collection of Chronicles'), National Library, ms. no. 527, Addis Abäba.

Tsega Endalew Etefa

Qulləbi Gäbrəʾel

The church of Q.G. (**ቁልቢ፡ ገብርኤል**; full name Rəʾəsä Adbarat Qulləbi Däbrä Ḫaylä Qəddus Gäbrəʾel) is one of the most famous centres of ↗pilgrimage of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. It is located in Qulləbi, a small village in the ↗Č̣ärč̣är mountain range ca.



Temptation of Jesus by the devil, 20th-cent. wall painting from Qulləbi Gäbrəʾel; photo 2009, courtesy of Tom Owen

60 km north-west of Dərre Dawa and 70 km north of Harär (for location s. map for Qottuu).

According to local tradition, the region around Čärčär had been the scene of inter-ethnic conflicts and disputes. Peace was established in the area after negotiations between the feuding groups on the site of the present church. When the conflicts arose again in the 1890s, *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel made a vow (↗*Səlät*) to St. Gabriel that he would build a church in his honour if peace could be restored (Märša Alläk̠äññ 2007: 8; Ministry of Information 1967/68: 6). Thus, when peace returned, *ras* Mäkʷännən constructed the church on the already famous site and dedicated it to the saint as promised. The *tabot* was brought from the old church of ↗Bulga (Ministry of Information 1967/68: 5).

The church was consecrated on 26 July 1892. *Ras* Mäkʷännən lived in Harär but also often stayed at Qulləbi because of the cooler climate. It is said that he prayed at Q.G. on his way to the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896.

Some renovations to the original structure were undertaken in 1920 but the shrine remained relatively unknown until the Italian occupation of 1936–41. Multitudes of pilgrims prayed at Q.G. throughout the years of ↗resistance struggle, and it was during this period that the church reportedly became a centre, not only for Orthodox Christians, but also for many Muslims living in the area. The church was bombed and damaged by the invading Italian army who considered it a rallying point for all the people of the area. Prayers were said to St. Gabriel for his help in ending the occupation. Many of the faithful in the area believe that for the second time in less than half a century the power of St. Gabriel helped defeat a European invader. Thus, after the liberation, Q.G. gained its greatest prominence as a national rather than as a primarily local shrine. Each year the crowds grow larger, coming not only from all parts of the country but also from neighbouring countries.

Lit.: MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, ቁልቢ (*Qulləbi*), ms., Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; MÄRŠA ALLÄK̠ÄÑÑ, መንፈሳዊ፡ ጉዞዎች፡ በኢትዮጵያ (*Mänfäsawi guzowoččbäʾityopya*, 'Pilgrimages in Ethiopia'), ms., Addis Abäba 2001; DANƎʾEL KƎBRÄT, የቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ መረጃዎች (*Yäbetä krəstiyan märräǧawočč*, 'The Chosen of the Church'), Addis Abäba 2000 A.M. [2007/08 A.D.].

Mersha Alehegne

Qum zema

Q.z. (ቁም፡ ዜማ), translated as plain chant (Tito Lepisa in PICES 3, vol. 2, 162f.), is the term for unaccompanied Ethiopian Christian vocal chant; musicians also call unaccompanied chant the *gəss* (ግስ). Q.z. is performed by highly trained clerics, ↗*däbtära*, sung either by a single performer alone or by two singers in antiphonal style ("on two sides") with overlapping phrases. Q.z. is the most basic form of chant performance practice. It conveys the contours of each one of the vast repertory of liturgical chants within one of three church modes (↗*Zema*), named ↗*araray*, ↗*ᶜəzəl*, ↗*gəᶜəz*.

Although a chant is transmitted with a relatively stable melodic contour, each performance, even those by the same singer, may vary slightly in ornamentation and tempo of the melody. Chants for the more than two dozen different types of pieces, known as "portions", fall into three main groups that vary according to liturgical and musical criteria. The first group makes use of "model melodies", memorized by *däbtära* during the night (when it is too dark to study books). These chants are called የማታ፡ ትምህርት (*yämata təmhərt*, 'evening studies') or የቃል፡ ትምህርት (*yäqal təmhərt*, 'vocal studies') and comprise such liturgical portions as ↗*arbaᶜət*, ↗*aryam*, and *śäläst*. The second group of chants draws on standard melodic opening formulae that belong to the same musical family, termed **ቤት** (*bet*, 'house'). Many of this second group of chants begin with repetitions of the word *halleluya* or include refrains such as *əsma läᶜalam …* A third group contains many chants that are used with specific psalms or canticles and derive their names from these portions. E.g., the *yətbaräk…* takes its name from the First Canticle of the Three Children, Dan 3:52–56 (Shelemay – Jeffery 1993, vol. 1, 6f.).

The rendition of each chant as Q.z. further varies according to types of vocal style. In the past, there were a number of well-established schools of vocal style associated with different monasteries in the north central Ethiopian highlands. These included the *Betä Ləḥem* style (called after the church of ↗Betä Ləḥem); the *Qoma* style (↗Qoma Fasilädäs); the *Aç̣abər* style (Bərur Maryam monastery at Wänç̣äre, north of Däbrä Marqos); the *Tägulät* style (↗Zena Marqos monastery, north of Ankobär); and possibly others. Since the 16th cent., the vocal *Betä Ləḥem* style has predominated as a result of its historical association with the monarchy, and in the 20th cent., the consolidation of church musical transmission in Addis Abäba, and the training of many musicians in official church schools in the urban setting. However, singers of the *Qoma* and *Aç̣abər* schools maintain their styles of singing plain chant, with the *Qoma* style characterized as being "longer" (more sustained and ornamented) than either that of *Betä Ləḥem* or *Aç̣abər*. There are fewer differences between vocal style for the ↗*Qəddase* than for the ↗*Dəggʷa*.

Within performances of the Cathedral Office (which includes the *Dəggʷa* and other chant books), important liturgical portions based on Q.z. are sung more elaborately and then repeated within the **ወረብ** (*wäräb*), a performance style characterized by different combinations of instrumental accompaniment and dance. The chant is first repeated accompanied by motions of the ↗*mäqqʷamiya*, which is moved through the air, as well as struck on the floor, in a style called ↗*zəmmame*. Next the chant is sung with the accompaniment of the ↗*ṣänaṣəl*. Several additional repetitions follow, accompanied by the ↗*käbäro*, called *wäräb*, the final one of which, *čäbčäbbo* (**ቸብቸቦ**), is performed at double tempo accompanied by clapping and dancing.

Q.z. further provides the basic musical formulae represented by the Ethiopian notational system (↗*Mələkkət*).

Q.z. is the most musical of a variety of vocal styles used to articulate Ethiopian Christian sacred texts, psalmody, and liturgical chant. Q.z. is only sung, in contrast to other types of vocal articulations, which fall along a continuum between speech and song, and which are acquired early in their educational process by young boys in the ↗*nəbab bet*. Young boys first begin to read syllables in a regular, eighth-note rhythm called **ቍጥር** (*qʷəṭər*, 'counting style'). Next they read aloud in a sing-song manner, ascending and descending an interval of roughly a third, termed the *gəᶜəz* style. Next comes **ውርድ፡ ንባብ** (*wərd nəbab*, lit. 'descending reading'), a type of chanting on one pitch following an initium. Finally, regular reading with a bit of ritual grandeur, a type of pitched recitative, is termed *nəbab*.

↗Education; ↗Hymns; ↗Music

Src.: interviews with *liqe* BƏRHANU MÄKʷÄNNƏN, Addis Abäba, 7 July 1975; *aläqa* BƏRHAN ABIYE, Addis Abäba, 8 September 1975; Bishop MÄQARYOS, New York City, 13 June 1978; Father ṢÄḤAY BƏRHANU, Cambridge, MA, 28 February 2007.

Lit.: TITO LEPISA, "The Three Modes and the Signs of the Songs in the Ethiopian Liturgy", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 162–87; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: an Anthology*, vols. 1–2, Madison, WI 1993–94.

Kay Kaufman Shelemay

Qunna

The Q. (**ቁና** or *qʷənna*) was, and is, one of the most commonly used Ethiopian measures of capacity. Based on a basket container (or a pot, **ቍና፡ ፈጅ**, *qʷənna fäǧǧ*), and used in most parts of the country, it was widely employed in the ↗measurement of grain. This unit, like other such traditional measures of capacity, varied considerably from one part of the country to another and even from one neighbouring market to another, and was the equivalent in volume of anything between 3 and 5 litres. Various types, and differing sizes, of Q., are reported. These included the **ቤት፡ ቍና** (*bet qʷənna*, 'Q. of the house'), the **አሥራት፡ ቍና** (*aśrat qʷənna*, 'Q. for paying tithe', and the **የንጉሥ፡ ቍና** (*yänəguś qʷənna*, 'king's Q.' for tax payment), **መሸመቻ፡ ቍና** (*mäšämmäča qʷənna*, a measure for the market), **ቍና፡ ተኩል** (*qʷənna täkkul*, 'big *qʷənna*', equal to 1½ *qʷənnas*) etc.

The size of the Q., in common with that of other traditional units based on volume, tended to expand in time of plenty, and contract during periods of scarcity. Another complication arose from the fact that traders in some markets made use of two sizes of measurement: a larger one when they bought, and a smaller one when they sold.

Lit.: KaneDic I, 782; Richard Pankhurst, "A Preliminary History of Ethiopian Measure, Weights and Values (part 2)", *JES* 7, 1996, 99–164.

Richard Pankhurst

Quotidiano Eritreo, Il ↗Corriere Eritreo

Qurᵓān, al-

The Q. (Ar. القران; very often qualified by epithets like *al-karīm* 'the glorious'; *al-ᶜaẓīm*, 'the magnificent'; sometimes *al-Furqān*, 'the salvation' used as a synonym for Q., but s. Paret in EI²) is, according to the mainstream Sunnī theological views, the uncreated word of God revealed to humankind through the mission of the last Prophet ↗Muḥammad. The Q. has a pivotal role in Islamic culture representing the core of theological thought, the basis of daily cult practice and the spiritual guidance for the faithful. The text of the Q. is divided in 114 chapters (Ar. *sūra*; pl. *suwar*; each of them has one or more titles) of different length (ordered basically from the longest to the shortest), in 30 equally long sections called *ǧuzᵓ* (pl. *aǧzāᵓ*) and in 60 *ḥizb* (= half *ǧuzᵓ*; pl. *aḥzāb*; for a general introduction to Qurᵓānic studies s. Welch-Pearson in EI² and Cook 2000).

The Q. text has several direct or indirect links to Ethiopia and Ethiopians. Ǧaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib recited in front of the ↗*Naǧāšī* Qur. 19:16–34 to give the king an idea of the creed of the Muslim refugees, which appeared to the Ethiopian monarch very similar to Christianity (TrIslam 45). Commentators of the Q. (*mufassirūn*) maintain that Qur. 5:83f. reflects the moved reaction of the *Naǧāšī* to Ǧaᶜfar's reading, and Qur. 3:199 and Qur. 28:52ff. refer to the *Naǧāšī* who converted to ↗Islam and will thus be granted a double reward in the hereafter. According to other traditions, Qur. 5:82–86 has to be interpreted as a mention of the people whom the *Naǧāšī* sent to the Prophet together with the Muslim emigrants going back to Medina: the Prophet recited to them *sūra Yā-sīn* (Qur. 36) and they started weeping and embraced Islam (as-Suyūṭī s.d.:116f.; al-Wāḥidī 1994:112ff.).

The Q. text contains a relatively remarkable number of loanwords from Gəᶜəz (e.g., *miškāt* < *mäskot; munāfiqūn* < *mänafəq*) which have been variously interpreted (list in Nöldeke 1910, Jeffery 1938; analysis of some of them in Kropp 2003, 2005, 2007).

One may surmise that the Q. spread in Ethiopia as early as Islam started gaining followers in the country, recited during the five mandatory daily ↗prayers, copied in bound ↗manuscripts (*muṣḥaf*, itself a loanword from Gəᶜəz) and studied and commented in the curriculum of traditional Islamic ↗education. The Q. is well represented in Ethiopian Islamic manuscript collections: in the IES library mss. nos. 258–60, 277, 279, 2154, 2324 (s. also Jomier 1967:287) are Q. while two partial 19th-cent. *muṣḥaf* and a long manuscript section of the Q. are preserved in the Robecchi Bricchetti collection of the Pavia Civic Library (mss. 1–3 fols. 1r–23v, Traini 1973:844f.).

No detailed study is available on the *qirāᵓāt* (readings; for a more precise definition of the term s. Paret in EI²) existing in Ethiopia. E.g., it still needs to be studied whether only the most wide-spread reading (of Ḥafs ᶜan ᶜĀṣim) is known in the country or also other *qirāᵓāt* were/are in use (e.g., the ad-Dūrī from Abū ᶜAmr, quite well known in Sudan). The Q. is learnt by heart in Qurᵓānic school where small children are taught to write and recite the sacred text from a very early age (e.g., for Harär s. Leslau 1965:172–88; Garad – Wagner 1998:67–95; for Wällo Hussein Ahmed in PICES 9, 99f.). Qurᵓānic exegesis is one of the main topics in the syllabi of traditional Islamic educational institutions and Ethiopian Muslim scholars have expounded the Q. in local languages and in Arabic both orally and in writing (HusIslam 93). An outstanding example of this practise is the huge work of the living *šayḫ* Muḥammad al-Amīn b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Urumī al-ᶜAlawī al-Hararī called *Ḥadāᵓiq ar-rūḥ war-rayḥān fī rawābī ᶜulūm al-Qurᵓān* (Beirut 2001, 33 vols.) which aspires to be a comprehensive handbook of Qurᵓānic sciences.

In the literary production of Ethiopian Muslims quotations from the Q. are almost always present especially to enhance the religious pathos of some passages (e.g. WagFath 107).

The Q. has been translated into many Ethiopian languages both by Christian and Muslim learned men. In the ↗*Anqäṣä amin* passages of the Q. are translated into Gəᶜəz to be analyzed by ↗ᶜƎnbaqom from a Christian point of view (DonEmbAnq 57–86). According to Dästa Täklä Wäld (DTWDic 12), a Gəᶜəz version of the Q. was realized by Zurambe Ǝngəda who put into Ethiopic an Amharic translation done by ᶜƎnbaqom. These two versions were said to be kept in Aksum and in Goǧǧam. This same source speaks of the existence of an “Amharic” Q. on parchment allegedly owned by an Argobba *šayḫ* who mentioned it to Dästa in Dərre Dawa in 1932/33: it is not clear if an Arabic text in *fidäl* is intended or more likely an Amharic translation. A partial Amharic translation was published by Mittwoch (1906) who edited the manuscript notes of *aläqa* Tayyä who had selected passages of the Q. translated by two Muslim acquaintances of his in Yəfag ten years before. This small anthology of the Q. (*kaq*^{w}*er*^{c}*an* [sic!] *yätäqädda*) contains also passages of the Q. in Arabic transcribed into Ethiopic ↗script. Sections of the Q. in Amharic may also be found in the Amharic version of the *Sylloges* of *šayḫ* Zäkkaryas (Gori 2003:64–68). Among the charges against *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu was that he had a Q. written in *fidäl* (apparently a transliteration of the Arabic text) with which he used to pray (HSLife [Amh] I, 31).

In 1965, ↗Ḫaylä Səllase I himself ordered a complete Amharic translation which was carried out by a group of Muslim Ethiopian scholars headed by ↗Muḥammad Ṯānī Ḥabīb and Sayyid Ṣādiq. The work was published by Artistik Printing Press in Addis Abäba in 1968/69 (review Ricci 1969, Kane 1974:613–27). It was reprinted in 2005 by Nejashi Printing Press with only minor changes, notwithstanding considerable criticism from contemporary Muslim Ethiopian intelligentsia. According to many, in fact, the Amharic text printed without the Arabic original might have engendered the idea that it could be used alone as a substitute for its divine and inimitable *Vorlage*. Moreover, the version was characterized by a wide use of phrase structures and lexical items which were literally modelled on Arabic syntax and vocabulary: the result was thus an Amharic style that was often hardly understandable to the common speaker of the language. Two other Amharic versions were to overcome these shortcomings. In 1996 Al-Huda Press in Addis Abäba published an Amharic translation by Ǧamāl Muḫtār of the first three *ǧuzʾ* of the Q. in three separate booklets. The publishing house intended to proceed with the publication of at least seven more *ǧuzʾ* but nothing has so far appeared. During 1998–2004, Nejashi printing press released a complete Amharic translation of the Q. by Ḥasan Tāǧū and Idrīs Muḥammad in 11 small volumes each of which contains one to three *ǧuzʾ*. An oral translation of the whole Q. in Amharic was carried out by *šayḫ* Sa^{c}īd Aḥmad Muṣṭafā and it is available – even if not constantly – on the internet for downloading.

No complete Təgrəñña version of the Q. is so far available. A translation of the last *ǧuzʾ* of the Q. by Bayān Ṣāliḥ was released in Saudi Arabia in 2002. The same translator published in 2006 in Riyāḍ a Təgrəñña version of the last tenth (*ǧuzʾ* 28–30).

In Oromo a complete version of the Q. was carried out by *šayḫ* Muḥammad Rašād: it was originally recorded on 26 audiotapes which were diffused and sold in the book markets in Ethiopia (and are now available online). A printed version of this same work has been distributed since early 2006. These more recent versions of the Q. are definitely not simple translations but in accordance with the *i*^{c}*ǧāz* dogma (the inimitability of the Q. text and the impossibility to translate it), they are conceived as more or less complete commentaries of the sacred text. They thus tend to make wide use of traditional Arabic *tafsīr* works to explain and expound the verses. The exegetical material is sometimes directly inserted in the translated text instead of being separated from it so that in the end it is almost impossible to differentiate between the plain translation of the verses and their interpretation.

The Q. is recited in every important collective gathering of the Ethiopian Muslim faithful: for instance, in Harär, before *ǧum*^{c}*a* prayer on Fridays, morning sessions of Q. reading are held in the main mosque (Leslau 1965:207f.); in ↗*Mawlid* and related ceremonies, the Q. (especially *sūra* 36 *Yā-sīn* and 67 *al-Mulk* or *Tabāraka*) is always recited. On ↗graves, verses of the Q. (mostly Qur. 2:256, 3:182, 48:1–3, 55:26–7, 122:1–4) always open the epitaphs (a complete list for the ↗Dahlak necropolis in Schneider 1983:60–63).

Many Muslim faithful believe that the Q. as the word of God carries a strong blessing and ↗healing power (*ḫawāṣṣ al-Qurʾān*; see Fahd in *EI*^{2}): amulets (*ḥiǧāb*; see Chelhod in EI^{2}) and talismans (*ṭilsam*) containing verses of the Q. are worn on the body (a *ḥiǧāb* is in ms. Robecchi Bricchetti, Pavia 6, fols. 1r–5v, Traini 1973:851); the ink used to write down the Q. on the ↗*lawḥ* or on paper is diluted in water and drunk to ingest the beneficial force of the sacred text (Slikkerveer 1990:191). Bibliomantic procedures, diagnosis and prognosis of illnesses using the Q. are well spread in the Islamic world and are also well attested in Ethiopia (e.g., Rodinson 1967:45, 80).

Passages of the Q. are frequently used in Christian ↗magic and medico-magical literature as a tool to strengthen the aura of supernatural power of the texts and recipes (Griaule 1930: 109ff. where Qur. 73: 1 and 9–15 is sketchily mentioned; the famous *Ṣälot bäʾəntä aynä ṭəla* is basically a collage of Q. verses more or less faithfully reproduced; see also *Bilal*, 1, 11: 22). It should however be said that most of the time the Q. sections used in these contexts are considered to have some mystical force also by Muslims (e.g., the famous *āyat al-kursī*, Qur. 2: 255).

Src.: Joseph Chelhod, "Ḥidjāb", in: *EI*^{2} vol. 3, 359; Michael Cook, *The Koran: a Very Short Introduction*, Oxford 2000; DTWDic 12; DonEmbAnq 57–86; Toufic Fahd, "Khawāṣṣ al-Ḳurʾān", *EI*^{2}, vol. 4, 1133–34; Alessandro Gori (ed., tr.), *La "Silloge" di* šah *Zakkāryās sull'Islam – Versione amarica …*, Roma 2003; Abdurahman Garad – Ewald Wagner, *Harari-Studien. Texte mit Übersetzung, grammatischen Skizzen und Glossar*, Wiesbaden 1998 (Semitica viva 18); Marcel Griaule, *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930; HSLife [Amh] I, 31; Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Koran*, Baroda 1938; Eugen Mittwoch, "Exzerpte aus dem Koran in amharischer Sprache", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen* 9, 1906, 111–47; Theodor Nöldeke, "Lehnwörter in und aus dem Äthiopischen", in: *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 31–66; Rudi Paret, "Furḳān", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, 949; Id., "Ḳirāʾa", *ibid.* vol. 5, 127; Maxime Rodinson, *Magie, médicine et possession à Gondar*, Paris – La Haye 1967; Julius Ruska – Bernard Carra de Vaux [Clifford Edmund Bosworth], "Ṭilsam", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 10, 500–1; Renato Traini, "I manoscritti arabi esistenti nelle biblioteche di Pavia (collezione Robecchi Bricchetti)", *RRALm* ser. 8^a, 28, 1973, 841–65; as-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb an-nuzūl*, Beirut n.d.; al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb an-nuzūl*, Beirut 1994; WagFath; Alford T. Welch – James Douglas Pearson, "Ḳurʾān", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 5, 400–32.

Lit.: Hussein Ahmed, "Traditional Muslim Education in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 94–106; HusIslam; Thomas Leiper Kane, "Arabic Translations into Amharic", *BSOAS* 37, 1974, 608–27; Manfred Kropp, "Viele fremde Tische, und noch einer im Koran: Zur Etymologie von äthiopisch maʾed(d)a und arabisch maʾida/mayda", *OrChr* 87, 2003, 140–43; Id., "Der äthiopische Satan = Saytan und seine koranische Ausläufe", *ibid.* 89, 2005, 93–102; Id., "The Ethiopic Satan = Šaytan and its Quranic Successor. With a Note on Verbal Stoning", in: Charles Chartouni (ed.), *Christianisme oriental. Kérygme et histoire. Mélanges offerts au Père Michel Hayek*, Paris 2007, 331–41; Id., "Beyond Single Words. Māʾida – Shayṭān, jibt and tāghūt. Mechanism of Transmission into the Ethiopic (Geez) Bible and the Qurʾanic text", in: Gabriel Said Reynolds (ed.), *The Qurʾan in its Historical Context*, Oxon – New York, 2008, 204–16; Wolf Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak*: *Studies in Cultural Background*, vol. 1: *Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1965 (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 7); Lanfranco Ricci, [review of *Qəddus Qurʾan*, Addis Ababa, Artisik mattämya bet], *RSE* 24, 1969–70, 261–64; Madeleine Schneider, *Stèles funéraires musulmanes des îles Dahlak (mer Rouge)*, 2 vols., Le Caire 1983 (Textes Arabes et Études Islamiques 19/1–2); Leendert Jan Slikkeveer, *Plural Medical Systems in the Horn of Africa*, London – New York 1990; TrIslam.

Alessandro Gori

Qurayš

The Q. was a tribe in ↗Mecca to which the Prophet ↗Muḥammad belonged. The Q. claim descent from Fihr, the leader of several Arab clans in pre-Islamic ↗Arabia who was involved in various struggles around the protection and control of the Ka^{c}ba. Both the ↗Qurʾān (esp. *Sūra* 5) and the *ḥadīṯ* associate the consolidation of the high status of the Q. among the Arab tribes with their divinely assisted defeat of the Abyssinian army led by ↗Abraha, which supposedly came to destroy the Meccan sanctuary (Rubin 2004: 329). The Q. eventually gained control of Mecca in the time of Quṣayy (6th generation from Fihr), who managed to muster his kinsmen, take control over the Ka^{c}ba, and become the ruler of Mecca (Watt in EI^2, 434).

Already in the pre-Islamic Ḥiǧāz, the Q. commanded a wide-ranging caravan trade network stretching to the ↗Byzantine empire, Persia (↗Iran), ↗Yemen and Ethiopia. By 600 A.D., several wealthy Q. merchants were able to monopolize trade between the Mediterranean and the north-western Indian Ocean area. But the accumulation of wealth and the consolidation of regional power gradually bred intricate internal struggles. Political competition between lineages led to the formation of rivalling clans, the most important (for subsequent Islamic history) being the rivalry between the descendants of Umayya b. ^{c}Abd Šams and those of Hāšim b. ^{c}Abdmanāf, to which Muḥammad belonged.

The importance of the Q. in the context of the history of ↗Islam and Muslims in North-east Africa is mostly associated with traditions of Islamization and the foundation of Muslim clans and lineages. From an anthropological perspective, tracing descent to Q., i.e. the Prophet's family, is invariably connected to the ascription of authority, legitimacy and prestige to Muslim dynasties, lineages, ethnic groups and clans. Traditions usually trace Q. ancestry either to the migration of clans who left the Ḥiǧāz and found their way to North-east Africa, or to the immigration of prestigious individuals who settled in the Ethio–Eritrean area, married locally and sometimes converted entire families and clans to Islam.

In the predominantly Muslim Somalia, most clans and lineages claim putative descent from the Q., specifically through ᶜAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib (brother of ᶜAlī, the fourth *ḫalīfa;* Gori 2003:26f.). In Ethiopia and Eritrea, too, several clan genealogies go up to the Q. – whether to the members of the first ↗*Hiǧra* of 615 (HusIslam 61f.), or to the Q. clans who fled the Ḥiǧāz due to political rivalries and struggles. E.g., whilst the highland Muslim ↗Ǧäbärti claim descent from the offspring of the Prophet's daughter Ruqayya and ᶜUṯmān b. ᶜAffān, her husband and future *ḫalīfa* (PollEr 43, 151), the ↗Argobba trace their lineage to Banū l-Ḥumāya, a Q. clan that was expelled from the Ḥiǧāz in 754–55 A.D. by the then politically dominant Banū ᶜAbbās (Braukämper 2002:22). The tracing of origins to Q. seems also to be the case of the ↗Hadiyya (BrHad 58–66).

The association of ruling Muslim lineages with Q. descent is discernable in medieval Ethiopia. The ↗Maḫzūmī dynasty of the Sultanate of Šäwa traced its descent to the Prophetic clan, the Banū Hāšim, namely to ᶜAlī's brother ᶜAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, or according to another tradition to ᶜAlī's son, Ḥasan (CerIslam 218). ᶜUmar Walašmaᶜ, who defeated the Maḫzūmī dynasty in 1285 A. D. and founded the state of ↗Ifat, equally traced descent to Q., through Yaḥyā, the grandson of Ḥasan, himself the grandson of the Prophet (CerIslam 140). Some Argobba oral traditions point to past sectarian tensions and a degree of conflict between groups claiming descent from the Banū Hāšim and the Banū Umayya in the Ifat polity (CerIslam 218, HusIslam 62).

Most traditions of Eritrean Muslim groups emphasize the role of Arabian holy men in the process of their adoption of Islam and, sometimes, the foundation of their lineage. Groups who only converted to Islam in the 19th cent. often adapted traditions of Q. origin to both accommodate their newly acquired religious identities and establish legitimacy.

Among the Eritrean ↗Təgre-speaking groups and clans claiming descent from the Q. we find the ↗Bet Asgäde, ↗Säbdärat, Almada, Riqbāt, ↗ᶜAd Mäᶜalləm, ↗ᶜAd Šek, *qabīlat* Abū l-Qāsim, ↗Bilin (Bet Ṭaqʷe branch), Daqdaqi, Dobᶜāt, Bet Mäᶜala, most of whom trace their origin to the Banū Hāšim. The ↗Mänsaᶜ and ↗Marya, also Təgre speakers, trace descent to the Banū Umayya. Among the ↗Sāho-speaking groups claiming descent from the Q., the ↗Minifire and ↗Asaᵓorta trace descent through Banū Hāšim, while the ↗Ṭarūᶜa and ↗Ḥazo claim origins from Banū Umayya. Some ↗Beni ᶜAmər clans and families in Massawa and Ḥərgigo also claim Q. descent (MuhTarih 222–312).

Lit.: BrHad 58–66; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia. Collected Essays*, Münster – Hamburg – London 2002, 22, 24; CerIslam; HusIslam; ALESSANDRO GORI, *Studi sulla letteratura agiografica islamica somala in lingua araba*, Firenze 2003 (Quaderni di Semitistica 24), 26f., 70; MuhTarih 205–312; PollEr 43, 151, 169, 204; URI RUBIN, "Quraysh", in: *Encyclopaedia of the Qurᵓan*, vol. 4, Leiden 2004, 329–33; TrIslam 44f.; WILLIAM MONTGOMERY WATT, "Kuraysh", in: *EI²*, vol. 5, 434–35.

Jonathan Miran

Qʷälla

The Q. (ቈላ) represents one of the six agro-↗ecological zones of Ethiopia, lying between the moderate ↗*wäyna däga* and the hot and dry lowlands, called *bäräha* (በረሃ). The Q. is situated on the slopes of the Ethiopian highlands which vary in their extent, but also many of the deep river valleys inside the highlands belong to it. Depending on the regional climatic patterns the elevation of the Q. varies quite largely (↗Climate). In western Ethiopia the Q. lies between 600 to 800 m A.S.L., in north-eastern and south-eastern Ethiopia it reaches 1,400 to 1,800 m A.S.L. The zone is divided into dry Q. (annual rainfall 300 to 900 mm), and moist Q. (annual rainfall 900 to 1400 mm), being predominantly situated in western Ethiopia. The rainy season varies from unimodal to bimodal and from about three months (northern and southeastern Ethiopia) to eight months (western Ethiopia). The annual average temperature of the Q. usually lies between 18 to 25 degrees. The natural vegetation of the Q. is woodland dominated by *Terminalia*, *Commiphora*, *Boswellia*, and ↗Acacia.

Traditionally, the population density of the Q. was quite low, mainly because of various dangerous ↗ diseases, wild animals and the unpleasant climate. A rich variety of ethnic groups, some of them semi-nomads, lived and live in these areas, the majority being ↗Oromo. Land use concentrated on ↗pastoralism, hunting was common. But also agriculture on a smaller scale often in irrigated areas was described by 19th cent. travellers. Due to population pressure and ↗migration into the Q., land use in general has been intensified especially since the 1950s. Depending on labour and capital input several ↗water conservation and ↗irrigation methods were introduced or extended and production systems were improved. Beyond traditional crops such as ↗sorghum, groundnut, pulses (↗Vegetables) and cotton, plantations of cash crops such as sugarcane, ↗fruits, sesame and flowers etc. was encouraged by the state and by private companies.

Lit.: EMAtlas; Hans Hurni, *Ethiopia, Agroecological Belts. Scale 1:1,000,000, 3 sheets*, ed. by Soil Conservation Research Programm, Addis Ababa – Bern 1995 (map); Id., *Soil Conservation in Ethiopia. Guidelines for Development Agents*, Addis Ababa 1995, reprint, (Lit.); James C. McCann, *People of the Plow: an Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800–1990,* Madison, WI – London 1995 (Lit.); Alfons Ritler, *Forest, Land Use and Landscape of Central and Northern Ethiopia, 1865–1930,* Bern 2003 (Geographica Bernensia, African Studies Series 19) [Lit.]; Egbert Westphal, *Agricultural Systems in Ethiopia*, Wageningen 1975 (Agricultural Research Reports) [Lit.].

Alfons Ritler

Qʷälläla

Q. (**ቈለላ**; 11° 13' N, 37° 37' E, 2,420 m A.S.L.) is a district in ↗Goǧǧam halfway between the localities of Däbrä May and ↗Moṭa (for location s. map for Qoma Fasilädäs). Towards 1611, the ↗Jesuits established their third residence there, after ↗Fəremona and ↗Gorgora (BecRASO VI, 237; XI, 261). With the support of the governor of Goǧǧam, *ras* ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos, and the work of Francesco Antonio de Angelis, Q. become an important asset in the mission. The residence was granted lands, which were administred by *azmač* "Akaby" of Portuguese origin (BecRASO XI, 439; ↗Portugal). From there de Angelis led a series of proselytising missions to the neighbouring areas and, with the help of local monks and some Ethio–Portuguese, translated theological treatises into Amharic, Gəᶜəz and Agäw. In 1619, its school had 15 students, five of them children of local noble families (BecRASO XI, 295, 430, 443, 465).

Initially, Q. consisted of a few simple huts but towards 1625 the Jesuits Francisco Carvalho and Antonio Bruno relocated the residence to an elevated site nearby and began building a church using mortar ("chunambo": ARSI, Goa 39 I, 255r; BecRASO VI, 436). In 1628, the church, dedicated to St. ↗Ignatius of Loyola, was almost completed. The complex also had defensive purposes and, during an Oromo raid in 1629, the Jesuits from Ǝnnäbəsse, Ḥädaša and Liqä Nəguś took refuge there (BecRASO XII, 278).

During the 1620s, Q. was an active centre of missionary activities; religious processions and celebrations were there held in great pomp (e.g., BecRASO XII, 458f.). The residence also had authority over the monasteries of ↗Gonǧ Tewodros and Ṣəlalo (s. EAE vol. 5; BecRASO IV, 15). On 23 May 1631, ↗Śärṣä Krəstos tried to storm the site with his army but was deterred by the Jesuits' firearms and fortifications (BecRASO XII, 491; PerChron I, 315ff.).

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, Q.'s fortifications were used by the Ethiopian monarchs (cf., e.g., GuiIohan 13, 37, 128 etc.). Later, an Orthodox church, Yäwäyzazərt Kidanä Məḥrät, was built near the former Jesuit residence. The complex of Q. was surveyed by the French archaeologist Francis Anfray (in PICES 8, vol. 1, 21).

Src.: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [ARSI], Goa 39 I, 236r–59v; BecRASO IV, 15; VI, 237, 436; XI, 261, 295, 430, 439, 443, 465; XII, 278, 458f., 491; DombrChr s. index; GuiIohan 12f., 17, 37, 128, 154, 197, 202, 282 (text) = 11, 13, 17, 38, 133, 161, 208, 213, 302 (tr.); PerChron I, 315ff. (text) = II, 244ff. (tr.).

Lit.: Antoine d'Abbadie, *Géodésie d'Éthiopie ou triangulation d'une partie de la Haute Éthiopie*, Paris 1873, 182; Francis Anfray, "Vestiges gondariens", *RSE* 28, 1980–81, 5–22; Id., "Les monuments gondariens des XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles. Une vue d'ensemble", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 9–43; *Guida* 387.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Qʷara

Q. (**ቋራ**) is a frontier district that lies west-northwest of Lake ↗Ṭana. It borders the districts of ↗Ṭaqussa and Aläfa on the east, present-day Sudan on the west, and ↗Č̣əlga on the north. The River Dənder marks its southern boundary. Its eastern extremity is composed of mountainous uplands that give way gradually to hot forested lowlands in its centre and west (for location s. map for Qallābāt).

Several peoples are found within its boundaries. The Gumuz (Gumis, Ganza, etc. [↗Mao]), who speak ↗Koman, a Nilo-Saharan language, live along the western border. It is likely that they formerly occupied much if not the whole of Q. but have retreated westward under pressure from other groups, notably the ↗Agäw, who are in all likelihood the aboriginal inhabitants of northern Ethiopia. The ↗Gumuz live in villages, practise shifting agriculture, and have largely preserved their traditional culture despite pressures of Islamization from the west and Amharization from the east. Some have accepted Islam, and others Christianity.

The Agäw in the higher elevations of Q. probably began to convert to Christianity during the 16th cent. at the latest, in the process becoming ↗Amhara. Others became part of the larger ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel community of the north-west highlands. One of their traditions holds that they arrived in Q. in the 15th cent.; another tradition says the mid-17th cent. Regardless of when they arrived, Q. became one of the major homelands of the Betä Ǝsraʾel. Until perhaps the 19th cent., they spoke *Qʷaräñña*, a Central Cushitic language which they call *Kʷarili wana gämärŋa*, "the language which is in Q."; other terms are *Qʷaresa* or *Fälašan* (Appleyard 1998: 143). Formerly widely spoken by all Betä Ǝsraʾel in the north-western highlands, *Qʷaräñña* is no longer a living language, having been completely displaced by ↗Amharic or, in the north, by ↗Təgrəñña.

In the south, along the dry, forested north bank of the Dənder, live the ↗Kunfäl, a small Agäw group who trace their origins to Ačäfär and Kumbäl, locales south-west of Lake Ṭana. They call themselves *qʷälläññočč*, 'the lowland people', and speak a language they call "Agäw", related most closely to ↗Awŋi, the language of the Agäw of ↗Agäw Mədər to their east. The Kunfäl are mainly agriculturalists who favour the hoe over the plow, live in widely-spaced villages, and are at least nominally Orthodox Christians. They are often darker-skinned than the highland Agäw but not as dark as the Haméč (cp. article "Kunfäl" and Simoons 1960: 45; Bender 1975: 338), a Sudanese people who together with the Gumuz live intermixed with them. In the early 2000s, they numbered ca. 2,000.

Aside from the 18th and the mid-19th cents., Q., being a district on the western frontier, was and has remained of marginal importance to the centralized Ethiopian state. It was of commercial significance, however, because it lay adjacent to the main caravan route from the Lake Ṭana region to the ↗Nile basin. Subsidiary routes ran through Q. to Gumuz lands south of the Dənder, the source of ↗gold, ↗ivory, ↗cotton, and slave–routes that have certainly been in use since antiquity.

The people of Q. were active in the Christological debates of the 17th and 18th cents., being zealous devotees of the ↗*Qəbat* (Unctionist) doctrine. Beginning in the early 18th cent., Q. emerged from obscurity into the political limelight as the home of Queen ↗Bərhan Mogäsa (better known as Məntəwwab), her family, and her relatives. Known as *Qʷaräññočč* ('the Qʷarans'), they dominated the Solomonic court in ↗Gondär throughout the mid-18th cent., beginning late in the reign of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa (r. 1721–30), electing two of their number, ↗Iyasu II, "Qʷaräñña Iyasu" (r. 1730–55), and his son, ↗Iyoʾas (r. 1755–69), to the throne under Məntəwwab as regent. Qʷarans, commanded by Məntəwwab's brother, *ras* ↗Wäldä Ləʾul, formed the heart of the politico-military coalition that achieved and maintained Qʷaran ascendance in Gondär. The traveller, James ↗Bruce, described the Qʷarans' predominance thusly: "The governor of Kuara is one of the great officers of state, and […] carries *sendick* and *nagareet*. His kettle drums are silver, and his privilege is to beat these drums even in marching through the capital, which no governor of a province is permitted to do" (BruNile III, 260).

Q. produced another Solomonic ruler in the mid-19th cent. in the person of Kaśa Ḫaylu, later *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. Born ca. 1820 either in Q. or Gondär to Ḫaylu Wäldä Giyorgis, governor of the province, Kaśa received his formal education at ↗Maḫbärä Śəllase Monastery in the heart of Q. As a young man, he perfected his military skills in the service of his Qʷaran overlords and as a ↗*šəfta* in the western lowlands. Known as "Kaśa Qʷarəñña", he made Q. his base of operations in the 1840s and thereafter drew on its resources as he sought recognition and the leadership of the kingdom. His first significant appointment was as overlord of the province in 1845; two years later, he was appointed governor with the title of *däǧǧazmač*. Qʷarans formed the core of his earliest armies and doubtless were among those who served him to the end. It was in Q., namely in Maḫbärä Śəllase, that he was reburied several years after his defeat and death at ↗Maqdäla in 1868.

The Sudanese Dervishes plundered Q. in January 1886, burning settlements, churches, and Maḫbärä Śəllase, an act repeated by the Italians during the ↗Italian war 1935–36, when they suspected the monks of harboring Ethiopian patriots. In the imperial administration of the mid-20th cent., Q. was a *wärädä* in Čəlga *awraǧǧa* with its capital at Tewodros Kätäma.

Src.: interview with *mämhər* Gäbrä Śəllase Ḫaylä Maryam, age 36, and *abba* Sahlä Maryam, age unknown, both at Qʷara Maḫbärä Śəllase, 12 November 1972; BruNile II, 431f., 562, 607–706; III, 259f.; FusTeod 64–78 (tr.); GuiIyas, passim, esp. 8–33, 40–44, 175–82 (tr.); MasMis^2 IV; MonVidTheo 1–9 (tr.); MorTeod 151–60 (tr.).

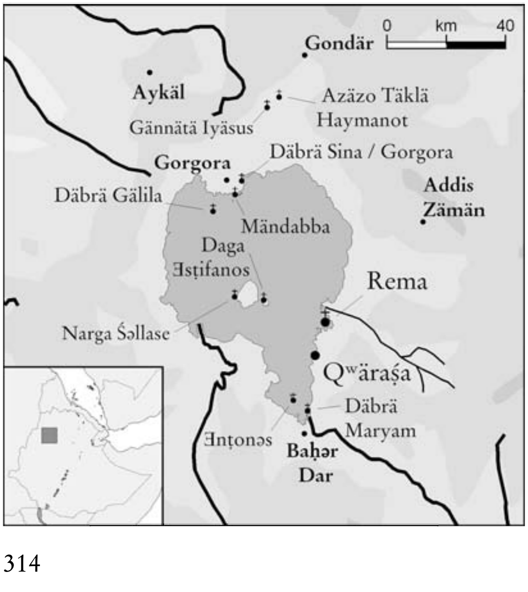
Lit.: DAVID L. APPLEYARD, "Language Death: the Case of Qwarenya (Ethiopia)", in: MATTHIAS BRENZINGER (ed.), *Endangered Languages in Africa*, Köln 1998, 143–62, here 143ff.; Lionel Marvin Bender, *The Ethiopian Nilo-Saharans*, Addis Ababa 1975, 61f., 338; Wendy James – Gerd Baumann – Douglas Johnson, *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North East Africa 1880–1883*, London 1996, xci, 24, 210f. and s. index; Merid Wolde Aregay, "Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, 613–31, here 620f.; James A. Quirin, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*: *a History of the Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *to 1920,* Philadelphia, PA 1992, 12, 65, 68, 80, 167, 189; RubTew 15ff., 29f., 32f., 36ff., 40–45; Frederick J. Simoons, *Northwest Ethiopia*: *Peoples and Economy,* Madison, WI 1960, 21–24, 35, 43f., 52–56, 155ff.; Tadesse Tamrat, "Processes of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of the Agäw", *JAH* 29, 1988, 5–18, here 8–13; TadTChurch 25–28; Teqebba Birru – Zena Adal – Roger Cowley, "The Kunfäl People and their Language", *JES* 9, 2, 1971, 99–106, here 99ff.

LaVerle B. Berry

Qʷäraṣ́a

Q. (**ቈራፀ**, also Qʷäraṭa, Qoraṭa) is the name of a region, a settlement and a church and monastery on the eastern shore of Lake ↗Ṭana (1,908 m A.S.L.), which became famous as the home of the community of St. ↗Wälättä Ṗeṭros.

It was also here that, at the beginning of the 17th cent., Wälättä Ṗeṭros took refuge fleeing *ras* ↗Śəᶜəlä Krəstos. Since she fled into an already existing church, she was not its founder (Ricci 1970: 58). The community of Wälättä Ṗeṭros could have been founded in Q. after her death by a monk called Zäḥawaryat (Bosc-Tiessé 2008: 70); the circular ↗church building was constructed by *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (damaged ca. 1940, later reconstructed, cp. Guida 381; Angelini 2006: 93ff.).



The church of Q. was the only religious centre of Lake Ṭana to be part of the ↗*Täwaḥədo* movement. During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, Q. participated on his side in two synods, in 1693 and in 1699 (GuiIohan 174f., 214). Q. was also protected by *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa): her chronicle opens with a prophecy attributed to Wälättä Ṗeṭros; and, soon after ascending the throne, the queen endowed the church of Q. with gold and re-distributed its ↗*gʷəlt*-lands (GuiIyas 39ff.).

The church library preserves a manuscript of the *Gädlä Wälättä Ṗeṭros* with an iconographic cycle dated 1716–21, which is one of the first witnesses of the "Second Gondärine style". Only one manuscript from Q. was microfilmed in the Ṭānāsee collection (SixTana III, 239ff.); part of the library was microfilmed by EMML (including the *Gädl*, no. 8448), although not yet catalogued.

One main asset of Q. was the church's right of ↗asylum, at least from the beginning of the 18th cent. (BassÉt 175; DombrChr 246f.; BegCron 89f.). Different texts, chronicles or archives, use Q. as a model to define the right of asylum. In the mid-19th cent., Q. was described as a rich commercial town where numerous dignitaries had houses to insure them protection in case they should need a shelter (AbbSéjour II, 81f.; Blanc 1868: 140f.; MasMis I, 206f.).

For a month starting from 14 February 1866, the group accompanying the British consul Hormuzd ↗Rassam, joined by the foreign missionaries and artisans who arrived from ↗Gafat, waited at Q. for the release of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II's prisoners from Mäqdäla. Duncan ↗Cameron and others were released and arrived at Q. on 10 March. They left the town a month later. In March 1867 Tewodros tried to raid Q., but was prevented by the peasants.

In the 1870s, Carlo ↗Piaggia settled in Q. making it the centre for his naturalist collections during four years. Achille ↗Raffray, too, used the place repeatedly as his base.

Today, the settlement of Q. seems to have lost importance.

Src.: AbbSéjour II, 81f.; BassÉt 175; BegCron 89f.; Henry Blanc, *A Narrative of Captivity in Abyssinia* …, London 1868, ch. 8, esp. 140f.; ChTana s. index; DombrChr 246f., s. index; GuiIyas 38 (text) = 139ff. (tr.); GuiIohan 166, 202 (text) = 174f., 214 (tr.); HamTana I, 74, Abb. 14 (Lit.); MasMis I, 206f.; Lanfranco Ricci (tr.), *Vita di Walatta Ṗiēṭros*, Louvain 1970 (CSCO 316 [SAe 61]), 58, 64; SixTana III, 239ff., ms. Ṭānāsee 179.

Lit.: Sandro Angelini, *Monumenti del Lago Tana*, Bergamo 2006, 93ff.; Claire Bosc-Tiessé, "Creating an

Iconographic Cycle: the Acts of Wälättä Petros and the Emergence of Qʷärata as Place of Asylum", in: *PICES* 15, 409–16; Ead., *Les îles de la mémoire. Fabrique des images et écriture de l'histoire dans les églises du lac Tana, Éthiopie, XVIIᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècle*, Paris 2008, 67f., 75, 187, 246; *Guida* 381.

Anaïs Wion

Qʷarf

Qʷ. (ቋርፍ) is the staple food of the monks inhabiting ↗Waldəbba. Tradition relates that ascetics had settled there before the introduction of ↗Christianity to Ethiopia; it refers to the ↗*Dərsanä ᶜUraᵓel* which tells of the visit of the Holy Family to Ethiopia on a silver cloud, accompanied by ↗lions, and describes how the Christ child dug up bitter roots in the Desert of Wali. Christ prophesied that it would be the future food of great hermits, saying: "They will come from the provinces of Ethiopia and live in this desert".

In accordance with the old custom of Waldəbba, ↗cereals are considered worldly and banned from the central area of the monastic complex. Instead, for many centuries the monastic community ate Qʷ. made from plants known locally as *ṣable*, *gämälo* and *sadda*, bitter roots rendered edible by a laborious process, which involved shredding them and soaking them in water to remove potentially poisonous substances. Tradition relates that the 16th-cent. head of the monastery *abba* Muse wanted to replace Qʷ. with *dagussa qiṭṭa* (unleavened millet bread; cp. ↗Bread), but this attempt was foiled by angelic intervention. However, his successor *abba* Zäpäraqliṭos succeeded in establishing the cultivation of bananas at irrigated spots, which were sun dried to make a more convenient staple food.

Qʷ. remains a mark of the unique character of Waldəbba's monastic tradition, which tends to use resources rejected or considered inferior by the general population.

↗Monasticism

Src.: Bärihun Käbbädä, የዋልድባ፡ ገዳም፡ ታሪክ (*Yäwaldəbba gädam tarik*, "The History of the Monastery of Waldəbba"), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.], 32, 116f.; BerTarik 215f.; ድርሳነ፡ ዑራኤል። ግዕዝና፡ አማርኛ። መልክአ፡ ዑራኤል፡ በልሳነ፡ ግዕዝ (*Dərsanä ᶜUraᵓel, gəᶜəzənna amarəñña. Mälkəᵓa ᶜUraᵓel bäləssanä Gəᶜəz*, 'The Homily of Urael, in Gəᶜəz and Amharic. The Images of Urael, in Gəᶜəz'), Addis Abäba, 1985 A.M. [April–May 1993 A.D.], ch. 3, 1; DTWDic 1013; Girma Elias, "The Monastery of Abrentant in Waldibba", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 93–121, here 94f., 103; GuiVoc 267; KaneDic 574, 748; Lanfranco Ricci (tr.), *Vita di Walatta Piētros*, Louvain 1970 (CSCO 316 [SAe 61]), 37 and n. 2.

Joachim Persoon

Qʷäsṭanṭinos I ↗Ǝllä Saḥəl

Qʷäsṭanṭinos II ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob

Qʷäsṭanṭinos III ↗Ǝskəndər

Qʷäsṭanṭinos IV ↗Dawit II

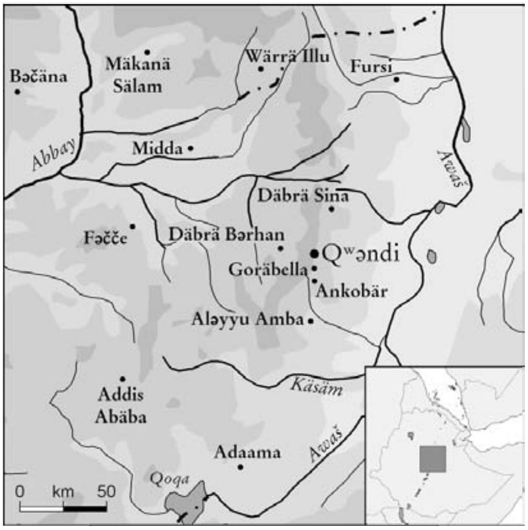
Qʷəndi

Q. (ቍንዲ, also Qundi; 9° 40' N, 39° 45' E, ca. 3,500 m A.S.L.) is a mountain and a historical settlement in northern Šäwa located 9 km north of the town of Goräbella, along the road between ↗Däbrä Bərhan and ↗Ankobär. Q. overlooks the plains towards Däbrä Bərhan, but is also close to the Ǝmmä Məẖrät mountain ridge and the lowlands of ↗Ḥarr Amba, sometimes used as a retreat.

Due to its strategic location, Q. is mentioned in sources for several periods, but it is above all famous as the capital of Šäwa during the short rule of ↗Wäsän Sägäd, who also established the church of Giyorgis there. Q. served as a base for controlling the ↗Oromo areas to the southwest. Although conquered and resettled during the rule of ↗Amməẖa Iyäsus, the plains towards Däbrä Bərhan were still vulnerable to Oromo incursions. In fact, after *märəd azmač* Wäsän Sägäd was murdered at Q. by a servant, the Oromo rebelled and burnt the land up to Q. The Oromo were later defeated, the frontier moved southwards, and Q. lost its significance.

Src.: AWTarik 98, 102; BTafA 401, 527ff., 589.

Lit.: Clarisse Guiral, *Diversité des jardins et stratégies paysannes le long d'un gradient altitudinal en Ethiopie centrale,* Ph.D. thesis, Paris 2009; R.H. Kofi Darkwah,



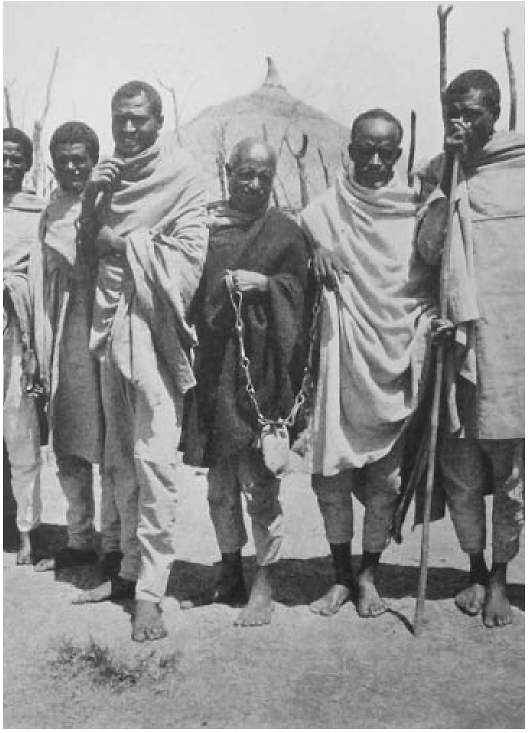
Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813–1889, London 1975, 18f.; StStud 101, 115.

Svein Ege

Qʷəraňňa

Qʷ. (ቍራኛ, 'the tied one') was the name given to an accused person whose right wrist would normally be chained to the left wrist of another person. The latter would usually be the person making the accusation, or his "brother" or other relative or appointee. In the virtual absence of strong prisons in traditional Ethiopia only persons considered a threat to the state, or political offenders, were imprisoned in former times.

Other accused persons, if unable to find security, were in many cases chained – with a light chain usually over a metre in length. Men accused of murder, according to Plowden (1868: 96), might on the other hand be chained to a soldier of the ruler's guard. Debtors and creditors might also be "tied" – less securely – by knotting their *šämmas* together (Rey 1923: 118). Guilty parties were also on occasion chained until they could raise a specified fine.



Creditor and debtor chained to each other; from Osgood 1928: 134

The above system of "human prisons" was not without value. It made the criminal's guilt widely known in the area of the crime, and, by introducing the criminal to his victim's relative(s) encouraged him to feel remorse – and repent (AbbSéjour I, 461f.). By the early 20th cent. the Qʷ. system was, however, discredited, and regarded as outmoded. Prisons were considered more "civilized". The practice of chaining a murderer to the "brother" of his victim was accordingly abolished by *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, who ordered that the accused should be chained and watched by prison guards (GebMolIyas 328f.; Merśe Hazen Wolde Qirqos 2004: 113). This prohibition on chaining of criminals was continued by Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, who states in his *Autobiography* that he had ordered that they should be "guarded by wardens" (HSLife I, 73). The custom of tying debtors and creditors together was however continued until the Italian fascist invasion (Powell 1925: 109f.; Walker 1933: 168–74; Farago 1935: 31f.).

Src.: AbbSéjour I, 461f.; EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, vol. 1, Paris 1838, 18; LADISLAS FARAGO, *Abyssinia on the Eve*, London 1935, 31f.; GebMolIyas 320f.; DENIS GÉRARD – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Ethiopia Photographed,* London 1996, 135; ALBERT EDWARD WILFRED GLEICHEN, *With the Mission to Menelik 1897*, London 1898, 241; GueCopMen 102f.; HSLife 73; KaneDic 736; MasMis^2 15f.; MERŚE HAZEN WOLDE QIRQOS, *Of What I Saw and Heard*: *the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II & Brief Rule of Iyassu*, Addis Ababa 2004, 113; W. ROBERT MOORE, "Coronation Days in Addis Ababa", *The National Geographic Magazine* 59, 6, 1931, 727–28; WILFRED H. OSGOOD, "Nature and Man in Ethiopia", *ibid.* 54, 2, 1928, 134 (ill.); WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia*, London 1868, 96; EDWARD ALEXANDER POWELL, *Beyond the Purple Rim*, London 1925, 109f.; CHARLES FERNAND REY, *Unconquered Abyssinia*, London 1923, 118; CRAVEN HOWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933, 168–74.

Richard Pankhurst

Qʷəraro

Q. (ቍራሮ, also Qəraro, Qoraro) is a mountain (1,930 m A.S.L.) in the western arm of the ↗Gärᶜalta range (s. map for Gärᶜalta, EAE vol. 2, 699) and the site of a ↗rock-hewn church dedicated to St. ↗Mary, which was founded by the local saint *abunä* Gäbrä Mikaᵓel (also venerated in Ḥaramat, Təgray).

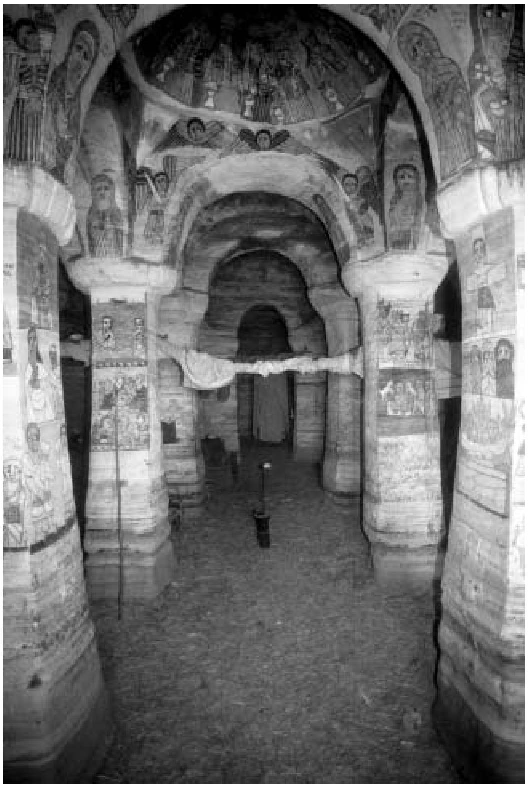
The church was constructed probably in the 15th cent. Accessible by a narrow and steep chimney, it is a structure (ca. 19.5 x 11.5 m) divided into the central nave (height 4.7 m) and two aisles (height 2.9 m), each ending with semi-circular apses. The northern apse houses a monolithic altar (cp. ↗ *mäqdäs*). Six squared pillars connected by arches and crowned by circular cut in sections capitals, organize the space. The bay-sections are covered by the domes with imitations of pendentives. Two circular cells are hewn in the walls of the aisles, both on the level of the second bay. The unified vestibule is preceded by an ambulatory with two entrances and two window-openings.

The church is decorated with wall ↗ paintings displayed on the first two cupolas and on the walls below them, on the arches and on all sides of the three first pairs of pillars. The dominating colours are bright yellow and blue applied against the white-washed background. The programme is an abbreviated version of the decoration designed in the 18th cent. for the *mäqdäs* of circular churches.

In the west dome of the central aisle ↗ equestrian saints are depicted: St. ↗ George (with his three companions) and ↗ Gälawdewos, as well as St. Michael rescuing sinful souls. The scenes on the walls below illustrate the O.T. (Original Sin and Expulsion from Paradise), the N.T. (Annunciation, Nativity, Baptism of Christ, ↗ *Kʷərᶜatä rəʾəsu*) and the ↗ apocrypha (Joachim and Hanna, Dormition of St. Mary). The arches feature three of the ↗ Nine Saints: ↗ Yəmʾata, ↗ Zämikaʾel Arägawi, ↗ Alef, and Ethiopian monks, including ↗ Gäbrä Nazrawi.

Inside the central cupola there are 12 out of 24 Heavenly Priests (probably a part of the ↗ *Maiestas Domini* which was never finished in the cupola at the front of the sanctuary) and on the walls below angels, archangels and cherubs, almost all labelled with names. The remaining of the Nine Saints are depicted on the arches. Similar kind of subjects are found on the columns: beside the ↗ Crucifixion, Entombment, Resurrection, the martyrdom of the Apostles, St. Stephen and Sebastian, there are figures of the most venerated Ethiopian saints: ↗ Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, ↗ Täklä Haymanot, ↗ Samuʾel of Wäldəbba and ↗ Gäbrä Krəstos, as well as some local monks including *abba* Gäbrä Mikaʾel, and, finally, two narrative scenes: the story of ↗ Yared and that of the "cannibal of Qəmər" (*Bälaᶜ Säbəʾ*). There is also a donor depicted with his family and a nobleman surrounded by armed guards.

The church possesses an old staff iron cross and an ancient wooden *mänbärä* ↗ *tabot.* In a cell cut into the wall of the central bay of the north aisle, there is a kind of genizah full of fragments of old manuscripts.



Qʷəraro Maryam church, central nave; photo 2005, coutesy of Michael Gervers

200 m lower, at the foot of Q. mountain and close to the new Q. village the church dedicated to St. ↗ George of Lydda is located. It is an oval cave with two large, round pillars and a small almost circular sanctuary, the only decoration being three shallow domes, two of which are aligned along the east-west axis of the church while the third covers the south-east part of the ceiling.

The church owns a 20th-cent. manuscript of the Vita of *abunä* Gäbrä Mikaʾel, copied from the original which, according to a local priest, is kept in the church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm in ᶜAddi Gätät near ↗ Mälfa. Today, there is no monastic community at Q.

Lit.: DAVID BUXTON – RUTH PLANT, "Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province", *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–267, here 207; MARIE-JOSÉ FRIEDLANDER, *Ethiopia's Hidden Treasures. A Guide to the Paintings of the Remote Churches of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2007, 122–33; GEORG GERSTER, *Äthiopien. Das Dach Afrikas*, Zürich 1974, 250; ID., "Verborgene Schätze in Äthiopiens Bergwildnis", *Die Woche*, 21 Februar 1973, 12–17, here 17; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 30, 71f.; ROGER SAUTER, "Églises rupestres au Tigré", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 166; *abba* TEWELDE MEDHIN JOSEPH, "Introduction générale aux églises monolithes du Tigrai", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 83–98, here 96.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Qʷəsqʷam

Qʷəsqʷam (Koskam) in Ethiopian tradition

The Ethiopic name of Q. (**ቍስቋም**, also Qusqam), at present Qūṣiyya (known in Eth. sources as **ቍስያ**, Qʷəsya), resumes that of the Coptic Kōskam, Koskam (in the Arabic sources Quzqām, Qūsqām, Quṣqām, also Qūs Qām, Quṣ Qām, etc.), a mountain in ↗Egypt in the nearby of which the Coptic monastery of ↗Dayr al-Muḥarraq lies. Q. is abundantly mentioned in literary apocryphal traditions associated with the Holy Family's flight to Egypt, of which Q. represents the southernmost limit of diffusion in Egypt, as well as an important pilgrimage site with a famous Church dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Davis 2008: 135–39).

Christian Ethiopians have been since early times devoted to the memory of the Egyptian Q. and intimate and familiar with its traditions – what explains the fortune of the placename in Ethiopia (besides the famous church in the nearby of Gondär [s. below], cp., e.g., the church and monastery of Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam in the nearby of Dəbarwa, Eritrea, etc.). The strict relationship of the Ethiopians with Q. is attested by a twofold evidence: 1) situated on the traditional pilgrimage route of the Ethiopians to ↗Jerusalem and the Holy Land, an Ethiopian monastic community, for long time independent from the Coptic one, is attested at Dayr al-Muḥarraq probably as early as the 14th cent., visited by travelers still in the 17th cent. (e.g., by ↗Wansleben, who copied there some Ethiopic ↗manuscripts, cp. Bausi 1989: 7f., 26, 28) and survived until the 20th cent. (cp. CerPal vol. 1, 353ff.; Meinardus 1965: 28f.); 2) literary works of apocryphal Marian literature celebrating Q., originally composed in Coptic, then translated into Arabic (cp. Davis 2008: 135, n. 88) and finally into Ethiopic (cp. the so-called *Homily of Theophilos* [*of Alexandria*], in various recensions: ed., tr. Conti Rossini 1912; tr. Budge 1922: 61–80), came to be included, together with other narratives on Q. developed later, into the very popular ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* (cp. CerMaria 206–10).

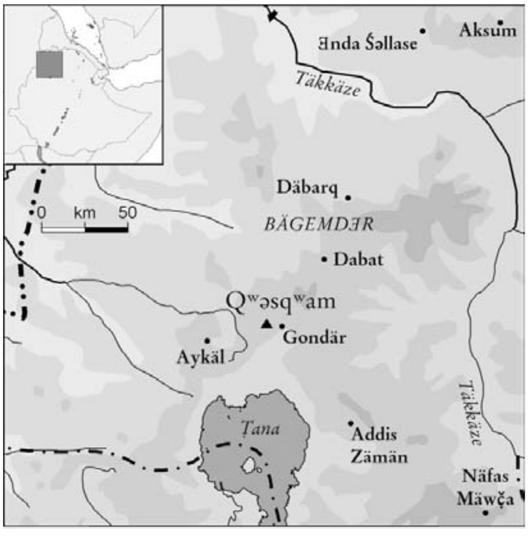
Src.: ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Cuntries*, 2 vols., ed., tr. by BASIL THOMAS ALFRED EVETTS, Oxford 1895 (Anecdota Oxoniensia), 217–27 (text) = 95–100 (tr.); ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "I manoscritti etiopici di J.M. Wansleben nella Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze", *RSE* 33, 1989 [1991], 5–33; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS THOMPSON BUDGE (tr.), *Legends of our Lady Mary the Perpetual Virgin and her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1922, 61–80; CANT no. 56; CerMaria 206–10; CerPal vol. 1, 143, vol. 2, 353–57, 360ff. (cp. index); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il discorso su Monte Coscam attribuito a Teofilo d'Alessandria", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 21, 1912, 395–471; CPG no. 2628; MICHELANGELO GUIDI, "La omelia di Teofilo di Alessandria sul monte Coscam nelle letterature orientali", *ibid.* 26, 1917, 381–469; *ibid.* 30, 1921, 217–315.

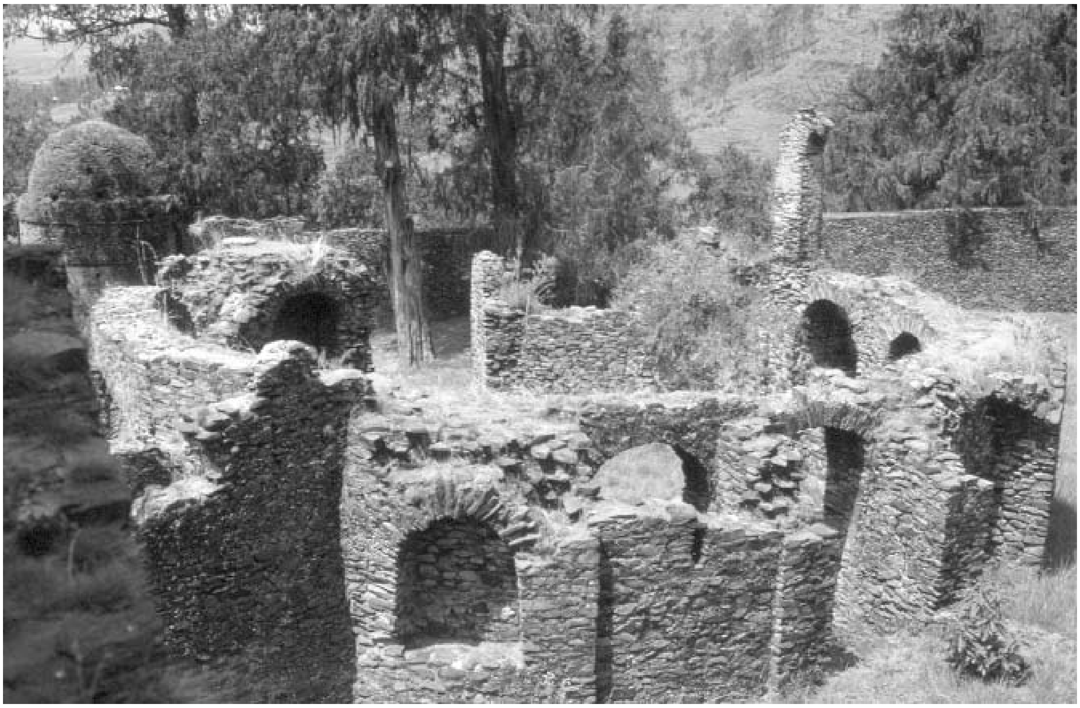
Lit.: STEPHEN J. DAVIS, "A Hermeneutic of the Land: Biblical Interpretation of the Holy Family", in: MAT IMMERZEEL et al. (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies. Leiden, 27 August–2 September 2000*, Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA 2004 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 133), vol. 1, 330–36; ID., *Coptic Christology in Practice*: *Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt*, Oxford 2008 (Oxford Early Christian Studies), 135–40 (Lit.); GrafLit vol. 1, 227–32; LESLIE B. MACCOULL, "The Holy Family Pilgrimage in Late Antique Egypt: the Case of Qusqam", in: ERNST DASSMANN – JOSEF ENGEMANN (eds.), *Akten des XII internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie: Bonn 22.–28. September, 1991*, Münster 1995 (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Suppl. 20), 987–93; OTTO MEINARDUS, "Ecclesiastica Aethiopica in Aegypto", *JES* 3, 1, 1965, 23–35, here 28f.

Alessandro Bausi

Qʷəsqʷam of Gondär

Q. (**ቍስቋም**) is a hill and the imperial complex built upon it, a few kilometres west of the main castle compound in ↗Gondär. The name comes from the locale in Egypt where the Holy Family allegedly dwelt after fleeing from King Herod. The site consists of a church, ↗Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay Qʷəsqʷam, and a "palace" area that served for





Ruins of the circular "oratory" in Qʷəsqʷam, viewed from the apartments; photo 1992, courtesy of the author

ceremonial purposes and living quarters, the whole surrounded by an oval stone wall with battlements, seven round domed towers, and two square, double-storey entrance gates, one for each half of the compound. The complex – or at least the church – was constructed in the 1730s by *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa). Constructed of brown basalt and lime mortar in Gondär-style architecture, Q. represents the greatest refinement of the style, displaying new decorative highlights and architectural innovations, the work of Armenian and Greek craftsmen (Coffin in Pearce 1831: 240).

The chronicle of ↗Iyasu II's reign records in great detail the construction and endowment of Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay and the extravagant expense Məntəwwab lavished upon it, but it says nothing about her apartments and audience hall. The church, constructed between late 1732 or early 1733 and 1739 and 1740 (land endowment continued thereafter), was a round sanctuary erected on a three-stepped foundation. A circle of graceful arches springing from square pillars formed the outer ambulatory. Eight doors gave admittance to the *qəddəst*, which also featured eight windows with shutters. Door frames and shutters were decorated in part with painted porcelain tiles attached by brass rosettes. Doors and walls were covered with finely executed ↗paintings, those of Mary and the major saints being adorned with garments of silk with gold and silver decorations. The *mäqdäs* housed a *mänbär* (*mänbärä tabot*) covered in ivory, gold, and sapphires. Coloured silk hangings radiated from the apex above the *mäqdäs*; among other innovations were glass and brass lamps and a perpetually burning candelabrum that illuminated the image of Mary. The roof's summit was covered with red fabric, above which were set 380 mirrors that reflected red colour across the countryside. A large bronze cross and pinnacle ornament, all covered in gold, crowned the entire ensemble. Məntəwwab assigned 200 clerics to the church, which became a stronghold of the ↗*Qəbat* doctrine. She and two others (allegedly Iyasu II and ↗Iyoʾas) were buried in a tomb beneath the *mäqdäs*.

The palace buildings in the adjoining compound were divided into two groups, according to ↗Bruce, who resided at Q. in 1770–71. The largest structure was a two-storey rectangular hall with two towers at one end, one round and one square. The roof was flat and battlemented. Interior walls were plastered and decorated with colored porcelain tiles. At the far end of the second floor was a platform flanked by rostrums on either side and, behind, two niches; this may have been the “trellis” used during royal audiences in Iyasu’s reign. The external walls display the most distinctive decoration. Small windows are set within triply-recessed arches and framed with heavy red tuff moldings of a stylized Orthodox church, complete with conical roof and cross. Doors, also triply-recessed, are adorned with arched lintels of red tuff. Across the top of the wall are plaques of red tuff carved into human faces, animals, and geometric designs. This hall was used for celebrations, receptions, and audiences, certainly including the annual awards ceremonies over which Məntəwwab and Iyasu (and later ↗Iyoᵓas) presided.

Nearby were two-storey buildings, presumably Məntəwwab’s private apartments. Beyond was a small circular structure whose lower storey was composed of 12 pillars and arches joined by a wall that formed a closed gallery except for four entrances. An upper gallery replicated the lower one but was entirely open. Alcoves opening off this gallery were decorated with heavy silk hangings and painted porcelain tiles attached by brass rosettes, as in Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay. This remarkable building, without parallel in previous architectural construction, may have been an oratory (Monti della Corte 1938) or possibly Məntəwwab’s private chapel.

In December 1866, Emperor ↗Tewodros II carried off many of Q.’s treasures, and in January 1888, the Sudanese ↗Mahdists plundered and burned the buildings. Q. suffered further damage in 1941 during the war with Italy (↗War of Liberation). The post-war imperial government rebuilt Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay as a cemented stone structure covered with a metal roof, appropriately painted red. In the early 1970s UNESCO initiated conservation work on the palace buildings, stabilizing but not reconstructing them.

Src.: interview with *mäläkä ṣ́äḥay* Wäräqä Bərhan Wärräta, aged 74, 3 December 1972, Qʷəsqʷam; BruNile IV, 271f.; IGNAZIO GUIDI, “Due nuovi manoscritti della ‘Cronaca abbreviata di Abissinia’”, *RRALm* ser. 6^a, 2, 1926, 357–421, here 415; GuiIyas 52ff., 89–114 (tr.); GuiVoc 269f., 761; MonVidTheo 49f. (tr.); NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce, Written by Himself during a Residence in Abyssinia from the Years 1810 to 1819, Together with Mr. Coffin’s Account of his Visit to Gondar*, vol. 1, London 1831, 240ff.; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1840, 111–18; HENRY A. STERN, *Wanderings among the Falashas in Abyssinia*, London ^{2}1862 [repr. 1968], 210f.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, *I castelli di Gondar*, Roma 1938, 49–54 and map 47 (ill.); CrumLand 104ff., 167ff.; DONALD CRUMMEY – SHUMET SISHAGNE, “The Lands of the Church of Däbrä S’ähay Qʷesqʷam, Gondar”, in: *PICES* 10, 213–18, here 216; BERNARD LINDAHL, *Architectural History of Ethiopia in Pictures*, Addis Ababa 1970, 83ff.; PankHist II, 55f.

LaVerle B. Berry

R

Rābiṭa al-islāmīya, ar- ↗Muslim League

Rädaʾi

R. (**ረዳኢ**, or Rädaʾt; d. ca. 1579) was a 16th-cent. ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel leader from ↗Səmen. He is first mentioned in the context of the 1559 attempt by *aṣe* ↗Minas to defeat the Betä Ǝsraʾel of Səmen headed by R. and to force them to convert to Christianity. Unsuccessful in his campaign, Minas signed a treaty with the rebel forces, and enlisted Betä Ǝsraʾel troops into his army (Quirin 1992: 77ff.; BruNile vol. 2, 206).

In 1579, *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl abandoned his campaign against the Oromo in the south to renew the war against R. and the Betä Ǝsraʾel in an attempt to control the north-western part of his empire. Śärṣä Dəngəl was provoked by R.'s refusal to pay tribute to the Emperor and by his redesignating the Səmen mountains with Biblical names, an act which, according to Śärṣä Dəngəl, should have been the monopoly of the "real" Israelites, i.e. Christians, and was thus a challenge to royal authority. Betä Ǝsraʾel oral history additionally attributes Śärṣä Dəngəl's rage to an insult to his wife made by a certain Surafel, a high-ranking Betä Ǝsraʾel officer in the royal army.

The war, in which R. was supported by his brother ↗Kalef, lasted a decade. Eventually, Kalef's forces were overcome. In 1589, R.'s stronghold at Wärq Amba was captured and his troops were forced to surrender. R. and his family were put in chains and exiled to ↗Wäǧ. According to tradition, a general of Śärṣä Dəngəl, ↗Yonaʾel, offered to spare R.'s life if he begged the Virgin Mary for mercy. When R. refused, he was beheaded, and Yonaʾel hacked off his legs.

R.'s trumpets and crowns were transported to the island of ↗Daga in Lake Ṭana, signifying the end of Betä Ǝsraʾel political autonomy in Səmen. Many Betä Ǝsraʾel were subsequently captured, killed, converted or enslaved. In 1580, Śärṣä Dəngəl demonstratively held a mass in R.'s principality, and celebrated Christmas and Easter in the Səmen. In 1582–83, Kalef, who had escaped capture, attempted another revolt, but was again defeated.

According to Betä Ǝsraʾel tradition, R. and Kalef were brothers of two other Betä Ǝsraʾel leaders, ↗Gʷäšən and ↗Gedewon, and therefore possibly also of Śärṣä Dəngəl's concubine Ḫarägo.

Src.: BecRASO III, 54f., 141–44; BruNile II, 206; CRHist 89ff. (text) = 102ff. (tr.); JOSEPH HALÉVY, "La guerre de Sarsa-Dengel contre les Falashas", *RevSem* 15, 1907, 122–27.
Lit.: STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *in Ethiopia*: *from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992, 86, 192f.; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*: *A History of the Beta Israel (Falasha*) *to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1992, 77ff.

Shalva Weil

Radbaz (Rabbi Dawit) ↗David Ben Solomon Ibn Abi Zimra

Radio ↗Broadcasting

Raʾəyä Maryam ↗Dərsanä Maryam ↗Mary, apocalypse of

Raʾəyä täʾammər

R.t. (**ራእየ፡ ተአምር**, 'Vision of miracles') is a collection of four 15th-cent. religious treatises in Gəᶜəz, designed to be read before the Miracles of ↗Mary (↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*) during church services.

The four treatises form a unity. Apart from conveying the same Mariological ideas, they are all based on, and introduced by, Rev 12:1 ("a woman clothed with the sun"). According to a warning at the end of the last part, they were authored by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (Getatchew Haile 1992: 142). The style, contents, description of the author, and the occasion for the reading, are also indicative of production of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob or his clergy. The R.t. is an important component of the ↗Mariology of Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob.

The four parts are rarely copied together; neither are they found in any standard order on their own or in manuscripts of the *Täʾammərä Maryam.* None of the published books of the *Täʾammərä Maryam* has any of the treatises. The R.t. must have been the last work of the Emperor added to his collection of the Miracles of Mary to enhance his Mariology. The four parts are:

– **በእንተ፡ ክልኤ፡ ድንግልናሃ፡ ለማርያም**, *Bäʾəntä kəlʾe dəngələnnaha lämaryam*, 'On the Dual Virginity of Mary';

- **በእንተ፡ ፹ወ፩፡ መጻሕፍት፡ ከመ፡ አሐዱ፡ ቃል፡ እማንቱ**, *Bäʾəntä sämanya wäʾaḥadu mäṣaḥəft kämä aḥadu qal əmmantu*, ‘On the 81 Scriptures: How They are One Voice’;
- **በእንተ፡ ምጽዋት**, *Bäʾəntä məṣwat*, ‘On Almsgiving’;
- **በእንተ፡ ጥምቀተ፡ ክርስትና**, *Bäʾəntä ṭəmqätä krəstənna*, ‘On Christian Baptism’.

A shorter version of the first treatise, the only one obviously centring on Mariological discourse of Mary being equally pure in body and in spirit, is used as an introduction to each of the other three parts, a characteristic feature of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob’s style.

Whilst the second treatise focuses on the faith with respect to the equal reliability of all books of the ↗Bible, the emphasis lies once again with Mary. Answering those who underline the fact that the Virgin was not as present in the writings of the Prophets and the Apostles, Zärʾa Yaʿəqob reviews the Scriptures to show how, symbolically and in reality, Mary had always been in their minds (cp. Getatchew Haile 1992: 99).

The third treatise is the shortest of all; the author assures the faithful that their charitable acts are brought to God by Mary for a guaranteed reward (ibid. 123).

In the last treatise, the author takes the opportunity to indirectly ascribe the authorship of the *Täʾammərä Maryam* to John “Son of Thunder”, i.e. the Evangelist, thus promoting the text to the status of the Gospel in being read in church as recommended by the ritual brought from Muʿallaqah (ibid. 132; for the church ritual imported from the Muʿallaqah church in old Cairo s. Budge 1933: xlvi–liv).

This treatise contains indications that in 15th-cent. Ethiopia there were also “simoniacal” ordinations, given or received through payment (Getatchew Haile 1992: 137, cp. also warning against “buying” priesthood, ibid. 140; ↗Ordination). The ardour of this text is directed against priests who require rich feasts prepared by the parents of a child to be baptized (ibid. 140; some also demand food and drinks in exchange for communion, ibid. 145).

This section and the collection conclude with the recommendation to the faithful to honour properly Virgin Mary and her ↗feasts.

↗Gəʿəz literature

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London 1923, xlvi–liv; GETATCHEW HAILE (ed., tr.), *The Mariology of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob of Ethiopia*, Rome 1992 (OrChrA 242).

Getatchew Haile

Raffray, Marie Jacques Achille

R. (b. 17 October 1844, Angers, Maine-et-Loire, d. 25 September 1923, Rome) was a French diplomat, naturalist (entomologist) and explorer. Stemming from a family of industrialists, he led a mission to Eastern Africa from 1873 to April 1875 on behalf of the Ministry of Education. During this mission, together with the Consul de Sarzec, he went on an exploratory trip to Lake ↗Ṭana, also visiting ↗Gondär, Lalibäla and ↗ʿAdwa, and encountering ↗Yoḥannəs IV.

In April 1879, R. returned to Ethiopia to act as French consul in ↗Massawa. He renewed contact with Yoḥannəs IV, who, through his mediation, sent a letter to the president of France Jules Grévy asking for help to recover the provinces occupied by the Egyptians (cf. RubActa III, doc. 232). In 1882, he left Massawa to pursue a diplomatic career in Africa, the Far East and Europe.

Achille Raffray; from Broc 1988: 276

R. published several pioneering scientific works on Ethiopia, including a valuable report on German activities in Ethiopia, which focused on the activities of Gerhard ↗Rohlfs. He also took to France three skulls for the collection of the museum of Anthropology and 924 species of insects for the Museum of Natural History in Paris. One of these species, a large black Goliath beetle, was named after him (*Goliathius pluto Raffr.*).

Src.: MAXIMILIEN DE CHAUDOIR, “Catalogue des Cicindélètes et des Carabiques recueillis par M. Achille Raffray, en Abyssinie, avec la description des espèces nouvelles”, *Revue et Magasin de Zoologie* 3, 4, 1876, 1–60; France, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Personnel, 2ème série, 1275; ACHILLE RAFFRAY, *L'Abyssinie,* Paris 1898, 32; ID., *Afrique orientale*: *Abyssinie*, Paris 1876, 396, map and pl.; ID., *Les Églises monolithes de la ville de Lalibéla* (*Abyssinie*), Paris 1882, 14; ID., *Voyage en Abyssinie, à Zanzibar et au pays des Ouanika*, Paris 1875, 23 (Extract from *Bulletin de la Société de géographie*, September 1875); ID., "Voyage en Abyssinie et au pays des Gallas–Raias", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 7^{e} série, 3, 1882, 324–52; RubActa III, docs. 217, 232.

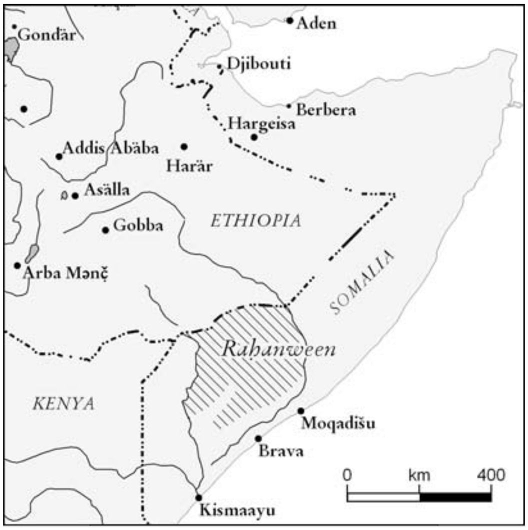
Lit.: NUMA BROC, *Dictionnaire illustré des explorateurs et grands voyageurs français du XIX*^{e} *siècle*, vol. 1: *Afrique*, Paris 1988, 275–76; vol. 4: *Océanie*, Paris 2003, 383–84; GEORGES MALÉCOT, "Le consulat de France à Massaoua", in: *Perspectives nouvelles sur le passé de l'Afrique noire et de Madagascar*: *mélanges offerts à Hubert Deschamps*, Paris 1974 (Publications de la Sorbonne, Études 7), 135–47.

Lukian Prijac

Raḥanween

The ethnonym R. (also Raḥanweyn; Somali: Raxanweyn) refers to a ↗Somali group composed of the two clan confederacies of Digil and Mirifle. They inhabit southern-central ↗Somalia between the rivers Wabi Šäbälle and Juba. Together with the ↗Daarood, ↗Dir, ↗Hawiye and ↗Isaaq, they constitute the six clan-families that make up the ↗Somali nation. Whereas the latter four are largely pastoral herders of camels, cattle, and flocks of sheep and goats, the R., or "the Large Crowd", practice a mixed economy of farming and herdsmanship, growing corn, millet and sorghum, as well as keeping large herds of cattle and camels. On account of their living in the well-watered, fertile lands between the two rivers, the R. are economically better off than the pastoralist clans who eke a precarious existence out of the harsh plains of the north-west. Consequently, the war-like famine-driven pastoralists historically preyed on the pacific R., plundering their livestock and pillaging their crops. However, the violence and anarchy of the last two decades have moved the R. to organize and arm in order to defend themselves against the incursions of pastoral neighbours.

The R. dialect of Somali, or May, is barely intelligible to the dominant pastoralists, or Maḥay (Maxay), whose dialect is almost universally spoken in the Somali peninsula. Furthermore, the R. social system is based on territoriality rather than agnatic descent; that is, group identity and sense of affiliation, belonging and loyalty stem from a common settlement in the same territory, and membership in a community is earned by virtue of having been born and grown up in that community. Individuals from pastoral clans, for example, who are born and raised among the R., are adopted and integrated as authentic members of the R. Indeed, the vast majority of the R. are composed of adoptive individuals and families, many of whom eventually rise to the status of *malaaqs* ('ruling elders') of their communities. A good example of this are the Geledi, who are one of the major sub-units of the R., among which the sultan of Afgooye was chosen (Castagno 1975: 129; Cassanelli 1982). Though a reliable census does not exist for Somalia, the R., by an informed guess, may be said to constitute a quarter of the population. The dominant culture in Somalia, however, is that of the pastoral clan-families. By contrast, pastoral social organization is based on strict agnatic kinship relations. That is, group identity and belonging are based strictly on patrilineal descent and therefore shaped, inflexibly, by an organizing principle that social anthropologists refer to as the segmentary lineage system.



The R., in the wake of the Somali civil war, suffered severe damage when the late warlord General Muḥammad Farah ^{c}Aydiid descended on them in 1994 with his Habar Gidir militia, who occupied them, wreaking havoc on people and property. In response the R. appealed to Ethiopia against ^{c}Aydiid's occupation. The Ethiopians then intervened on behalf of the R., ejecting General ^{c}Aydiid and his troops. This was the beginning of Ethiopia's intervention in the Somali civil war, leading to its wholesale invasion of southern Somalia on behalf of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia, actively supported by the United States.

Lit.: LEE V. CASSANELLI, *The Shaping of Somali Society*, Philadelphia, PA 1982; MARGARET CASTAGNO, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, New Jersey 1975; BERNHARD HELANDER, *The Slaughtered Camel*: *Coping with Ficti-*

tious Descent among the Hubeer of Southern Somalia, Uppsala 2003 (Uppsala Studies in Cultural Anthropology 34); IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Pastoral Democracy: a Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa,* Oxford 1961; ID., *The Modern History of Somaliland: From Nation to State*, London 1965.

Said S. Samatar

Raḥayta

R. (also Raḥayto, ^{c}Afar: Raḥaytó, from *raḥ*, 'to well up'; *raḥeyná*, 'where water springs up') is a coastal town, about 55 km south of ↗^{c}Asäb, in Southern Eritrea, and residence of the second ↗^{c}Afar Ad^{c}áli sultanate after ↗Tağūra (for location s. map for Obock). The first European mention could be "da furna" ('cavern') on Lazaro Luis' map (1563), south of "Masua" (Massawa). The map added to James Bruce's Travels (1790; BruNile) indicates Raheeda. Conti Rossini (CRStor 58, 60, 102ff.) identified R. with the Ptolemaic Deirē Epi Dires (which could be the Bāte Raḥayto, "the lost R.", of local tradition immediately to the north of the actual town). Blocks of basalt and holes which look like grain stores seem to confirm this hypothesis.

The R. sultanate is the result of a division of the territory of the Tağūra sultanate by its Ad^{c}áli founder, "Gibdi" Ḥamad, at the beginning of the 16th cent. This territory was originally possessed by the Ankāla tribe which had to withdraw to the vicinity of ^{c}Asäb, so that Warraysa Dagad, the salt plains to the south of the town became the northern limit of the sultanate. Like the system followed in Tağūra, a rule of alternation between the two sister branches Dînitté and Burḥanto was established in the R. sultanate at the beginning of the 18th cent., in order to put an end to rivalries between the sons of Kāmil, the grand-son of "Gibdi" Ḥamad. It is said that it was during this quarrel that the sultanate drums (*dinkaara*) were stolen by the third son Ḥamāsi and brought to ↗Mogadishu (s. EAE vol. 5).

Following the acquisition of ^{c}Asäb, sold to Giuseppe ↗Sapeto by *sulṭān* Burḥan "^{c}Asa Dardar" b. Maḥammad, the territory of the R. sultanate was divided between Italy and France. After Burḥan's death (20 October 1884) the sultanate was declared an Italian protectorate. Under Italian pressure, *banoyta* ('vizir') Burḥan b. Dîni questioned the validity of the French Treaty of 1862 (Borelli 1890: 4), although his father Dîni b. Maḥammad had signed it. His nephew, Ḥummad b. Maḥammad b. Dîni (*sulṭān* from 1887 to 1910) refused to recognize the Italian acquisition of ^{c}Asäb. He was put in jail and died after having inhaled a toxic gas.

The succession to the sultanate was not clearly established after Ḥummad b. Maḥammad b. Dîni's death, since the Italians undermined the original rule of alternation. Although the French administration always opposed the *sultan's* claim to rule (or even enter his territory inside the French colony), it paid him a monthly salary.

In February 1976, on the occasion of a meeting with delegates of the ↗Organisation of African Unity in Awsa, *dardar* Dawūd b. Maḥammad declared himself "representative of the ^{c}Afars of Raḥayto and Obock". His monthly allowance as well as that of his vizir were immediately cut off. R., which never counted more than several hundred inhabitants, is characterized by the size of its tents (*daboyta*) called locally *handag* (pl. *handooga*).

Src.: JULES BORELLI, *Ethiopie méridionale. Journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 4; BruNile; CRStor 58, 60, 102ff.; MorDicAfar.

Didier Morin

Railways

Addis Abäba–Djibouti railway

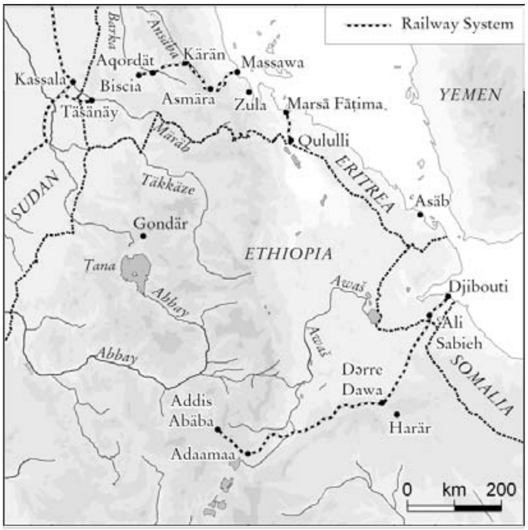
The main commercial revenues of ↗Djibouti come from its transit trade as a rail-head of the Chemin de fer Djibouti–Ethiopien (CDE), the railroad linking Ethiopia to a part of its ocean commerce, in addition to servicing ships at its port. The CDE is a meter-gauge line. It runs from the port city of Djibouti through the midpoint, semi-desert terminal of ↗Dərre Dawa, Ethiopia – containing the main railroad shops – up the escarpment on the high plateau to verdant ↗Addis Abäba, at 2,350 m A.S.L. The line extends 780 km of which 100 km are in Djibouti. Bridges and culverts number 1,919, but only one 167-m tunnel was necessary for the line. The change from steam to diesel-electric locomotives was completed in 1956.

The predecessor company of the CDE was the Compagnie du chemin de fer Franco–Ethiopien de Djibouti à Addis Abeba, which opened the centre of Ethiopia and its new capital, Addis Abäba, to passenger travel, information transmission, and freight commerce with the outside world. In 1897, the governor of French Somaliland, ↗Lagarde, signed a treaty with *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II making Djibouti city the designated port for Ethiopia's growing foreign commerce and communication. Mənilək agreed the French could build a R. to Addis Abäba. Due to opposition from some Amhara noblemen, the railroad construction progressed slowly from Djibouti.

Planned since 1894, begun in 1897 (co-founded by Mənilək's advisors ↗Chefneux and ↗Ilg), and continued, in fits and starts, the French completed their R. in 1917. The railroad finally entered Addis Abäba in that year with due celebration. This event led to a serious reduction and almost disappearance of camel caravans to ↗Red Sea ports (Collier – Perkins 1979). Along the R. line, the French Somaliland ↗currency was valid, and French was the working language; large areas along the line were in the possession of the CDE, which also administrated an important part of Dərre Dawa.

Replacing ↗mule transport, the R. enabled the profitable export of Sidamo ↗coffee onto the world market. Giving reduced rates for large shipments, the R. favoured highly capitalized, high-volume firms. This needed larger transfers of money, which aided the development of a modern capital market with the ↗Bank of Abyssinia. Thus, coffee-cleaning machinery could settle in Addis Abäba (McClellan 1988: 77, 112, 114, 120f.). In all, the R. helped usher Ethiopia's economy into the global market. Because of the R., commerce also grew in Djibouti during the 1920s.

After the Italian conquest of Ethiopia in 1936 (↗Africa Orientale Italiana), colonial requirements increased the rail traffic through Djibouti. Then, the Italians at tremendous expense, developed their Eritrean port of ↗^{c}Asäb and constructed a heavy-duty highway to Addis Abäba. Italy thus broke the French monopoly on Ethiopian trade. Accordingly, traffic through the French railroad and port plummeted in 1938. During 1941–45, the railroad performed admirably under the British Army, lifting troops and materiel to the plateau. On 30 June 1946, the ↗British Military Administration of Ethiopia (s. EAE vol. 5) handed the R. back to its French owners.


Railway System
Barka
Ansaba
Kärän
Massawa
Aqordät
Kassala
Biscia
Asmära
Zula
Marsā Fāṭima
YEMEN
Täsänäy
Märäb
Qululli
SUDAN
Täkkäze
ERITREA
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Gondär
ETHIOPIA
Tana
Abbay
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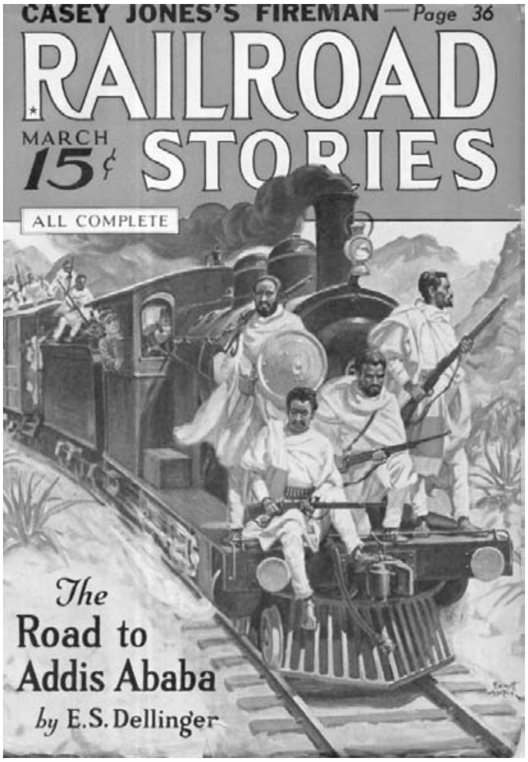

CASEY JONES'S FIREMAN—Page 36
RAILROAD STORIES
MARCH 15¢
ALL COMPLETE
The Road to Addis Ababa
by E.S. Dellinger

A cover of a 1936 Railroad pulp magazine, sympathetic with the Ethiopian cause; courtesy of the author

In 1959, the French government, owner of the R., transferred 50 percent of CDE shares to the Ethiopian government. After the federation of ↗Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1952, Ethiopia favoured and further developed the port of ^{c}Asäb (↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation). In 1962, the CDE became an Ethiopian firm and, in 1982, became jointly controlled by the states of Djibouti and Ethiopia.

During the late 1980s, the Ethiopian government planned an extension of the CDE from its mid-terminal at Dərre Dawa to the port of ^{c}Asäb, which the government had detached from Eritrea and included into ↗Wällo. Rail India Technological

& Economic Services, Ltd. (RITES), a consulting agency under the Indian Ministry of Railways, received a contract in 1987 to begin an engineering design study for the extension. The World Bank did not approve the project because its estimated cost approximated one-quarter of famine- and war-ridden Ethiopia's GNP. The RITES estimate for the proposed line of 4.5 million tons of freight per annum was found to be overly optimistic.

In October 1987, however, the USSR (↗Russia) and seven other COMECON countries, including Cuba, signed agreements by which this group of eight would support the extension project, with work starting in 1989. Then, the wall fell in Berlin and, consequently, the COMECON was dissolved. Other unfulfilled plans include one extension of the CDE to the southwest, from Nazret (↗Adaamaa) on the main line to Dilla, at a distance of 305 km in Sidamo, and a second extension to the coffee-producing area of ↗Ǧimma.

Today, a growing freight container R. traffic between Djibouti and Addis Abäba provides cost-effective, secure movement of cargo between the Red Sea and the Ethiopian highlands. The railroad still remains Francophone, uses French for all regulations, and provides employees with solid instruction in French (*Règlement Général de l'Exploitation* 1971).

Massawa–Biscia railway

The Eritrean R., of 95 cm gauge, has always been at the heart of defining and unifying Eritrea. Recently, the R. became a central part of the Eritrean heritage and identity and a source of national pride (Gamst 1996: 729; Id. in PICES 15, 1043).

R. in Africa formed part of the strategic actions of European powers. Facilitating Italy's imperialistic movement into the Horn, construction of the R. began at ↗Massawa in 1888 as a military line (Confidential Military Report on Eritrea 1906; *Guida* 189–92; Tekeste Negash 1987; Maggi 1994: 214–29). Plans for the R. would allow Italy to conquer, first, Eritrea and then Ethiopia. The R. linked the seaport of Massawa with the high plateau, reaching ↗Asmära in 1911. At Asmära, the Italians built the R.'s operating offices, mechanical shops, and major yard. The R. was extended to ↗Aqordät in 1922 and Bišа (Ital. Biscia) in 1930.

The railway in Massawa in the early 1960s; photo courtesy of Mike Metras

With the Ethiopian defeat of an invading Italian army in 1896 at ↗ᶜAdwa, Italy no longer needed the R. as a military supply line for conquering Ethiopia. Dedicated to road building, the Fascists allowed the R. to succumb to deferred maintenance. Perhaps the R.'s greatest detriment was the failure to bring in efficient locomotives. In 1941, British Commonwealth troops conquered the "enemy" colony of Eritrea. During ↗World War II, the British removed the track of the Aqordät-Biša line (31 km) and shipped it and several of the R.'s best steam locomotives to Libya (Small 1959; Maggi 1997). By 1945, the ↗British Military Administration of Eritrea [BMAE] maintained an all-weather highway and the R.; both linked Eritrea along its east-west axis. To save truck fuel and wear, during 1948 the British shifted highway freight traffic to the R. (BMAE 1941–48: 446; Eritrean Railway & Ropeway 1943).

To link Eritrea to the British Empire, unrealized plans existed to extend the R. through Biša to a terminus at Täsänäy, thereby linking it with the Sudan Railways (BMAE 1941–48: 292, 305). With the end of British occupation in 1952, the Ethiopian government gradually took hold of the R.

Along the 306 km of the R., in the prosperous 1960s, there were 39 tunnels, 65 bridges and viaducts, and about 1500 culverts along a roadbed well maintained by the R. In a post-war zenith of traffic, during 1965, ten 0–4–4–0T compound Mallets hauled freight up the 3.5 percent gradient to Asmära (Gamst 1969; 1996: 724; Id. in PICES 15, 1044f.; for R. motive power, s. Gamst 1996: 730–33).

In 1965, seven 0–4–0T shunting engines worked the Asmära and Massawa yards. Ton-miles from Massawa harbour up to Asmära were generally twice the amount handled on the downward trips. Manufactured goods for development and consumption came into Massawa by R.; and cereals, legumes, oil seeds, hides, and meat left Massawa (Gamst 1969; 1996: 733).

The littorinas (self-propelled, diesel-rail, passenger cars built by Fiat) and diesel locomotives were serviced in the barn opposite the steam engine house. In 1957 the R.'s four 650 hp diesel locomotives came from Krupp. Some of the gauges and electrical components for the Krupp locomotives were virtually the only items not manufactured in Asmära's R.-shops. Rail traffic control is by timetable and written train orders by telephone, originating fom the dispatcher at Asmära (Gamst 1969).

During 1975 wartime, R. became unusable owing to the dismantling of and damage to the R. property. After 1991, Italian and other advisors estimated that rebuilding the eastern line of the R. from Asmära, where most of Eritrea's commerce and industry is concentrated, to the port of Massawa would cost US-$ 400 million. However, the enterprising Eritreans rebuilt for far less, as a go-it-alone project. Mainly using hand tools, often-volunteer track workers first rebuilt the track around Massawa and Asmära. Others scoured the countryside for torn-out rails and ties for relaying, some of them re-used for local house-constructions. Next, the torn-up track and blasted and deteriorated bridges and culverts along the escarpment grade were reconstructed. Plans for restoring the western line from Asmära to Aq̱ordät are in progress (Gamst 1996: 726).

The alternative to having a considerable part of Eritrea's freight traffic carried, mainly in seaborne containers, over the R.'s eastern line would be to have it hauled entirely by road (Astuto 1943: 205–17; Maggi 1994: 60–74). This would be on the highway, largely of 1930s construction, climbing and ascending the 2,400-meter-high escarpment. Furthermore, the capital costs of importing tractors and their trailers, and their replacement parts, tires, fuel, and lubricants would put a great strain on Eritrea's limited reserves of foreign exchange. The reopened R. could greatly reduce such costs (Gamst 1996: 727).

Other railways

Sudan railway to Täsänäy

In 1941, with New Zealand Army engineers, Sudan R. built a military R. branch of 3 foot 6 inch (1.067 meter) gauge from Kassala 64 km to ↗Täsänäy in western Eritrea, to support the attack on the Italian bastion at ↗Kärän. The Sudan R. eventually dismantled its line to Täsänäy (Cody 1961: 70ff.; Small 1959: 26).

Zula military railway

In October 1867, Robert ↗Napier landed with 14,217 troops plus support forces at Zula, south of Massawa, to attack *ạṣe* ↗Tewodros II, inland at ↗Mäqdäla. For logistical purposes, Napier built an 8-km R. from the shore to an encampment. Two steam locomotives moved carloads of stores to the camp and commissariat sheds along the line. The army advanced from the railhead up onto the plateau with thousands of mules and camels. After the defeat of Tewodros, via the R., the army embarked for India in June 1868. The British abandoned the line, which was handed over to the Egyptian ↗Massawa Governorate (Stanley 1874: 289ff., 505).

Marsā Fāṭima potash railway

Early in the 20th cent., the Italians constructed a small port and a railway of 60-cm gauge south of Massawa at Marsā Fāṭima. A score of small steam locomotives served the line. The line tapped a potash deposit some 80 km inland at Qululli. This potash enterprise ended in 1929 (Small 1959: 27).

Massawa–Asmära teleferica

In 1937, the Italians competited directly with the Asmära–Massawa line, building with a 72-km teleferica, a high-capacity aerial cableway mounted on steel towers. Freight transportation was in gondolas suspended from one of a pair of moving cables - one eastbound, the other westbound. The British disabled the line by taking its electric motors (*Guida* 195f.; Gamst field notes).

Somali Railway, Mogadishu-Villaggio Duca degli Abruzzi (Ferrovie Somale)

The 113-km (70-mile) railway of 95-cm gauge connected the port of Mogadishu with agricultural settlements inland on the middle ↗Wabi Šäbälle. Bananas, sugar, and coffee were the main products transported for export. Construction began in 1914. Immediate plans were to extend the railway to the Ethiopian border with extensions to Addis Abäba. In 1941, the British stripped the line of its track and rolling stock as seized enemy (Italian) property. The steam locomotives and railcars were of the types used on the Eritrean Railway.

Src.: Frederick C. Gamst, fieldnotes, ms.; BRITISH MILITARY ADMINISTRATION, ERITREA, *Eritrean Railways and Ropeways*, Correspondence file, Public Records Office, Kew, WO 230 131, 1941–48; COMPAGNIE DU CHEMIN DE FER FRANCO–ETHIOPIEN DE DJIBOUTI A ADDIS ABABA, *Règlement Général de l'Exploitation*: *Mouvement & Sé-*

curité, Addis Ababa 1971; "Confidential Military Report on Eritrea", *War Office Report* no. A1120, October 1906; Eritrean Railway and Ropeway, *Estimates for 1943–43*, Correspondence file, Public Records Office, Kew, WO 230 107, 1943; Guida 576 [map], 599–608; Henry M. Stanley, *Coomassie and Magdala*, London 1874.

Lit.: Riccardo Astuto, *Il problema ferroviario dell'Africa*, Milano 1943; Joseph F. Cody, *New Zealand Engineers, Middle East*, Wellington 1961, 70ff.; Owen P.C. Collier – K.M.A. Perkins, "History of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway from Djibouti to Addis Ababa", *Transport History* 10, 3, 1979, 220–45; Frederick C. Gamst, "Haile Selassie's Iron Horses: in a Faraway Land, a Reminder of Union Pacific", *Trains* 30, 1, 1969, 34–37; Id., "Sweating Steel Tires in Asmara: Eritrea's Phoenix Railroad", *Transportation Research Forum, Proceedings* 38, 2, 1996, 722–47; Id., "The Eritrean Railway. Backbone of Colonialism: Phoenix of Transportation", in: *PICES* 15, 1042–48; Thomas Lennox Gilmour, *Abyssinia: the Ethiopian Railway and the Powers*, London 1906; Stefano Maggi, *Dalla città allo stato nazionale*, Milano 1994; Id., "The Railways of Italian Africa: Economic, Social and Strategic Features", *Journal of Transport History* 18, 1997, 54–71; Id., *Le Ferrovie*, Bologna 2003; Charles W. McClellan, *State Transformation and National Integration: Gedo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895-1935*, East Lansing, MI 1988 (Ethiopian Series Monograph 19); Richard Pankhurst, "The Franco-Ethiopian Railway and its History", *EthObs* 6, 1963, 343-79; Id., "Transport and Communication in Ethiopia: The Construction of the Jibuti–Addis Ababa Railway", *Journal of Transport History* 5, 1963, 233–54; Tekeste Negash, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941*, Uppsala 1987; Charles S. Small, *Far Wheels: A Railway Safari*, New York 1959.

Frederick C. Gamst

Rainmaking

The belief in rituals that control the rain, be it R. or the termination of rainfall, plays an important role in many cultural systems of the Horn of Africa. R. includes the magico-religious prayers known among Christians (s., e.g., ↗*Däbtära*) and Muslims as well as the practices of rainmakers in "traditional ↗religions". The timing of rainfall according to the normal seasons is considered as a blessing and a sign of the balanced state of the socio-cosmological order, while drought, torrential rain or irregular precipitation are understood as indicators of disturbed spiritual and moral conditions, or are interpreted as a divine punishment.

Rituals of R. were often carried out by specialists, some of whom had numerous additional ritual functions as well. R. often belonged into the class of traditional priests, such as, e.g., the *godemi* among the ↗Šangama. Some rainmakers, endowed with the elements of symbolism of divine ↗kingship, held king-like rank, such as, e.g., the *iru-baab* ('father of rain') of the ↗Šeko or the *ira-kati* ('rain king') in the dual system of kingship among the ↗Gofa. In some other cases the chief or king himself functioned as rainmaker. Among the ↗Maale the *kati* ('king') and his mother played a central role in the R. ceremony. Similarly, the king of Koorete was considered a rainmaker. The chief (*bogolko*) of the ↗Ṣamay, e.g., acted as the highest rainmaker and controlled the thunderstorms, while the ability to stop the rain was ascribed to experts who were members of certain clans and had to be born during the dry season. In ↗Mäč̣č̣a society a similar division of tasks existed between the *malima* or rainmaker and the ↗*č̣aamsituu*, the bringer of the dry season. In other cases, the power of R. was ascribed to people of low social prestige, such as, e.g., a certain clan of the ↗Manǧo of Dawro.

Many R. rituals are centred around an animal ↗sacrifice. Among the Arsi it included black sheep or bulls and honey. (Dark coloured animals, whose colour resembles the black/blue colour of the rain clouds, are used for R. among many Cushitic-speaking groups, e.g., Hadiyya, Kambaata, Burǧi.) The Arsi sacrificer, who was a member of the ruling ↗*gadaa* class, sprinkled the blood up in the air and dropped the honey onto the soil. The tradition of the ↗Gabra prescribed that every head of household should sacrifice a goat in the doorway of the kraal in order to end a drought.

Lit.: Abebe Ambachew, "Field Trip to Naqamte, University College of Addis Ababa", in: Alula Pankhurst, *Ethnological Society Bulletin, vol. I, no. 1–10 and vol. II, no. 1, Reprint, 1953–1963*, Addis Ababa 2002, 131–95, here 145f.; BrHad 113, 198f.; CerPeople 113f. and s. index; Dena Freeman – Alula Pankhurst, *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003, 77, 125, 127; Christopher R. Hallpike, *The Konso of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1972, 51, 132; Alexander Kellner, *Mit den Mythen denken. Die Mythen der Burji als Ausdrucksform ihres Habitus*, Münster 2006, 108f., 128, 174, 186ff., 195, 299; Karl Eric Knutson, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967, 61, 89, 173; Paolo Marrassini, "A Note on Zāgwē Kingship", *Paideuma* 36, 1990, 185–88; Helmut Straube, *Die Stellung des Regenmachers und verwandter Funktionäre in akephalen Gesellschaften des Süd-Sudans*, München 1984 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 1984, Heft 6); VSAe I, 268, 284, 298; VSAe II, 144, 159, 340, 457; VSAe III, 53, 130, 281f.

Dirk Bustorf

Rama Kidanä Məḥrät

R. (**ራማ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ምሕረት**, or Däbrä Sina Rama Kidanä Məḥrät) is an important monastery situated in northern ↗Wällo, in the area known as ↗Rayyaa – Zobəl, adjacent to Lasta (for location s. map for Qobbo). From ↗Qobbo, R. can be reached by a seven-hour walk. The monastic tradition links the establishment of the monastery with *abba* ↗Guba. The monastery is said to have suffered much during the uprising of peoples associated with the legendary Queen Gudit (↗Ǝsato) in the 9th cent., and subsequently during the 16th-cent. invasion of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ").

The monastery briefly came to prominence during the attempted imposition of ↗Catholicism as the state religion of Ethiopia under *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. A faction of the nobility who refused to adopt Catholicism was exiled. The group included many members of noble families and was led by ↗Fəqərtä Krəstos, who brought them to the present site of R. The community seems to have been centred around the cave where the church dedicated to the Archangel Gabriel is now located. The monastery declined with the migration of the non-Christian ↗Oromo to this region.

During the 19th-cent. campaigns of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV to Wällo, his troops camped at the location of the abandoned monastery. The soldiers uncovered a cave where different paraphernalia and manuscripts were kept. They duly informed the Emperor, who re-established the monastery and made land grants. The present church dedicated to ↗*Kidanä Məḥrät* was built in 1957 through the efforts of *abba* Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab. It is documented in the monastic annals that the new church was built over the ruins of an ancient church building, which is believed to have been destroyed by Grañ. A nunnery was established; Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase, governor of Wällo, contributed much to the construction of the monastic church, where several dignitaries took shelter during the 1974 ↗Revolution. *Ǝmmahoy* Amatä Śəllase and the former police commissioner General Abbäbä Wäldä Śəllase (d. 1999) are also remembered by the monastic community as beneficiaries of R.

Recently, another church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm was constructed. Currently, more than 260 monks and nuns live at R.; the monastic school has eight teachers and many students. Most of the monastic income is generated from agriculture. The monastery maintains a huge area of natural forest and wildlife. In addition, the classical monastic way of life and a strong ascetic tradition are preserved among the members of R.

Src.: **ገድለ፡ ፍቅርተ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ግዕዝና፡ አማርኛ** (*Gädlä Fəqərtä Krəstos gəᶜəzənna amarəñña*, 'The Vita of Fəqərtä Krestos, in Gəᶜəz and Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1995 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.]; SVEIN EGE, *Topographic and Administrative Zone of North Wälo Zone, Amhara Region, Ethiopia*, Trondheim 2002, pl. 5.

Lit.: CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition,* Paris 2002, 163; SELAMAWIT MECCA, "Hagiography of Ethiopian Female Saints: with Special Reference to Gädlä Krestos Sämra and Gädlä Feqertä Krestos", *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 18, 2, 2006, 153–67.

Joachim Persoon

Ramaḍān

R. (Arab. رمضان; Amh. **ረመዳን**, *rämädan*, **ረመድዋን**, *rämädwan*, **ሮመዳን**, *romädan*) is the ninth and the holiest month in the Islamic lunar ↗calendar during which Muslims intensify their piety and devotion, strictly observe the second pillar of ↗Islam, the obligatory ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), and demonstrate an unusual degree of intimacy and humility towards God. Historically, it was during R. that the Qurʾān was first revealed (Sūra 2:184) to the Prophet ↗Muḥammad in 610 A.D. and the Muslims decisively defeated the ↗Qurayš of ↗Mecca at the Battle of Badr in 624 A.D. R. is a month of absolute submission to God's will and the seeking of His forgiveness and blessings. R. is also an occasion for the purification of the soul, liberation from material pursuits and concerns, spiritual rejuvenation and the fulfilment of one's moral obligation to assist the unfortunate and the needy in the community. It is an occasion for social interaction among people, respite from the diversions and preoccupations of everyday life, and the strengthening of Islamic identity, solidarity and fraternity.

↗Fasting is enjoined by the Qurʾān (Sūra 2:183). It lasts from approximately an hour before the dawn prayer (preceded by taking the last meal [*saḥūr*]) until sunset. It is totally prohibited to consume food and drink, to indulge in the pleasures of life, to engage in idle talk, gossiping, to use harsh and abusive language, and to show bad temper. The breaking of the fast is marked by drinking water, juice or milk and eating some dates, followed by the performance of the early evening prayer (*ṣalāt al-maġrib*) and taking a full meal (*ifṭār*). The complete recitation of the Qurʾān at least once during R. is highly recommended.

The hope of reward from God and the sense of contentment for keeping the fast more than compensate for its physical hardship, inconvenience and disruption of the normal rhythms of life. That is why R. is popularly nicknamed, especially in north and central Ethiopia, as **አሮ፡ መዳን** (*arro* *mädan*), an Amharic term that describes the state of discomfort and deprivation caused by the pangs of hunger ending in a sense of gratification felt at the time of breaking the fast.

In Ethiopia, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, the approach of the month is eagerly awaited by adherents of Islam and a substantial amount of money is set aside by the well-to-do for expenses for renovating the house and buying items for daily consumption and ↗alms. Inviting a neighbour or a stranger or a relative for meals is a meritorious act.

During R. thousands of people from the rural areas, including young itinerant religious students, the elderly and the needy, come to the major towns to benefit from the generosity of the rich and the pious. It is also common for some prosperous urban residents to travel to famous Ṣūfī centres to spend the month in the company of prominent ↗*šayḫ*s and members of the local community.

Throughout R. the faithful offer their daily prayers in the ↗mosque where they also attend lectures delivered by religious scholars. Performing the last prayer of the day (*ṣalāt al-ᶜišāᵓ*) is obligatory. The optional and supererogatory congregational prayer (*ṣalāt at-tarāwīḥ*) [partially broadcast live on the national TV for the first time in 2008], which lasts longer and is physically more demanding than the *ᶜišāᵓ* prayer, is attended by the vast majority of believers.

Over the years, R. has stimulated a brisk trade in various items of daily consumption such as dates, bread, cookies, samosa, milk and cold drinks. Temporary stalls are put up around the mosques where goods are displayed. Locally printed and imported books and booklets dealing with fasting and matters related to faith and practice, as well as Islamic newspapers in Amharic, are available for sale, along with cassettes of panegyric songs composed in local languages and of lectures given by preachers, both indigenous and expatriate (↗*Manzuma*).

The end of R. is marked by preparations for, and the celebration of, the *ᶜĪd al-fiṭr* (↗Feasts, Islamic). The optional six-day-long fast, locally called *səddəsto*, which lasts from 2 to 7 *Šawwāl*, is observed by an ever-increasing number of Muslims.

Lit.: Christian C. Berg [– Ed.], "Ṣawm", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 9, 94–95; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "Tarāwīḥ", *ibid.*, vol. 10, 222–23; Hussein Ahmed, "Faith and Trade: the Market Stalls around the Anwar Mosque in Addis Ababa during *Ramadān*", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 19, 2, 1999, 261–68; Martin Plessner, "Ramaḍān", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 8, 417.

Hussein Ahmed

Ras

R. (**ራስ**, Amh., also *əras*, old variant *raᵓəs*; Tgn. *raᵓsi*; lit. 'head') was the second highest rank and title (after ↗*nəguś*) in the feudal-military hierarchy of the Ethiopian empire. The exact time of its introduction is unknown. Like many other Ethiopian titles, it could be of military origin, with reference to a supreme commanding position, above ↗*däǧǧazmač*, ↗*qäññazmač*, ↗*fitawrari* and ↗*däǧän* (Berry 1976:300). It is attested first under *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, when a number of high-ranking personalities bearing it appear in a document, some of them being regional governors (as *yäzan bäläw əras*; *bäᶜalä diho əras*), some others court officials with high, rather technical functions (*yäbet anśa əras*; *yägra azmari əras*; *yädäräba muᵓay əras*; *yäbägamatočč əras*). The court title of ↗*ədug ras*, of unclear nature, also appears in the same document (Kropp in VarAeth 119f., 134f.). The connection of the title of R. to specific governorate units is evident by the end of the 15th cent.: after a reshuffle during *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam's reign, R. became a title of the governor of such important provinces as ↗Däwaro (PerrZarY 112) and, slightly later, of ↗Bugna or ↗Angot (BeckHuntAlvar 200).

One could receive the title of R. only from the *nəguś*, i.e. by the emperor himself, who ranked first in the empire's hierarchy. In the 15th/early 16th cent., an occasional coalescence of the military-administrative rank of R. and the court title of ↗*bitwäddäd* is observed (e.g., for *ras* ↗Atnatewos; cp. also Varenbergh 1915–16:7, 13f.). According to ↗Almeida, by 1628 a major change was made under *aṣe* ↗Susənyos in the system of titles and court offices: the prerogatives of the two *bitwäddäd*s ("of the right" and "of the left") were transferred to the R., thus raised to the second most powerful dignity of the state, with an exclusive role especially in military affairs (BeckHuntAlm 74; cp. also LudHist II, 13, 26–37). At the apogee of the ↗Gondärine kingdom, the utmost position of the R. "who is *bitwäddäd*" was confirmed by the official "order of precedence" (esp. under *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I and *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, s. GuiIohan 146, 293 [text]; although, later, the titles were again separated from time to time). The most powerful *ras bitwäddäd* was ↗Fares, removed from the court by Iyasu I, and later responsible for the latter's murder. *Ǝtege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) and ↗Iyasu II were careful to keep the title within the Qʷaräñña clan (↗Qʷara), bestowing it upon its most trustful and capable members (cp. ↗Niqolawos; ↗Wäldä Ləᶜul; Wädağğe [s. EAE vol. 5]). After the collapse of the Qʷaräññočč power, ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul was appointed R. and *ras bitwäddäd*, in 1767 and 1768 resp., by *aṣe* Iyoʾas.

During the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, the joint position of R. and *bitwäddäd* could be still conferred by the emperor alone, although he was more often a puppet in the hands of powerful lords: thus ↗Wäldä Śəllase was appointed *ras bitwäddäd* by *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis, and his appointment was confirmed by *aṣe* Sälomon, both made king by the same Wäldä Śəllase, who was de facto an independent ruler (SaltTrav 287ff.). A R. could bestow upon his followers the ranks below his own. However important the title of R. might have been, it was then a no better guarantee for acquiring political power than a person's actual influence, local support, military and economic capacity etc. Under certain circumstances, a *däğğazmač* could be de facto more powerful than a R.

The short dominance of the Goğğam dynasty in Gondär was marked by the bestowal of the title on ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq and his son ↗Märəd. Many R. were among the late 18th/19th-cent. rulers of the ↗Yäğğu dynasty, controlling the Gondärine monarchs from 1799 until the rise of *aṣe* Tewodros II.

In the 19th cent., despite decentralization, the title did not proliferate. It was adopted in Šäwa: the Šäwan lords ↗Asfa Wäsän and ↗Wäsän Sägäd proclaimed themselves R., while ↗Sahlä Śəllase, retaining his title, called himself *nəguś* (↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot dropped the title R., and retained that of *nəguś*, without being properly crowned, s. Bairu Tafla in PICES 4, vol. 1, 599). An isolated instance is that of *ras* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälomon, made R. by the Egyptians in late 1876, and confirmed as such in 1878, when he submitted to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV (ErlAlula 11, 23). Quick promotions were rare; the case of ↗Alula Ǝngəda, raised from ↗*šaläqa* to R. by the same Yoḥannəs (ibid. 13), was unique. It is not until 1878 that Mənilək of Šäwa, having received the title of *nəguś* from Yoḥannəs IV, raised ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase and ↗Gobäna Dači to R. (Bairu Tafla in PICES 4, vol. 1, 601). ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel became R. in 1890, ↗Mängäša Atikam in 1889, to become *ras bitwäddäd* in 1894. As governor, a R. was allowed to be accompanied by 24 ↗*nägarit*-drums, one of the main insignia of his authority.

Under Mənilək, a few of the most important provinces were administered by R., such as ↗Harär(ge), ↗Bägemdər, ↗Təgray etc. (MahZekr 638f.). The *ras bitwäddäd* was then appointed by the Emperor as his highest and closest counsellor (cp. ↗Täsämma Nadäw). *Däğğazmač* Täfäri Mäkʷännən was proclaimed R. and ↗*alga wäraš* in 1916. After he became *nəguś* in 1928, the new title of ↗*ləᶜul ras* was given by him in 1929–30 to ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu and a few other important representatives of local branches of the ↗Solomonic dynasty. During the ca. 30 years after the Liberation of 1941, Ḫaylä Śəllase appointed R. only some eleven persons (ClapHS 67f.), gradually restricting the power of the nobility and building a state hierarchy in which authority and privileges were defined by the position held by a person.

Both *bitwäddäd* (senior to R.) and *ras bitwäddäd* also existed in that period (the latter title was given in 1957 to ↗Mäkʷännən Ǝndälkaččäw).

↗Balambaras; ↗baldäras; ↗näggadras

Src.: BassHist 102, n. 3; BeckHuntAlm 74; BeckHuntAlvar 200, 553f., 558–61; DombrChr 303; GueCopMen 28, n. 1, 37, n. 6 (Lit.), index 771; GuiIohan 145f., 293 (text) = 152f., 314 (tr.); MANFRED KROPP, "«Antiquae restitutio legis». Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als *imago imperii* und *notitia dignitatum* in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zär'a Ya'qob im Condaghe der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: *VarAeth* 115–47, here 119f., 134f.; LesCDic 458; LudHist libro II, c. 13, 26–37; MahZekr 638f., 642f., 649, 656f., 664; SaltTrav 287ff.; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerᶜata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 7, 13 (II. 8), 14 (II.13).

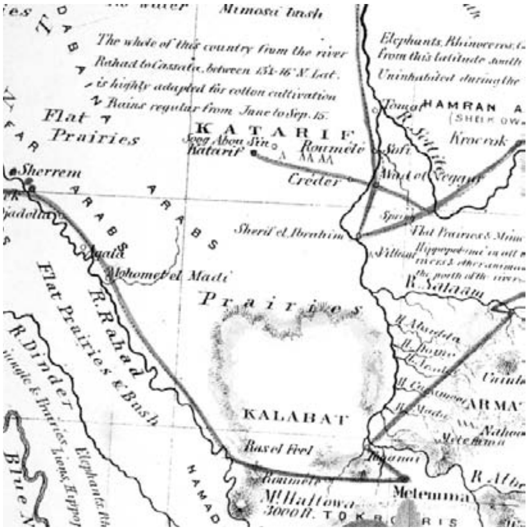
Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Civil Titles and Offices in the Reign of Emperor Menilek II, 1889–1913", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 596–612; LAVERLE BERRY, *The Solomonic Monarchy at Gonder, 1630–1755*: *an Institutional Analysis of Kingship in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University 1976, passim; ClapHS 67f., s. index; ErlAlula 11, 13, 23; PerGov 81–86.

Denis Nosnitsin

Ras al-Fīl

R. (colloquial Arab., lit. 'head of the elephant') is a former governorate of the Christian Ethiopian state, located to the west of the River ↗Atbara and ↗Mätämma near the Ethiopian–Sudanese border.

R. seems to have been the principal market for ↗gold on a caravan route between ↗Gondär, ↗Sinnār and ↗Funğ, very much frequented by ↗*Ğäbärti* as well as by Sinnār merchants. It was situated four days journey from Sinnār, and was also considered to be one of the safest trade routes between the two countries. Though its territorial extent is unclear, R. once consisted of 39 villages. After the military expedition of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II


Mimosa bush
The whole of this country from the river Rahad to Cassala, between 15½-16° N. Lat. is highly adapted for cotton cultivation
Rains regular from June to Sep. 15.
Elephants, Rhinoceros, &c. from this latitude south
Uninhabited during the
Flat Prairies
KATARIF
Soog Abou Sin
Katarif
Roumele
HAMRAN A
(SHEIK OW.
Kreerok
Sherrem
R. Settite
Sofi
Wad el Negaar
Creder
ARABS
ARABS
Sheriff el Ibrahim
Flat Prairies & Mim
Mohomet el Madi
R. Salaam
Prairies
R. Rahad
Flat Prairies & Bush
R. Dinder
KALABAT
ARMA
Ras el Feel
Metemma
Mt. Hallowa 3000 ft.
TOKRORIS
R. Atbara
HAMAD
Blue N.
Elephants
Lions, Hippo

Ras al-Fīl (below, middle, “Ras el Feel”) on one of the first exact maps of the north-western Ethio–Sudanese border areas, showing the itinerary of Samuel and Florence Baker; from Baker 1867

and *ras* ↗Wäldä Ləᶜul against Sinnār, R. no longer paid tribute to Sinnār, and was considered as one of the frontier provinces of Ethiopia. Before, in the 16th cent., it might have been included in the Muslim Ethiopian–Sudanese kingdom of ↗Mäzäga, during its widest extension.

R. is a hot, mostly lowland, partially mountainous, territory, whose population was mainly Muslim. It is a semi-arid strip of land, full of thick woodland, unfavourable for agriculture, but fit for hunting. As a result, hunters from both sides of the frontier converged on R. to hunt ↗elephants, rhinoceros and other wild animals. As a frontier territory, it was subjected to attacks from both the Sudan and Ethiopia. There were considerable numbers of fugitives from the Sudan and other territories across the frontier living in R. In 1799, for instance one of the district governors of Sinnār, Ranfa Bādī, was exiled to R.; one generation before, even the deposed ruler of Sinnār, *makk* ↗Bādī IV, was appointed its governor under the Ethiopian ruler.

In order to secure the allegiance of the border communities to Ethiopian overlordship, Muslim governors were appointed along with Christian governors. According to James ↗Bruce, the deputy governors of R. were always Muslims. On occasions, such as the battle of ↗Sarbakusa, soldiers from R. faught among Ethiopian troops (BruNile VI, 93). R. helped Ethiopian governors to get a supply of horses and other lucrative items of trade across the border. Most of its inhabitants were strong and expert horsemen. At the time of Bruce’s visit, it was ruled by a Christian called *ato* Kənfu. Bruce was then offered the deputy governorship of R. which he did not exercise actively owing to its unfavourable location.

After the 18th cent. it seems to have belonged to the ↗Qallābāt sultanate.

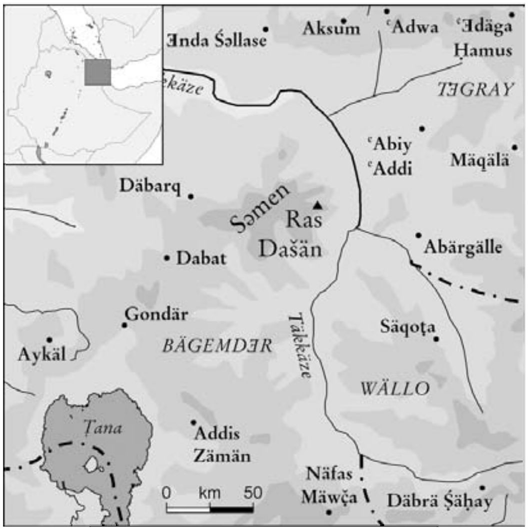
Src.: BlunChr 216; BruNile III, 359-72, VI, 93, et passim; JOHN LEWIS BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1822, 276f.; GuiIyas 213ff. (tr.); SAMUEL SHAW (ed.), *An Interesting Narrative of the Travels of James Bruce into Abyssinia to Discover the Source of the Nile*, London 1790, 213f., 247f., 335.

Lit.: SAMUEL BAKER, *Exploration of the Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*, London 1867 [maps] (ill.); OSBERT GUY STANHOPE CRAWFORD, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, 247–54, maps 87, 148; MANFRED KROPP, “Äthiopisch-Sudanesiche Kriege im 18. Jhdt.”, in: ROLF GUNDLACH – MANFRED KROPP – ANNALIS LEIBUNDGUT (eds.), *Der Sudan in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1996, 111–31; MERID WOLDE AREGAY – SERGEW HABLE SELLASIE, “Sudanese-Ethiopian Relations before the Nineteenth Century”, in: YŪSUF FAḌL ḤASAN (ed.), *Sudan in Africa*, Khartoum 1985, 62–72; JAY SPAULDING, *The Heroic Age in Sinnar,* East Lansing, MI 1985, 198.

Tsega Endalew Etefa

Ras Dašän

R.D. (**ራስ፡ ዳችን**, 4533 m A.S.L., 13° 14' 12" N, 38° 22' 21" E) is the highest mountain in Ethiopia and the fourth highest in Africa. It is located at the eastern extremity of the ↗Səmen mountain range which towers to the north, the east and the south over the curve of the ↗Täkkäze gorges. The Dašän mountain range separates the


Ǝnda Śəllase
Aksum
ᶜAdwa
ᶜƎdäga Ḥamus
käze
TƎGRAY
ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi
Mäqälä
Däbarq
Səmen
Ras Dašän
Abärgälle
Dabat
Gondär
Säqoṭa
Aykäl
BÄGEMDƎR
Täkkäze
WÄLLO
Tana
Addis Zämän
Näfas Mäwča
Däbrä Ṣäḥay
0 km 50

Tǝgray *kǝllǝl* from the Amhara *kǝllǝl*. The summits, made of cenozoic volcanic rock (trap series), are no longer covered with persistent snow and small glaciers as they were during the Quaternary cold periods.

Since 1969 R.D. has been included in the Sǝmen Mountains ↗National Park and listed as a World Heritage site. Rare endemic species are to be found there: walya ibex (*Capra ibex walia*), Simen fox or wolf (*Canis simensis simensis*), Gelada baboon (*Theropithecus gelada*) and several bird species. Juniper forests (Afro-montane belt) grow on steep slopes rising above the ↗Däbarq plateaux (2,800 m A.S.L.). The summit plateaux are cultivated up to 3,500–3,600 m A.S.L., where small fields (cereals, pulses) have been cleared from the Ericaceous belt (*Ericea arborea* or giant heath). The highest altitudinal belt is the Afro-alpine belt (ca. 4,000 m A.S.L.) and is characterized by the occurrence of the Giant Lobelia (*Lobelia rhynchopetalum*) which can survive night frost. On the southern slopes, around 2,000 m A.S.L., ↗Agäw peasants grow *ǝnsät* and banana trees (Simoons 1960: 94).

Reportedly, the first expedition to R.D. was by Pierre Victor ↗Ferret and Joseph-Germain ↗Galinier in 1841, who provided the first geological and biological description of the mountain. Until the Gondär–Aksum road was built through ↗Däbarq during the Italian occupation, the mountain was isolated. For a long time ↗*šǝfta* took refuge here, attacking Italians, travellers and *Därg* troops.

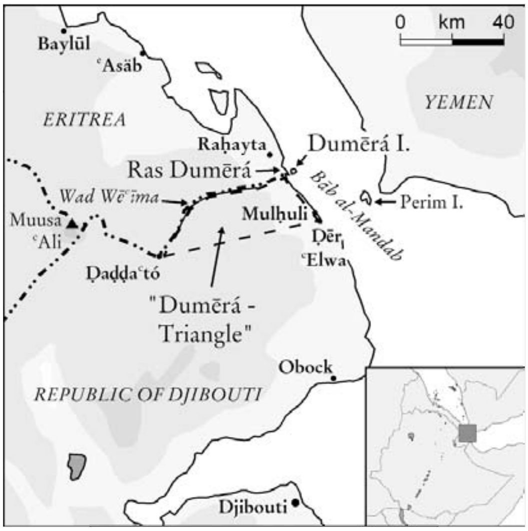
The area is inhabited by Amhara farmers, who earn their living from agriculture, altitude cattle breeding, hunting and wood cutting. It has areas of high population density (108 inhabitants/km^2 in the Däbarq *wäräda* [CSA 2004]) and the poor peasantry supplement their income by helping tourists and trekkers. The recent opening of trails and an all-weather road from Däbarq to the Bʷaḥit Pass (4,200 m A.S.L.) might disrupt fauna and flora stability and induce farmers to leave their fields.

Src.: PIERRE VICTOR ADOLPHE FERRET – JOSEPH GERMAIN GALINIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie dans les provinces du Tigre, du Samen et de l'Amhara*, vol. 2, Paris 1847, 199ff.

Lit.: EMAtlas; *Guida* 461; HANS HURNI – BRUNO MESSERLI, *Simen Mountains, Ethiopia: World Heritage Site, 1 : 100 000*, Berne ^{2}2003; FREDERICK J. SIMOONS, *Northwest Ethiopia: Peoples and Economy*, Madison, WI 1960, 6, 66, 92–95.

Alain Gascon

Ras Dumērá and Dumērá island

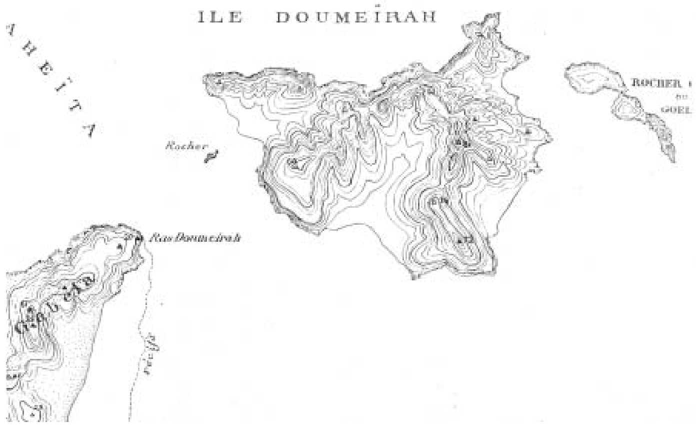


The triangle which was planned to be given to Italy in 1935

R.D. (Ar.: Raᵓs Dumayra; French: Ras Doumeira, official sp. in Djibouti: Raas Dumeera; 12° 42' 45 N, 43° 8' 12 E) is the ᶜAfar name of a small, hilly cape (Arab. *raᵓs*) on the ↗Red Sea coast (possibly the Deirē of ↗Ptolemy). It is facing the island of Dumērá and serving as a reference point for the boundary between ↗Djibouti and ↗Eritrea. The hill on R.D. which marks the boundary is called Gabla (Meḍgablá, s. MorDicAfar 147, s. maps). Historically, R.D. and the island belonged to the sultanate of ↗Raḥayto.

Already in the French–ᶜAfar treaty of friendship of 11 March 1862 R.D. served to define the western limit of the territories concerned (text s. MorDicAfar 264). The lowlands from R.D. to Ras ᶜAlī would be ceded to France together with ↗Obock. When the French effectively established themselves in the area in the 1880s, this treaty served as their legal reference, which cemented R.D.'s legal function (s. also ↗Boundaries of Djibouti; ↗Treaties).

R.D. again played a role when a radical reshaping of Ethiopian boundaries was discussed before Italy's attack on Ethiopia (↗Italian war 1935–36). On 7 January 1935, a series of agreements was concluded between the French foreign minister Laval and ↗Mussolini. They provided for the cession of the Ḍaḍḍaᶜtó–Dumērá triangle (the "saillant de Dumera"), west of R.D. in French Somaliland, to Italy; to the south, this triangle was bounded by the well Ḍēr ᶜElwa on the coast (south of Mulḥuli). Italy, in turn, would give up rights in French Tunisia and support France against Germany, while France secretly promised not to act against Italy in the "Abyssinian ques-



Extract from a French map, drawn by Lieutenant Blondiaux, showing the "Île Doumeirah" and "Ras Doumeirah"on the left, with boundary marks (black triangles) on the elevations, partitioning Ras Dumērá along the hill Gabla and setting a boundary also on Dumerá island on the southern most hill (72 m A.S.L.); 1899, Service géographique des colonies, 1:10.000, courtesy of Didier Morin

tion" (s. the official texts in Wheeler-Bennett – Heald 1936:18–24). The importance of this cession for Italian Eritrea lay in the fact that thanks to Ḍēr ᶜElwa it would acquire direct access to the the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean and thus control the maritime traffic through the strait of ↗Bāb al-Mandab. These agreements, however, were not ratified and therefore never achieved any legal status. R.D. remained the legal boundary, thus Eritrea never becoming a riparian state of the Bāb al-Mandab.

Instead, after the war had started, the secret ↗Hoare-Laval-Plan of December 1935 suggested that a coastal strip north-west of R.D. (within Italian Eritrea) be ceded by Italy to Ethiopia in exchange for large Ethiopian territories. Originally, Mussolini secretly declared to be ready to accept. But after its premature publication it was rejected by leading members of the ↗League of Nations and by ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. This breach of the basic principles of the League led to the resignation of Hoare and the fall of the Laval government, and Mussolini himself opted for an occupation of all of Ethiopia instead. The plan did not lead to any legally valid agreements.

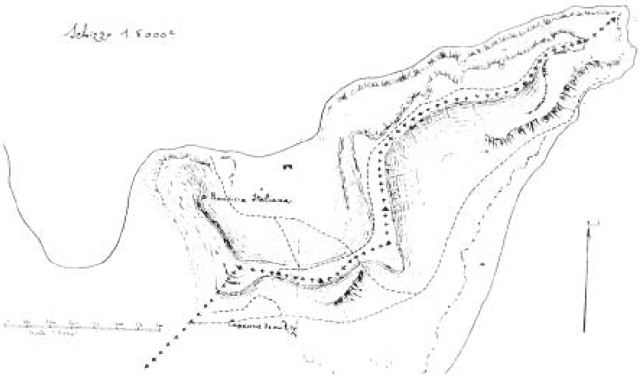
The French–Ethiopian Protocol of Ḍaḏḏaᶜtó of 16 January 1954 defined the French Somaliland–Ethiopian boundary as the ancient trace, i.e. first a strait line starting from the Gabla at R.D., then following the *wad* Wēᶜimá (s. map of the triangle). The question of ownership of the island of Dumērá, however, remained open. R.D. itself is almost equally divided between Eritrea and Djibouti (s. maps of 1899 and ca. 1935).

Occasional Eritrean indirect claims of the 1990s over the entire Ḍaḏḏaᶜtó–Dumērá triangle (e.g., in a map of the Eritrean Government of 1995), based on the obsolete Laval–Mussolini agreements, eventually contributed to the outbreak of a short-lived conflict with Djibouti in 1996 (Eritrea claimed to have just persecuted ᶜAfar rebels, but Djibouti claimed that Eritrea had occupied territory within Djibouti in the R.D. area). Eritrean claims over the whole triangle were, however, never made official. After a renewed short border conflict in 2008, the Eritrean army controlled all of R.D. and Dumērá island (this tiny strip of land not being identical with the much larger Ḍaḏḏaᶜtó–Dumērá triangle).

Src.: EDWARD HERTSLETT, *The Map of Africa by Treaty, Revised and Completed to the End of 1908 …*, vol. 2: *Abyssinia and Great Britain and France*, London 1967; JOHN W. WHEELER-BENNETT – STEPHEN HEALD, *Documents on International Affairs 1935*, vol. 1, London 1936, 18–24.

Lit.: DAVID HAMILTON, "Schedule of International Agreements Relating to the Boundaries of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 58–69; MorDicAfar 146f., 230, 264f. (Lit.).

Wolbert Smidt – Didier Morin

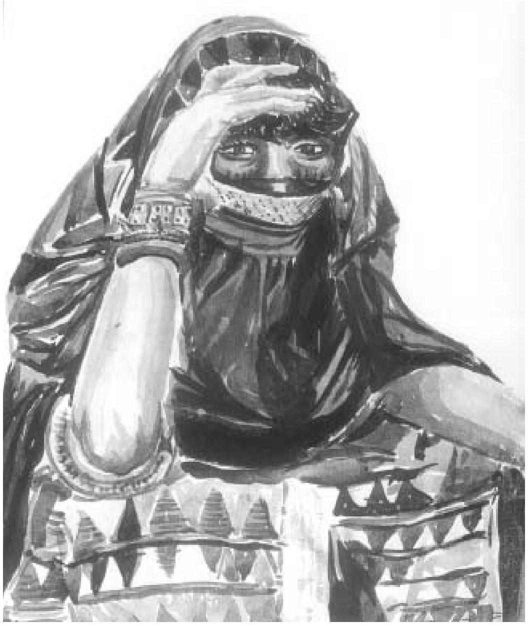


Extract from an Italian map, drawn by H. Renente, facsimile by R. E. de Vila, showing the delimitation between the Colonia Eritrea and French Somaliland on Ras Dumērá; ca. 1935, from the possession of the French colonial administration (1938), 1:5.000, collection Chedeville, courtesy of Didier Morin

Rašāʾida

The R. (also Rašāyida; self-denomination Rašāyda) are an Eritrean people. They descend from Arabic-speaking bedouins who migrated from coastal towns in Arabia and sailed across the ↗Red Sea in the late 1860s. They settled in what the Egyptian administration called the ↗Sawākin and ↗Massawa governorates at that time. The boundary between these provinces ran approximately along the Sudanese–Eritrean border of today. From 1866 to 1895, however, it was a lightly policed frontier zone that the R. crossed at will. Even now some R. move back and forth between Sudan and Eritrea, whenever they need to escape political and economic pressures in these countries. Significant numbers of R. crossed the frontier in 1885 (to escape Mahdist armies in Sudan), 1892 (to evade Italian tax collectors in Eritrea), 1935 (to prevent Italian seizure of their livestock in Eritrea), and the late 1990s (to keep away from clashes in eastern Sudan between the Sudanese army and a Sudanese opposition group, the National Democratic Alliance, which was based in Eritrea). Thus it is impossible to understand the history of the Eritrean R. in isolation from the history of their relatives in Sudan. Both groups still consider themselves members of a single, tribally organized society, notwithstanding their political affiliations with Sudan and Eritrea.

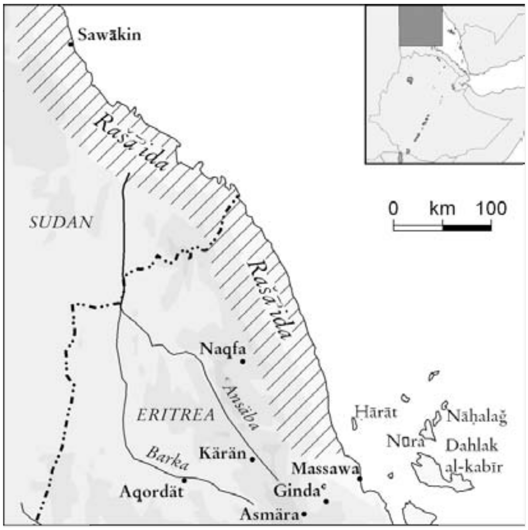
Most of the R. claim patrilineal descent from the tribe's eponymous ancestor, Rašīd al-Zōl. This man is also said to be the ancestor of related groups in Saudi Arabia who call themselves the Banī Rašīd. Many Sudanese and Eritrean R. regard the Saudi Banī Rašīd as their "cousins". However, some branches of the tribe – such as the ᶜAwāzim – have a separate genealogy and descend from other Arabian tribes. Regardless, in their dealings with outsiders the members of such branches identify themselves as R. (sg.: Rašīdī). Many R. resemble the bedouins of Saudi Arabia physically, having olive-toned skin and straight black hair. Some R., however, descended from "free" male ancestors and "slave" African concubines who were purchased by wealthy Rašīdī men in the 19th cent. These R. bear the surnames of their "free" male ancestors and have full membership in the tribe politically. There is some stigma attached to their "non-free" grandmothers, however, producing a tendency for them to marry among themselves.



Rašāʾida woman; an ethnographic portrait by Fəśśəḥaye Zämikaʾel, ca. 1990, private art collection, Asmära

All of the R. speak the dialect of Arabic found in their original homeland, the western highlands of Nağd, in Saudi Arabia. Their dialect differs in sound and vocabulary from Sudanese dialects. For example, in Rašīdī Arabic the consonant *k* is often pronounced as *č* when it falls near a high front vowel; thus one hears *mabrūk* 'congratulations [lit., 'you are blessed']!' but also *allāh yibārič fī-č* 'God bless you [fem. sg.]'. Some of their interrogative vocabulary, such as *ween naww-k* 'Where are you [masc. sg.] going?' and *ween naww-ič* 'Where are you [fem. sg.] going?' is distinctive.

Since 1870 the R.'s closest neighbours in Eritrea have been the Təgre-speaking ↗Ḥabāb subgroup, whose lands are adjacent to the frontier zone. In the 1880s most R. lived in Sudan, but in 1885 Mahdist troops attacked them and forced them to seek refuge with the Ḥabāb in what is now Eritrea. For the next ten years the R. stayed close to the Ḥabāb socially and geographically. During the rainy seasons, however, the Ḥabāb pastoralists tended to take their livestock into the highlands to graze while the R. lingered near the Red Sea coast with their camels. Although the coastal strip was not rich in pasture, it had harbours where Rašīdī merchants could bring in goods from Arabia and export goods from Eritrea. During the 19th cent. these goods were slaves and ↗firearms (↗Slavery). Slave dealers from the ↗Ḥədaräb/↗Hadándowa, Banī ᶜĀmir (↗Beni ᶜAmər), and Ḥabāb groups would seize captives



further inland, enslave them, and transport them to the coast, where Rašīdī merchants would embark with their human cargo for Jeddah, one of the centres of the Red Sea slave trade. The merchants would use the proceeds from this trade to buy firearms and bring them back across the Red Sea to sell in Eritrea and Sudan. Since the R. and the Ḥabāb had complementary roles in this commerce, they tended to develop inter-tribal partnerships. The trade in people was stopped by the British and the Italians early in the 20th cent., but Rašīdī merchants have continued to cross the Red Sea in small boats (*sanābīk*) to bring other goods – such as sheep, which are in high demand in Jeddah during the pilgrimage season – to markets in Saudi Arabia. In recent years many have gone to Saudi Arabia to work in pastoralism or livestock sales. Their fluency in a Naǧdī dialect and familiarity with Saudi culture helps them blend in to Saudi society.

Those R. who do not engage in commerce support themselves by combining pastoralism with rain-fed horticulture. They migrate with their livestock in search of pasture as soon as the first rains fall in July. After a few weeks of rain, when the soil is moist, they plant sorghum in wadi beds. After the grain sprouts they move away with their animals and let it grow untended. They harvest the grain weeks later and use some of it to feed their livestock during the ensuing dry season, when the pastures have dried up. Because their pastoralist economy requires frequent movement, these R. live in cloth tents. The tents are made by women. They make yarn from a mixture of cotton fibre, goat's hair, and camel wool and then weave the yarn into heavy, waterproof tent cloth. Men specialize in rearing livestock: finding pasture for them, taking them to water, branding them, taming them, and scheduling breeding and calving. During the 1990s the number of R. who still moved with their herds shrank. Many now prefer a sedentary life based on local work in commerce and labour migration to Saudi Arabia. Reliable statistics about the proportion of nomadic to sedentary R., however, have not been collected.

As Muslims, the R. circumcize their boys. Boys are circumcized about one year after birth. Although not required by Islam, there is a parallel genital operation for girls that involves removal of a small part of the clitoris. This custom contrasts sharply with the much more severe genital operations found in central Sudan, which the R. do not approve of.

In the Eritrean context, the R.'s clothing is distinctive. Men wear long turbans. Women wear masks made of decorated black cloth that cover their mouths and noses. Young women wear an even more concealing and more brightly decorated veil called a *burga*^{c} for the first year after their marriage. Then they switch to the more comfortable married woman's face mask (*ginā*^{c}).

In legal and political terms the R. of Eritrea have become one of nine officially-recognized "nationalities" in the new, independent state of Eritrea, while the R. of Sudan have remained Sudanese citizens. The cultural process that transformed the Eritrean R. into a "nationality" had its roots in British language policy between 1941 and 1952. During this period, the British promoted Təgrəñña and Arabic as the languages of instruction in Eritrean schools, arguing that Təgrəñña would serve the Christian Eritreans as a language of culture while Arabic would serve the Muslims. After 1952 Ethiopia attempted to impose Amharic, but this policy was reversed in 1991 when Eritrea became independent. Once Təgrəñña and Arabic were reinstated as languages of instruction, it followed logically that the R. should be recognized as the only native speakers of Arabic in Eritrea. This occured in 1993.

Lit.: ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *The Nakfa Documents*: *the Despatches* …, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53); WILLIAM C. YOUNG, *The Rashaayda Bedouin*: *Arab Pastoralists of Eastern Sudan*, Fort Worth, TX 1996; ID., "From Many, One: the Social Construction of the Rashāyida Tribe in Eastern Sudan", *NEASt* 4, 1, 1997, 71–108; ID., "From Local 'Tribe' to Transnational Arab Society: the 'New' Rashaayda Bedouin of Sudan", in: GEORGE SPINDLER –

Janice E. Stockard (eds.), *Globalization and Change in Fifteen Cultures*, Belmont, CA 2007, 256–82; Id., "The Rashāyida Arabs vs. the State: the Impact of European Colonialism on a Small-Scale Society in Sudan and Eritrea", *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 9, 2, 2008 (http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/journal_of_colonialism_and_colonial_history/v009/9.2.young.html; last access 25. January 2010).

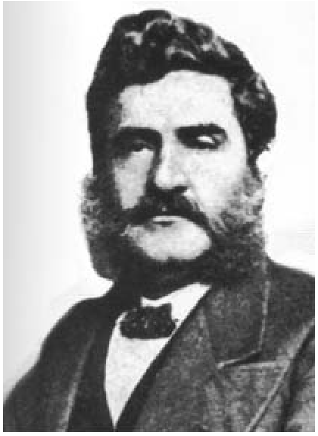
William C. Young

Rassam, Hormuzd

R. (b. 1826, Mosul, Iraq, d. 16 September 1910, Hove, Brighton) was a British agent who travelled to Ethiopia as Queen Victoria's envoy to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, and played a major rôle in negotiations preceding the Battle of ↗Fala below ↗Mäqdäla. Born as a Nestorian Christian he became an adherent of the Church of England, and took British nationality.

Originally employed as an Arabic–English interpreter, R. attracted the attention of the British archaeologist Austen Henry Layard, who sent him to Magdalen College, Oxford, to study archaeology. R. assisted Layard in his researches at Nineveh in 1845–47 and 1849–51, and was later appointed British agent for Assyrian antiquities, and subsequently a British political agent for Aden and Muscat. As such he was chosen – through the influence of Layard, by then a British Member of Parliament, as Queen Victoria's envoy to Tewodros, following the imprisonment of the envoy ↗Cameron whom Tewodros by then mistrusted.

R., bearing a letter from Victoria, landed at ↗Massawa on 23 July 1864. He immediately wrote to Tewodros, requesting an audience, but, receiving no reply, wrote again in October, and March 1865. During this long delay London critics complained that R. had failed because he was an "Asiatic", not a "European", while the Orientalist Richard ↗Burton declared that R. lacked "pluck". The British Government appointed a substitute envoy, William Palgrave. In the meantime, however, R., waiting at Massawa, received the long awaited reply from Tewodros on 12 August 1865. It invited him to enter Ethiopia through ↗Mätämma in the west. By then the British had abandoned an earlier plan of taking Tewodros a gift of 500 muskets.



Hormuzd Rassam; from Guadalupi 2005: 30

R., poorly supplied with gifts, but accompanied by two colleagues, Lieutenant ↗Prideaux and Dr. Henry Blanc, finally met Tewodros on 27 January 1866 – a year and a half after arriving at Massawa. R. was at first warmly welcomed by the monarch, who gave him several substantial gifts of Maria Theresa dollars, and asked him to try Consul Cameron and Tewodros's other European captives, which he did symbolically. R. was then allowed to take all the freed captives with him and leave Ethiopia, but on their way they were re-captured, Tewodros blaming R. for not respecting their friendship as he did not stay in his service. The ruler's letters to him show a high degree of sympathy towards R., but are also marked by exaggerated expectations.

R., together with the other Europeans, was dispatched to the Emperor's fortress of Mäqdäla, where they were all detained until the arrival of the ↗Napier Expedition; they were released on 12 April 1868. R. was in the British camp when a last letter from Tewodros arrived offering Napier a gift of cattle and sheep, in effect as a peace-overture. R., who served as interpreter together with Tewodros's confident ↗Samuᵓel Giyorgis, later challenged Napier's account of these proceedings: he suggested that the ruler had been deceived into thinking that the British had accepted his gift, and that peace had thus been concluded (Anon. 1869).

R., who subsequently worked for the British Museum in Mesopotamia, published a detailed record of his negotiations with Tewodros, with a clear account of how his government worked. For his service and sufferings, the British Government awarded him the sum of £ 5,000.

Src.: Hormuzd Rassam, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*, London 1869; Anon., *Theodore's Cattle*, Poonah 1869; Girma-Selassie Asfaw et al., *The Amharic Letters of Emperor Theodore of Ethiopia to Queen Victoria and her Special Envoy*, Oxford 1979; Clements Robert Markham, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, s. index; RubActa II, s. index.

Lit.: Percy Arnold, *Prelude to Magdala. Emperor Theodore of Ethiopia and British Diplomacy*, London 1992, s. index; Darrell Bates, *The Abyssinian Difficulty*, London 1979, s. index; Gianni Guadalupi, *Der Nil, Die Geschichte seiner Entdeckung und Eroberung*, Köln ^{5}2005, 30 (ill.); Volker Matthies, *Unternehmen Magdala: Strafexpedition in Äthiopien*, Berlin 2010, s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Rassegna di Studi Etiopici

The R.S.E. is an Italian journal devoted to ↗Ethiopian studies, published since 1941. The journal was founded by Carlo ↗Conti Rossini who edited it until his death in 1949 (no. 7, 2, 1948, publ. 1949). The link with the "Roman School" of Ethiopian studies was maintained by the subsequent editors, Martino Mario ↗Moreno (1950–63, nos. 8–19) and Lanfranco ↗Ricci (1964–2003). Since Conti Rossini's death, each number of R.S.E. commemorates the name of its founder beneath the title.

In Conti Rossini's intentions, the scope of the R.S.E. was that of "investigating the indigenous people of the Africa Orientale in every respect: ethnic, historical, philological, cultural", not only in view of specific scientific achievements, but also, reflecting the contemporary climate, in order to increase the interest of educated people in "Italian" Africa, and furnish knowledge for a better exercise of colonial rule (cp. Conti Rossini 1941). The journal soon emerged as one of the most important scientific tools for Ethiopian studies (cp. Ricci 1986: 154, who stressed its essential historical and philological approach: cp. also the revision of his own statements by Conti Rossini 1944–45: 6), with a high scholarly standard and contributors from all over the world; consequently, everyone involved in Ethiopian studies (whether history, archaeology, linguistics, philology, religion, anthropology, law, history of art, bibliography, etc.) could hardly avoid consulting the R.S.E.

For the first three years (1941–43) the R.S.E. was supported by the Ministero dell'Africa Orientale Italiana in cooperation with the Reale Accademia d'Italia, Rome. Three fascicles appeared each year. During 1944/45–51, it was sponsored by the Ministero dell'Africa Italiana – Ufficio Studi. One fascicle was published for the years 1944–45 (no. 4), but the *Studi Etiopici* (CRStud, 1945, under the auspices of the Istituto per l'Oriente) was conceived as a complement to R.S.E. (cp. Conti Rossini 1944–45: 6). Only one fascicle was published again for the year 1946 (no. 5), whereas two yearly fascicles were published in 1947 and 1948 (6 and 7). No. 7 included a supplement, edited by Conti Rossini (1948) and later brought to completion by Ricci (1953, 1971). The original editorial board included, besides Conti Rossini, Vinigi L. ↗Grottanelli and Antonio ↗Mordini.

During 1952–54 (nos. 11–13), the R.S.E. was sponsored (but not funded, cp. Ricci 1983: 5) by the Centro di Studi Etiopici e Cristiano-Orientali (Università di Roma – Istituto di Studi Orientali). In 1952 Ricci became editorial member under Moreno.

Publication resumed more than three years later (no. 14, 1955–58, publ. 1959) thanks to an agreement (inspired by Ricci and endorsed by Francesco Gabrieli) with the Istituto per l'Oriente (IPO, at present, Istituto per l'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Rome), where Conti Rossini had played an important role in the previous decades (cp. Ciasca 1959; Ricci 1983).

Ricci took charge following Moreno's death in 1964. His direction was initially characterized by the irregularity of publication (no. 21, 1965, publ. 1966; no. 22, 1966, publ. 1968; no. 23, 1967–68, publ. 1969; no. 24, 1969–70, 1971; no. 25, 1971–72, publ. 1974; no. 26, 1973–77, publ. 1978; no. 27, 1978–79, publ. 1979; no. 28, 1980–81, publ. 1981). The 1983 agreement between the IPO (through which the R.S.E. was also funded by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, CNR) and the ↗Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples (IUO) secured a more substantial financial support. As a result, the R.S.E. appeared with more regularity (no. 29, 1982–83, publ. 1983; no. 30, 1984–86, publ. 1987; no. 31, 1987, publ. 1988; no. 32, 1981, publ. 1990 etc. till no. 43, 1999, publ. 2000; no. 40, 1996, though planned, was never published due to the lack of financial support from the CNR). The 1983 agreement also implied the establishment of an editorial board, including one representative each from IUO and IPO (Luigi ↗Fusella and Yaqob Beyene, respectively). Yet, it was Ricci, the Direttore, who remained exclusively responsible for editorial policy.

With the establishment of a new editorial board in 2002 (with Yaqob Beyene and Rodolfo Fattovich), Ricci launched a new series, of which only two fascicles have been published (no. 1, 1, 2002, and no. 2, 2003: no. 1, 2, 2002 was never published).

Throughout the journal's existence, its inner structure has changed insignificantly. The sections included articles, occasional personalia, and a bibliographical section containing reviews. The only exception was the almost monographic vol. 25 (1971–72).

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Indice dei volumi I–XXXVII (1941–1995) della 'Rassegna di Studi Etiopici'", *RSE* 38, 1994 [1996], 267–96; RAFFAELE CIASCA, "Premessa", *ibid.* 14, 1959, 5; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Premessa", *ibid.* 1, 1, 1941, 3–4; ID., "Pubblicazioni etiopistiche dal 1936 al 1945", *ibid.* 4, 1944–45, 1–132; ID. (ed., tr.), *Consuetudini giuridiche del Seraé. Raccolte dall'assemblea dei suoi notabili ad iniziativa del commissariato regionale di Addi Ugri*,

Parte I, *Supplemento al volume VII* (*1948*), Roma 1948; Parte II, *Supplemento al volume XI* (*1952*), [ed. by LANFRANCO RICCI], Roma 1953; Parte II [ed. 1953], *Elenco e firme dei notabili. Allegato al volume XXIV* (*1971*), [ed. by ID.], Roma 1971; CRStud; LANFRANCO RICCI, "L'etiopistica italiana nel cinquantennio 1920–1970", in: *Gli studi sul Vicino Oriente in Italia dal 1921 al 1970*, vol. 1: *L'Oriente preislamico* Roma 1971 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 63), 153–83; ID., "Studi di Etiopistica", in: *Istituto Italo–Africano. Atti del Convegno "Gli Studi africanistici in Italia dagli anni '60 ad oggi". Roma, 25–27 giugno 1985*, Roma 1986, 150–66; ID., "Nota editoriale", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 5–6.

Alessandro Bausi

Rastafari/Rastafarianism

The R. movement, whose name derives from "*ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən" (i.e. *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), emerged in Kingston, Jamaica, in the early 1930s when a few persons (Archibald Dunkley, Joseph Nathaniel Hibbert, Robert Hinds, Leonard P. Howell), most of whom had been travelling in Central and Northern America, came back preaching the godly character of Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I. His coronation on 2 November 1930 was interpreted by the Rastafarians as the fulfillment of biblical prophesy. It is one of the major dates of the Rastafarian calendar and is faithfully commemorated every year. The R. movement was thereafter strengthened by news of the upcoming war between Italy and Ethiopia. The Rastafarians themselves reject the term "Rastafarianism" claiming that they have transcended all "isms and schisms".

The social and ideological roots of the R. movement are Jamaican popular religions which had been a tool of resistance during ↗slavery; the tradition of ↗Ethiopianism, through which blacks identified with Ethiopia by virtue of biblical symbolism; and the works of Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) who strove for Black Nationalism and Pan-African unity (↗Pan-Africanism). The R. movement at first took root among the poor and destitute black population of Kingston and met with strong opposition from Jamaican society and the colonial government.

It is characterized by a wide diversity of practices: there are probably as many interpretations of what the R. movement is as there are Rastafarians (or "Rastas"). Due to the constant refusal to abide by one homogeneous dogma, R. has often been understood as an allegory for individual freedom. However, beyond their faith in God's presence in man as represented by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, common traits can be pointed out: the inversion of symbolic values attributed to black and white identities; identification with the Hebrews taken into slavery; a world vision expressed by the term ↗Zion, representing Africa as the land of origin and the promised land, and Babylon, representing the Western world and its administrations.

Welcome sign of the Rastafari community at Šašämäne; photo 2009, courtesy of the author

The cultural system of the Rastafarians took form as early as the 1940s. Their *livity*, or way of life, is characterized by growing the hair in dreadlocks, an *Ital*, i.e. vegan and natural alimentation, and the ritualized use of the herb (*cannabis sativa*). The *Italk*, a subversion of Jamaican patois by the Rastas, expresses their confidence in the power of the word and of the subject ("*I*"). Rastafarian sacred music is called *nyahbinghi* and played with three types of drums (bass, fundeh, repeater). The *nyahbinghi* ritual of the Rastas may last as long as seven days and nights. A ritual of purification by fire and of praises for the Ethiopian Emperor, it stages a mythical confrontation between divine and evil forces. The cultural system of the Rastas is transmitted through a codified discourse known as *reasoning*.

The R. movement has been a major source of inspiration for artists, poets, film-makers, writers and intellectuals. Rastafarians, by restoring the pride of a black African identity came to embody cultural change in Jamaica after its independence in 1962. They have become an inescapable part of Jamaica's national identity even though they always claimed the right to leave the island and to go back to Africa, where they expect their redemption to take place. Many Rastafarians are settled in ↗Šašämäne, as well as in Ghana, South Africa, Tanzania, etc.

Bob Marley, world-famous Rastafarian and reggae singer, was awarded a peace medal by the UN in 1978 for his dedication to peace and solidarity. Thanks to the Rastafarian's involvement in reggae music, the Rasta movement has spread globally since the 1970s. Rastafari organizations such as the Ethiopian World Federation, the Twelve Tribes of Israel, the Ethiopia Africa Black International Congress and the Theocratic Order of Nyahbinghi were revitalized by growing communities in the Caribbean, Great Britain, and the United States. In addition, numerous communities emerged in continental Europe, Asia and the Pacific, Central and Latin America and, of course, Africa, where local Rastafarians have a vibrant voice.

↗Ethnicity

Lit.: Giulia Bonacci, *Exodus*! *L'histoire du retour des Rastafariens en Ethiopie*, Paris 2008; Horace Campbell, *Rasta and Resistance*: *from Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney*, Trenton, NJ 1987; Barry Chevannes, *Rastafari, Roots and Ideology*, Syracuse 1994; Robert A. Hill, *Dread History*: *Leonard P. Howell and Millenarian Visions in the Early Rastafarian Religion*, Chicago, IL – Kingston 2001; Nathaniel S. Murrell – William D. Spencer – Adrian A. McFarlane (eds.), *Chanting down Babylon*: *the Rastafari Reader*, Philadelphia, PA 1998; Joseph Owens, *Dread*: *the Rastafarians of Jamaica*, Kingston 1976.

Giulia Bonacci

Raydān

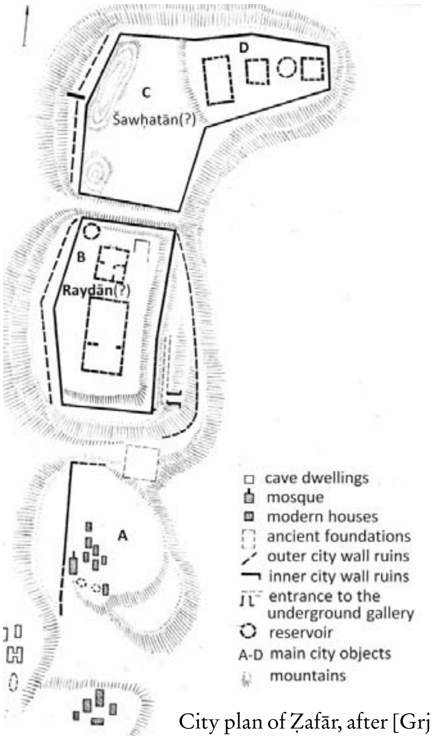
R. (ريدان; Sabaic RYDN; Gəᶜəz ረይዳን, Räydan; in unvocalized Gəᶜəz inscriptions RYDN and RD; in Gəᶜəz "pseudo-Sabaic" inscriptions RYDN^m, RYDN and RDN; in Greek Ῥαειδᾶν and Ῥεειδᾶν) is the name of the royal palace of ↗Ḥimyar, in the capital city of Ẓafār. In South Arabian epigraphic sources it is attested almost exclusively in the title MLK/SBᵓ/w-ḏ-RYDN, 'king of Sabaᵓ and ḏū Raydān' (lit. 'that of R.'), which was born by the supreme rulers of the Sabaean and Ḥimyarite kingdoms in the 1st to the end of the 3rd cent., during the period of the struggle for hegemony in South Arabia. After the unification of the region under the authority of Ḥimyar in the early 4th cent., this title was preserved as the first and essential part of the so-called "long" and "very long" royal titulary.

There is no doubt that R. was the main symbol of the Ḥimyarite political entity. The mention of R. in the title of the Aksumite king ↗ᶜEzana demonstrates his pretensions to power over Ḥimyar, which do not correspond to the real extent of his state. On the contrary, in the titulary of ↗Kaleb and his son ↗WᶜZB (RIÉ 191.8, 192 A.6), R. reflects the submission of the Ḥimyarite kingdom to ↗Aksum after the defeat of the Jewish king Ḏū Nuwās (↗Yūsuf Asᵓar Yaṯᵓar). As to ↗Abraha, an Ethiopian who came to rule over Ḥimyar, he merely adopted the "very long" titulary (including ḏ-RYDN).

From the early 2nd cent. A.D., the letters RYDN occurred on Ḥimyarite coins of different issues, especially on the majority of types attributed to King ᶜMDN BYN YHQBḌ. This mark obviously designated a mint that seems to have been situated inside the palace.

The 10th-cent. Yemenite scholar al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī mentioned R. among the palaces and castles of Ẓafār, and emphasized that it had been the royal residence. Unfortunately, no detailed description of R. has been found in Arab Islamic tradition. At least one more royal palace bearing the same name was located by al-Hamdānī in the fortress of Dawram, situated in the wādī Ḍahr, not far from Ṣanᶜāᵓ.

The ruins of R. have not been identified with certainty. However, their location on the highest and most salient hill of the ruins of Ẓafār (recently excavated by Paul Yule) which is called Ḥuṣn Raydān still today, proposed by the Rus-



City plan of Ẓafār, after [Grjaznevich – Lundin – Gruntfest] 1978, scheme 5 sian Arabist and traveller Piotr A. Grjaznevich, seems to be quite convincing.

Src.: RIÉ 185 I.1, 185 II.2, 185bis I.1, 185bis IIB.1, 186.2, 187.[2], 188.3, 189.3, 191.8, 192A.6, 270.2, 270bis.2, 271/7; ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN IBN AḤMAD AL-HAMDĀNĪ, *Kitāb al-Iklīl* ('The Book of the Crown'), vol. 8, ed. by NABĪH AMĪN FĀRIS, Princeton, NJ 1940, 23, 62f.

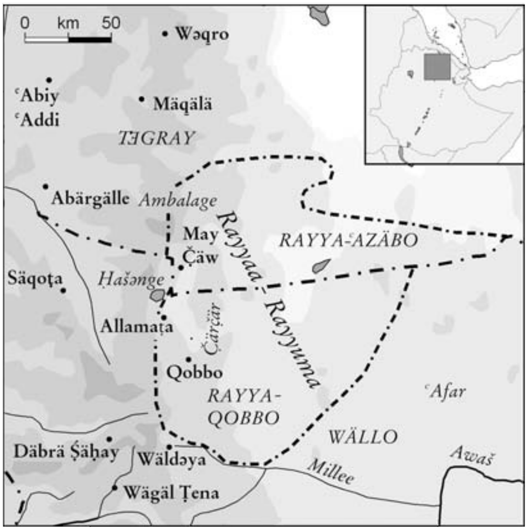
Lit.: [PIOTR A. GRJAZNEVICH – AVRAAM G. LUNDIN – JACOV B. GRUNTFEST], *Južnaja Aravia. Pamjatniki drevnej istorii i kul'tury* ('South Arabia. Monuments of Ancient History and Culture'), vol. 1, Moscow 1978, 33–38; MUḤAMMAD BÂFAQÎH, *L'unification du Yémen antique. La lutte entre Sabaᵓ, Ḥimyar et le Ḥaḍramawt du I^{er} au III^{ème} siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, Paris 1990 (Bibliothèque de Raydān 1), 19–27, 34–37, 330–34; RIÉ III, 5–7, 12, 15–16; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Coinage of Arabia Felix: the Pre-Islamic Coinage of the Yemen*, Milano 2003 (= *Mare Erythræum* 6), 30, 106, 157–74, 176–80, 183ff.; PAUL YULE, *Himyar: Spätantike in Yemen*, Aichwald 2007, 119–22.

Serguei A. Frantsouzoff

Rayya ᶜAzäbo

Before the 1991 administrative reform the *awrağğa* of R. and ᶜA. (ራያና፡ ዐዘቦ, *Rayyanna ᶜAzäbo*; Orom.: Raayyaa Aseboo) was a division of the ↗Təgray region. Its capital was ↗May Č̣äw located on the plateaus while the main part of its territory consisted of lowlands populated by ↗Rayyaa and ↗ᶜAfar pastoralists, all Muslims. The highlands are the realm of Christian ↗Təgrəñña-speaking agriculturists, including the Rayyaa Oromo.

The *awrağğa* population increased from 91,600 inhabitants (1970 Census) to 141,846 inhabitants (2006 Census). Urban populations, besides May Č̣äw (in 2006, 35,980 inhabitants), were concentrated in Märsa (4,659 inhabitants) and in ᶜAddi Šäḥo (4,044 inhabitants [1984 Census]). Population growth in the region has been modest, as it has been affected by famine and civil war.



Today, R.ᶜA. is the name of a *wäräda* of the Däbubawi Zone, a division of the Təgray *kəlləl*, while the lowlands are united with the ᶜAfar *kəlləl*. According to the 1994 census (CSA 1998) R.ᶜA. had 87,638 inhabitants living on 1,440 km^2, mainly living in the highlands, while the urban population was still very low: Märsa (6,200 inhabitants), Wäyra Wəha (1,847 inhabitants). In the 2004 Statistical Abstract a noticeable increase is shown. The *wäräda* population reaches 116,047 inhabitants: i.e 80,6 inhabitants/km^2 as the average density which is slightly higher than the national average density. Märsa has 10,271 inhabitants and Wäyra Wəha 3,064 inhabitants, far behind May Č̣äw located at the north-south paved highway.

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2004; EMAtlas; *Guida* 247, 311.

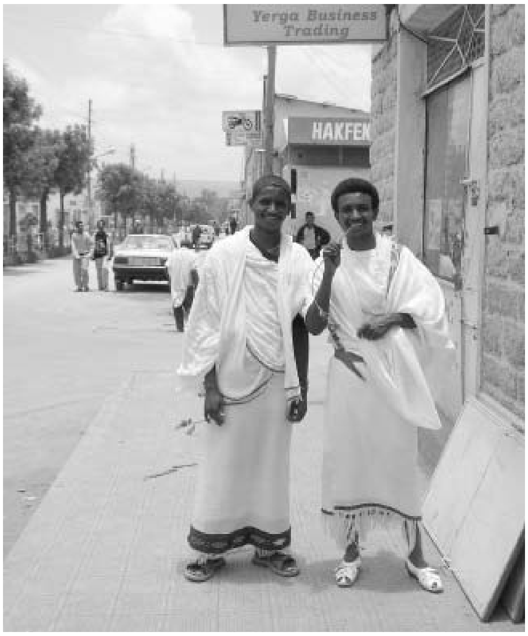
Alain Gascon

Rayyaa

R. (Raayyaa) is an ↗Oromo group living in southern ↗Təgray and northern ↗Wällo. Prior to the 1992 administrative reform, members of the R. were clustered in the two districts of ↗Rayya ᶜAzäbo (Raayyaa-Aseboo) *awrağğa*, in the Təgray regional state, and Rayya Qobbo *awrağğa*, of Wällo province. These two *awrağğas* are collectively known as Rayyaa-Rayyumma. This region extends from the Ǝmba Alağe (↗Ambalage) area of Təgray southward to the Lake ↗Ḥašənge area and from there down to Qobbo and the Alwəha (Aloha) area of Wällo; the other direction, the region stretches right from the southern edges of ↗Wäğğärat, to the Azäbo plain and from there to ↗Č̣ärč̣är and to the borders of ↗ᶜAfar (for location s. map for Rayya ᶜAzäbo).

Written and oral sources indicate that the ancestors of the R. Oromo settled in the Rayyaa-Rayumma region sometime between the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th cent. However, there are other claims that the R. settled there before the 16th cent. Some other sources say that the Doba people, who had occupied the Lake ↗Ḫašəngä area around the 12th and 13th cent., are among the predecessors of this Oromo group (TrIslam 81, 194; Fekadu Begna 1990: 8–12; Oromiya Culture and Tourism Bureau 2006: 269–74; oral informants).

The direction of migration of the Oromo people to northern Ethiopia is said to have been through the eastern ᶜAfar plain. It is re-



Two young men on the *Ašända*-holiday in the traditional Rayyaa garb, Mäqälä, Təgray; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

ported that the ↗Yäǧǧu Oromo moved via the River ↗Millee, while the R. group followed the Alwəha and Gollina rivers. Oral sources indicate that the early settlers of the R. were herdsmen who eventually adopted land-cultivation and became mixed-farmers.

There are conflicting reports regarding the genealogical line of the R. According to *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam and ↗Baḥrəy (BeckHuntAlm), the Oromo people descended primarily from two of the Oromo fathers, Booran and Bareytuma (↗Baarentu). Of these two ancestors, Bareytuma is reported to have had six children, namely ↗Karrayyuu, Marawaa, Etu, Akitu, Waraneš and Humbana. Humbana is said to have been the father of Rayyaa, Assebu and Ašange (Tgn.: Ḥašəngä). Other sources associate the genealogical line of the R. people with Marawaa. According to them, Marawaa begot R. and R. begot the three brothers Egu, Annaa and Bari. (It is also suggested that R. fathered only two sons, Egu and Annaa.) These three brothers are reported to have had 15 descendants (five from each group) through whom the genealogical line of the R. expanded.

Socially, the R. Oromo have maintained their cultural values and beliefs a long period of time until the 19th cent. Between the 18th and 19th cent. the Ethiopian rulers, especially *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, tried to convert the R. to the Christian faith, either from their traditional ↗religion or from Islam.

The R. share many cultural traits with the other inhabitants of the Rayyaa-Rayyumma region, Amhara and Təgrəñña-speakers, one of which is their clothing. Traditionally, men of the Rayyaa-Rayyumma dressed in a woven skirt, locally known as *merto* (Orom.; Amh. *gəldəm* or *širet*; Tgn. *ᶜəṭaq*), which was tied around the waist by a girdle (*mäqännät*). The upper part of the body was covered by a *gabi* or *kuta*. Usually, clothes of both sexes were soaked with butter in order to give the cloth an attractive look, to oil the skin and to protect the cloth from lice, whose nits could not stick on such oily clothes (↗Milk and milk products).

It was also part of the culture of the inhabitants of Rayyaa-Rayyumma and Wäǧǧärat to engage in raids (↗*Gaz*), either in individual groups or by establishing alliances among the various groups. It is for this reason that the ᶜAfar termed their counter-raids against the neighbouring highlanders as *galla qarim* (raid against the "Galla", i.e. highlanders). The term denotes the fact that such counter-raids were launched not merely against the Oromo but also against the neighbouring highlanders of Təgray and Amhara. Moreover, the inhabitants of Rayyaa-Rayyumma were in constant political conflict with the Ethiopian rulers, particularly during the early 20th cent., and it was these Rayyaa-Rayyumma people, along with the Wäǧǧärat, who instigated the 1943-↗*Wäyyane* rebellion.

Another common cultural feature that is still alive in the Rayyaa-Rayyumma region and Wäǧǧärat, is a traditional type of song, *gumaye*, which expresses almost all the various feelings: joy, love, heroism and sadness. It is thought that the word *gumaye*, which is used as the refrain in every song of this type, derives from the Oromo term ↗*gumaa* ('blood-price' or 'compensation for a killed person').

Marriage interaction and, hence, cultural assimilation with the Amhara and Təgrəñña-speaking peoples resulted in ethnic and cultural assimilation and in an eventual decline of the Oromo language. Today, only few older people are able to speak this dialect of ↗Oromiffa fluently. One thing that signifies the prevalence of the strong cultural influence of the Oromo society, at least in the past, is the fact that there are a number of villages or settlements in the Rayyaa-Rayyumma region that bear names of Oromo origin (e.g., Azabo [Azäbo, Asäbo, Assebu], Wəčale, Čärčär and many others). Although the numbers of R. Oromo are declining, and despite partial cultural assimilation and social intermingling with the Amhara and Təgrəñña-speakers, they maintain their dialect and cultural traits. It is also worth mentioning that the Təgrəñña-speaking Rayyaa-Rayyumma people speak an eastern Təgrəñña dialect.

Src.: interviews with Baraki Ǝndale, Kiros Mulu, Zäfäru Aymut, October 2004, Addis Abäba; Gässäsä Faris, April 2004, Mäqälä; Haṣey Təkul, Abrəha Hans, Gäbru Mängäša, May 2004, Wäǧärat; *aläqa* TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopya həzb tarik*, 'History of the Ethiopian People'), Addis Abäba ^{7}1964 A.M. [1971 A.D.], 63; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Uoggeràt, Raia Galla e Zobal", *Africa* (= *L'Africa Italiana. Bolletino delle Società Africana al Italia*) 56, nuova ser. 2, 1938, 81–108; ID., "1. Pergamene di Debra Dammo, 2. I Galla Raia, 3. Il libro della rivelazione dei misteri attribuito a Tolomeo", *RSO* 19, 1940, 45–80.

Lit.: ABERA GESSESSE, *A Tentative History of the Oromo of Rayaa Azebo*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1980; BeckHuntAlm; FEKADU BEGNA, *Land and Peasantry in Northern Wollo 1941–1972*: *Yejju and Qobbo Awrajas*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1990, 8–12; GETACHEW MERESSA, *The Gaz Tradition among the Rayaa and Afar*, B.A thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1998, 8–10; OROMIYA CULTURE AND TOURISM COMMISSION, *The History of the Oromo up to the 16th Century*, Adama ^{2}2006, vol. 1, 269–74; TrIslam 81, 193ff.; YƎLMA DERESSA, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ፡ በአስራ፡ ስድስተኛው፡ ክፍለ፡ ዘመን** (*Yäʾityopya tarik bäʾasra səddəstäññaw kəflä zämän*, 'The History of Ethiopia of the 16th cent.'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966 A.D.], 245.

Tarekegn Gebreyesus Kaba

Raz, Shlomo

R. (b. 18 March 1936, Tiberias, d. 11 April 1999, Tel Aviv) was a Semitist whose research mostly focused on Ethiopian languages, esp. ↗Təgre and ↗Amharic, but also on Arabic dialects and on phonetics in general.

R. studied Linguistics and Semitic languages at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, mainly under ↗Polotsky, and received his B.A. in 1968. After field research in Eritrea (1969 and 1970), he completed his Ph.D. on Təgre in 1974 at the ↗School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, with Edward Ullendorff as his supervisor. From 1974 until his death R. taught at Tel-Aviv University.

R.'s research on Təgre resulted in the only comprehensive grammar of this language to date (1983), as well as a number of articles on various aspects of its phonology, morphology and syntax. R. also began in Eritrea research on the ↗Beni ᶜAmər dialect of Təgre. In addition, he studied areal features in Ethiopian languages, esp. the employment of converbial and conjunctive forms in relation in compound tense forms. R.'s studies on the ↗Epigraphic South Arabian and modern South Arabian languages have remained unpublished. His comprehensive study of the phonetics and phonological structure of Palestinian and Syrian Arabic dialects has not been finished either.

R. was actively involved in organization and teaching process of the Department of Semitic Linguistics of Tel-Aviv University since its foundation. He was head of the Department of Hebrew and Semitic Languages and held various offices in the Faculty of Humanities at Tel-Aviv. In addition, he was Visiting Scholar at the School of Oriental and African Studies (1980–81 and 1993) and at the University of California in Los Angeles (in 1985); he was a fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Jerusalem in 1990–91.

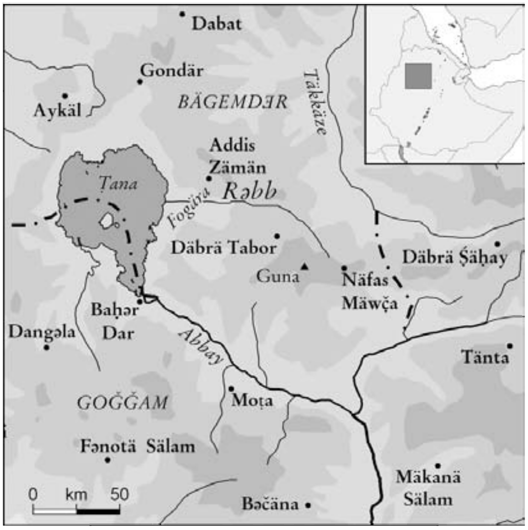
Src.: SHLOMO RAZ, *Tigre Grammar and Texts*, Malibu, CA 1983 (Afroasiatic Dialects 4); ID., "Vowel Quantity in Tigre", in: *PICES* 6, 455–64; ID., "Areal Features as a Further Criterion in Elucidating the Term 'Ethiopian Semitic'", *African Languages and Cultures* 2, 1, 1989, 93–108; ID., "Semitic South-Ethiopic: the Definite Future Revisited", in: *KayeLes* vol. 2, 1248–64; ID., "Dəgəm Ḥabāb ᶜAd Həbtes", *Israel Oriental Studies* 12, 1992, 193–233; ID., "Archaic and Innovative Tense Forms in Gurage", in: GIDEON GOLDENBERG – SHLOMO RAZ (eds.), *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*, Wiesbaden 1994, 197–205; ID., "Tigre", in: ROBERT HETZRON (ed.), *The Semitic Languages*, London 1997, 446–56.

Lit.: GIDEON GOLDENBERG, "In Memoriam Shlomo Raz (1936–1999)", *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 190–91.

Gideon Goldenberg

Rəbb

The River R. (**ርብ**) rises on the southern slopes of Mount Guna (4,231 m A.S.L.). It runs through



the alluvial plains of ↗Fogära, first northwards, then westwards, flowing into Lake ↗Ṭana south from ↗Addis Zämän (South Gondär zone, Amhara *kəlləl*). During the months of *kərämt* the R. floods the lower part of its valley.

The R. is crossed by a bridge of the Gondär–Baḥər Dar road (at 1,906 m A.S.L.). The former Italian Gondär–Däse road ran along the R. until turning towards Däbrä Tabor. Today it is only a trail; the new "Chinese" road follows a similar route but leaves it south of Wäräta returning along the River Gumära to Däbrä Tabor.

The R. area was affected by outbreaks of ↗malaria (Simoons 1960: 58f.) until the surrounding marshes were cultivated.

Src.: EMAtlas; *Guida* 480.

Lit.: FREDERICK JOHN SIMOONS, *Northwest Ethiopia: Peoples and Economy*, Madison, WI 1960, 58f.

Alain Gascon

Red Cross

The R.C. or International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is a private humanitarian institution based in Geneva, Switzerland, founded in 1863. From its creation up to the 1920s, it did not consider Africa as a region needing help. An exception was the ↗hospital opened by the Russian society in Ethiopia in 1896. The wish of fellow Orthodox Christians to help the wounded of the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa was an example of the R.C.s' early focus on neutral international collaboration for the relief of wounded soldiers.

The autonomous Ethiopian R.C. was born in July 1935 when, facing the Italian threat, ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I agreed to endorse international documents developed by the ↗League of Nations Ethiopia had joined in 1923. In his search for international support, the country also became a member of the ICRC, which demanded the creation of a local chapter, the Association of Ethiopian Women's Work, which took on the task of producing bandages and organizing ambulance units, an innovation on a continent where local R.C. societies were led by colonial elites.

Women volunteers working for the Ethiopian Red Cross Society, presided by Empress Mänän (centre); from Pankhurst – Gérard 1996: 55

During the ↗Italian war 1935–36, two ICRC delegates, Sydney H. Brown and Marcel Junod, worked in Ethiopia. Ethiopians accepted Geneva's standard offer of help to belligerents, whereas Italy argued that its own R.C. had sufficient means. Envoys from six national R.C. societies brought supplies, services, and field hospitals to the Ethiopian army and civilians, with the support of 22 other national chapters. In Ethiopia, they faced the humanitarian consequences of a total war for the first time. Junod sent reports on the Italians' use of poison gas and the bombing of R.C. installations, which the ICRC refused to make public, in the name of its impartiality, and to protect the process of inquiry into the violation of conventions, which it experienced for the first time. This controversial gesture confirmed its neutrality in times of war. During the occupation, the Italian R.C. denied support to humanitarian institutions not answering to the Italian government.

In 1949, the R.C. founded the first national nursing school, a sign of its greater concern for civilians. It became part of the Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in 1950. Permanently established in the country since 1977, the ICRC has provided aid and assistance in times of peace and has played an important role during the regional conflicts, which have received further international attention following the withdrawal of Soviet and Cuban support. Some authors have also argued that R.C. donations were used in the resettlement program launched by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) during the 1985 ↗famine (cf. Clay – Holcomb 1985: 134). At the turn of the 1990s, the Ethiopian Red Cross Society democratized its structures. Currently, it has a staff of 450 people and the ICRC of 1,000.

Src.: SYDNEY H. BROWN, *Für das Rote Kreuz in Aethiopien*, Zürich 1939; MARCEL JUNOD, *Warriors Without Weapons*, London 1951.

Lit.: RAINER BAUDENDISTEL, *Between Bombs and Good Intentions: the Red Cross and the Italo–Ethiopian War, 1935–1936*, New York – Oxford 2006; JENNIFER BEINART, "Darkly through a Lens: Changing Perceptions of the African Child in Sickness and Health, 1900–1945", in: ROGER COOTER (ed.), *In the Name of the Child: Health and Welfare*, London 1992, 220–43; BZHist; JASON W.

Clay – Bonnie K. Holcomb, *Politics and the Ethiopian Famine, 1984–1985*, Cambridge 1985, 134; "Ethiopia, 27 May 2009", in: International Committee of the Red Cross, *Annual Report 2008*, 108–12; Caroline Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland and the History of the Red Cross*, London 1998, 301–14; Richard Pankhurst – Denis Gérard, *Ethiopia Photographed: Historic Photographs of the Country and Its People taken between 1867 and 1935*, London 1996, 55 (ill.); Jean-Christophe Ruffin, *L'aventure humanitaire*, Paris 1994, 90–111.

Dominique Marshall

Red Sea

I. Introduction
II. Red Sea in antiquity
III. Red Sea and Ethiopian Islam
IV. Red Sea from the 16th to the 19th century
V. Red Sea and the political history of modern Ethiopia

I. Introduction

The R.S. or Erythrean Sea (Gəᶜəz ባሕረ፡ እርትራ, *Baḥrä Ǝrtəra*, also ባሕረ፡ ኢርትራ, *Baḥrä Irtəra* and ባሕረ፡ ኤርትራ, *Baḥrä Ertəra*, from Gr. *Erythrà thálassa*; Lat. *mare Rubrum*; Arab. *al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar*; Tgn. ቀይሕ፡ ባሕሪ, *Qäyyəḥ Baḥri*) can be considered as the north-westernmost arm of the Indian Ocean, which properly begins beyond the strait of ↗Bāb al-Mandab with the Gulf of Aden.

The origins of the R.S.'s name are much discussed, starting at least from the lost first book (§§ 2–5) of Agatharchides' *On the Erythraean Sea*, a valuable 2nd cent. B.C. summary of the results of Ptolemaic explorations. However, in keeping with a typical distinction of ancient ethnography between "clear" and "dark skinned", its name seems to be rather connected with that of ↗Ḥimyar, the land of the "Red" people of South Arabia, vs. ↗Kush, the land of the "Black" inhabitants of Nubia and Ethiopia (cp. "Black ↗Marya" vs. "Red Marya", etc.).

The R.S. separates the African and the Asian continents. On the African side, it is bordered, from north to south, by ↗Egypt, ↗Sudan, ↗Eritrea and ↗Djibouti (with Somalia on the southern coast of the Gulf of Aden) to the west; on the Asian side, again by Egypt (with the Gulf of Suez and the Sinai Peninsula), Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia (all of them on the Gulf of ᶜAqabah, with the Saudi Arabian *Ḥiǧāz* also bordering the R.S. north to south) and ↗Yemen to the east.

From a global perspective, the importance of the R.S. mainly lies in connecting the Mediterranean and oriental spheres with southern and south-eastern Asia and south-eastern Africa. As such, it gained significance at certain major historical junctures that also acted upon the development of Ethiopia. The ancient imperial competition between Persia (↗Iran) and Rome, then Byzantium (↗Byzantine empire), and the medieval and modern struggle between the Ottomans (↗Ottoman empire) and the Portuguese for control of the sea route to ↗India were cases in point. In contemporary times, the R.S. acquired extra global significance following the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. From the late 19th-cent. onwards during the European imperialist powers' scramble for Africa until today, the R.S. has often played a pivotal role in international affairs, and implicated the undertakings of Ethiopia with those of the outside world.

A natural north-south sea-route, the R.S. was less navigable as an east-west bridge between ↗Arabia and the ↗Horn of Africa. Though thanks to shallowness of coastal waters, the few good harbours did not facilitate the Asian-African connection, the latter was nonetheless never interrupted. The very birth of Ethiopian civilization and its development rested on this connection. Immigrants bringing religious, linguistic, commercial and other influences crossed the R.S. to contribute to the shaping of the Aksumite culture and kingdom (↗Aksum). Aksum, in its turn, crossed back to control Arabia (518/25–590 A. D.) and acted, during that period, as a maritime power in the R.S. area.

From a historical Ethiopian point of view, the R.S. had a dual significance. It was the window that opened on the main outside sources of influence, and, at the same time, the door through which foreign aggressors threatened to impose their rule. As Ethiopia wavered between a siege culture and the urge for a fruitful dialogue with the wider world, the R.S. served as both a gate and a wall.

The rise of ↗Islam in the 7th cent. created the longest enduring challenge to the country's Christian culture. Islam spread as a global empire and mainly followed the land routes. Though born on the opposite shore of the R.S., it oriented itself away from Ethiopia. In the eyes of most Islamic empire-builders, the R.S. was a border rather than a jumping board, and Ethiopia rarely faced imperial Islamic invasions. Islam crossed the R.S. as a religion brought by traders and tribesmen whose communities in the Horn of Africa were only indirectly connected to, or inspired by, the core capitals of Middle Eastern Islam (↗Middle East). While the R.S. continued to function as a bridge between the various Islamic entities in the Horn, Arabia and ↗Egypt, its limitations in this role contributed to their disunity. The Christian kingdom, for its part, began to cut itself off from the R.S. and lost its momentum the more it distanced itself from the coast – from the decline of Aksum to the rise of the ↗Zagʷe.

Both Ethiopia's revival and downfall under the ↗Solomonic dynasty were related to the dual role of the R.S. On the one side, the renewed Ethiopian state strived to reconnect to the Sea. Reasserting control over parts of the coast, and a ↗*baḥər nägaš* was appointed over the territories close to the shores. On the other side, the entire Solomonic enterprise of religious-political renaissance also rested on outside contacts, especially with Egypt, through the ↗Nile route or the R.S., from which the enemies (like the friends) of the Christian state were to come in the following centuries.

Haggai Erlich – Red.

II. Red Sea in antiquity

Archaeological (↗Archaeology), epigraphic (↗Inscriptions) and literary evidence (besides Agatharchides, s. ↗Pliny, the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, ↗Ptolemy and, later, ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes and Procopius; cp. ↗Historiography: Foreign historiography on Ethiopia, Ancient Greek and Roman historiography) informs us that, despite the lack of natural harbours and easy anchorages, and despite the prevailing northerly winds (north of 20° N latitude) as well as scattered piracy later, the R.S. has, since prehistoric times, been a constant source of food and maritime transportation. In this capacity, not only did it divide, but it also connected the opposite shores, playing a decisive role in shaping common traits of civilization along its coasts (cp. ↗Punt). In particular, both archaeology (findings of Sabaic remains in Ethiopia) and linguistics (Sabaic inscriptions in Ethiopia) prove that the civilizations flourishing on both sides of the R.S. were the result of continuous (albeit variously interpreted) interrelationships and contacts, a common R.S.-Ethio-Sabaean culture (South Arabian states, Eritrea and northern Ethiopia [↗Təgray]) having been thereby supposed to exist from early times (since the 1st millennium B.C. at the latest). The term "Erythraic", i.e. Afro-Asiatic, has been also used in linguistic studies on account of the acknowledgedly central role of the R.S. area (cp. Tucker 1967; Mukarovsky 1981).

In historical times, economic, cultural and religious ties developed along the R.S. between, on the one side, Egypt, the continental Near East and later also the Mediterranean Sea area in the north and, on the other side, the central and southern areas and thence, up to the Indian Ocean, along the Persian Gulf and the South Asian coasts (cp. Zazzaro 2006). As the desert borders the entire littoral, commercial maritime purposes prevailed over strict political control in the Egyptian, yet not Ptolemaic, period, during which a number of ports and trading stations were established, especially on the western shore of the R.S. (Clysma, Myos Hormos, Philoteras, Leukos Limen, Nechesia, Berenice, ↗Adulis, also involving the respective hinterlands, e.g. ↗Coloë, in the case of the latter). Less known, and probably less numerous, were the ports on the eastern side. The R.S. was most important as a trade route in Roman times (1st cent. B.C. to 2nd cent. A.D.), when military and mercantile interests were combined (cp. ↗Aksum; ↗Byzantine Empire; ↗Monumentum Adulitanum), as is also typified by the Roman garrison detached to the Farasān islands (the Arabian counterpart of ↗Dahlak) according to a Latin inscription newly discovered there. Declining from the 3rd cent. A.D., with a revival in the 5th and 6th cent., the R.S. ↗trade was then affected by early Islam, the Sasanian demise and the collapse of the old political and commercial system of the Erythrean Sea. In this respect, under the permanent control of the Muslim empire, the R.S. was superseded by the Persian Gulf from the mid or late 7th cent.

Instrumental to the early diffusion of the Christian faith and its denominations (↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan, ↗Theophilus the Indian [s. EAE vol. 5] and ↗Gregentius, all travelled along R.S. routes), the relationship and interplay between the two shores of the R.S. was consolidated for centuries to come with the early establishment of Islamic settlers on the African coast, probably since the 8th cent. A.D. (↗Islam; ↗Inscriptions; ↗Arabic; ↗Dahlak islands; ↗Massawa; ↗Boats).

The R.S. coasts controlled by Aksum were pivotal to its economic system, and the port of Adulis in particular (active since ↗Pre-Aksumite times) was one of the few "ports of trade" there. At a different, more political, level, interrelationships between the two shores of the R.S. – i.e. Aksum and the South Arabian kingdoms (↗Arabia; ↗Ḥimyar) – culminated in the military occupation of South Arabia by the Aksumites in the 3rd and especially in the 6th cent. A.D. (s. Robin 1989).

The R.S. is named in Ethiopia after the Biblical literary tradition of the Book of Exodus (Ex 10:19, 13:18 etc., cp. Huddlestun 1992) as *Baḥrä Ǝrtəra*, i.e. a calque of the Gr. *Erythrà thálassa* occuring in the LXX version of the Bible (cp. DillmLex 742). It is very likely that the identification of the sea between Africa and Asia with the R.S. depends upon the literary fortunes of Exodus, especially evident in the ↗*Ardəʾət* Fälaša version (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel). In the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* a Biblical episode is developed where the R.S. trade route (within a context, however, that remains unclear) plays an important role (1 Kgs 9, 26ff.): there the *baḥrä alʾaḥmar*, 'R.S.' (a Gəᶜəz–Arabic form, proper Arabic being *al-baḥr al-aḥmar*) crossed by Dawit I (Bäynä Ləhkəm, ↗Mənilək I) on his way back from Israel to Ethiopia, is identified with the R.S. (*baḥrä Irtəra*) of the Biblical tradition (*Kəbrä nägäśt* ch. 55, in BezKebr 61b, cp. ch. 58, and *baḥrä Ertəra* in ch. 67).

Referring to ↗Kaleb's expedition to South Arabia to avenge the martyrs of ↗Nağrān, the Ethiopic version of the *Martyrium Arethae* (↗Arethas), i.e. the *Gädlä Ḫirut* ('[Spiritual] combat of Ḫirut', the Greek original [ed. in Detoraki et al. 2007], being one of the few reliable sources on early 6th-cent. R.S. navigation, s. Fiaccadori 2003:232f.), carries no mention of the R.S., although it hints at the Biblical Exodus in §28^{a} (Bausi – Gori 2006:246). In any case, it might well be that another passage from the *Gädlä Ḫirut* (§33^{c}, ibid. 276) inspired a feudal document by *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon concerning his military expedition as far as the shore of the R.S. (cp. Taddesse Tamrat 1970:95f., the Biblical episode also appearing in ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's chronicle, s. MarAmdS 158ff.). The importance of the coastal R.S. regions for the interior territories was also long felt in Ethiopian history, as testified by such titles as ↗*baḥər nägaš* and ↗*maʾəkälä baḥr*.

Src.: Alessandro Bausi – Alessandro Gori (ed., tr.), *Tradizioni orientali del "Martirio di Areta"*, Firenze 2006 (Quaderni di Semitistica 27), 277; BezKebr 61b; Marina Détoraki – Joëlle Beaucamp – André Binggeli (ed., tr.), *Le martyre de saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons* [BHG *166*], *appendice sur les versions orientales par André Binggeli*, Paris 2007 (Centre de recherche, d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance, Travaux et Mémoires – Monographies 27, Le massacre de Najrân. Religion et politique en Arabie du Sud au VI^{e} siècle I); DillmLex 742; KebrBez; Karl Müller (ed.), *Geographi Graeci minores*, vol. 1, Paris 1855 [repr. Hildesheim 1965], 111–94 [Agatharchides of Cnidus], here 111ff.; Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 95f.

Lit.: Enrico Cerulli, "La via delle Indie nella storia e nel diritto del Medioevo", in: *CerIslam* 21–37; Id., "Il Mar Rosso nella storia della navigazione medievale", *ibid.* 39–58; Federico De Romanis, *Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana*: *Uomini e merci tra Oceano Indiano e Mediterraneo*, Roma 1996 (Saggi di storia antica 9); Jean Desanges, *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique (VI^{e} siècle avant J.-C.–IV^{e} siècle après J.-C.)*, Rome 1978 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 38), passim; Rodolfo Fattovich, "L'archeologia del Mar Rosso: problemi e prospettive", *AION* 55, 1995 [1996], 158–76; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di "Felix Ravenna" 7); Id., "Πρόσοψις, non πρόοψις: Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (Nota a *IEph* 495, 1 S.)", *La Parola del Passato* 58, 2003, 182–249, here 232f. (Lit.); Id., "Sembrouthes 'Gran Re'. (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *ibid.* 59, 2004, 103–57, here 153 (Lit.); Id., "Un'iscrizione latina dalle isole Farasān (Arabia Saudita)", *ibid.* 63, 2008, 439–49; Maria Höfner, "Über sprachliche und kulturelle Beziehungen zwischen Südarabien und Äthiopien im Altertum", in: *PICES* 1, 435–45; John R. Huddlestun, "Red Sea", in: David Noel Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, New York 1992, vol. 5, s.v.; Paul Launde – Alexandra Porter (eds.), *Trade and Travel in the Red Sea Region. Proceedings of the Red Sea Project I, Held in the British Museum, October 2002*, Oxford 2004 (BAR International Series 1269/Soc. for Arabian Studies Monographs l); Andrea Manzo, *Échanges et contacts le long du Nil et de la Mer Rouge dans l'époque protohistorique* [*III^{e} et II^{e} millénaires avant J.-C.*]: *une synthèse préliminaire*, Oxford 1999 (British Archaeological Reports S 782, Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 48); Paolo Marrassini, "Bisanzio e il Mar Rosso. Cristianesimo e Giudaismo in Arabia fino al VI secolo", in: *XXVIII Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina (Ravenna, 26 aprile/8 maggio 1981)*, Ravenna 1981, 177–91; Id., "Le sud-sémitique entre généalogie, géographie et développement parallèle", *Faits de Langue* 27, 2006, 217–34; Hans Günther Mukarovsky, "Hamito-Semitisch, Afro-Asiatisch, Erythräisch: Zum Wandel von Begriffen und Verständnis", *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 34, 1981, 511–26; Christian Robin, "La première intervention Abyssine en Arabie meridionale (de 200 à 270 de l'ère chrétienne environ)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 147–62; Pierre Schneider, *L'Éthiopie et l'Inde. Interférences et confusions aux extrémités du monde antique (VIII^{e} siècle avant J.-C. – VI^{e} siècle après J.-C.)*, Rome 2004 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 335); Steven E. Sidebotham, "Red Sea Trade", in: David Noel Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, New York 1992, vol. 5, 642–44, s.v. (Lit.); Id. – Martin Hense – Hendrikje M. Nouvens, *The Red Land*: *the Illustrated Archaeology of Epypt's Eastern Desert*, New York 2008; Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle – Martine Vanhove, "Is there a Red Sea Linguistic Area?", *Annual Publication in African Linguistics* 4, 2006, 31–67; TadTChurch 76f.; Archibald Norman Tucker, "Erythraic Elements and Patterning: Some East African Findings", *African Language Review* 6, 1967, 17–25; Chiara Zazzaro, *Il Corno d'Africa e il Mar Rosso nell'Antichità. Un approccio archeologico*: *navigazioni, siti e materiali*, Ph.D. thesis, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", 2006 (Lit.).

Alessandro Bausi – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

III. Red Sea and Ethiopian Islam

The R.S. is usually called in Arabic sources by the synecdoche *Baḥr al-Qulzum*, 'sea of Clysma' (s. Becker-[Beckingham] in EI²), but also *Baḥr al-Ḥiǧāz*, *al-Ḫalīǧ al-ʿArabī* and even *Ḫalīǧ ʿAyla* and *Baḥr al-Yaman*; sometimes, as in Yāqūt, the R.S. fully included the Gulf of Aden, *Ḫalīǧ Barbara* or *al-Barbarī*, otherwise part of the *al-Baḥr al-Ḥabašī* and *Baḥr al-Hind*. Muslim geographers write that the R.S. was not easy to navigate: the coasts were arid and inhospitable, the winds contrary and the water dangerous due to currents and submerged reefs. Especially the northern part of the R.S. was considered a deadly challenge to seafarers. The area around Raʾs Muḥammad – the southern tip of Sinai – was described as most frightening because the winds from the Gulf of Suez and ʿAqaba meet there. Sailing as close as possible to the shore as well as night anchoring were the measures taken by the ships to cope with the dangers of the R.S. The communication between the R.S. and the Indian Ocean, which was the main economic pivot of commercial movement from the Mediterranean to ↗India, was also complicated, and much of the merchandise from India was unloaded in Aden, Muḫa or Ǧidda and partially trans-shipped to ↗Egypt in smaller ships, that were easier to handle. The perilious nature of the R.S. is vividly represented in the many legendary traditions that flourished about it: e.g., the location of the island inhabited by the eschatological beast al-Ǧassāsa (s. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-fitan*, *Hadīṯ* no. 2942).

Despite all these negative natural features, the exceptional geographical position enjoyed by the R.S. in the trade routes from and to India fostered – in ancient times – the birth of a long chain of ports on both its Asian and African shores. The establishment of Islam in the Arabian peninsula and its further expansion into Egypt and along the African coasts of the R.S. helped unify such a wide area under general and steady Islamic control. However, the successive Muslim dynasties ruling in Egypt had to fight bitterly for exclusive control of the most strategic points along the R.S. In particular, the ↗Fāṭimids first and the ↗Mamlūks after them, strove to keep navigation on the R.S. tightly under their control by repressing any local R.S. potentate: the Gulf of Aden (↗Yemen), the Yemenite and African shores of ↗Bāb al-Mandab were the key points of continuous rivalry between Egypt-based powers and indigenous rulers. The conquest of Egypt in 1517 favoured the expansion of the ↗Ottoman Empire southwards along the R.S. shores but also forced the Ottomans to confront the Portuguese (↗Portugal) maritime power stretching from the Indian Ocean and the revival of the Yemenite Zaydi imamate.

Ethiopian Muslim communities have always had a strong and deep relationship with the R.S. The R.S. played a crucial role in the spread of ↗Islam in all the North-Eastern African regions since from the very birth of the new faith, the Muslims of Arabia tried to find places in the countries around the R.S. where they might continue to live and consolidate their communities. The episode of the ↗*hiǧra al-ūlā* to al-Ḥabaša is perhaps the most emblematic event in this respect.

Later on, throughout the middle ages and into modern times, Muslim merchants and learned men crossed the R.S. and entered Ethiopian territory to trade, teach and settle. The ↗Dahlak islands (and then ↗Massawa) and ↗Zaylaʿ (and then ↗Berbera) were the two main gates for this economic and cultural exchange: the first spread of Islam in Ethiopia took place precisely along the routes connecting the coast to the hinterland as demonstrated by a number of Arabic ↗inscriptions found in ↗Təgray and south-eastern Ethiopia. Ethiopian Muslims also participated in this link across the R.S. by creating a sort of mutual connection: learned men and merchants travelled from Ethiopia to Arabia, Egypt and the Near East to trade, teach, and deepen their knowledge in the different branches of Islamic ↗education. The ↗pilgrimage to ↗Mecca was another important periodical occasion for strengthening the relationships between the two shores of the R.S., thanks to the influx of Ethiopian Muslims to the sacred lands of Ḥiǧāz (↗Arabia) and the use of the R.S. route by pilgrims coming from western Africa (the so-called ↗Tukrir; cp. also ↗Fellata; ↗Hausa).

The common Islamic affiliation of the peoples dwelling on the two shores of the R.S. most probably contributed in a decisive way to keeping the ancient ties between the Ethiopian (Christian) highlands and the trading centres on the coasts of the R.S. alive, which favoured the passage into Ethiopia of merchandise and ideas from the Mediterranean and India.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *RRALm* ser. 4^{a}, 4, 1931, 37–51 (= CerIslam 135–206); ID., "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42 (= *CerIslam* 207–43); ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *ibid.* 3, 1943, 272–94 (= *CerIslam* 257–80).

Lit.: Mordechai Abir, “Caravane Trade and History in the Northern Parts of East Africa”, *Paideuma* 14, 1968, 103–20; Carl H. Becker – [Charles F. Beckingham], “Baḥr al-Ḳulzum”, in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 1, 931–33; Alessandro Gori, *Contatti culturali nell’Oceano Indiano e nel Mar Rosso e processi di islamizzazione in Etiopia e Somalia*, Venezia 2006, here 16–30.

Alessandro Gori

IV. Red Sea from the 16th to the 19th century

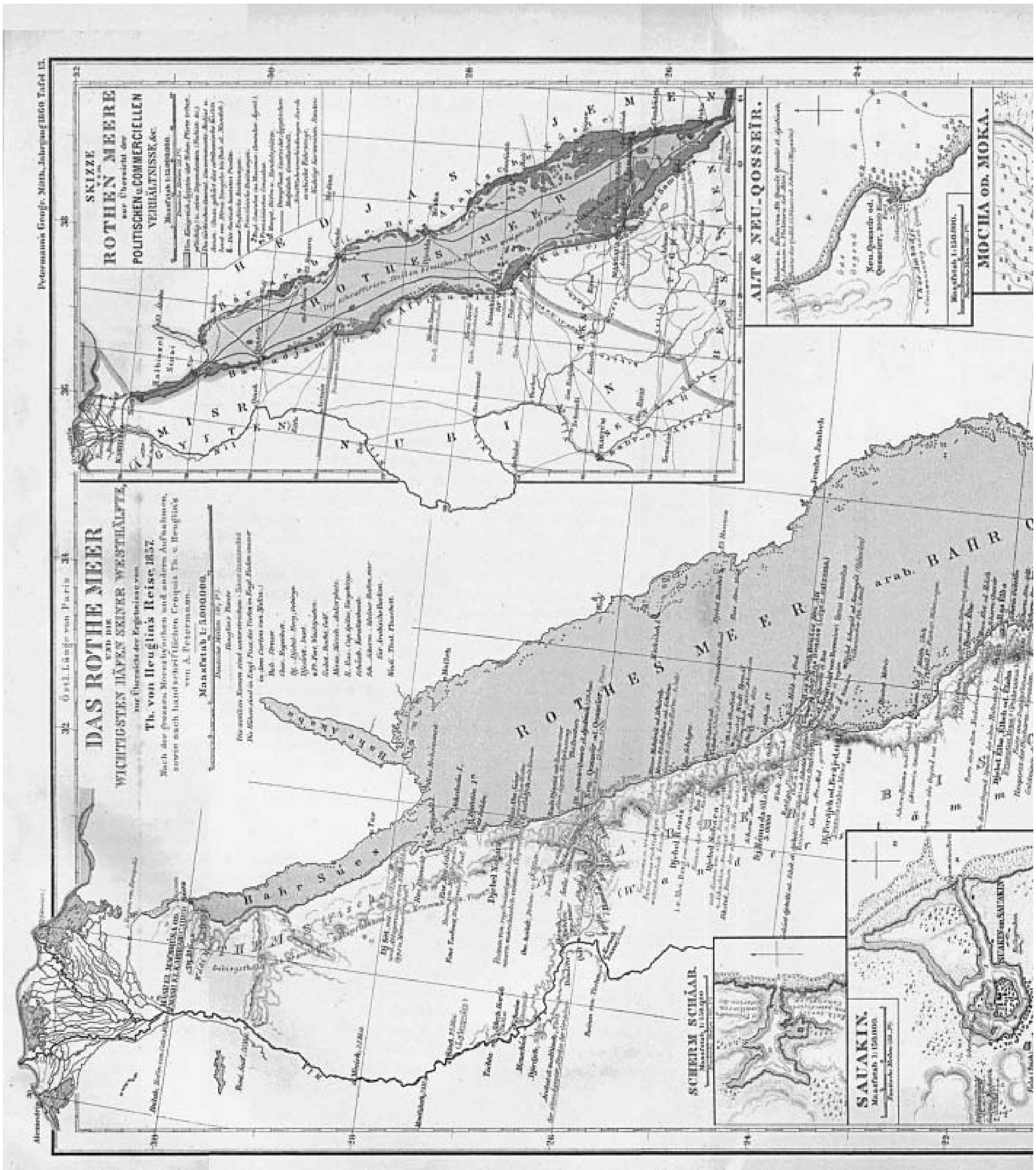
In the history of the R.S. as a crossroads of cultures and civilizations, the 16th cent. marks a turning point.

The fact that the R.S. became a focus of strategic and global competition in the early 16th cent. heralded threats and destruction. After the Portuguese “discovered” the sea-route to ↗India around Africa, and the Ottomans occupied ↗Egypt and inherited the ↗Mamlūks’ navy in the R.S., the two powers began a struggle over maritime domination. The main theatre of the conflict was the R.S. with the Gulf of Aden, but at stake was the future of long distance global trade. In the process, the Ottomans occupied Yemen and the Portuguese tried to build relations with the Solomonids. It was against this background, combined with the emergence in southern Arabia of a dynamic spiritual Muslim awareness, that Islam in the Horn of Africa united for a time – under ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī with his centre in Harär. His conquest of Ethiopia was directly inspired by religious leaders and Ottoman help from across the Sea. The salvation of the Christian Ethiopian kingdom, aided and inspired by the Portuguese, also came from the direction of the R.S. Following their final defeat in the maritime competition with the Portuguese (in 1555), the Ottomans took temporary comfort in capturing Massawa and the Ethiopian coast (1557) and naming it the Province of ↗Habeš. In 1578, they were defeated by *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl and limited their presence to a ↗*nāʾib* (‘deputy’) in ↗Ḥərgigo, a local chief who, during the next three centuries, symbolized the rather abstract Ottoman claim to the African coast of the R.S.

With the decline of the Ottoman presence in the R.S., commercial ties between the latter’s coasts dwindled. The slave trade (↗Slavery) continued to supply *Ḥabašī* (i.e. ‘Abyssinians’) captives to Arabia, but the general decline in R.S. trade proved effective enough to deny the Ethiopian state vital connections and resources. This was arguably one of the reasons for Ethiopia’s shutting itself off in remote ↗Gondär and then deteriorating into the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. Indeed the beginning of the Ethiopian revival in the mid-19th cent. coincided with the reawakening of the R.S. as an international political and commercial theatre.

During the reigns of the emperors ↗Tewodros II, ↗Yoḥannəs IV, and ↗Mənilək II, the R.S.’s traditionally twofold role was revived and intensified. The first to reintroduce foreign ambitions was the modernizing Egyptian state under Muḥammad ᶜAli *bāšā* and his successors, notably *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl. The former penetrated into Arabia and occupied Massawa, but it was his grandson Ismāᶜīl who inaugurated the Suez Canal and concentrated on an effort to build an African empire connecting the Nile Valley and the R.S. His occupation between 1870 and 1875 of the R.S. and East African ports, and of ↗Harär were followed by wars with Ethiopia (↗Massawa Governorate; ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war, 1875–76). After the demise of the Egyptian imperial enterprise in 1885, Italy became the main foreign threat to Ethiopia from the direction of the R.S. Heralding the European “Scramble for Africa” in this arena, the Italians finally established their colony of Eritrea (↗Eritrea: Colonial history of Eritrea) in 1890. Named after the Latin “Mare Erythraeum”, i.e. the R.S., the Italian colony, together with Italian Somalia, played a pivotal role in Ethiopian history. Its aggressive dimension culminated in the days of ↗Mussolini and his conquest of Ethiopia, 1936–41. The British and French presence on the R.S. scene also had an important influence on Ethiopian affairs throughout the colonial period.

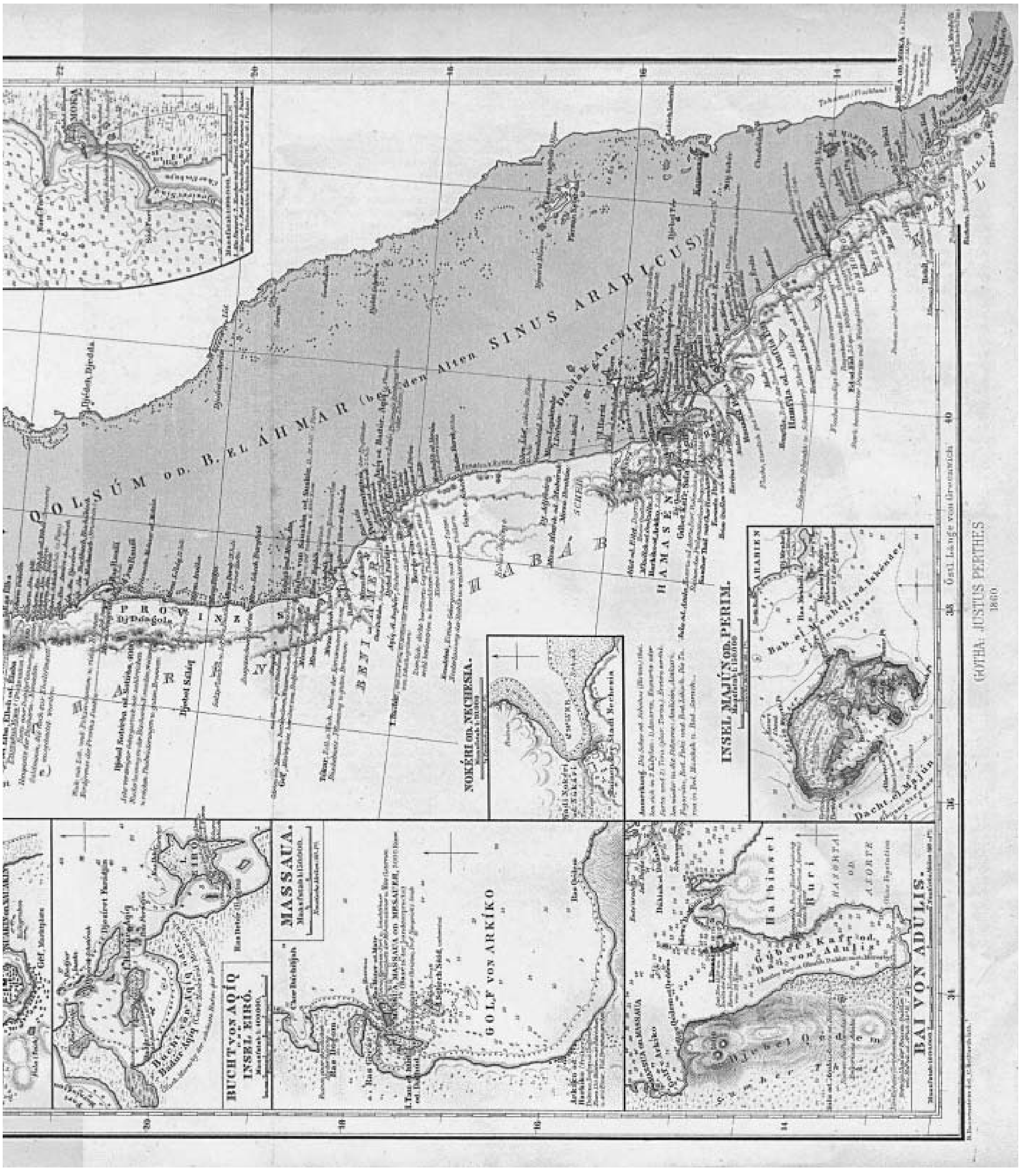
The revitalization of the R.S. as a global arena also carried promise for Ethiopia. The 19th-cent. import of ↗firearms in growing quantities, arguably the process that enabled the unification, survival, and expansion of the Ethiopian empire at a time when most other African peoples succumbed to foreign aggressors, was due in part to this dynamism. It was through the R.S. connection that Tewodros’ enterprise to centralize power was energized, that Yoḥannəs’ effort to strengthen the Church by importing more bishops from Egypt was made possible, and that Mənilək’s translation of territorial expansion into commercial relations and further rearmament was enabled. This mixture of promise and threat indeed led to a dual conceptualization of the R.S. Tewodros did little to gain access to a sea port, Yoḥannəs would have settled (in the ↗Hewett Treaty, 1884) for what he hoped to be friendly British management of the


DAS ROTHE MEER
SKIZZE VOM ROTHEN MEERE
ALT & NEU QOSSEÏR.
MOCHA OD. MOKA.
SCHERM SCHÂAB.
SAUAKIN.
ROTHES MEER
Petermann's Geogr. Mitth. Jahrgang 1860 Tafel 15.

Map of the Red Sea area; from Petermann 1860: pl. 15

port of Massawa (before they allowed the Italians to capture it), and Mənilək finally did recognize Eritrea as an Italian colony. Mənilək's dual approach to access to the R.S. was also reflected in his policy regarding the railway to ↗Djibouti (↗Railways), Ethiopia's main outside link. His reluctance to have such an opening was a major factor in the project's late completion in 1917, four years after his death.

In the 19th cent., the R.S. area was called ↗Erythraea by some geographers, a vague term which meant the R.S. and its (mainly African) shores. Around the same time, the R.S. was also occasionally called "Erythräisches Meer" in Ger-


QOLSÚM OD. B. EL ÁHMAR (bei den Alten SINUS ARABICUS)
MASSAUA.
GOLF VON ARKÍKO
BUCHT VON AQIQ INSEL EIRÓ.
NOKÉRI OD. NECESSIA.
INSEL MAJÚN OD. PERIM.
BAI VON ADULIS.
HAMASEN
BENI ÁMER
GOTHA: JUSTUS PERTHES 1860

man or “mare Eritreo” in Italian, evoking ancient terminology according to the fashion of the time – like the naming of the Colonia Eritrea.

Src.: William Foster (tr.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1949; Albert Kammerer (tr.), *Routier de Dom Joam de Castro, l’exploration de la Mer Rouge par les Portugais en 1541*, Paris 1936; Anonymous, “Das rothe Meer in seiner Bedeutung für den Handel”, *Mittheilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Wien* 12, n.F. 2, 1869, 333–52; Werner Munzinger, “Briefe vom Rothen Meere”, *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, n.F., 1, 1856, 289–305; Carsten Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Kopenhagen 1772; Id., *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, 2 vols., Kopenhagen 1774–78; Dante Odorizzi, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911; Denis de Rivoyre, *Mer Rouge et Abyssinie*, Paris 1880; Johannes Rodatz, “Eine Jagdstreiferei in der wüsten Küstengegend von Abyssinien", *Das Ausland. Ein Tagblatt für Kunde des geistigen und sittlichen Lebens der Völker* 22, no. 194, 1849, 773-75; *ibid*., no. 195, 1849, 778f.

Lit.: RALPH A. AUSTEN, "The Islamic Red Sea Slave Trade: an Effort at Quantification", in: *PICES* 5b, 443–67; DonHaySirat; DouinIsm III; ALBERT KAMMERER, *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'Antiquité*, Le Caire 1935; ID., *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie*, Cairo 1952; MARCO LENCI, *Eritrea e Yemen. Tensioni italo-turche nel Mar Rosso*, Milano 1990; JONATHAN MIRAN, "Massawa", in: *WenDAE* I, 279–88; ID., "A Historical Overview of Islam in Eritrea", *Die Welt des Islams* 45, 2, 2005, 177–215; ID., *Red Sea Citizens, Cosmopolitan Society and Cultural Change in Massawa*, Bloomington, IN 2009; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Trade of the Gulf of Aden Ports of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *JES* 3, 1, 1965, 36–81; AUGUST HEINRICH PETERMANN, *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesammtgebiete der Geographie*, Gotha 1860, pl. 15 (ill.); RubInd; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Pre-Colonial Exploration: the Sea Captain Rodatz in Massawa and Tigray 1843–48. The Quest for a Commercial Station at the East African Coast for Hamburg", *JES* 2009 [*Festschrift for Rita and Richard Pankhurst*, ed. by HERAN SEREKE-BERHAN], in preparation; GHADA H. TALHAMI, "Massawa under Khedive Isma'il 1865–1879", in: *PICES* 5B, 481–93; MICHEL TUCHSCHERER, "Trade Relations Between the Arabian and African Coasts in the 16th and 17th Centuries", Paper held at the Conference *Red Sea Trade and Travel*, British Museum, London, 6 October 2002; ID., "Trade and Port Cities in the Red Sea-Gulf of Aden Region in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century", in: LEILA TARAZI FAWAZ – CHRISTOPHER ALLAN BAYLY (eds.), *Modernity and Culture from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, New York 2002, 28–45; ZewYohan.

Haggai Erlich – Red.

V. Red Sea and the political history of modern Ethiopia

It was ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase in the aftermath of ↗World War II who made the most serious Ethiopian effort to gain direct access to the R.S. His international diplomatic campaign to reclaim Eritrea yielded the federal arrangement that in 1952 recombined the former Italian coastal colony with Ethiopia (↗Eritrea from 1962 to 1991). The R.S. as an international arena, however, was an integral dimension of this history. The first development was the turning of the R.S. into a major theatre in the struggle between Nasserite pan-Arabism and its opponents in the Middle East and the Horn of Africa. It was within the context of the inter-Arab war in Yemen (1962–69) that the Emperor, alarmed by the revolutionary Arab ideas behind the establishment of the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front, finally terminated the special status of Eritrea, thus contributing to further escalation of the problem. Eritrea's R.S.-Arab orientation was an ideological premise of the strongest wing in the Eritrean movements of the 1960s and 1970s (best formulated by ^{c}Uṯmān Sāliḥ Sābbi, 1974). The Arab–Israeli conflict of that time, with its Ethiopian implications, also had much to do with the issue of free navigation in the R.S. With the June 1967 Arab defeat, the Suez Canal was blocked, and for a while, the R.S. was rendered marginal again. This, together with the oil crisis that began in 1973, had an impact on the Ethiopian economy, with implications for the collapse of Ḫaylä Śəllase's regime (↗Revolution).

With the reopening of the Suez Canal in 1975, the R.S. regained its strategic importance due to Soviet penetration and positioning along what was now a main artery of the global economy in the middle of an oil crisis. As Mängəśtu's Ethiopia (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) joined the Soviet camp (together with South Yemen, Somalia, and indirectly, the Eritrean liberation fronts), pro-western Egypt, Sudan, and Saudi Arabia deepened their R.S. military coordination. In their effort to combat an Ethiopian presence, they declared the R.S. to be "an Arab lake" (and lured the Somalis into joining their cause). The international tension around the R.S. erupted during the 1977–78 ↗Ogaden War (in which Soviet-aided Ethiopia defeated the Saudi-aided invading Somalis), and for a while, it looked as if the R.S. sphere was becoming the focus of the global Cold War. However, the 1979 Islamic revolution in ↗Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan soon shifted global attention to the Persian Gulf arena and the R.S. has since remained a sideshow, from a global perspective.

The changes in the Ethiopian-R.S. context during the last two decades of the 20th cent. had more to do with local developments. The pivotal issue was the war over Eritrea in the 1980s, which was gradually lost by Mängəśtu's regime. The new Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front government established in 1991 had to accept the separation of Eritrea and recognize its sovereignty, officially declared in 1993. Ethiopian–Eritrean relations deteriorated into open conflict and, once again, Ethiopia lost direct contact with the R.S. However, since the 1990s, Ethiopia has rapidly shed the old siege culture and opened itself again to its own diversity as well as to the wider world. This openness also centred on intensive relations with neighbouring Middle Eastern countries and consequently the R.S. – now through Djibouti and by air – is being revived more as a bridge than as a wall.

Lit.: MUḤAMMAD RAĞAB ^{c}ABD AL-HALIM, *al-^{c}Alāqāt al-siyāsiyya bayna Muslimī al-Zayla^{c} wa-naṣārā al-Ḥabaša* *fī al-^{c}uṣūr al-wusṭā* (‘The Political Relationships between the Muslims of Zayla^{c} and the Christians of Ethiopia in the Middle Ages’), Cairo 1985; AbSea; Franz Amadeus Dombrowski, *Ethiopia’s Access to the Red Sea*, Leiden – Köln 1985; Haggai Erlich, *The Struggle over Eritrea, 1962–1978*, Stanford, CA 1983; Id., *Ethiopia and the Challenge of Independence*, Boulder, CO 1986; Id., *The Cross and the River, Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002; Id., *Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia, Islam, Christianity and Politics Entwined*, Boulder, CO 2007; ErlEth; Bereket Habte-Selassie, *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa*, New York 1980; Ruth Iyob, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence*, Cambridge 1995; PankEcon; ^{c}Uṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabbi, *Ta$^{\text{ɔ}}$rīḫ Iritrīya* (‘The History of Eritrea’), Beirut 1974; Taddesse Tamrat, “Ethiopia, the Red Sea and the Horn”, in: Roland Anthony Oliver (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 3, Cambridge 1977, 98–182.

Haggai Erlich

Rədätä bərhan

R.b. (Gə^{c}əz: **ርደተ፡ ብርሃን**, ‘Descent of the Light’) is the Ethiopic name for the ceremony of the Holy Fire (Gr. ῞Αγιον Φῶς, *Hágion Phôs*, ‘Holy Light’; Ar. ^{c}*Īd an-nār*, ‘Feast of the Fire’) held at ↗Jerusalem from the later 9th cent. at least, when it is well documented, but possibly harking back to the late 4th cent. (Fiaccadori 2003: 194f.). Performed every year in the Anastasis or Rotunda of the Resurrection on the Saturday of Orthodox Easter (cp. ↗*Fasika*; ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*), it celebrates the miracle of the descent of the Holy Fire from heaven into the Edicule of the Holy Sepulchre, and is considered to be the longest-attested annual miracle in the Christian world. The essential of the ceremony has remained almost unchanged (s., e.g., its description by al-Bīrūnī, 1000 A.D., in Strohmaier 2000: 520), but the form of the Edicule has been modified to provide its setting, first and foremost after the “destruction” of 1009 (Biddle 1999: 138).

On the appointed day, at noon, the Greek patriarch with his clergy, followed by the Armenian patriarch and the Coptic bishop with their clergy as well, marches in grand procession thrice, singing hymns, round the Holy Sepulchre. After that, he (or another Orthodox archbishop) recites a specific prayer, puts off his solemn garments and enters alone into Christ’s Tomb Chamber, whilst the Armenian and Coptic prelates wait for him in the Chapel of the Angel. Before entering, he is examined by Israeli authorities (in former times, by Turkish soldiers), to check he is not carrying any form of lighter. Then, the congregation chants the *Kýrie eléison* (‘Lord, have mercy’) until the Holy Fire spontaneously descends on the 33 white candles tied together by the patriarch (in the past, on a lamp kept within the Edicule), the flames of which are immediately passed to the other lights all over shrine – as the patriarch comes out from the Tomb Chamber, reciting prayers and lighting candles quickly handed over to the congregation.

The appearance of the Holy Fire in Jerusalem: lighting of the Edicole and Church of the Holy Sepulchre; from the photo archive DSAMS, University of Milan

Skepticism and criticism about so spectacular a miracle date back to the days of the Islamic rule of Jerusalem (Hartmann 1916; Canard 1965: 31, 34f., 39ff.), but were especially marked among western Christians, not only during the period of the Crusader domination (CerMaria 134f.; CerPal vol. 1, 311); in 1238, Pope Gregory IX even denounced the Holy Fire as a fraud. The ceremony, however, was never stopped, because of the significant revenues brought to local governments by pilgrim attendance.

Ethiopians are likely to have dwelt in Jerusalem, on the Holy Sepulchre’s premises, since Aksumite times. Likewise, as early as the 5th/6th cent., their participation in the R.b. ceremony is attested to by the 14th-cent. Vita of ↗Libanos/Mäṭa^{c} (§ 29, Bausi 2003: 14), possibly based on older sources. Later, with reference to 12th-cent. events, an interesting depiction of the ceremony is provided in the 15th-cent. Vita of ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (Marrassini 1995: 54), also compiled from older sources. Further and more or less contemporary hints at the R.b. are found, for the 14th–15th and the 16th cent., in such works as the ↗*Tä᾽ammərä Maryam* (CerMaria 129ff.; Velat 1948: 172), the *Mäṣḥafa* ↗*məśṭir* by ↗Giyorgis of Sägla (YaqMist I, 129f.; Conti Rossini 1948: 18) and, resp., the Vita of ↗ᶜƎzra of Gundä Gunde (Caquot 1961: 78). Like the Vita of Libanos, they all stress the importance and effectiveness of the presence of the Ethiopians to the successful lighting of the Holy Fire – for which their leadership was indeed acknowledged by western medieval and Renaissance travellers (CerPal vol. 1, 375ff.; vol. 2, 62f., 82f., 89f., 125f.).

From the above writings, the original formula uttered by the Ethiopians during the ceremony, when following the procession round the Holy Sepulchre, can also be retrieved, which coincides with the one still used by them today on the same occasion: *tənśa᾽ekä lä᾽əllä amännä. bərhanäkä fännu dibenä*, 'Thy Resurrection is for those of us who (have) believe(d). Send thy light upon us' (s. Fiaccadori in StudAeth 37–40).

On the evening of Easter Saturday, a peculiar Ethiopian celebration takes place at ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān: the archbishop, accompanied by drummers and dancers, leads a procession of his clergy carrying torches lit with Holy Fire three times around the dome of the Armenian chapel of St. Helena found in the middle of the monastery's courtyard.

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed., tr.), *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106], 14 (text) = 10f. (tr.), cp. 11 n. 40; PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), *Il Gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos*, Napoli 1995 [1997] (Annali IUO 55, 4. Supplemento 85), 54ff. (text) = 88ff. (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Due capitoli del Libro del Mistero di Giyorgis da Saglā", *RSE* 7, 1948, 13–53, here 31f. (tr.), cp. 18; YaqMist I, 129f. (text) = 78 (tr.); ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Les Actes d'Ezrā de Gunda-Gundē", *AE* 4, 1961, 69–121, here 78 (text) = 101 (tr.); CerMaria 129–35, here 129ff. (text) = 131ff. (tr.); BERNARD VELAT, "Fuoco sacro ed acque prodigiose a Gerusalemme e nel Gĕlo Makādā (Tigré)", *RSE* 7, 1948, 167–75, here 172 (text) = 174 (tr.); CerPal vol. 1, 311f., 375ff.; vol. 2, 62f., 82f., 89f., 125f.; GOTTHARD STROHMAIER, "Al-Bīrūnīs Bericht über das Osterfeuer und den Grabfelsen in Jerusalem", in: VASSILIOS CHRISTIDES – THEODORE PAPADOPOULLOS (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Graeco–Oriental and African Studies. 30 April–5 May 1996*, Nicosia 2000 (= *Greco–Arabica* 7–8, 1999–2000), 519–21 (Lit.).

Lit.: MARTIN BIDDLE, *The Tomb of Christ*, Phoenix Mill, UK 1999, 75ff., 138f., 150f., 157, figs. 39, 92, 103; MARIUS CANARD, "La destruction de l'Église de la Résurrection par le calife Ḥâkim et l'histoire de la descente du feu sacré", in: *Mémorial Henri Grégoire*, Bruxelles 1965 (= *Byzantion* 35), 16–43 [repr.: ID., *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient*, London 1973 (Collected Studies 18), no. xx]; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Πρόσοψις, non πρόοψις: Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (Nota a *IEph* 495, 1 s.)", *La Parola del Passato* 58, 2003 [2004], 182–249, here 194f., 243f. (Lit.); ID., "Sulla formula etiopica per la cerimonia del Fuoco sacro a Gerusalemme", in: *StudAeth* 37–40 (Lit.); RICHARD HARTMANN, "Arabische Berichte über das Wunder des heiligen Feuers", *Palästina Jahrbuch d. Dt. Ev. Inst. f. Altertumswiss. d. Heil. Landes zu Jerusalem* 12–16, 1916, 76–94; GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni delle Chiese orientali con la S. Sede durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIII* (App.: Aggiunte a «Studi e testi» 92), Città del Vaticano 1948 (Studi e testi 143), 122 n. 3 (Lit.); OTTO MEINARDUS, "The Ceremony of the Holy Fire in the Middle Ages and To-Day", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 16, 1961–62, 243–52.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Reinisch, Leo

Simon Leo R. (b. 26 October 1832, Osterwitz, Steiermark, d. 24 December 1919, Lankowitz, Steiermark) was an Austrian Egyptologist and scholar of Northeast African languages. In 1859 he obtained his doctorate from the University of Tübingen for an etymological study of the name of Egypt in Greek and Semitic sources and received his "Habilitation" in Vienna in 1861 with a thesis on the history of the Orient including Egypt. His catalogue of the Egyptian collection of Archduke Maximilian, who became his patron, marks the beginning of Egyptology in Austria (1865). After fieldwork in Egypt in 1865/66, R.

Leo Reinisch; photo collection of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, Universität Hamburg followed Maximilian to Mexico where he conducted pioneering historical and linguistic studies (1866/67). Upon his return to Austria, R. was appointed Associate Professor (1868) and Full Professor in Vienna in 1873. In 1884 he was admitted to the Academy, became dean in 1890/91, then chancellor of Vienna University in 1896/97, and was appointed Privy Councillor in 1899 before his retirement in 1903.

In the course of almost 40 years of active publication between 1872 and 1911, R. presented grammatical descriptions of many languages of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sudan, largely based on data he had collected in the course of extensive fieldwork in Sudan and Eritrea in 1875/76 and 1879/80. The major part of his documentary work is devoted to the ↗Cushitic languages: Northern Cushitic ↗Beğa (1893–95); Central Cushitic ↗Bilin (1882, 1883, 1887), ↗Ḫamtaŋa (1884) and a variety called Qʷara (1885, 1887; s. ↗Kəmantnäy; ↗Agäw); and East Cushitic ↗Sāho (1878, 1889/90), ↗ᶜAfar (1885) and ↗Somali (1900–03). R. also worked on Nubian (1879, 1911), ↗Omotic (↗Käfa, 1888), and ↗Nilo-Saharan languages ("Barea", 1874 [i.e. ↗Nara], and ↗Kunama, 1881–91). Most of his grammatical descriptions are accompanied by dictionaries and text collections (which are also invaluable ethnographic sources on the history and oral literature of these populations).

Although hampered by a somewhat indiscriminate mix of language description, typological statements and sweeping diachronic speculations about the "common origin of the languages of the Old World", R.'s work contains brilliant ideas. He coined the term "Erythraic" for what is now known as ↗Afro-Asiatic or the Afrasian phylum and suggested its African origin. His ideas about the genesis of new tense/aspect paradigms of verbs via nominal periphrasis and the innovation of independent pronouns from frozen syntagms of pronoun plus copula anticipate modern findings of historical typology and research on grammaticalization. In contrast to the spirit of the age, R. insisted on the rigid methodological separation of linguistic and anthropological features for the reconstruction of African history – the strict observation of which would have spared some 50 years of ↗"Hamitic" aberrations.

Apart from his role as "father" of Egyptology in Vienna, R. must be regarded as the founder of Cushitic and Omotic studies as well as North-East-African philological studies in general (for bibliographical references s. Böhm 1987). His descriptive work, especially his work on the moribund Agäw languages, remains – in spite of the cumbersome phonetic transcription which necessitates meticulous reanalysis – an invaluable source until today.

Src.: GERHARD BÖHM, "Schriftenverzeichnis von Leo Reinisch", in: HANS G. MUKAROVSKY (ed.), *Leo Reinisch: Werk und Erbe*, Wien 1987, 335–39 (Lit.).

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Leo Reinisch (Necrologia)", *RSO* 8, 1920, 691–92; HERMANN JUNKER, "Nachruf auf Leo Reinisch", *Almanach der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 70, 1920, 3–11.

Roland Kießling

Relics

A R. is an object, usually a part of the body or a personal item such as clothing, which belonged to someone of religious significance, including ↗saints, heroes, ↗martyrs (cp. Paulos Tzadua 1968: 120), religious founders and other ↗holy men and women. Although R. are found in many religions, they are most prominent in Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity (and Buddhism), and virtually absent in Protestanism and Judaism (and Hinduism). In Ethiopia they are particularly associated with the ↗holy men and ↗saints of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC), and to a lesser extent with ↗*walī* (Muslim holy men). Historically, the EOTC accepted the veneration of R. (called **ዐፅመ፡ ቅዱሳን**, *ᶜaṣ́mä qəddusan*, lit. 'bone[s] of saints') and celebrated them in its ritual and literature. Some Muslim theological schools (e.g., Hanbalis) have formally rejected the veneration of R. as a manifestation of idolatry, but mainstream ↗Islam normally accepted their existence (s. Goldziher 1967).

In this article, we use the term R. in the narrow religious sense cited above and do not include so-called cultural R. such as ↗manuscripts, church vessels (including the ↗*tabot*), ↗crosses and other antiques or objects of archaeological value, or "traditional and cultural items".

Perhaps the most celebrated R. in all of Ethiopia was a fragment of the True Cross (s. "Relics of the True Cross in Ethiopia" below) which is said to have reached Ethiopia in the time of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II (cp. ↗*Mäsqäl*), who had also other R. sent from Venice, ↗Italy (including, e.g., body parts of St. Anne and children massacred by Herod, by the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob at ↗Ambä Gəšän, later preserved at ↗Tädbabä Maryam, s. Caquot 1955: 105; Spencer 1972: 77f.; Heldman 1990: 443; Fiaccadori 1989: 148 n. 10, 159). Indeed, the Finding of the Cross is paradigmatic for the rewards and blessings which are granted to those who search for and discover R. (Getatchew Haile 1990: 109).

Possession of the R. of a saint was both prestigious and beneficial to a church or monastery. Because of their holiness and efficacy R. attracted pilgrims eager to benefit from miracles, particularly healing. In cases in which a holy man died in or around the monastery where he had lived and with which his fame was associated, no question usually arose as to the jurisdiction over his remains. In this context, it is interesting to note that despite the existence of a paradigmatic justification for "sacred theft" in the story of the theft of the ↗Ark of the Covenant in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, R. theft does not appear to have been accepted in Ethiopia (cp. Geary 1978). However, when the saint's death took place unexpectedly, while on a journey or in exile, the competition for control of his R. was often intense. When *abunä* ↗ᶜƎzra died while on a visit to ↗Gundä Gunde, monks from Kaswa sought to claim the body. Neither the abbot, ↗Gäbrä Mäśiḥ, nor the local ruler acceded to this request. Only years later, a different abbot agreed to have the body secretly translated. Similarly, *abba* ↗Samuᵓel of Däbrä Wägäg was initially buried at Däbrä Ṣəyon, and only months later were his remains buried at ↗Däbrä Wägäg. Such competition was not limited to Christians. When *šayḫ* ↗Muḥammad Šāfī was on his death bed a local district chief tried to seize body for burial in his district. However, he was dissuaded by the saint who wanted to be buried in Ǧamā Nəguś (HusIslam 100). Of course, stories of the burial of a saint's R. in a particular location do not preclude the possibility of rival claims to possess R. of the same saint. Several Coptic churches in Egypt, for example, claim to have remains of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, which are generally believed to be found at his monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos in Šäwa.

Secular rulers were often intimately involved in the disposition of R. Thus *abunä* ↗Märḥa Krəstos was only able to have the remains of his spiritual father, ↗Ǝndrəyas, brought to Däbrä Libanos with the agreement of *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. The same Emperor is said to have approved the translation of the R. of another of his opponents, *abunä* ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat, but died before it could be realized. His son *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam carried out the translation. In 1679, a R. of *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos (a bone from his hand) was brought from ↗Armenia and accepted with honours by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I, which raised the opposition of the monks of the "house of Täklä Haymanot" in ↗Azäzo (GuiIohan 39 [tr.]), the fact probably reflecting the traditional reservation to body-part R. (Fiaccadori 1989: 148).

In cases of Ǝndrəyas and Täklä Ḥawaryat, as well as some others, the body of a saint was buried, then exhumed and re-interred at a later date (cp. Marrassini 1980: CV–CIX). Most commonly this appears to have taken place when the saint had died after having fallen from favour, but was rehabilitated many years after his death. In some cases this is recounted in the saint's Vita (↗*Gädl*) but it may also be the subject of an independent composition, in which the translation (*fəlsät*) of the body was recorded as were the miracles, particularly healings, which accompanied it (cp. ↗Hagiography). Thus the sack which was found in the grave of *abunä* ↗Filəp̣p̣os is said to have been divided up among his spiritual descendants and to have healed many people (Getatchew Haile 1990: 92 [text],109 [tr.]).

It is significant to note that except in cases of delayed or re-burial Ethiopian R. were almost always associated with the presence of the "holy" at a grave. Unlike other parts of the Christian world where a thriving trade in R.'s developed in Ethiopia no market existed for the alleged body parts of the blessed. Usually the complete body of a saint, and not its part (with a very few exceptions), was venerated (the centre of veneration was thus in fact only the burial; cp. Cerulli 1958: 273f.; Fiaccadori 1989: 148). Indeed, in Ethiopia R. were not widely displayed, but rather were present in a tomb. In both Islam and Christianity, the belief in the power of R. is not a theological proposition but a practical one, based on experience and evidence. Moreover, dust or dirt from the saint's grave was believed to have miraculous ↗healing powers for it was considered to be his flesh and blood changed to earth (s. Getatchew Haile in EtRicci 103 [text], 111 [tr.] and n. 2; cp. ↗*Ṣäbäl*). It was of special importance because unlike the body itself it could easily be transported and thus brought to those not privileged to go on ↗pilgrimage to holy sites (On the tensions in Late Antiquity which could develop between "mobile" R., i.e. body parts which travelled to people versus pilgrimage in which people travelled to holy objects, s. Brown 1981: 88f.).

In modern times in particular, the EOTC has had to combat the claim, particularly from rival religious groups, that the veneration of R. was "a superstition, a form of idolatry or a survival of paganism" (Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Motovu 1970: 86). However, the contemporary Ethiopian tradition neither stresses nor actively propagates the veneration of R.

Src.: André Caquot, "Aperçu préliminaire sur le *Maṣḥafa Ṭēfut* de Gechen Amba", *AE* 1, 1955, 89–108; Getatchew Haile, "The Translation of the Relics of Abunä Filəppos of Däbrä Libanos of Shoa", *RSE* 34, 1990, 75–113; Id., "Martyrdom of Abunä Täklä Hawarəyat of Shoa and the Translation of his Relics", in: *EtRicci* 93–113; GuiIohan 39 (text) = 39 (tr.).

Lit.: Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Joachim Motovu, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 86; Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago, IL 1981; Enrico Cerulli, "Il monachismo in Etiopia", in: *Il monachesimo orientale. Atti del Convegno di Studi orientali … (9–12 aprile 1958)*, Roma 1958 (OrChrA 153), 259–78, here 273f.; Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነት፡ ሥርዓተ፡ አምልኮትና፡ የውጭ፡ ግንኙነት**, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Ababa 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.], 58f. = 61f.; HusIslam 100; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 147–50, 157–61 ["Ancora 'Ēwosṭātewos"] (Lit.); Heinrich Fichtenau, "Zum Reliquienwesen im früheren Mittelalter", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 60, 1952, 60–89; Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, Princeton, NJ 1978; Ignácz Goldziher, "On the Veneration of the Dead in Paganism and Islam", in: Id., *Muslim Studies*, vol. 1, ed. by Samuel Miklos Stern, London 1967, 208–38; Marilyn E. Heldman, "A Chalice from Venice for Emperor Dāwit of Ethiopia", *BSOAS* 53, 1990, 442–45 (Lit.); Steven Kaplan, "The Ethiopian Cult of the Saints: a Preliminary Investigation", *Paideuma* 32, 1986, 1–13; Rudolf Kriss – Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, s. index; Paolo Marrassini, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes L'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di Semitistica 10), cv–cix, esp. cvii–cix; Otto Meinardus, "An Inventory of the Relics of Saints in the Coptic Churches of Egypt", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 17, 1968, 134–73; Denis Nosnitsin, "Mäṣḥafä fəlsätu lä-Täklä Haymanot: a Short Study", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 137–67; Paulos Tzadua, (ed., tr.), *The Fetha Nagast*. **ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት**. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 120; Diana Spencer, "In Search of Saint Luke Icons in Ethiopia", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 67–95; John S. Strong, "Relics", in: Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 12, New York 1987, 275–82; TrIslam.

Steven Kaplan

Relics of the True Cross in Ethiopia

The R. of the True Cross venerated in Ethiopia consist in a fragment of the left arm of the Cross that was sent to the Patriarch of Alexandria after Empress Helena, Emperor Constantine's mother, had discovered the True Cross and divided it into four parts (also five in Ethiopian tradition: s. the text published by Conti Rossini 1948: 48f.). The story of the discovery is transmitted in the widespread *Legend of the Finding of the Holy Cross*, as well as in the *Legend of the wood of the Cross* (s. the two subarticles to ↗*Mäsqäl*; Raineri 1999 and 2007).

Even though Ethiopian written sources, as well as oral tradition, relate the arrival of the R. of the True Cross to Ethiopia in different ways and link it to different historical figures, there is positive evidence for an early interest in R. of the True Cross by *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, towards 1402, and their arrival in Ethiopia a few years later (cp. Tedeschi 1974; Heldman 1990: 443f.; Fiaccadori 2009: 36ff.). According to the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* (SawHist III, 3, 144ff.), at the time of Patriarch Matthew I (1378–1408), the king of Ethiopia sent legates "to the king of the Franks" (here, the doge of Venice), asking for relics of "Our Lord", which were to be found in his country. The Ethiopian embassy, probably the one led by Antonio ↗Bartoli in 1402, came back with a number of R. (some of them later traced by Spencer [1972: 77f.] in the monastery of ↗Tädbaba Maryam), including a fragment of the True Cross, as confirmed in a series of Ethiopic 15th/16th-cent. homilies transmitted in ms. Vat. Aeth. Raineri 43 (Raineri 1999, 2007; for their authorship and chronology, s. Fiaccadori 2009: 36f.). Probably, those R. were taken from Egypt to ↗Sinnār by delegates of the Coptic Patriarch, and then handed over (*ante* 1419/20) to ↗Märqorewos of ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ, who received them for the Emperor (cp. Conti Rossini 1904: 44).

Essentially in keeping with this tradition, several Ethiopian chronicles mention that the R. arrived during the reign of *aṣe* Dawit II (s. BassÉt 11; FotiChr 91f.; Guidi 1926: 360). We may surmise that their importance increased after the cult of the Cross was enforced by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (cp. CerMaria 122), who also introduced a proper festival, *Yaṣe Mäsqäl*.

Some pseudo-historical compilations give more details about the event: Dawit II received the Holy Cross together with others R. as a tribute from a ruler of ↗Egypt when he threatened him with diverting the course of the ↗Nile; the Cross was placed upon a throne covered by a precious textile installed in a specially built church (or in a shrine added to the royal palace, Guidi 1926: 360; one of the field chapels was actually named *Mäsqäl*, probably after the arrival of the R. of the True Cross during the reign of Dawit II, cp. CerMaria 122), and a festival was established to commemorate the occasion. Some other sources enrich the main story with several picturesque details in connection with *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (Perruchon 1898), who is there obviously confused with Dawit II.

An oral tradition kept at ↗Däbrä Wärq has it that Dawit, "the fourth king of Ethiopia [by name?]" (for this royal name, s. ↗Dawit III), obtained a fragment of the Holy Cross from ↗Jerusalem (Cohen 1923: 148, 150). According to another version of the story, the True Cross, brought from Jerusalem with other precious R., was later sent to ↗Amba Gəšän by Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob.

In this connection, the longest account is that of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ṭefut* of Amba Gəšän. Speaking of R. obtained by Dawit II (who would have died on his way to Sinnār, losing the Cross to the Muslims), the text provides a historical background to the event, by referring to the protracted conflict with Egyptian rulers. Furthermore, it describes the vision on account of which Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob took the R. to Amba Gəšän, to the church dedicated to God the Father (Ǝgziᵓabəḥer Ab). The Cross, in a reliquary made of gold, silver, iron, bronze and ivory, was deposited under a cross-shaped stone altar, and the Emperor established commemorative festivals with appropriate rituals for all memorable events concerning the R. Amba Gəšän thus became a place of ↗pilgrimage, and it was decided by the "king, bishops and archbishops" that its indulgences were of the same importance as those received in the Holy Land.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Christians believe that the fragment of the True Cross is still there. Buried under the altar, it was not destroyed when the church was burnt down by *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"). *Aṣe* ↗Tewodros II did not succeed in retrieving it either. At present, two stone slabs marked with crosses outside of the Ǝgziᵓabəḥer Ab church indicate the presence of the R. In the church, which was rebuilt in the mid-20th cent., there are contemporary murals representing the story of the True Cross, from the vision of Emperor Constantine to the arrival of the R. in Ethiopia.

Src.: BassÉt 11 (text) = 101 (tr.); BruNile vol. 2, 67; CerPal vol. 1, 267–74; André Caquot, "Aperçu préliminaire sur le *Maṣḥafa Ṭēfut* de Gechen Amba", *AE* 1, 1955, 89–108; Marcel Cohen, "Dabra Warq", in: *Mélanges René Basset. Études nord-africaines et orientales*, Paris 1923 (Publication de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines 10), vol. 1, 143–62, here 150; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Tre piccoli testi etiopici", *RSO* 23, 1948, 46–51, here 48f.; Id., *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Gadla Marqorewos, seu Acta sancti Mercurii*, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1904 [repr. Louvain 1962] (CSCO 16, 17 [SAe 33, 34]), 43f. (text) = 56f. (tr.); FotiCr 91f.; Ignazio Guidi, "Due nuovi manoscritti della *Cronaca Abbreviata* di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 2, 1926, 357–421, here 360; Jules Perruchon, "Dawit II (Lebna Dengel), roi d'Éthiopie", *RevSem* 6, 1898, 157–71, here 159, 166; Pierre Pétridès, *Le livre d'or de la dynastie salomonienne d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1964, 101f.; SawHist III, 3, 144ff. (text) = 249–52 (tr.).

Lit.: Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Joachim Motovu, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 73; Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, "Is Näwa Bägᶜu an Ethiopian Cross?", in: *PICES* 8, 105–24, here 106f.; CerMaria 90, 122, 267, n. 1; Christine Chaillot, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*, Paris 2002, 165f.; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "L'Etiopia, Venezia e l'Europa", in: Giuseppe Barbieri – Gianfranco Fiaccadori (eds.), *Nigra sum sed formosa. Sacro e bellezza dell'Etiopia cristiana. Ca' Foscari Esposizioni 13 marzo–10 maggio 2009*, Vicenza 2009, 27–48, here 36ff.; Marilyn Heldman, "A Chalice from Venice for Emperor Dāwit of Ethiopia", *BSOAS* 53, 1990, 442–45; Kefyalew Merahi, *Saints and Monasteries in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2001, 44–47; PollEr 308–13; Osvaldo Raineri, "I doni della Serenissima al re Davide I d'Etiopia (ms. Raineri 43 della Vaticana)", *OrChrP* 65, 1999, 363–448; Id., "Abba Kirâkos: omelie etiopiche sulla croce (Ms. Raineri 43, della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)", in: Boris Ulianich – Ulderico Parente (eds.), *La Croce. Iconografia e interpretazione (secoli I–inizio XIV). Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Napoli, 6–11 dicembre 1999)*, Napoli 2007, vol. 2, 207–30; Diana Spencer, "In Search of St. Luke Ikons in Ethiopia", *JES* 10, 1972, 67–95, here 77f.; Id., *The Woman from Tedbab*, Dorking 2003, 36–54; Salvatore Tedeschi, "Les fils du Négus Sayfa-Arᶜād d'après un document arabo-chrétien", *Africa* (Roma) 29, 1974, 573–87; Yaqob Beyene, "La croce nella tradizione culturale etiopica", in: Ulianich – Parente (eds.), op. cit., 2007, vol. 2, 183–205.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Relief and development organizations

In Ethiopia it was the ↗missions that were the precursors of present-day R.D.O. A number of missions were operating schools and offering basic health services in various parts of Ethiopia (and Italian-ruled Eritrea) from the early 1900s.

The post-World War II period also saw the beginning of another type of development organization: that of the bilateral aid agencies. As early as 1945, a development plan for Ethiopia, focusing on a processing industry based on a limited number of agricultural products, was developed by a United States (US) technical mission (↗United States of America, relations with). American assistance was given to different initiatives, including ↗road building, the establishment of ↗Ethiopian Airlines, and the new Ethiopian ↗currency. The US remained the key donor throughout ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's rule, and Ethiopia was the largest recipient of (the relatively modest) US aid to Sub-Saharan Africa in the period 1961–76. Formal bilateral cooperation was also established between ↗Sweden and Ethiopia in 1945, through the signing of a technical assistance treaty for vocational and technical ↗education. A number of other bilateral donors appeared during the 1950s, including countries such as the ↗United Kingdom, the Netherlands, ↗France, ↗Italy and Canada. The Emperor also balanced Western aid with Eastern bloc credits – and used this as leverage to obtain increased US support. The prioritized sector for many of these efforts was education, which was the key imperial strategy for modernization. However, the focus was overwhelmingly urban, especially on ↗Addis Abäba, and development in the rural areas was minimal.

In 1957–58, ↗famines in different regions of Ethiopia raised concerns, and the US provided food aid for the first time. However, the real extent of the problem was greatly underestimated, and the response was much too small to address the needs. This was to become a pattern for the coming decades, with food aid arriving in most years, but always far below what was needed.

In response to the recurrent famines, there were suggestions from donors that far-reaching changes to Ethiopian ↗agriculture were needed, including reforming the ↗land tenure system. This, however, was not something Ḫaylä Śəllase would contemplate, and development efforts to promote increased agricultural production were few and largely aimed at limited pockets of large-scale farms. It was only towards the end of the 1960s that the ↗Č̣əlalo Agricultural Development project, aimed at introducing green revolution technology to small farmers, was initiated with Swedish support. For a number of reasons, however, the results of this project did not meet with expectations.

In ↗Wälamo province important development actors during this period were *däǧǧazmač* Wäldä Sämayat Gäbräwäld (1962–74) and the Agri-Service Ethiopia established by the French Capuchin Mission. The latter would integrate into the Wälamo/Wälaytta Agricultural Development Unit, a government sponsored secular organization established in 1970 (Dessalegn Rahmato 2007: 27–34; GasEth 47).

The great famines of 1973–74 and 1983–85 were both highly publicized internationally, and resulted in the influx of a great number of new international relief and development organizations. In particular the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) became important. While Catholic Relief Services and Care International had been key operators of US food aid since the late 1950s, the scale of food aid was vastly expanded, as was the number of NGOs involved in the relief efforts. Having started as relief organizations, many of these organizations continued with long-term development programs, and thus became a fairly permanent and quite visible part of international aid.

Famines and the attempts at responding to them in Ethiopia became very politicized. Throughout the 1980s, food aid was a key resource in the war between the *Därg* Regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) and the guerrilla movements in the north. The huge cross-border food aid programs, provided by the church-based NGO-consortium Emergency Relief Desk from the Sudan to the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front and the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front controlled areas, was extremely important for the armed movements in building local support and thus gaining the strength to eventually overthrow the regime. The World Food Programme and other ↗United Nations organizations, on the other hand, had no mandate to work in guerrilla-controlled areas, and channelled all relief to the Government, which in a number of instances used it for its own political purposes.

Bilateral donors of development aid have also sought to use the support politically. The US stopped aid to Ethiopia in 1985 in reaction to the policies of the *Därg* regime. However, the drop in aid levels this implied was more than offset by increases in aid from European Community countries. There were a number of similar occurrences after 1991, when some donor countries sought to influence the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front regime by withholding aid, for instance during the war with Eritrea, and following the 2005 election; however, other donors came in and ensured that Ethiopia had not experienced substantial drops in assistance. Indeed, a common thread in the history of aid to Ethiopia is the lack of success of donor conditions. The three successive Ethiopian regimes were all able to resist policies being imposed from outside, due in part to the above-mentioned lack of coordination among donors, but also because of the independent-minded nature of these regimes.

↗Development issues

Lit.: BERHANU ABEGAZ, "Ethiopia", in: SHANTA DEVARAJAN – DAVID DOLLAR – TORGNY HOLMGREN (eds.), *Aid and Reform in Africa: Lessons from Ten Case Studies*, Washington, DC 2001, 167–226; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1988; DESSALEGN RAHMATO, *Development Interventions*

in Wollaita, 1960s–2000s: a Critical Review, Addis Ababa 2007, 27–34; MARK DUFFIELD – JOHN PRENDERGAST, *Without Troops & Tanks: Humanitarian Intervention in Ethiopia and Eritrea*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1994; GasEth 47; KETIL FRED HANSEN – AXEL BORCHGREVINK, "Cutting Aid to Promote Peace and Democracy? Intentions and Effectiveness of Aid Sanctions", *European Journal of Development Research* 18, 4, 2006, 622–41; EDWARD KISSI, 'The Politics of Famine in US Relations with Ethiopia, 1950–1970", *IJAHS* 33, 1, 2000, 113–25; ID., "Beneath International Famine Relief in Ethiopia: the United States, Ethiopia, and the Debate over Relief Aid, Development Assistance, and Human Rights", *African Studies Review* 48, 2, 2005, 111–32.

Axel Borchgrevink

Religion(s)

I. Pre-Aksumite religion s. ↗Pre-Aksumite culture
II. Aksumite religion
III. Traditional religions
IV. Christian religion s. ↗Christianity; ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church; ↗Catholicism; ↗Protestantism etc.
V. Islamic religion s. ↗Islam; ↗Islamic brotherhoods etc.
VI. Judaism s. ↗Judaism; ↗Betä Əsraᵓel etc.
VII. Other religions s. ↗Bahai; ↗Rastafari

Aksumite religion

The data on pre-Christian religious beliefs and practices of the Aksumite kingdom are scarce. The polytheistic R. of ↗Aksum took its origin from the Sabaic one (↗Sabaᵓ) and probably underwent some Hellenistic influence. Its pantheon can be only partly restored. The deities venerated by the Aksumites are mentioned mostly in the protective formulae at the end of royal ↗inscriptions. The triad composed of ↗ᶜAstär, ↗Bəḥer and ↗Mäḥrəm is the most frequently attested (RIÉ 185 i.20–21, 185bis i.22–23, 185bis ii c.35–36); once Bəḥer is replaced by ↗Mədr (RIÉ 185 ii.21). In RIÉ 188.25–26, ᶜAstär, Bəḥer and Mədr are invoked, while Mäḥrəm is omitted; but he appears afterwards (RIÉ 188.29–30). The identification of Bəḥer and Mədr as two names of one chthonic deity (s., e.g., BrakKirche 38) is highly speculative.

The extent of Hellenistic influence is rather unclear. In the relevant passages of the Greek inscriptions, Hellenic deities are mentioned. Thus, RIÉ 270bis has a dedication to Uranus, Gæa and Ares (ls. 30–31: τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ τῷ … Ἀρέει), probably corresponding to ᶜAstär, Mədr and Mäḥrəm. This allows one to identify ᶜAstär and Mədr as deities of heaven and earth resp., and Mäḥrəm as war-god – as his epithets also suggest (cf. also DAE IV, 13).

In the *Adulitana II* (↗Monumentum Adulitanum), the divine triad includes Zeus, Ares and Poseidon (RIÉ 277.39–40). Littmann (DAE IV, 13) equated them to ᶜAstär, Mäḥrəm and Bəḥer resp., although only the second identification is supported by other inscriptions; the name of Poseidon more likely refers to a local god venerated by sailors in ↗Adulis (cf. Kobiščanov 1966: 252f.).

More certain are South-Arabian elements in Aksumite R., notably the "Crescent and the Sun" symbol (s. ↗Moon) which occurs on both pre-Aksumite and Aksumite artefacts. The custom of putting votive thrones has a parallel in ancient South Arabia, in the region of al-Ǧawf.

Of Aksumite deities, only ᶜAstär can be undoubtedly identified with a South Arabian deity, ᶜṮTR (ᶜSTR/ᶜṮTR in the Sabaic inscriptions of Ethiopia), the head of the South Arabian pantheon. Appearing always at the first place in the divine triads (or dyad in RIÉ 198 I), ᶜAstär may have played a similar role in the Aksumite pre-Christian R. His dominant position may be still reflected in the Ethiopic version of the Book of Sirach (Sir 31: 8, 37: 21), where the Greek κύριος, *kýrios* ('lord') is rendered as *ᶜastär*, rather than the usual ↗*əgziᵓabəḥer*. The opposition between ᶜAstär and Mədr as deities of heaven and earth finds obvious parallels in other traditional R. of Ethiopia. There are, however, no solid indications of Judaic influence on Aksumite R. (s. ↗Judaism).

On the basis of both the *Adulitana II* and ᶜEzana's inscriptions, it appears that an Aksumite king was considered to be a son of Mäḥrəm/Ares (cp. ↗Kingship, divine). In all probability, this war-god supported not only the rulers of Aksum, but also their state, like ↗Almaqah in ancient Sabaᵓ.

No ancient monument or archaeological evidence survive that can be safely traced to an Aksumite pre-Christian temple (a Greek inscription [DAE 2 = RIÉ 269] may refer to a sanctuary of Ares, i.e. Mäḥrəm). Yet, presumably, at least some of the early Christian churches were founded on the sites of older cult places. Nothing is known about Aksumite pre-Christian priesthood, and very little about religious rites. Animal and human sacrifices were probably offered to Mäḥrəm/Ares (RIÉ 188.29–30; but cf. Schneider 1984: 167f.). Both copies of the "trilingual" inscription mention anthropomorphic statues of gold, silver and bronze (Gəᶜəz sg. *msl*, **məsl*, in South Arabian script *mṯl* and *msl*, Gr. ἀνδριάς, lit. 'image of a man'; RIÉ 185 I.17–19, 185 II.18–20, 185 bis I.19–21, 185 bis II C.24–31, 270.29–31, 270 bis.26–29), and unknown objects styled as *swt/w-bdḥ* (RIÉ 185 II.25, 185 bis II C.44; RIÉ 270 bis.37: COΥʽATE καὶ BEΔIE) that are offered to the same deity.

Pre-Christian deities were often seen as protectors to whom certain objects could be entrusted: e.g., votive thrones (Gəᶜəz *mänbär*, Gr. δίφρος). In one case, such a throne was offered to ᶜAstär, Bəḥer and Mədr (RIÉ 188.24–26), in the second, to Ares or Mäḥrəm (RIÉ 277.42–43). Likewise, a stone basin (*zgl*) was put under the protection of ᶜAstär and Mədr (RIÉ 198 I). The "trilingual" inscription was entrusted (Gəᶜəz *ʾbʾ*, **ʾabəʾa* 'to offer' in RIÉ 185 I.20, 185 II:20–21, but *ʾmḥṣ́n*, **amaḥṣ́änä* 'to entrust' in RIÉ 185 bis I:22, 185 bis IIC:34, Gr. ἀνέθηκα … καὶ παρεθέμην, 'dedicated … and offered' in RIÉ 270bis.29–30) to ᶜAstär, Bəḥer (Mədr in RIÉ 185 II.21) and Mäḥrəm (to Uranus, Gæa and Ares in the Greek version).

One can suppose that the essential elements of traditional religious concepts in Ethiopia – such as beliefs in the ↗spirits, ↗possession cults, ↗magic etc. – were also important features of the pre-Christian beliefs of the Aksumites. This may be reflected in oral traditions of the Ethiopian highlands and in local historiography, where the pre-Christian veneration of the ↗serpent is a recurrent theme. However, evidence of these aspects of Aksumite R. is scarce.

Some hints can be gleaned from the monolythic ↗stelae of Aksum (Fattovich 1987; Phillipson 1994). The stela (*ḥwlt*) at ↗Mäṭära, as its inscription possibly suggests, may be connected with the cult of ↗ancestors (RIÉ 223, cf. Drewes 1962: 67f.). Since at least the 1st–2nd cent. A.D., stelae were used for funerary purposes, marking the elite tombs. The "false doors", appearing not only on the storeyed stelae but also elsewhere in funerary architecture, were probably an essential element in Aksumite beliefs concerning post-mortem phenomena (s. Phillipson 1994: 208).

Funerary rites of the pre-Christian Aksumite society remain obscure. The use of rock-cut tombs and stone sarcophagi was not rare, but all the sepulchres (cp. ↗Graves) have been looted. The discovery of animal bones and charcoal in some sites possibly indicates certain sacrificial ceremonies on the occasion of death and burial.

Src.: DAE I–IV; RIÉ I–III.

Lit.: BrakKirche 37–42; DAE IV, 13; Abraham Johannes Drewes, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962, 65–70; Rodolfo Fattovich, "Some Remarks on the Origins of the Aksumite Stelae", *AE* 14, 1987, 43–69; Maria Höfner, "Die Semiten Äthiopiens", in: Hans W. Haussig – Egidius Schmalzriedt (eds.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, I: *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, Stuttgart 1965, 555–67; Jurij Mikhajlovič Kobiščanov, *Aksum*, Moskva 1966 [tr. *Axum*, University Park, PA 1979], 249–68; MHAksum 125–43, 196–202, 221–27, 255ff.; RIÉ III, 5–15, 32–45, 47–52; David Walter Phillipson, "The Significance and Symbolism of Aksumite Stelae", *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 4, 1994, 189–210; Roger Schneider, [Review of Kobiščanov 1979], *JES* 17, 1984, 148–74.

Serguei A. Frantsouzoff

Traditional religions

A wide range of religious systems existed throughout the history of the Ethiopian and Eritrean region and many still are practised. Here, only a few examples can be mentioned within a rough phenomenological framework. The technical term "traditional R." is one of many possible attempts to categorize religions which cannot be considered as universal world religions (such as Buddhism, ↗Christianity, ↗Islam, ↗Judaism) or other global religious movements (e.g., ↗Bahai, ↗Rastafarianism). Alternative terms may be "folk-religions", "ethnic religions", "local religions", "autochthonous religions", "non-Abrahamic religions" or combinations of these terms. Most designations, including "traditional R." itself, are unbalanced or limited in their conceptional perspective and may cause misunderstandings. The words "traditional" or "local", for instance, are problematic because also Islam and Christianity follow "traditions" and obviously have local dimensions and forms. In the case of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, their relatively recent self-definition of being part of Judaism, relates this regional faith to a global phenomenon.

Christians and Muslims frequently despise followers of Ethiopian traditional R. as "unbelievers", "idolaters" or "pagans" (Amh. **አረማዊ**, *arämawi*, Arab. *kāfir*; for the Christian Orthodox view on traditional R. s. also ↗*Arwe*; ↗*Däsk*; ↗Demons). Likewise, traditional R. are subsumed under terms like "superstition", "sorcery" or ↗"magic". With a similarly one-sided view, based on cultural evolutionism, scholars categorized a great variety of different religions under superordinate concepts, like "primitive religion", "animism" or "natural religion". The term "animism", which today is sometimes used in the context of African religions as a neutral term, reflects an outdated 19th-cent. anthropological concept, first discussed by Edward Tylor in 1871, which is not adequate for most of them.

There are practically no features which can be exclusively found in traditional R. nor, at least to some degree, in those world religions present in Ethiopia; this is due to reciprocal influences throughout history as well as independently evolved structural parallelism. However, in comparison with Christianity and Islam some peculiar characteristics of traditional R. may be identified: (1) traditional R. mainly rely on orality; (2) they are less systematized or standardized and, therefore, (3) comparatively open to ↗syncretism and co-existence with other religions; (4) they are often characterized by pluralism/parallelism of relatively independent local cults rather than having a unified church-like institution; (5) institutions of traditional R. are not separable from the culture in which they are embedded. They form an integral part of the socio-religious system or holistic social order (e.g., ↗*Aadaa*, ↗*Seera*) and their ethics are inseparable from it; (6) in most cases they are exclusively practised among members of a single ethnic group (a prominent exception being some ↗Possession cults, s. esp. ↗*Zar* and ↗*Gäramanǧo*).

Religious experts

Although a great part of religious or ritual tasks can be carried out by every member of a society that meets the defined ritual requirements, such as gender, age, initiation status, ritual purity etc., autochtonous folk-religions in many aspects rely on persons with special religious or magico-religious skills, knowledge and charisma. Fields of expertise may be, e.g., transmission of cultural knowledge, blessing (and cursing), protection against the "evil eye" (↗*Buda*) or magical attacks, ↗oracles and divination, ↗rainmaking, spirit mediumship, communication with the animal world (s., e.g., ↗Hyenas, ↗Leopards, ↗Monkeys, ↗Serpents), ensuring success in war or in hunting and ↗sacrifices. Many religious experts are also ↗healers and practitioners of traditional ↗medicine. The sources of authority and legitimation of religious office-holders which in combination constitute their "symbolic" or "religious capital" (Pierre Bourdieu) may be magical or healing skills, traditional knowledge, the descent from a culture hero or spiritual being as well as the possession of magical objects or ownership of a holy place.

The spectrum of religious experts ranges from persons specialized in very limited fields to those who combine a broad range. While the fame of some does not exceed the boundaries of their village descent group, others can obtain even a trans-ethnic following. Some religious office-holders combine their religious charisma with political authority while others fulfil merely spiritual duties. Often religious experts serve as arbitrators. Many socio-religious systems establish a division of "ritual labour" among different segments of society in which specific clans or moieties, occupational groups (cp., e.g., ↗*Fuga*, ↗Blacksmiths [↗Iron], the Manǧo of Dawro etc.) and members of other ethnic groups provide specific ritual services.

A characteristic feature of many socio-religious systems in Ethiopia is the institution of divine ↗kingship in which a priestly king is symbolically placed at the centre of the "socio-cosmological" order. In a similar way, in many polycephalous societies high-priests of traditional R. are venerated as *homme fétiche*. Their cults in many aspects (esp. ↗Taboos) resemble the rites and the symbolism centred around a sacred king. This is true, for example, in the case of the ↗*abbaa muuda* and other religious experts of the ↗Oromo traditional R., such as ↗*qaallu*. Similar features shaped, e.g., the cults of the *Hawzulla* spirit medium of ↗Kambaata (BrKam 261–66) and the priests of the Gurage deities (s. below). Among the ↗Surmic-speakers, a rather egalitarian society, ritual leaders, called ↗*komoru*, combine religious and political functions.

As mediators between the human and spiritual world (or as representatives of certain spirits, such as the *gäramanǧo* of ↗Käfa and the *saʾamär dam* of ↗Ǝndägañ), religious experts in exchange for their blessing or other services often receive regular or occasional ↗gifts from their adherents. Before the Ethiopian Revolution, these gifts often took the form of quasi-tribute in cattle, butter, honey etc. For those religious experts who were exempted from agricultural work by the taboo regulations connected to their office, this income maintained their large households and shrines as well as permitted a redistribution of goods during ↗feasts.

Rituals

While the cosmological and philosophical ideas of traditional R. in most cases do not develop into doctrinal systems but are encoded in myths and folk wisdom, ritual practice can be very elaborate. Main ritual occasions are seasonal feasts and ceremonies connected to the life cycle. Such *rites de passage* are ↗birth, ↗initiation (s. also ↗Circumcision), ↗marriage (s. also ↗Weddings), and death (↗Burials).

A common feature of religious rites is the ↗sacrifice in which something, e.g., a twig, solanum fruits, coffee, a slaughtered animal or ↗incense etc., is dedicated to, and then often symbolically shared with, the spiritual sphere. Examples from the Oromo cultural context are the ↗*ḍibaayyuu* and the ↗*buttaa qallaa* ceremonies.

Many rituals are based on the concept of blessing, i.e. the distribution of a kind of subtle supernatural principle that heals, protects and brings fertility. However, when employed with destructive intention or by unauthorized or ritually impure persons, the very same principle can be dangerous. Blessing may be interpreted as a medium in which supernatural power can be possessed and transmitted by humans. A typical blessing ritual is the Oromo ↗*muudaa* ceremony in which blessing is transmitted by anointment. Other important ritual practices are (1) formal and informal prayers (i.e. reflection, asking for things, praising), (2) ↗fasting (s., e.g., ↗*Fandanaano*) and the observance of ↗food avoidance rules, and (3) ↗pilgrimage to holy places (for Oromo s., e.g., ↗*Ǧiila*), which allows participants to receive blessings and to express their religious devotion as well as their social identity.

The human and the supernatural spheres

The belief in and the communication with spiritual beings is one of the basic features of traditional R. There is no sharp dividing line between the supernatural, the natural and the social spheres. The supernatural interferes directly into human affairs by the forces of nature and fate. Spiritual beings express their will by way of spirit possession, prophesies and signs. They may also intervene directly, which is especially the case in myths of origin, were they often act as creators (e.g., the deity Zabi of the ↗Ubamär) or as culture heros (e.g., Ulawada, a venerated ancestor of the ↗Banna, VSAe I, 316ff.).

The typology of spiritual beings, deities and ↗spirits is complex; often a differentiated, but not clearly systematized pantheon exists. The (lower) spirits are believed to roam near or amongst the people or in the wilderness. While some of them are directly connected to individuals or specific descent groups (e.g., the spirits of martial "heros" or ↗ancestors), others are connected to certain animals, natural phenomena or magical objects. The hierarchical pyramid of spiritual beings, in many cases, is headed by a single, often celestial, deity (e.g., Magano in ↗Sidaama traditional R. or Ana in ↗Kunama) or, as is wide-spread in Ethiopia, by a dichotomy of a sky-god and a god(ess) of the earth. Examples are the Oromo male deity ↗Waaqa and his female counterpart Lafa ('earth, land'; cp. ↗Ateetee; VSAe II, 561–65) or, in Käfa, the sky-god Yero or *Šima tato* and the Earth or *Šowo tato* (cp. Lange 1982: 286). The Konso religion recognizes the male sky-god Waga, who is linked to rain, thunder, social order and war, and a female chthonic deity associated with fertility (Hallpike 1972: 222–304). The traditional R. of the Gurage is centred around a divine triad consisting of the protecting spirit of the female sphere ↗Dämʷamʷit, the thunder spirit and guardian of social order ↗Božžä and the spirit of war, ↗Waq; the latter venerated in various local forms. Above this triad is a *deus otiosus* by the name of Ǝgzer (from Christian ↗Ǝgziʾabəḥər). The pantheon of the Ubamär traditional R. includes Zabi, the sky-god and creator, Beri, the earth- and fertility-godess, and Ṣosi, who punishes wrong-doers and represents the forces of destruction (VSAe I, 177f.).

Soul and afterlife

Concepts concerning the soul and the afterlife are manifold. Among the Konso, for example, it is thought that when common people die, their breath (*nesa*) is taken by the sky-god Waga, their vitality (*lupoda*) ends, but the 'shadow person' (*katiliida*) becomes a ghost (*kareeya*) that dwells on earth (Hallpike 1972: 160). The traditional soul concept of the Kambaata is centred around the life principle *foole* which leaves the body when the heartbeat stops and then enters into the hereafter, which is paradise for some and hell for others (BrKam 274f.). The Oromo locate the soul in the 'throat' (*lubbo*) or in the heart (*onnee*). Death is defined by the end of 'breath' (*afuura*) and by *onne* leaving the body. Ideas of an afterlife varied and are diffuse (VSAe II, 571).

Modern situation

The strong influence of the various Christian missions and Islam but also, after the Revolution, the "anti-superstition" policy of the government inspired by Marxism-Leninism as well as the ideological dominance of modern scientism has considerably weakened traditional R. This the more so, because modern development has led to a still ongoing, profound culture change which often has a disintegrating effect on "traditional" socio-religious systems. In some cases this process has resulted in their complete disappearance. According to the 2007 Ethiopian Census, 2.6 % of the entire population professed one of the traditional R. (CSA 2008) but a higher percentage of occasional practitioners can be assumed.

However, some ethnic identity movements (↗Ethnicity) choose traditional R. as markers of ethnic distinction and sources of pride; a limited revival can be observed. Furthermore, t.R. survives as a strong element in new syncretistic cults established by local "prophets" or ↗*qalləčča* and modern religious movements, such as, e.g., the *aqaat qaal* of the ↗Aari (s. Alexander Naty 2006).

↗Eqo; ↗Time and Space

Src.: CSA 2008, 17.

Lit.: Alexander Naty, "The *ak'aat k'aal* Movement among the Aari People of South-west Ethiopia", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 49–63; BartOrom; BrKam 247f.; Jan Brøgger, *Belief and Experience among the Sidamo*: *a Case Study towards an Anthropology of Knowledge*, London 1986; Dirk Bustorf, "Some Notes on the Traditional Religion of the Ǝndägañ", in: *VarAeth* 12–34; HabKön; Christopher R. Hallpike, *The Konso of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1972, 222–304; Werner J. Lange, *History of the Southern Gonga* (*Southwestern Ethiopia*), Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 286; Id., *Gimira* (*Remnants of a Vanishing Culture*), Ph.D. thesis, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main 1975, 104–17, 147–58, 236–62, 290–307; VSAe I–III, s. indices.

Dirk Bustorf

Rema

R. (**ሬማ**, also **ሬምሃ** Remha) is an island situated near the eastern shores of Lake ↗Ṭana (for location s. map for Qʷäraśa), known for a church and a monastery dedicated to the Savior of the World (Mädḫane ᶜAläm).

The alleged foundation of Rema Mädḫane ᶜAläm in the early Solomonic period is ascribed to *abba* ↗Nob. *Aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq ordered the commemoration of his brother Nob, as confirmed by records in the monastic libraries of the Lake Ṭana islands (Fiaccadori 1998: 46ff.; HamTana II, 168). Thanks to this royal connection, the foundation enjoyed an important status in the 15th cent., as witnessed by grants by Yəsḥaq probably from 1419 (CrumLand 41).

Later, the neighbouring monasteries ↗Ṭana Qirqos and ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos gained more prominence. R.'s importance increased again when, at the beginning of the 17th cent., the nun ↗Wälättä Peṭros came to spend the last period of her life on the island, which was accessible for women, at least temporarily. Wälättä Peṭros was buried close to the church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm. About 20 persons, including her close relatives, such as her father, her brother who held the title of ↗*däǧǧazmač* and her mother, were laid to rest either in the *mäqdäs* or in the *qəddəst* of the church. *Aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl as well as the monastery's alleged founder Nob were also buried there (Bosc-Tiessé 2000: 233f.).

The close relation to the royal court is also testified by the possession of a wooden panel of the 15th-cent. painter ↗Fəre Ṣəyon representing St. ↗Mary with Child (Heldman 1994: 29ff., 168f., 173, 186). In the church three large panels representing the ↗Evangelists Mark and John and St. Mary in the style of the Second Gondärine school of ↗painting are also preserved.

The church was restored by *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa at the end of the 18th cent. It is probably from this time that the church murals date. In the ambulatory of the church, one can see carved stones reused from a Portuguese building.

Nowadays the community of R. has moved to the mainland opposite but on festive days believers visit the church for the liturgy.

The 25 manuscripts of the library of R. were microfilmed and described by Hammerschmidt (HamTana II, 122–66). He also compiled a preliminary and incomplete list of the abbots of the monastery (ibid. 168).

Src.: HamTana II, 112–66, 168; Carlo Conti Rossini – Carl Jaeger (eds.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum.* I. *Acta S. Walatta Pēṭros*. II. *Miracula S. Zara-Buruk*, Louvain 1912 (CSCO 68 [SAe 30]); Lanfranco Ricci (tr.), *Vita di Walatta Pēṭros*, Louvain 1970 (CSCO 316 [SAe 61]).

Lit.: Claire Bosc-Tiessé, "L'histoire et l'art des églises du Lac Ṭānā", *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 233–37; Ead, *Les îles de la mémoires. Fabrique des images et écriture de l'histoire dans les églises du lac Ṭānā, Éthiopie, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 2008; ChTana 168ff.; CrumLand 30, 41; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Ripristino dell'omelia etiopica sull'arcangelo Afnin", in: Delio Vania Proverbio (ed.), *Studi orientalistici in memoria di Emilio Teza*, Venezia 1998 (*Miscellanea Marciana* 12, 1997), 45–51, here 46ff.; *Guida* 381; HamTana I, 62–66, 90; Marylin E. Heldman, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon*: *a Study in Fifteenth Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 29ff., 168f., 173, 186; Carlo Conti Rossini, [review of Riccardo De Santis, *Il Gadla Tādēwos di Dabra Bārtārwā, un contributo allo studio della letteratura agiografica etiopica*, Città del Vaticano 1942], *RSE* 3, 3, 1943, 335–40, here 338.

Veronika Six

Research

I. Ethnological and ethnographical research
II. Historical research
  a. Historical research in early times to the 19th cent.
  b. Historical research in the 20th cent.
  c. Arabic studies on Ethiopian history
III. Linguistic research
Philological research ↗Philology
Archaeological research ↗Archaeology
Palaeontological research ↗Palaeontology

I. Ethnological and ethnographic research

Ethiopia and Eritrea, ethnically and religiously diverse countries at the historical crossroads of continents, trade networks, religious systems and migration/pilgrimage routes, have been the subject of numerous ethnographic, ethno-historical and anthropological studies in the past century. This entry can only present a short survey, with a few examples (also in the list of references), of an extended and growing field of R. While inter-disciplinary link with other social sciences (history, linguistics and sociology) are valuable, these will not be elaborated upon here.

Ethnological and ethnographic R. in Ethiopia-Eritrea took off in the late 1960s but was preceded by a rich tradition of travel literature, which, perhaps because of the region's singular position in Africa as an area with an ancient Christian empire and important Muslim sultanates and with many independent peoples was often visited and extensively explored, notably by Europeans. The many travel books published since the 16th cent. (starting with Portuguese travellers), contain invaluable information and graphic images of life and culture in the region. While the travellers may often have been remiss in presenting Ethiopian life and society, often describing it through the prism of their own concerns and aims in the country (adventurism, exploration, diplomacy, political support, mission, conversion, trade, etc.), many works reveal a genuine interest in the cultural other and an urge to describe and explain unfamiliar places, peoples, and historical traditions in their own right. The travellers' accounts have contributed in no small way to understanding the cultural and historical continuities of Ethiopian society until today. Some of the "proto-ethnological" authors one could mention are: Richard ↗Burton, Mansfield ↗Parkyns, Antoine ↗d'Abbadie, Juan Maria ↗Schuver, Werner ↗Munzinger, and Alexander ↗Bulatovich. In the early 20th cent. there were also maverick pioneers, such as Arnold W. ↗Hodson (1929) and Charles H. Walker (1933), publishing quite informative surveys of Ethiopian life based not on travelling as such, but on their long-term field experience in the country. A path-breaking French account by an ethnologist but in the form of a travelogue was Michel ↗Leiris (1931) who was member of Marcel ↗Griaule's ethnographic Dakar-Djibouti expedition (s. also *abba* ↗Jerome).

Professional ethnological (anthropological) studies were first made in the 1950s and especially during the early 1960s, mostly by foreign scholars. In the 1950s local "amateur" ethnographers at University College Addis Ababa (↗Addis Ababa University) also made ethnographic contributions (cf. Pankhurst 2002), but did not have a formative impact on the discipline. Ethnological and ethnographic research in the 1960s was done mainly by researchers from the USA, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy and later Japan, with the occasional Swedish, Israeli or Dutch joining in. Most were either teaching for some time in Addis Abäba or Asmära or were doing their own research projects, often in conjunction with linguists or cultural historians and with Ethio-Eritrean counterparts. Despite their biases and limitations, they produced a substantial body of empirical data and knowledge on Ethio-Eritrean societies, some of it irreplaceable and non-replicable. Among the "highlights" of the development of ethnological and ethnographic R. via these foreign traditions, the following authors and themes can be mentioned.

Italian colonial researchers worked on ethnography, law, and local history, as evident in the work of the prolific Enrico ↗Cerulli, and of Carlo ↗Conti Rossini, Lorenzo Vinigi ↗Grottanelli, Alberto ↗Pollera, Rufillo Perini, etc. While not all were trained ethnologists, they provided important source materials and observations on ethnological subjects (e.g., Grottanelli on the ↗Mao and other west Ethiopian ethnic groups). Among the (few) younger Italian ethnologists working on Ethiopia, Marco Bassi (2005) stands out.

Important R., especially in southern Ethiopia, was carried out by the pioneering German expeditions of Adolf Ellegard ↗Jensen, Eike ↗Haberland and Helmut ↗Straube in the 1930s and 1950s. Publications in the 1930s and 1950s (Jensen 1936; 1959; Haberland [VSAe II]; Straube [VSAe I]). The German tradition of R. on culture history, ethnography and material culture and themes like the "meritorious complex" (Braukämper 2001) have been transformed since the 1970s by more focused studies such as those by Ulrich Braukämper, Werner Lange, Hermann Amborn, and, in another vein, by Ivo Strecker, Jean Lydall, Günther Schlee and Thomas Zitelmann. Some younger scholars with significant contributions are Alexander Kellner, Christiane Falge, Alke Dohrmann, Andrea Nicolas, Nicole Poissonnier and Dirk Bustorf. The themes were, notably, southern Ethiopian ethnography (e.g., of the Oromo, Gurage, Səlṭe, Nuer, Konso and Burği), political anthropology, social organization, conflict study, religion, symbolism and ritual.

Jensen (middle) with colleagues Bayerle (right) and Wohlenberg (left) of the Frobenius Expedition viewing their ethnographic collection; from Rikli 1935: 33

French contributions since the late 1960s–70 were in the fields of ethnography, political anthropology and symbolism. Pioneer works were done in the Gamo area by Marc Abélès, Jacques Bureau, Dan Sperber, a.o. and in the south-west (Serge Tornay). Many of these French ethnologists (except Tornay and the late Bureau) did not continue in Ethiopian ethnological and ethnographic R. but moved to other topics and countries. A major contribution to the understanding of agro-pastoral societies in the Ethiopian south-west was Tornay's monograph on the ↗Ñaŋatom (2001). Other remarkable younger scholars in France are, e.g., Eloi Ficquet and Didier Morin.

US anthropologists were always an important presence and have carried out many research projects since the early 1960s, among them, William A. ↗Shack, Allan Hoben and Donald Levine (properly called a sociologist); institutionally, they had a strong impact. Many projects also led to a substantial material input and training in the field (with many Ethiopian scholars being helped to acquire Ph.D. degrees in the U.S.). Their interests were broad-ranging, from cultural organization, worldview, gender, material culture, ethnography, pastoralism as well as religion and ritual to ethnic relations and ethnic minorities (Jack Stauder, Dan F. Bauer, John Hamer, Frederick Gamst, Herbert Lewis, John Hinnant, William Torry, Donald Donham). A highly original study was that of Judith Olmstead on the Dita (1997). Recent innovative work was done on political anthropology (Donham 1999), material culture (by Sobania and Silverman 1998), religious and gender identity (Camilla Gibb and Cressida Marcus), Gabbra pastoralists (John Colman Wood), and on resettlement (Laura Hammond). American contributions are still of predominant importance.

British researchers had a more social-anthropological interest and worked on social organization, ethnic relations, agro-pastoral groups, art and crafts, political anthropology, and religion and ritual (e.g., Paul Trevor William Baxter, David Turton, Wendy James, Christopher R. Hallpike), and among the younger generation important new work was done by, a.o., Alula Pankhurst, Dena Freeman, Elizabeth Watson, and Cedric Barnes.

In the 1980s and 1990s a new phase of ethnological and ethnographic R. by Japanese scholars emerged, stimulated by Katsuyoshi Fukui (d. 2008) of Kyoto University. His own work and that of his students and colleagues, mainly on south and south-west Ethiopia, were a departure from predominantly socio-cultural anthropological research and concentrated on "ethno-science" and indigenous knowledge traditions, yielding major new findings and original perspectives. One piece that stands out is the masterful study of Bodi (Meʾen) ethno-classification (Fukui 1996). A second major figure was Eisei Kurimoto (Osaka), with, e.g., his studies on the ↗Añwaa. Interesting and valuable work was also done by Masayoshi Shigeta, Hiroshi Matsuda, Akira Deguchi, Yukio Miyawaki, Takeshi Fujimoto, and Renya Sato.

Many anthropologists from other countries – e.g., Sweden (Jan Hultin, Eva Poluha), Italy (Marco Bassi), Israel (Uri Almagor), The Netherlands (Jon Abbink), and Norway (Harald Aspen, Svein Ege and Kjetil Tronvoll) have done work on a large variety of peoples and subjects, usually less bound to a national tradition of Ethiopian studies and more geared towards concerns in mainstream anthropology.

Needless to say, not all ethnological and ethnographic interest came from foreigners: a local tradition of interest and exploration in Ethiopia–Eritrea emerged early on. Examples are the monk ↗Baḥrəy's ethno-historical survey of the Oromo ↗*gadaa* system (16th cent.), or *abba* ↗Gorgoryos reporting about Ethiopia to Hiob Ludolf. Since then many Ethiopians and Eritreans started to be active in exploration and research, well before the advent of professional ethnology (for details, s. Pankhurst 2002). One interesting example of a native ethno-historian/ethnographer *avant la lettre* is that of ↗Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl, who, in a series of perceptive works, gave an excellent overview of Ethiopian highland society. But the first trained anthropologists in Ethiopia–Eritrea appeared in the 1970s, although there were only four Ph.D. holders in Ethiopia in the early 1980s (and probably none in Eritrea): Makʷännən Bišaw (d. 2007), Asmarom Legesse (came to Asmära from the U.S. in 1992), Tsehai Berhane-Selassie (went to the U.S. in 1993) and Fecadu Gedamu (became a diplomat in 1992).

Ethnological and ethnographic R. in Ethiopia gathered steam in the early 1990s when a social anthropology programme was established at Addis Ababa University, supported by Norway and some other foreign donors (cf. Pankhurst 2006). The successful program yielded dozens of M.A. holders, who did up-to-date research on a large variety of topics, often of striking originality and good quality (some names are Getachew Kassa, Gebre Yntiso, Data Dea, Dereje Feyissa, Ayalew Gebre, Teferi Abate, Wolde-Sellassie Abbute, Getnet Tadele, Melese Getu, Assefa Tolera, Taddese Wolde-Gossa, Getie Gelaye, Taddesse Berisso). With this programme, ethnological and ethnographic R. in Ethiopia became a well-established and dynamic field, and, depending on continued institutional support from the educational authorities, will be fully equipped to make a crucial contribution to the discipline. Numerous M.A. theses and international research papers were published and many graduates pursued a career outside of Ethiopia.

In Eritrea, building on an extended Italian colonial heritage of social and ethnological research, an Anthropology Department was opened at ↗Asmara University after independence in 1993, with some very active and capable local researchers, trained in Ethiopia and abroad. In Asmära there is also (in 2008) the unsurpassed Pavoni Social Centre (long led by Padre Ezio Tonini), where many works and archival material were stored, forming a treasure house of ethnological and ethnographic materials on Eritrea. Due to the weighty Italian impact on social research in Eritrea and even on the designation and, some would say "creation", of ethnic groups or "nationalities" in the country (cf. Gewald 1998), a more colonial-instrumental tradition had taken shape (first Italian, then British), different from that in Ethiopia (cf. also James 1990).

Perhaps due to the non-colonial trajectory of Ethiopia as well as the fact that research interests in the country focused on the old literate traditions of kingship, Orthodox Christianity and Islam, the peoples and cultures of Ethiopia (and to a lesser extent Eritrea) have not figured strongly in the development of the anthropological discipline as a whole, certainly not in the first two generations. Ethiopian-Eritrean case studies were not extensively used in thematic and theoretical discussions on core topics of anthropology as a comparative science of humans and their socio-cultural behaviour. Nonetheless, ethnological-anthropological research on Ethiopia and Eritrea has produced an exceptionally rich and path-breaking series of monographs and studies that merit comparison and inclusion in the mainstream. Its empirical wealth and thoroughness, often strengthened by excursions into history, law and linguistics, is remarkable and reflects the unique features of Ethiopia–Eritrea as an historical and cultural complex in Africa.

The character of ethnological and ethnographic R. was inevitably influenced by the wider political context of the country, i.e., the imperial (to 1974), Socialist-Marxist (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council, to 1991) and ethno-federal (to date) regimes. While most ethnologists were not interested in political developments per se but in ethnography, social organization and culture(s), they were not immune to the impact of political conditions and changes on the societies and social phenomena they studied. In Eritrea until 1991, little ethnological and ethnographic R. was possible due to war and instability. The ↗Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front had its own research department and gathered a lot of material, but this was primarily of the folkloric kind. In the post-1991 period in Eritrea, a short window of opportunity opened up for a few years but closed again soon, making independent academic research by foreigners very difficult. A few local researchers (all foreign-trained) nevertheless kept up their work and produced highly interesting studies (Abbebe Kifleyesus, the late Alexander Naty [also on the Ethiopian Aari], and Abdulqader Saleh).

Discussing ethnological and ethnographic R. done by younger generations, since ca. 1990, falls mostly outside the scope of this article, but there is much fascinating new work being carried out: on ethnicity and ethnic relations, conflict studies, ethno-history, cultural ecology, worldview and religion (not only on the traditional religions but also on Islam and Christianity), the symbolism of space, ritual, and identity formation.

A recent notable development (since the mid-1990s) is the upsurge of "folk ethnography" and folklore studies carried out by intellectuals or educated members of ethnic minorities who (though usually not trained in anthropology) write ethnographies and ethno-histories of their people or offer materials on oral tradition (there are publications on the Konso, the Kafiččo, Oromo, Wälaytta, Sidaama, etc.). These works, while providing interesting insider perspectives, often lose themselves in minute and lengthy descriptions of as many "facts" and aspects of "the culture" as possible, but do not engage in wider discussions. They often lack sufficient analytical focus and readability, aiming at an almost encyclopaedic survey that has limited relevance for academic anthropology and its theoretical or comparative concerns. For instance, some collections of oral traditions are not very helpful because of a lack of information on place and time of recording, or a transcription in any other language, or a complete lack of analysis. Another new development is the upsurge in "transnatitional" studies: research on Ethiopian migrants or ↗diaspora communities living outside Ethiopia.

Institutional academic standards in Ethiopia-Eritrea are under pressure and perhaps declining, despite the great skills and commitment of local researchers – a lack of funding, a lack of time, overburdened staff, a lack of good academic debate, a neglect of in-depth serious investment in university infrastructure and a lack of interest in the policy sphere for nuanced research results, all play a role.

As noted, Ethiopia escaped an externally imposed, ethnicized R. tradition that we know from former colonial countries in Africa, where, for instance, French, Belgian or British administration and its demands for political control led to an undue classification of distinct "tribes" and tribal identities and the "creation" of ethnicity, with adverse political consequences. It is ironic that such a model became more current after 1991, when the official recognition and division of peoples into ethnic groups (*bəḥeräsäbočč*) became mandatory and produced results similar to those of the former colonial countries in Africa. Accordingly, ethnological and ethnographic R., if academic freedom is not respected, may be in danger of becoming more implicated in politicized discussions and in "competitive" discourse on ethnic identities and ethnic relations, inhibiting academic research and evidence-based, development-oriented studies. Ethnological and ethnographic R. in Ethiopia and Eritrea has made enormous strides in the past 18 years regarding quality and quantity and it has (re-)connected with the international mainstream of the discipline, i.e. a non-area studies approach of anthropology. It has shown advances in both disciplinary institutionalization and exchange with foreign scholars working on the unique social-cultural traditions of the two countries, but due to a variety of reasons there is some doubt as to the possibility of independent fieldwork keeping its standards in the near future.

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Jon G. Abbink

II. Historical research

a. Historical research in early times to the 19th cent.

The origins of historical R. on Ethiopia can be traced to ancient Greek and Roman ↗historiography – first and foremost to Herodotus, who clearly identifies the country with the kingdom of ↗Meroë, i.e. ↗Nubia. Yet, beyond the threshold of the Middle Ages, Ethiopia was generally removed from the view of the outside world: more often confused with ↗India (s. "India as a name of Ethiopia") or Nubia itself, with references not always attributable to one or another country precisely, it entered a long period of isolation, scarcely illuminated by Islamic historiography and Christian Oriental narratives (e.g., the ↗*History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*), as well as by a few itineraries, such as that by the Jewish Eldad ha-Dani, reflecting a direct or indirect acquaintance with the fabulous realm of ↗Prester John and the legends that had developed around it.

A higher degree of knowledge of the country was only reached in the 15th cent., when navigators and missionaries, traders and ambassadors made their way to actual Ethiopia, from which envoys of the local rulers had come to Europe as early as the beginning of the 14th cent. (↗Wədəm Räᶜad). This is immediately mirrored in late medieval and, on firmer grounds, humanist historiography. Of special importance here were the Ethiopian embassies led by Antonio Bartoli and, esp., Pietro Rombulo, whose own report survives partially embedded by Pietro Ranzano (d. 1492) in his *Annales omnium temporum* ('Annals of all times'), where it is harmonized, though, with that of classical and other writers (Trasselli 1941).

The historical study of Ethiopia, as we know it now, started however in Rome, in the circle of intellectuals gathered around ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori and its monastic community (cp. ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon). Their main focus was on the "Chaldean" or Ethiopic language, as a key to a most ancient literature that included the much sought after translation of the Holy Scriptures, the antiquity of which played a significant role within the discussions on the Biblical text triggered by the Reformation. Such primarily linguistic and philological issues soon entailed a keen interest in the history of Ethiopia and its long-standing Christian traditions, as revealed in the accounts of the Portuguese who had been to Ethiopia, visiting the country and exploring it (↗Alvares). Thus, at the end of his Gəᶜəz grammar (1552), Mariano ↗Vittori (s. EAE vol. 5) appended a list of the kings of Ethiopia since Biblical times (CRStor 12); and the humanist Paolo ↗Giovio (involved with the Latin translation of Alvares's book) devoted to Ethiopia a copious part of his *Historiae* (1550–52). An important figure in the second half of the 16th-cent. was Joseph Juste Scaliger, who in his *Opus novum de emendatione temporum* (1583) considered Ethiopia's classical past to be part of ancient history (Scaligerus 1629:671–704; cp. Neugebauer 1979:203).

The late 16th- and the early 17th-cent. ↗Jesuit mission, allowing closer scholarly observations in the field, definitely marked the enhancing of historical R. on Ethiopia, with special attention over the Aksumite past and its Christian antiquities up to early modern times, which were painstakingly described in a peculiar Catholic, albeit sympathetic, perspective (s. Portuguese ↗historiography). Works such as Nicolao ↗Godinho's *De Abassinorum rebus*, Pedro ↗Páez's *História da Etiópia*, Manoel de ↗Almeida's *História da Etiópia a Alta* (for long only known in the abridged version by Baltasar ↗Tellez) and Afonso ↗Mendes's *Expeditio Aethiopica*, were indeed aimed at justifying the missionary project of their order, but were also based on intensive historical R., as well as on a critical assessment of Ethiopian and European sources. Shorter historical sketches also appeared in the narratives by Manoel ↗Barradas, who left a faithful description of ↗Təgray, where he had been living for nine years, and Jerónimo ↗Lobo, especially well placed to chronicle the story of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1633 (his *Voyage to Abyssinia* was translated into English by Samuel

↗Johnson). Almost contemporary with their writings is the *Historia eclesiastica politica, natural, y moral*, by the Spanish Luis de ↗Urreta – a largely far-fetched account of Ethiopia's religion and history.

With the departure of the Jesuits from Ethiopia, historical R. on the latter moved back to Europe, where the results of their intelligent and assiduous exploration of the country – far ahead of the times – provided the grounds to any further discussion about its history. The scholarly bias for the no longer fabulous realm of Prester John was resumed by German and Dutch scholars who were impressed, again, by the antiquity of Ethiopia's religious customs and literature. In 1671, Dietrich Lüders published his *De historia imperii Abyssini*. The achievements of two other German scholars, Johann Michael ↗Wansleben and, particularly, Hiob ↗Ludolf, are also worth mentioning: for their most ambitious historical works they still had resorted to the only source then available in Europe – the monastery of Santo Stefano dei Mori. This was soon to cease to be the centre of Ethiopian studies, which shifted, accordingly, to northern Europe – to be cultivated among Germans and Anglo-Saxons.

In his masterly *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie*, Wansleben touches quite often upon Ethiopian matters, trying to clarify the position of the Ethiopian Church within and vs. the Alexandrian jurisdiction (Vansleb 1677). Thanks to the help of the famous ↗Gorgoryos of Mäkanä Śəllase, Ludolf authored two milestones of ↗Ethiopian studies: the *Historia Aethiopica* (LudHist) and the relevant *Commentarius* (1691). In both of them he used an impressive amount of Ethiopic documents, chiefly ↗manuscripts, through which he was able to offer both a detailed chronology of the Ethiopian kings, from the Aksumite times to his own, and a critical presentation of the major landmarks in the history of the country, by which he definitely contributed to the demise of Prester John's mystique (e.g., Ludolf 1691: 232).

At the end of the 18th cent., James ↗Bruce took to England an important collection of ↗manuscripts (now in the ↗Bodleian Library). In 1789 he published his *Travels* (BruNile), which contain sections on Ethiopian history and the Jesuit mission. Remarkably enough, his presentation of the facts was also based on accounts provided by oral informants met during his stay at ↗Gondär.

The 19th cent. witnessed a new blossoming of historical R. on Ethiopia, owing to at least two important factors: the intensified ↗explorations into the Horn of Africa, whence manuscripts and documents were brought to Europe, and the development of philological skills (↗Philology) that allowed these materials to be treated in proper historical terms.

Among the travellers who contributed to historical R., as well as to the hunt for monumental and literary sources, a pioneer was Henry ↗Salt. His account, *A Voyage to Abyssinia* (1814 = SalTrav), provides an insight into Ethiopia's royal history by using European (including Greek and Latin), Ethiopic and Arabic sources (SalTrav 457–85). More in keeping with the familiar issues of early 19th-cent. European historiography and its self-confident tone, Arnauld d'↗Abbadie's *Douze années de séjour dans la Haute Éthiopie* (1868 = AbbSéjour) is not only a record of his travels across the country in the 1840s, but also a pessimistic reflection on the "decay" of the Christian kingdom and society as seen through such major changes as the rise of the ↗Yäǧǧu dynasty, for which he offers one of the first historical accounts (AbbSéjour vol. 1, 125ff.). *The Highlands of Aethiopia* (1844 = HarAeth) of William Cornwallis ↗Harris, head of a British diplomatic mission to King ↗Śahlä Śəllase, offered a perceptive sketch of the long historical period from the reign of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon to the wars against the Muslims of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (HarAeth, vol. 2, 231ff.; vol. 3, 1ff.). Also remarkable was the work of the German traveller Eduard ↗Rüppell, who took an important collection of manuscripts to Germany and did historical and archaeological research (cf. Rüppell 1838–40).

Scholars then began to concentrate also on other groups than the Christian Amhara and Təgrəñña-speakers who had been, until then, the traditional focus of historical R. Charles Tilstone ↗Beke wrote an interesting opuscule on the origin of the ↗Oromo (Beke 1848). In the early 20th cent., ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis Gäbrä Mäsiḥ completed his *Yägalla tarik*, a lengthy investigation into the history of the Oromo people (BTafA); slightly later, the Austrian Friedrich Julius ↗Bieber wrote a pioneering monograph on the kingdom of ↗Käfa (1920–23). This contributed to the broadening of the perspectives on Ethiopia and its ethnic, cultural and religious traditions, among which Islam has since started to feature prominently. Thus, other topics were to be added later, e.g., the history of ↗Harär (↗Cahagne; ↗Paulitschke) and of the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel (Joseph ↗Halévi).

In European academic institutions, Ethiopian studies in general and historical R. in particular took on a definitive shape thanks to August ↗Dillmann, a Biblical scholar who typified the idea of philology as both textual criticism and historical reconstruction of the past from (written) sources. Next to his outstanding contributions to grammar and lexicography, between 1878 and 1884 he wrote a series of (still useful) essays on Aksumite history, as seen through Greek and Ethiopic literary and epigraphic evidence (local ↗inscriptions were published and commented upon by David H. ↗Müller in 1894), and on the Emperors ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I and ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, of whose then still unpublished ↗chronicles he made extensive use. In 1896, the book by Theodor ↗Bent on the archaeology and history of Aksum appeared (with an epigraphic chapter contributed by Müller).

In the second half of the 19th cent., the availability of historical sources in Ethiopic, Arabic and European languages became a primary need for western scholars concerned with the Horn of Africa, who started editing them according to the philological standards of their times. This work was carried on, amongst others, by René ↗Basset, Francesco ↗Béguinot, Camillo ↗Beccari, Carl ↗Bezold, Carlo ↗Conti Rossini, Ignazio ↗Guidi, Francisco Maria ↗Esteves Pereira, Enno ↗Littmann and Jules ↗Perruchon. Detailed catalogues of Ethiopic manuscripts – a few of them quite relevant to historical R. – kept in the major European ↗libraries had been published in the meantime, by Dillmann himself, Antoine d'↗Abbadie, Hermann ↗Zotenberg and Stephen ↗Wright. On the Islamic side, in 1898, the German Assyriologist Felix Ernst Peiser translated into German the Arabic account of ↗Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī, and the Austrian explorer and ethnographer Philipp Paulitschke translated into French, with Antoine d'Abbadie, the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*.

↗Archaeology

Src.: AbbSéjour vol. 1, 125ff.; BecRASO II–III, V–VII; CHARLES T. BEKE, *On the Origin of the Gallas*, London 1848; BTafA; AUGUST DILLMANN, "Zur Geschichte des Axumitischen Reichs im vierten bis sechsten Jahrhundert", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1890, 3–17; ID., *Über die Anfänge des Axumitischen Reiches*, Berlin 1879; DillmZarY; GIUSEPPE FUMAGALLI, *Bibliografia Etiopica*, Milano 1893, 147–229; HarAeth [repr. Farnborough 1968]; ḤASAN BEN AḤMED EL-ḤAIMĪ, *Zur Geschichte Abessiniens im 17. Jahrhundert: der Gesandschaftsbericht*, tr. by FELIX ERNST PEISER, Berlin 1898; DIETRICH LÜDERS, *De historia imperii Abyssini, quod sub Presbytero Johanne, germanicè Priester Johann, esse dicitur*, Wittebergae 1671; LudHist; HIOB LUDOLF, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam, antehac editam, Commentarius* …, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1838–40; SalTrav 457–85; JOSEPHI SCALIGERI *Opus novum de emendatione temporum* [Lutetiae ^{1}1583], Coloniæ Allobrogum ^{4}1629, 671–704; JEAN-MICHEL VANSLEB, *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1677.

Lit.: CRStor 12ff.; ANDREU MARTINEZ d'ALÒS-MONER, "Colonialism and Memory: the Portuguese and Jesuit Adventures in Ethiopia through the Colonial-looking Glass", *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures* [Warsaw] 41, 2007, 73–90; OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Wien 1979 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte 347), 203; CARMELO TRASSELLI, "Un Italiano in Etiopia nel XV secolo: Pietro Rombulo da Messina", *RSE* 1, 1941, 173–202.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori – Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

b. Historical research in the 20th cent.

Modern historical R. in Ethiopia took off with works such as *Yäᵓityopya ḥəzb tarik* by *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, which had been commissioned by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. Further pioneer writings were those by ↗Täᵓammərat Amanuᵓel, ↗Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ, ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis and ↗Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya. Among those produced by European scholars, a remarkable work was that by the Frenchman Georges Douin. His chronicle of *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl Bāšā sheds light on the political history in the Horn of Africa during the 19th cent. (DouinIsm).

History reached an academic status in Ethiopia with the creation of the Department of History at Ḫaylä Śəllase University (↗Addis Ababa University) and the opening of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies (cp. Sylvia ↗Pankhurst). Since the first ↗International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies in 1959, research has flourished, abroad and in Ethiopia.

Among the foreign centres which have pioneerd the fostering of historical R. were those in the United States of America (Michigan State University and the University of Illinois), Italy (Istituto Universitario Orientale, later Università di Napoli "L'Orientale", Università degli Studi di Firenze) and Great Britain (↗School of Oriental and African Studies). In Russia Sevir ↗Chernetsov (s. EAE vol. 5) produced a series of narratives of Ethiopian royal history; in Sweden Sven Rubenson has led an ambitious project of publication of 19th- and 20th-cent. political correspondence and treaties (RubActa). Ethiopian historians who studied abroad, such as Merid Wolde Aregay, Bairu Tafla and Taddesse Tamrat, have helped to enhance the standards of historical R. at home.

As a result, a wide range of new topics have been added to historical R. Oromo studies have been further developed at the hand of Mohammed Hassen and Merid Wolde Aregay and the historiography of the ↗ᶜAfar, ↗Harari, ↗Gurage, ↗Sidaama and ↗Omotic peoples has also been started. Among new themes explored in recent decades are urban history, ↗land tenure and agrarian issues, Islam, foreign missionary activities in Ethiopia, slavery and art (Bahru Zewde 2000; Crummey 2001). The colonial history of Eritrea and the social and political developments in this country after independence have also attracted scholarly attention (Crummey 1990: 112f.). Art history has recently also gathered interest as demonstrated by the periodical celebration, since 1986, of an International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art.

Historical R. has been disseminated through a growing number of publications. Chief among them are academic journals such as the ↗*Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, ↗*Northeast African Studies*, ↗*Abbay*, ↗*Aethiopica*, ↗*Annales d'Ethiopie*, ↗*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* and ↗*Quaderni di Studi Etiopici*. Monographic series have also contributed to the spread of scholarship, such as ↗*Aethiopistische Forschungen* and the ↗ *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*.

Lit.: Bahru Zewde, "A Century of Ethiopian Historiography", *JES* 33, 2, 2000, 1–26; Donald Crummey, "Society, State and Nationality in the Recent Historiography of Ethiopia", *JAH* 31, 1990, 103–19; Id., "Ethiopian Historiography in the Latter Half of the Twentieth Century: a North American Perspective", *JES* 34, 1, 2001, 7–41; Lockot I, II; WagHar 267ff.

Red.

c. Arabic studies on Ethiopian history

In the late 19th cent., classical written Arabic was revived as a tool for communication, general knowledge, and politics. The introduction of the printing press and the opening of publishing houses, combined with new ideas of modern nationalism and the emergence of a modern-educated general public, ushered in the appearance – first in ↗Egypt and Lebanon – of newspapers, journals, and a variety of books, including those concerned with secular matters. In the early 20th cent., there appeared the first modern books on Ethiopia, a country that had attracted Islamic interests since ancient times. A survey of the vast literature that has been produced in Arabic since the start of the 20th cent. reveals elements of continuity and change.

In pre-modern Islamic literature reflecting historical R. on Ethiopia two contradictory ideas may often be found: the legitimacy of the Ethiopian monarchy, in spite of its Christianity; and aspiration to a Muslim *naǧāšī* and the installation of an Islamic state. Medieval and early modern Arabic ↗historiography remained the essential reference for many modern authors, providing them not only with a necessary set of sources, but also with a general intellectual framework where Ethiopia and its relations to ↗Islam and the Arab world were inserted. The introduction of modern nationalist terminology, the creation of modern Arab states, and other developments in 20th-cent. Arab history added new perspectives and attitudes, but also reflected this old Islamic dilemma.

The first stage in modern Arabic historiography can be described as liberal and moderate. The first three decades of the 20th cent. were marked by the rise of secular Egyptian as well as Arab nationalist movements, which encouraged Islamic–Christian cooperation. The literature produced on Ethiopia during this period mostly reflects an acceptance of Ethiopia by Oriental peoples. It even reveals some admiration for its exceptional victory over colonialism. Three pioneering works contributing to that trend were as follows: in 1902–03, *šayḫ* Aḥmad Ḥifnī al-Qināᵓī of al-Azhar Mosque produced *al-Ǧawāhir al-ḥisān fī taᵓrīḫ al-Ḥubšān* ('The Beautiful Jewels in the History of the Ethiopians'), perhaps the first modern and moderate Islamic book on Ethiopia. The book recalls the medieval praises of *ḥabašī* Muslims, and combines them with a description of ↗Mənilək II as a great emperor, and a successor of the righteous ↗*naǧāšī*. In Cairo 1906, Tadrūs Ramzī published *Ḥāḍir al-Ḥabaša wamustaqbaluhā* ('Ethiopia's Present and its Future'). It was the first full size book on Ethiopia by an Egyptian Copt, and was full of praise for Mənilək. Tadrūs heralded an important dimension in modern Arabic historical R. that has persisted in Egypt to this day: modern Copts working to enhance the positive image of Ethiopia in Egypt (later Coptic authors who wrote in a similar vein are: Mirit Buṭrus Ġālī, Murād Kāmil, Zāhir Riyāḍ, and Buṭrus Buṭrus Ġālī). Within that first stage of liberalism and acceptance, perhaps the most important book was Ṣādiq al-Muᵓayyad al-ᶜAẓm's *Riḥlat al-Ḥabaša* ('The Voyage to Ethiopia'), which can be classified as representing moderate Islamic attitudes. It was first published in Turkish in Istanbul (1905), and then in Arabic in Cairo (1908). The book is a diary of a Syrian-born general sent by the Ottoman *sulṭān* to Mənilək in 1904. It portrayed Ethiopia as the land of a great

Christian, Oriental, neighbourly king, a man who defeated the colonialists and was also just and tolerant towards his Muslim subjects. The *Riḥlat al-Ḥabaša* became the most influential book on Ethiopia up to the 1930s.

The second stage began with the "Grand Crisis" of the 1930s. It saw the rise of anti-liberal militant Arabism and Islam in the Middle East, and the simultaneous fall of Ethiopia to Mussolini's fascism. Though the proponents of liberalism in the Arab world did not fade away – authors in Egypt and the Fertile Crescent continued writing in defence of Ethiopia and its history, e.g., Aḥmad Luṭfī Ǧumᶜa, and ᶜAbdallāh ᶜInān, the stronger voice of the 1930s, began depicting Ethiopia as an enemy of Islam. The Syrian Šakīb Arslān, arguably the most persistent supporter of Islamic-Arab emancipation between the two world wars, produced dozens of articles describing Ethiopia's sins against its Muslims, and recalling the old idea of Ethiopia's illegitimacy. Yūsuf Aḥmad's book, *Islām wa-l-Ḥabaša* ('Islam and Ethiopia', Cairo 1935), was written in the same vein, and replaced al-ᶜAẓm's *The Voyage to Ethiopia* as perhaps the most quoted source in Arabic writings on Ethiopia to this day. After the Italians invaded Ethiopia, the Syrian Taysīr Zabiyān al-Kaylani toured the country and wrote *al-Ḥabaša al-Muslima* ('Muslim Ethiopia', Damascus 1937), criticizing Ethiopia's historical record and celebrating the victory of Islam under Mussolini.

A third stage in the development of Arabic historiography can be discerned in the 1960s and 1970s. The period of "Nasserism" in the Middle East was marked by the rise of secular, revolutionary Arabism at the expense of both old constitutional monarchism and political Islam. The revolutionary Arab interest in Ethiopia focused mainly on the Eritrean struggle for independence, itself revolving, at that time, around the concept of Eritrea's Arabism. With regard to Ethiopia, Arabic historiography from that period mostly depicted it as reactionary, imperialistic, "Zionistic", and backward; often describing it in terms of secular Arab socialist rather than religious terminology. Among the dozens of books published in this spirit were: Rāšid al-Barrāwī, *al-Ḥabaša bayna l-iqṭāᶜ wa-l-ᶜaṣr al-ḥadīṯ* ('Ethiopia Between Feudalism and Modern Times', Cairo 1961); Mumtāz al-ᶜArīf, *al-Aḥbāš bayna Maᵓrib wa-Aksūm* ('The Ethiopians Between Marib and Aksum', Baghdad 1975); ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabbe, *Taᵓrīḫ al-Īrītriyā* ('History of Eritrea', Beirut 1974); Muḥammad Fāᵓiq, *ᶜAbdannāṣir wa-ṯ-ṯawra al-Ifrīqīya* ('ᶜAbdannāṣir and the African Revolution', Beirut 1980).

A fourth stage of Arabic historiography began in the early 1980s, following the demise of secular Arab nationalism and the reemergence of Islam as a political doctrine. Within this stage, Ethiopia – combining now, paradoxically, the images of Christianity and communism – is often depicted as the ultimate enemy of Islam. Such a perspective appears in: Muḥammad Raǧab ᶜAbdalḥalīm, *al-ᶜAlāqāt as-siyāsīya bayna muslimī z-Zaylaᶜ wa-naṣārā l-Ḥabaša fī l-ᶜuṣūr al-wusṭā* ('The Political Relations Between the Muslims of Zaylaᶜ and the Christians of Ethiopia in Medieval Times', Cairo 1985); ᶜAbdalfattāḥ ᶜAlīyān, *al-Hiǧra ilā l-Ḥabaša wa-munāqašāt qaḍīyat Islām an-Naǧāšī* ('The *Hiǧra* to Ethiopia and the Arguments about the Issue of the *Naǧāšī's* Islam', Cairo 1987); and ᶜAlī š-Šayḫ Aḥmad Abū Bakr, *Maᶜālim al-Hiǧratayn ilā arḍ al-Ḥabaša* ('Aspects of the Two *Hiǧras* to Ethiopia', Riyad 1993).

Throughout all of the phases described above, the voice of moderation and acceptance of Ethiopia, which had emerged in the beginning of the 20th cent., has persisted (e.g., ᶜAbdarraḥmān al-Ḥuṣṣ, *Iṯyūbyā fī ᶜahd Hayla Silāsī l-awwal* ('Ethiopia in the Period of Ḫaylä Śəllase I', Beirut 1960); Fatḥī Ġayṯ, *al-Islām wa-l-Ḥabaša ᶜabr at-taᵓrīḫ* ('Islam and Ethiopia throughout History', Cairo 1967).

Middle Eastern Arabic historiography on Ethiopia has indeed remained polemical. It seldom followed Western standards of R., and Arab writers and historians have rarely participated in the work of the international community of ↗ Ethiopian studies.

In the last decades of the 20th cent., written Arabic has gradually begun to be used among Ethiopia's Muslims, especially those living abroad. A pioneering book was clandestinely published in 1960 by Abū Aḥmad al-Iṯyūbī (pseudonym), *al-Islām al-Ǧarīḥ fī l-Ḥabaša* ('The Injured Islam in Ethiopia'). Borrowing from Arabic Middle Eastern sources it retold Ethiopia's old sins against its Muslims, and also described new ones committed by ↗ Ḫaylä Śəllase I. The advancement of Arabic into Ethiopia has gained revolutionary momentum in the 1990s, and a lengthy historiographical work written in Arabic by an Ethiopian Muslim was recently published (Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq, *Manhal al-aṭšān fī taᵓrīḫ al-Ḥubšān*, 'The Spring of the Thirsty on the History of the Abyssinians', Sanᶜāᵓ 1422 H. [2001 A.D.]). However, it is too early to assess the impact Arabic will have on local Islamic historiography. In Eritrea, the official recognition of Arabic as a national language fostered the birth of an Arabic historiography whose most outstanding example is Muḥamad Uṯmān's work (MuhTarih).

Lit.: ErlEth; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Nile,* Boulder, CO 2002; HUSSEIN AHMED, "The Historiography of Islam in Ethiopia", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 3, 1, 1992, 15–46; ID., "Arabic Philology as a Source of Islamic History in Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Philology. Bulletin of the Philological Society of Ethiopia* 1/1, 2008, 56–59; ID., *Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia – Islam, Christianity and Politics Entwined*, Boulder, CO 2007.

Haggai Erlich

III. Linguistic research

From the beginning of ↗Ethiopian studies, languages have been an important object of R. The first European grammars and lexicons of ↗Gəᶜəz and ↗Amharic by Mariano ↗Vittorio, Jacob ↗Wemmers (s. EAE vol. 5), and Hiob ↗Ludolf appeared as early as the 16th–17th cent. (Vittorio 1552; Ludolf 1661, 1698a, 1698b; cp. Raineri 1981). The scholarly interest in the languages of Ethiopia was fuelled in the 19th cent. by the flourishing of Oriental studies – Semitic, Biblical and Christian Oriental – by the works of many renowned Semitists, Orientalists and Biblicists, who in the course of time turned their attention *inter alia* – but in some cases, primarily – to the languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea: among them, *in primis* ↗Dillmann, together with ↗Ewald, ↗Trumpp, ↗Praetorius, ↗Halévy, ↗Guidi, ↗Nöldeke. R. on the ↗Ethio-Semitic languages as part of ↗Semitic studies has not ceased ever since, being prosecuted in the early 20th cent. by the generation of ↗Littmann and ↗Brockelmann, in turn succeeded by that of Marcel ↗Cohen and ↗Polotsky and their respective schools, including, e.g., ↗Leslau, ↗Strelcyn, ↗Rodinson, ↗Tubiana, David Cohen on the one side, and Edward Ullendorff, Gideon Goldenberg, Shlomo ↗Raz, Olga Kapeliuk on the other, as well as by a number of other scholars from ↗Germany, ↗Italy and other countries (just to mention a few names, ↗Mittwoch, ↗Klingenheben, Werner Diem, Ewald Wagner, Paolo Marrassini).

At the end of the 18th–19th cent. more material on the Ethiopian and Eritrean languages – now including also non-Semitic languages – became accessible to European scholars, thanks to travellers who as a rule collected and published texts, grammar notes, and word lists of the local languages (s., e.g., ↗Beke for, among others, ↗Agäw, ↗Gumuz, ↗Harari, ↗Käfa, ↗Yäm; ↗Bruce for ↗Gafat and other languages; ↗Burton for Harari; ↗Cecchi for Käfa, Yäm, ↗ᶜAfar; ↗Chiarini for Čaha; ↗Lefebvre for ↗Təgrəñña, Amharic, ᶜAfar; Munzinger for ↗Təgre and ↗Nara; Seetzen for Amharic; ↗Salt for Amharic, Təgrəñña, Nara, Kunama, Gumuz, Agäw; ↗Robecchi-Brichetti for Harari and ↗Oromiffaa; ↗Paulitschke for Harari, Schuver for Šinašša, etc.). Also missionary activity has been important in this regard, because it has involved producing ↗Bible translations and religious literature in the local languages and therefore favoured missionaries' interest in language studies (s. ↗Flad for Amharic and Agäw, Rodén for Təgre [s. ↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen], ↗Gobat for Amharic, ↗Mayer for Amharic, Oromiffaa, ↗Soddo, ↗Waldmeier for Agäw). Frequently, travellers and missionaries not only published the collected material, but also elaborated it into lexicons and grammars (s. Antoine d'↗Abbadie for Amharic, ↗Bieber for Käfa, ↗Isenberg for Amharic and ᶜAfar, Krapf for Oromiffaa, ↗Massaja for Amharic and Oromiffaa, Karl ↗Tutschek for Oromiffaa etc.).

The ↗manuscripts and publications that became available to European scholars through the activities of travellers, missionaries, and also military (for the latter cp., e.g., Marrassini 2004) made possible further descriptive and comparative studies: consider, e.g., in the first place the productive activity of Praetorius, who published the first comprehensive grammars of Təgrəñña, Amharic, and Oromiffaa.

The local development of linguistic R. was motivated by the fact that the first step in acquiring traditional education was to learn Gəᶜəz. This resulted in appearing of ↗*säwasəw*, short grammatical descriptions and glossaries of Gəᶜəz. This tradition continued well into the 19th–20th cent., when a number of *säwasəw* were compiled and published by such eminent Ethiopian scholars as *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, *abba* ↗Täklä Maryam Sämharay and *abba* ↗Yaᶜəqob Gäbrä Iyäsus.

With the strengthening of ties between Ethiopia and Europe, the role of Ethiopians and Eritreans in linguistic R. changed. Young Ethiopians sent abroad for education often became informants of European scholars (a tradition starting already with Ludolf whose informant was *abba* ↗Gorgoryos), as *däbtära* ↗Kəflä Giyorgis for Guidi or ↗Näffaᶜ Wäd ᶜƎtman for ↗Littmann. In addition, several modern grammars and lexicons compiled by native speakers appeared in the beginning of the 20th cent., e.g., *Grammatica della lingua amarica* by ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus (Afevorq 1905).

The pioneer of linguistic field R. on non-Semitic languages of the Ethio–Eritrean area at the end of the 19th–beginning of the 20th cent. was ↗Reinisch. His descriptive works on Agäw languages (e.g., ↗Bilin), ↗Sāho, ᶜAfar, Kunama, Beǧa, Käfa, etc., a result of his two travels to Africa, are at the same time important contributions to comparative Hamito-Semitic studies. The tradition of combining field R. with qualitative linguistic analysis was continued by such outstanding scholars as ↗Mondon-Vidailhet and Cohen (Amharic and Gurage), Littmann (Tәgre), ↗Conti Rossini (Semitic and mostly non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia); later by ↗Cerulli (Harari, non-Semitic languages), ↗Moreno (primarily non-Semitic languages), Leslau (Ethio-Semitic), ↗Plazikowsky-Brauner (Cushitic), and many others.

On the basis of collected material, classification studies made considerable progress, in which the Ethiopisants played a role of no small importance. The first overview and typological evaluation of Ethio-Semitic languages appeared in *Études d'éthiopien méridional* by Cohen (1931). A decade later his comprehensive study (1947) provided the first attempt at reconstructing regular phonetic correspondences between languages of the ↗Afro-Asiatic macro-family. An important contribution into establishing of ↗Nilotic languages as a linguistic unit, separate from ↗Hamitic (thus contesting their classification according to Meinhof 1912), was made by Conti Rossini (1926). Greenberg's classification studies gave a new impact to African linguistics in general (including languages of Ethiopia) and, *inter alia*, established ↗Nilo-Saharan studies, proposing genetic unity of Nilo-Saharan languages (Greenberg 1963).

Certain progress in linguistic R. of most widely used Ethiopian languages has been achieved in recent times. For Amharic, Tәgrәñña, Oromiffaa, Somali, ᶜAfar, comprehensive grammatical descriptions (e.g., Baye Yimam 1993/94; Bliese 1981; Griefenow-Mewis 2001; Leslau 1995; Saeed 1999) and lexicographical works have appeared (e.g., Agostini – Puglielli – Ciise Moxamed Siyaad 1985; DTWDic; Gragg 1982; KaneDic; Parker – Hayward 1985; TilDic; Saalax Xaashi Carab 2004; also for Tәgrәñña, KaneTDic).

Synchronic R. on Ethiopian and Eritrean languages was often motivated by comparative studies. This explains why for many Ethiopian languages the most reliable lexicons are etymological dictionaries (e.g., Leslau 1979; LesCDic; Hudson 1989; Sasse 1981; Appleyard 2006), and descriptive works are diachronically oriented (e.g., Hetzron 1977). Nevertheless, comparative and classification studies are still by no means completed. Suffice it to say that the status of ↗Omotic languages as an independent branch of ↗Afro-Asiatic is still debated (for a brief overview of the discussion, s. Wolff 1981; Bender 2000:1f.). The major overviews (Hetzron 1972 for Ethio-Semitic, 1980 for Cushitic, Tosco 2000 for Cushitic, Bender 1996 for Nilo-Saharan, 2000 and 2003 for Omotic) are, as their authors emphasize, to be regarded as preliminary reports, often outlining problems that still await solutions.

At the same time, the linguistic diversity of Ethiopia makes it an ideal field for studies in typology, areal studies (cf. ↗Ethiopian Language Area), and sociolinguistics (cf., e.g., Meyer – Richter 2003). Recently, attention of both Ethiopian and western scholars has been drawn to the phenomenon of language death in Ethiopia, and to the necessity of recording the endangered languages (s. Brenzinger 1998). In this connection, the activity of the ↗Summer Institute of Linguistics, under whose auspices numerous (socio)linguistic R. projects in Ethiopia and Eritrea are carried out, cannot be underestimated.

An important factor that influenced language studies in Ethiopia was change in the ↗language policy of the Ethiopian state, which after 1974 proclaimed its aim to give every nationality the right to use its language. This necessitated creation of alphabets for unwritten languages and introducing a large number of languages into elementary education. This task was entrusted to the ↗Ethiopian Language Academy, which in 1997 was integrated into ↗Addis Ababa University as the Ethiopian Languages Research Centre. No less significant contribution to promoting linguistic R. in Ethiopia was rendered by the Institute of Language Studies within Addis Ababa University. Today, the number of qualified linguistic studies by Ethiopian authors is steadily growing.

Although several collections of articles on Ethiopian languages (BendLang; BendNonSLang), as well as monograph series on many major and minor Ethiopian languages, such as *Kuschitische Sprachstudien* (by Buske and then by Köppe) and *Nilo-Saharan* (by Köppe), appeared in the end of the 20th cent., the only reference work containing updated information on all recorded Ethiopian and Eritrean languages is *Ethnologue* (e.g., Gordon 2005). After the very good systematic bibliography by Leslau (1965, only for Ethio-Semitic), subsequent contributions have to be traced here and there in the annual and periodical bibliographies, mainly in the indispensable systematic linguistic bibliography by UNESCO, covering all the languages of the world (cp. Permanent International Committee of Linguists 1949, 1951, for the years 1938-47). This bibliography can now be implemented with the yearly bibliographical reports by Rainer Voigt published in the journal ↗*Aethiopica* since 1998 (Voigt 1998ff.). For further reference works on individual languages and language groups s. the relevant entries.

Src.: GhevreJesus Afevorq, *Grammatica della lingua amarica. Metodo pratico per l'insegnamento*, Roma 1905; David L. Appleyard, *A Comparative Dictionary of Agaw Languages*, Köln 2006; Francesco Agostini – Annarita Puglielli – Ciise Moxamed Siyaad (eds.), *Dizionario somalo-italiano*, Rome 1985; Baye Yimam, **የአማርኛ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Yäʾamarəñña säwasəw*, 'Amharic Grammar'), Addis Abäba 1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.]; Loren Bliese, *A Generative Grammar of Afar*, Dallas, TX 1981; DTWDic; Gene B. Gragg, *Oromo Dictionary*, with the help of Terfa Kumsa, East Lansing, MI 1982; Catherine Griefenow-Mewis, *A Grammatical Sketch of Written Oromo*, Köln 2001 (Grammatische Analysen afrikanischer Sprachen 16); Grover Hudson, *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*, Hamburg 1989 (Cushitic Language Studies 7); KaneDic; KaneTDic; Wolf Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1979; Id., *Reference Grammar of Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1995; Hiob Ludolf, *Lexicon Aethiopico–Latinum* …, London 1661; Id., *Grammatica Amharica*, Frankofurti ad Moenum 1698a; Id., *Lexicon Amharico–Latinum*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1698b; Enid May Parker – Richard J. Hayward, *An Afar–English–French Dictionary* (*with Grammatical Notes in English*), London 1985; Franz Praetorius, *Grammatik der Tigriñasprache in Abessinien*, Halle 1871 [repr. Hildesheim – New York 1974]; Saalax Xaashi Carab, *Qaamuus*: *ereykoobe* ('Dictionary: Lexicon'), Djibouti 2004; John Ibrahim Saeed, *Somali*, Amsterdam – Philadelphia, PA 1999; Hans-Jürgen Sasse, *Etymological Dictionary of Burji*, Hamburg 1981 (Cushitic Language Studies 1); TilDic; Mariano Vittorio, *Chaldeae seu Aethiopicae lingvae Institutiones*, Romae 1552 [repr. 1630].

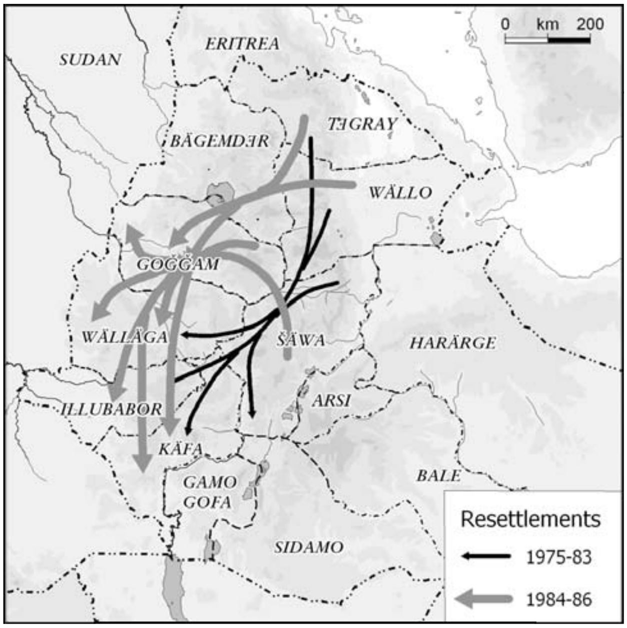
Lit.: M. Lionel Bender, "Ethiopian Language Policy 1974–1981", *Anthropological Linguistics* 27, 3, 1985, 273–79; Id., *The Nilo-Saharan Languages*: *a Comparative Essay*, München 1996 (Lincom Handbooks in Linguistics 6) (Lit.); Id., *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19) (Lit.); Id., *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Carbondale, IL 2003 (Lit.); BendLang; BendNonSLang; Matthias Brenzinger (ed.), *Endangered Languages in Africa*, Köln 1998; Marcel Cohen, *Études d'éthiopien méridional*, Paris 1931; Id., *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Lingue nilotiche", *RSO* 11, 1926, 69–102, 121–68; Jean Léonce Doneux, *Histoire de la linguistique africaine*, Aix-en-Provence 2003 (Lit.); Raymond G. Gordon (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 111–20, 698f.; Joseph H. Greenberg, *The Languages of Africa*, Bloomington 1963 (International Journal of American Linguistics 29, 1, 2); Bernd Heine – Thilo C. Schadeberg – Ekkehard Wolff (eds.), *Die Sprachen Afrikas*, Hamburg 1981; Robert Hetzron, *Ethiopian Semitic*: *Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972 (JSS Monograph no. 2); Id., *Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977 (Ricerche IUO 12); Id., "The Limits of Cushitic", *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 2, 1980, 7–126; Oswin Köhler, *Geschichte der Erforschung der Nilotischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1955 (AuÜ: Beiheft 28); Wolf Leslau, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, The Hague 1965 (Bibliographies on the Near East 1); Paolo Marrassini, "Gli studi di filologia e storia e i militari italiani in Eritrea", in: Nicola Labanca (ed.), *Militari italiani in Africa. Per una storia sociale e culturale dell'espansione coloniale. Atti del convegno di Firenze, 12–14 dicembre 2002*, Napoli 2004 (Società Italiana di Storia Militare. Quaderno 2001–2002), 187–210; Carl Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg 1912; Ronny Meyer – Renate Richter, *Language Use in Ethiopia from a Network Perspective*, Frankfurt am Main 2003; Martino Mario Moreno, "Struttura e terminologia del Sawasew", *RSE* 8, 1949, 12–62; Permanent International Committee of Linguists, *Linguistic Bibliography for the Years 1939–1947*, 2 vols., Utrecht 1949, 1951; Osvaldo Raineri, "Il carmelitano Giacomo Wemmers, autore del primo lessico etiopico (1638)", *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* 32, 1981, 431–42; Mauro Tosco, "Cushitic Overview", *JES* 33, 2, 2000, 87–121; Archibald Norman Tucker – Margaret A. Bryan, *Linguistic Analyses*: *the Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa. With a Supplement on the Ethiopic Languages by Wolf Leslau*, London – New York – Cape Town 1966 (Handbook of African Languages 3) (Lit.); Rainer Voigt, "Bibliographie zur äthiosemitischen und kuschitischen Sprachwissenschaft [I]", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 207–16; "idem II", *ibid.* 2, 1999, 190–96; "idem III", *ibid.* 3, 2000, 160–65; "idem IV", *ibid.* 4, 2001, 182–90; "idem V", *ibid.* 5, 2002, 177–80; "idem VI", *ibid.* 6, 2003, 196-200; "idem VII", *ibid.* 7, 2004, 182–86; "idem VIII", *ibid.* 8, 2005, 174-83; "idem IX", *ibid.* 9, 2006, 213–19; "idem X", *ibid.* 10, 2007, 184–93; "idem XI", *ibid.* 11, 2008, 194-202; "idem XII", *ibid.* 12, 2009, 190–98; Ekkehard Wolff, "Die Omotischen Sprachen", in: Heine – Schadeberg – Wolff, *op. cit.* 217–24.

Red.

Resettlement

R. schemes can be divided into ad-hoc R., occuring on the basis of individual initiatives without central co-ordination (↗Migrations) as well as organized R. implemented through centrally coordinated government policies.

The earliest, pre-1974, Ethiopian R. schemes were both ad-hoc and organized (Dessalegn Rahmato 1989: 670; Pankhurst 1989: 319). Organized forms were based on "rationalizing" land use on government-owned land in order to raise state revenue as well as to provide additional resources to the hard pressed northern peasantry (↗Land tenure). After the collapse of the imperial government in 1974, R. schemes were expanded (↗Revolution). It was implemented as a means of assisting poor, famine-stricken and landless peasants (↗Famines), relieving the employment crisis in the urban areas, accelerating the sedentarization of transient populations, promoting both resource conservation and improved agricultural practices in densely populated areas, bringing "under-utilized" lands under cultivation, establishing a paramilitary defence force on the Ethio–Somali border, and rehabilitating returning Ethiopian refugees and displaced persons (Dessalegn Rahmato 1989: 684). The explicit reason for R. was to better ensure the material well-being of the peasants by taking them from famine-affected and over-populated areas and relocating them in the presumed "virgin" or "under-utilized" fertile lands of the south, south-west, and western peripheral parts of the country.



In the years between 1975 and 1983, ca. 80,000 peasants from ↗Wällo, ↗Təgray, and ↗Šäwa were resettled in the western and south-western regions of ↗Käfa, ↗Illubabor, ↗Wälläga, and Šäwa (Hurni 1990: 97f.). The operation in this phase was relatively better planned than later campaigns and implemented in small steps.

Considering R. as a lasting solution for several problems, the military government of Ethiopia launched a massive emergency R. program after the 1984–85 drought and famine. The government's initial plan was to resettle 300,000 families, consisting of about 1.5 million people, in two phases (Pankhurst 1990: 126; Dessalegn Rahmato 1989: 696). During the first phase, it was planned to resettle 50,000 households in the sparsely populated areas of Wälläga, Illubabor and Käfa through an 'integrated' (Amh. ሰግሰጋ, *səgsəga*) R. approach. In the second phase, 250,000 households were to be moved to the western lowland areas in ↗Mätäkkäl, ↗Asosa, and ↗Gambella through a 'conventional' (Amh. መደበኛ, *mädäbäñña*) R. approach. The former approach conveys the idea of insertion or filling empty spaces within already existing traditional subsistence agricultural settlements, whereas the latter approach designates large areas of "unoccupied" land to be allocated to the resettlers, which was found to be more challenging.

Within the short time span of a year – from December 1984 to December 1985 –, around 600,000 people (some 203,000 families) were resettled from Wällo, Təgray and Šäwa to areas in ↗Goǧǧam, Wälläga, Käfa, and Illubabor. Another 10,000 were moved by January 1986 (Kloos – Aynalem Adugna 1988: 148). The latter source indicates that fewer than 10,000 persons were resettled between 1986 and 1988, in spite of the spectre of another famine in 1987 and early 1988.

Due to lack of proper planning, the resettlers suffered multiple problems both of material and of psychological kind. Environmental issues also influenced emergency R., as peasants were relocated not only for rehabilitation purposes but also to promote the conservation of resources in high-density population areas and the regeneration of over-utilised lands (Dessalegn Rahmato 1989: 695). The scheme was considered as an opportunity for socialist transformation, accelerating the pace of mechanized agricultural collectivisation in the new locations. The planning of the scheme was inadequate due to hasty decision-making. It was a disorganized enterprise plagued by confusion and mismanagement. The participation of the resettlers in decision-making was almost non-existent. Affected people were not given accurate information about the program. R. areas frequently posed health problems to populations unaccustomed to the new environments. The inadequately planned schemes were therefore carried out at severe human cost. The resettlers underwent distressing, painful and traumatic experiences which brought about the break-up of long established social structures, the dismantling of production systems, and the destruction of traditional survival strategies. It can be argued that the schemes violated the basic human rights of those displaced.

Professional assessment of the environmental, economic, and socio-cultural features of R. did not occur. At the local level, R. planning was left in the hands of the political cadres who were assigned responsibility for each new R. village. While the emergency R. schemes were implemented, the indigenous host populations were not properly consulted. The hasty site selection, lack of qualified and skilled experts in the planning, lack of infrastructure and settler-support systems, as well as management and financial problems, and the resultant inability of settlers to become self-sufficient, resulted in a failure to achieve the objectives of the program. Most of the R. schemes failed to become self-sufficient and self-reliant. Persistent low production, the physical and mental difficulties of the resettlers to adapt to the new environment, as well as high rates of return migration right from the start, were the result of hasty planning and implementation. A summary of the death and desertion of the resettlers in the receiving areas (without including deaths in transit) in the years 1985 to 1987 was reported by the "*National Study Committee of Receiving Provinces* (NSCRP)" established in 1988 under the auspices of the Council of Ministers of the Military Government. According to the Committee's study estimate, out of the total 594,190 resettlers involved in both the conventional and integrated R. schemes, 116,768 of them deserted and/or died – desertions were estimated to be 83,800, and deaths 32,800 (NSCRP 1988: 18). Considerable numbers of people trecked to their areas of origin or crossed international borders to become refugees. 103,000 resettlers returned to northern Ethiopia from different R. sites, and another 34,000 resettlers returned to the Southern Šäwa regions of Kambaata and Hadiyya (Elias Negassa 1992: 4).

The deaths and desertions of resettlers were described (Elias Negassa 1992) as one in which "… 52,000 households deserted the large-scale farms; of these 7,000 people died at the rest trecked to their areas of origin or crossed international borders to become refugees. From the integrated settlements, 4000 heads of households escaped and 4,000 died". He further notes that approximately 103,000 resettlers returned to northern Ethiopia from different R. sites, and that another 34,000 resettlers have returned to the southern Šäwan regions of Kambaata and Hadiyya (Elias Negassa 1992: 4). After the political change of 1991, violent ethnic conflicts flared up between resettlers and hosts in several R. areas, thus adding political insecurity to the already critical problems of socio-cultural and economic survival.

Therefore, the state-sponsored R. scheme of the 1980s brought about complex changes in the socio-cultural, economic, and environmental conditions in the R. areas. The resettlers from the highlands, the host community, and the environment were all adversely affected by these schemes.

Despite the multi-dimensional negative effects of past schemes noted above, the post-1991 government, while attempting to address the issues of food shortage and overpopulation in various parts of the country, also considered R. as one of the quickest and most important ways to achieve food security in the short and medium term, this time based on voluntary participation and partially funded by international donors. The short-term R. plan is to resettle 440,000 smallholder farming households (ca. 2.2 million people) in four regional states (Amhara, Oromiyaa, Təgray, and Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region [SNNPR]) within three years (2003–05). The operation of the program has been underway since 2003 and is having a major impact on local economies and population dynamics in the 'host' regions.

Lit.: DESSALEGN RAHMATO, "Rural Resettlement in Post-Revolutionary Ethiopia: Problems and Prospects", in: *Conference on Population Issues in Ethiopia's National Development*: *Report of Conference Proceedings*, vol. 2, Addis Ababa 1989; ELIAS NEGASSA, "The Ill-Conceived Settlement Program and Its Consequences", paper presented at the *Ethiopian Rehabilitation Campaign Donor's Conference*, 25–26 May 1992, Addis Abäba; HANS HURNI, "Agrarentwicklung und Umweltprobleme in Äthiopien", in: STEFAN BRÜNE – VOLKER MATTHIES (eds.), *Krisenregion Horn von Afrika*, Hamburg 1990, 91–106; HELMUT KLOOS – AYNALEM ADUGNA, "Settler Migration: Causes, Patterns of Movement and Some Demographic Impacts", in: *Proceedings of the Workshop on Famine Experience and Resettlement in Ethiopia, Dec., 29–30, 1988*, Addis Ababa 1988; ALULA PANKHURST, "The Administration of Resettlement in Ethiopia since the Revolution", in: ABEBE ZEGEYE – SHUBI ISHEMO (eds.), *Forced Labour and Migration*: *Patterns of Movement within Africa*, London 1989, 319–69; ID., "Resettlement: Policy and Practice", in: SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG et al. (eds.), *Ethiopia*: *Options for Rural Development*, London 1990, 121–34; WOLDE-SELASSIE

ABBUTE, *Gumuz and Highland Resettlers: Differing Strategies of Livelihood and Ethnic Relations in Metekel, North-Western Ethiopia*, Münster 2004; ID., *Resettlement as a Response to Food Insecurity: the Case of SNNPR, Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2003; ID., *Social Impact of Resettlement in Beles Valley (Pawe), Metekel*, Addis Ababa 2003; ID., "Social Re-articulation after Resettlement: Observing the Beles Valley Scheme in Ethiopia", in: MICHAEL M. CERNEA – CHRISTOPHER MCDOWELL (eds.), *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*, Washington, DC 2000, 412–30; ID., *The Dynamics of Socio-Economic Differentiation and Livelihood Strategies: the Case of Relocated Peasants in the Beles Valley, North-Western Ethiopia*, Göttingen 1998 (Discussion Papers 26).

Wolde-Selassie Abbute

Resistance

In the context of Ethiopian history, the term R. is used for the Ethiopian and Eritrean national opposition to the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 and the subsequent occupation period which ended in 1941 (↗War of Liberation).

Opposition started at the war fronts, but took definite shape during the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana period (May 1936–April 1941). The patriotic R. transformed itself from [1] semi–conventional warfare (May 1936–February 1937) to [2] guerrilla warfare (February 1937–April 1941).

The major fighting backbone during stage [1] was the war-weary upper nobility and the remnants of the Ethiopian ↗army, whereas in stage [2] a mass-based popular struggle was led by chiefs of the lower nobility or of low social or ↗*šəfta* status who were more committed and determined than the weak and compromise-prone leadership of stage [1].

Aṣe ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I could be considered as the initiator of the R. Soon after the defeat of the Ethiopian army at the war fronts in early April 1936, he ordered his warriors to oppose enemy rule in the form of guerrilla warfare. Before leaving the country for exile in early Mai, he set up a Provisional government (at ↗Gore), first headed by *bitwäddäd* ↗Wäldä Ṣadəq Goššu and later by *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase. R. formations evolved and spread throughout the country, from the Täkkäze in the north to the Awaš-Omo in the south.

Apart from the high order and their desire to be independent, the Ethiopians had several reasons for R. The major ones were the incompatibility of the Ethiopian tradition of ↗land tenure with Italy's policy of colonial settlement (↗Colonialism), Italy's undermining of Ethiopian culture and civilization, its racism and its inefficient administration.

Däǧǧazmač Mängäša Ǧämbäre with fighters in Dangəla, Goǧǧam; from Seltene Seyoum 1999: 352

From the onset, the Ethiopians regarded the Italians as invaders who had come to seize their land. For their part, the enemy tried to impose military discipline over a people who had been known for their independent character. The Italian repressive measures and Ethiopian nationalist feelings resulted in virulent struggle.

Some of the major events of the R. include the Bonayya incident (near Naqamtee, Wälläga; 26 June 1936) where the ↗*Ṭəqur anbäsa* patriots destroyed Italian planes and killed eleven officers. The Šäwan patriots led an assault to liberate ↗Addis Abäba on 28 July 1936, which remained unsuccessful because of lack of coordination. The Ethiopian attempt to assassinate the Italian viceroy, Rodolfo ↗Graziani (19 February 1937) was another major episode in which several Italian officers including the viceroy himself were wounded. This incident was followed by three bloody days in which the Italians killed several thousand Ethiopians, including many of the intelligentsia in Addis Abäba (↗Graziani massacre). The reign of terror spread to the countryside, with many Ethiopians fleeing the capital and swelling ranks of the R.

The Italians tried to legitimize the occupation through various means: adopting a policy of "divide and rule", restoring some of the collaborating nobility in their former positions to counterbalance the patriotic opposition, conducting secret negotiations with the imperial family in exile, and flirting particularly with Britain and other member states of the Geneva-based ↗League of Nations. Moreover, they used maximum military force to suppress the R. However, none of these measures quelled the R.

The R. expanded its own capacity not only in order to withstand Italy's pressure but, more importantly, the R. aimed to wear down the invaders' strength by skilfully using the rugged mountainous terrain, destroying roads and bridges, cutting lines of communication, attacking convoys, surprising garrisons and troops and, above all, applying various offensive–defensive tactics and buying time through diplomatic ploys.

Despite some attempts at coordination, the R. was unable to come up with centralized leadership. Rather, it operated at local and regional levels. The military strength of each important chief was composed of two major groups: the **ደረቅ፡ ጦር** (*däräq ṭor*), a body of experienced fighters maintained by each patriot chief, and the **መዳዴ፡ ጦር** (*mädade ṭor*), ordinary peasants liable to military service. The former were highly mobile, whereas the latter fought in their own and neighboring localities.

The R. was supported by the local population on whom the patriots depended for their supplies. Thus, the people opposed the Italians en masse, giving the R. its widespread and popular character.

The patriot chiefs boosted the R. by giving their fighters honorary titles and encouraging them to submerge their petty rivalries. The chiefs restored and upheld local administration which helped to repulse any enemy incursion into their territories. Furthermore, they coordinated the work of the so-called **የውስጥ፡ አርበኞች** (*yäwəsṭ arbäññočč*, 'inner patriots') with that of the **የውጪ፡ አርበኞች** (*yäwəčči arbäññočč*, 'outer patriots') through undercover agents who helped the R. fighters gather necessary information about enemy army movements. The agents used codes or pen names when traveling or writing. ↗Šäwaräggäd Gädle was a noted female agent. Furthermore, the R. was generally supported by an ideology associated with the restoration of the Emperor (as a symbol of unity) and the regaining of independence through him.

The patriots were poorly equipped. The arms could be either bought from merchants or captured from the enemy. Local collaborating militias, who sympathized with the movement, smuggled munitions to the patriots in the countryside. Besides, arms were smuggled into Ethiopia from the Sudan, Kenya, the Red Sea and Djibouti. More importantly, the patriots were committed to fight until liberation was achieved.

The R. struggle of the R. at home was linked with the political struggle of the exiles abroad. Ḫaylä Śəllase (in exile) was the principal connecting bridge who strengthened the link by dispatching his agents (Taddäsä Gäbrä Mädḫən, ↗Loränso Täʾəzaz, etc.) and foreigners (Paul Langrois, Paul Robert Monnier, etc.). This kept both sides informed about the development and direction of local as well as international events.

The growing strength of the R. had considerable impact on the Italian administration. Three viceroys, Pietro ↗Badoglio (May 1936), Rodolfo Graziani (June 1936 to December 1937) and Amedeo di ↗Savoia Duke of Aosta (January 1938 to April 1941), were appointed within five years. Italy was also compelled to change the commanders-in-chief of the Italian Armed Forces in ↗Africa Orientale Italiana. Italian troops were forced to remain in military garrisons, their movement becoming difficult without convoys. Gradually, the Italian administration barely extended its authority outside towns and their immediate surroundings. The countryside was left under patriotic administration. In other words, two types of administration prevailed in Ethiopia, one Italian and another Ethiopian. Though it maintained a huge army, Italy was unable to resolve the political situation in Ethiopia let alone to implement its policy of colonization, and its function was limited to guarding a garrison state.

Finally, it was the existence of a powerful R. that persuaded the British Supreme Command in London in June 1940 to decide to attack Fascist forces in Italian East Africa immediately. Their quick success was by and large due to the fact that a huge Italian force was bogged down in garrisons round the country by the R. Ḫaylä Śəllase who coordinated the R. and who commanded a small army marched into the country, while the British pushed out the Italians by their two pronged offensives. On 6 April 1941, British forces triumphantly moved into Addis Abäba and Ḫaylä Śəllase entered the capital on May 1941, to the day of the march of the Fascist forces into the same city five years earlier. He used the forces of the R. to establish quickly imperial authority and to rebuild the state.

Src.: HSLife [Amh.] 148–73, 302–22.

Lit.: ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale*, vol. 3: *La caduta dell'Impero*, Roma – Bari 1982, 307–532; BZHist 166–76; KÄBBÄDÄ TÄSÄMMA, **የታሪክ፡ ማስታወሻ** (*Yätarik mastawäša*, 'Historical Memoirs'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1969/70 A.D.], 199–216; MockWar; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Ethiopian Patriots: The Lone Struggle, 1936–1940", *EthObs* 13, 1, 1970, 40–56; TADDÄSÄ MÄČ̣Č̣A, **ጥቁር፡ አንበሳ፡ በምእራብ፡ ኢትዮጵያ** (*Ṭəqur anbäsa bäməʿərab Ityop̣ya*, 'Black Lion Organization in Western Ethiopia'), Asmära n.d., 41–57, 71–82, 96–106; TADDÄSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, **ቀሪን፡ ገረመው፤ የአርበኞች፡ ታሪክ** (*Qärin gärrämäw: yäʾarbäññočč tarik*, 'Those Who Survived were Amazed: a History of Patriots'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Legacy of Bitterness, Ethiopia* *and Italy, 1935–1941*, Asmara 1997; SELTENE SEYOUM, “Emperor Haile Selassie I and the Ethiopian Resistance: 1936–1941”, in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 477–98; ID., *A History of Resistance in Gojjam (Ethiopia), 1936–1941*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1999, 352 (ill.), (Lit); ID., “The Role of National and International Missions in the Ethiopian Resistance, 1938–1940”, in: *PICES* 15, 364–70.

Seltene Seyoum

Rəst

The noun R. (ርስት) is derived from the Gəʿəz verb ወረሰ (*wäräsä*, ‘he inherited’, DillmLex 897). In its most general sense it refers to a deeply felt value throughout the Amharic- and Təgrəñña-speaking lands: the right to one’s patrimony, the right to inherit the standing and property of one’s parents, both father and mother. More specifically, it refers to the inherited right to agricultural land or to land so derived (Hoben 1973; ↗Land tenure; ↗*Rim*).

Those who held land by such rights were known as ባለርስት (*balärəst*) or ርስተኛ (*rəstäñña*). One of the earliest appearances of this term is in ↗Baḥrəy’s *History of the Galla*, where it is the label for one of the ten social classes into which Baḥrəy divides Ethiopian society (Guidi in CRHist 229f.). Historically it was often found alongside the term ጉልት (*gult* or ↗*gʷəlt*) as in the phrase ርስትና፡ ጉልት (*rəstənna gult*, ‘R. and *gult*’), the phrase being a byword for land matters in general, as opposed to spiritual (for example, in the confrontation between *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot I and a group of monks, who pressed the ruler to issue a declaration recognizing their sectarian doctrinal claims. The ruler refused on the grounds that matters of faith were not like matters of property, *rəstənna gult* (BassÉt 58, 169); or the confrontation between *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II and the ↗Gondär clergy, which was explicitly about the church’s property, *rəstənna gult* (CRNuov 412). *Gult* is typically rendered as ‘fief’ (GuiVoc 708; BaetDic 1055).

In the juxtaposition of R. and *gult*, scholarship has tended to see the fundamental principles of historic Ethiopian land tenure, in which farmers, whose access to the land was determined by their inherited right, were found alongside a ruling class (↗Aristocracy) whose basis was primarily the extraction of ↗tribute, not rent, from farmers. In this understanding, Ethiopia’s ruling class as such had no direct access to agricultural land, which, on the contrary, was controlled by *balärəst,* those who farmed it on the basis of hereditary right and who were explicitly contrasted with those who held land as tenants (ጪሰኛ, *čisäñña*). The basic condition for maintaining one’s R. rights was the payment of tribute and, in this sense, *balärəst* were also ገባር (*gäbbar*, ‘tributaries’). Failure to pay tribute, or sedition, were, theoretically, the sole grounds for the abrogation of R.

While these principles fail to do justice to the full complexities of land-holding in historic Ethiopia, they have profoundly shaped discussions of historic land tenure (for dissent, s. CrumLand 9f.; Habtamu Mengistie 2003). The most important modern discussions of R., which incorporate to one degree or another the juxtaposition of R. and *gult*, are to be found in the works of Hoben (1973), Berhanou Abbebe (1971: 27–34, 103–08) and Mantel-Niećko (1980). Hoben, on the basis of anthropological fieldwork in ↗Goǧǧam, emphasises that, usage apart, strictly speaking R. referred to rights to agricultural land rather than to the land itself. In any given R. jurisdiction there were always multiple claims to be reconciled and this was done by periodic redistribution of agricultural plots. According to Hoben, the most important ways of acquiring R. land were by direct inheritance, by gift in anticipation of inheritance, or by presenting claims to the representatives of the descent groups (Hoben 1973: 144).

In ↗Amhara areas R. passed from parents to their children, male and female, on a more or less equal basis. In many ↗Təgrəñña-speaking areas, where the term was *rəsti*, there was a pronounced bias towards male heirs over their sisters. Hoben recounts the various ways in which more ambitious claimants could expand their holdings, primarily through the use of law courts (ibid. 156–59).

Mantel-Niećko’s account (1980) rests on a close reading of classical collections of documents presented by two public servants of the Ḫaylä Śəllase era: Maḫtämä Śəllase (MahZekr) and Gäbrä Wäld Ǝngəda Wärq (1951/52). While defining R. following the dictionaries cited above, Mantel-Niećko uses the term in a more expansive sense than does Hoben. For her “among the estates which are covered by the term *rist* one can distinguish great lay and ecclesiastical properties and smaller ones” (Mantel-Niećko 1980: 109). She refers to a 1908 edict of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, which established that R. “denotes land which has been handed down from one’s predecessors, bought or been granted by the emperor which cannot be taken away apart from cases of murder or offences against the states” (ibid. 110f.). Her discussion emphasizes variability in the meaning of the term from province to province.

The holding of land by R. ended with the 1975 "Proclamation to Provide for the Public Ownership of Rural Lands" (*Nägarit Gazeṭa*, Proclamation no. 31 of 1975; ↗Revolution; ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council).

Src.: Amsalu Aklilu, **አማርኛ፡ ኢንግሊዝኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** – *Amharic–English Dictionary*, Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.], 213; BaetDic 750f., 1055; BassÉt 58, 169; CRNuov 412; DillmLex 897; Gäbrä Wäld Ǝngəda Wärq, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ መሬትና፡ ግብር፡ ስም** (*Yäᵓityopya märetənna gəbər səm*, 'Designations of the Ethiopian Land Tenure System and [Land] Taxation'), Addis Abäba 1944 A.M. [1951/52 A.D.]; GuiVoc 563f., 708; Ignazio Guidi, "Historia Gentis Galla", in: *CRHist* 221–31 (text), 195–208 (tr.); MahZekr; "Proclamation No. 31/1975", *Nägarit Gazeṭa* 1975.

Lit.: Berhanou Abbebe, *Évolution de la Propriété Foncière au Choa* (*Éthiopie*) *du Règne de Ménélik à la Constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971, 27–34, 103–08, s. index; CrumLand; Habtamu Mengestie, *Lord, Zèga and Peasant*: *a Study of Agrarian and Property Relations in Rural Eastern Gojjam*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History 2003; Allan Hoben, *Land Tenure Among the Amhara of Ethiopia. The Dynamics of Cognatic Descent*, Chicago, IL 1973, 144; Joanna Mantel-Niećko, *The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*, Warszawa 1980, s. index.

Donald Crummey

Rətuᶜa Amlak

R.A. (**ርቱዐ፡ አምላክ**; d. 7 June 1632, Wäyna Däga) was the founder of a new line of holders of the ↗*wag šum* title. Sources, however, do not clearly indicate how he came to assume the title of *wag šum*. Originally he was from Zatta, ↗Wäfla. His seat was at Wänbärät, south-east of Koräm, from where he brought a number of districts under his control. He encouraged the settlement of craftsmen in his region.

R.A. was a strong defender of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and an opponent of the Catholic faith introduced by the ↗Jesuits. He was an ally of ↗Mälkəᵓa Krəstos, in his dynastic struggle against *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. It was during the struggle against Catholicism that R.A. founded a new line of *wag šum* known by informants as "the Zatta line" in opposition to the old line from ↗Säqoṭa. Descendants of the two lines led a stiff power struggle to control the office of the *wag šum*. Gradually they also intermarried among themselves. R.A., together with one of his sons and his ally ↗Bihono, died in the battle of ↗Wäyna Däga fighting against Susənyos on 7 June 1632 (BecRASO VII, 162). The death of R.A. as a martyr of Orthodoxy strengthened the power of his descendants in the region who held the office of *wag šum* for a number of years.

Src.: BassÉt II, 28; BecRASO VII, 162; DombChr 196; EMML no. 6954, fol. 10 [not catalouged]; FotiCr 114; PerChron 332f. (text) = 258 (tr.).

Lit.: Wudu Tafete, *A Political History of Wag & Lasta, C. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 51, 65–68.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Rətuᶜa Haymanot

R.H. (**ርቱዐ፡ ሃይማኖት**, lit. 'the Orthodox') is the (pen-)name of several traditional scholars of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) as well as the title traditionally given to a compendium of homilies on Orthodox ↗theology, that was authored by one of these scholars – in keeping with a frequent practice to style texts after their authors.

The expression "R.H." was originally used to describe the firm position of authorities adhering to the Orthodox Church and/or the Orthodox Faith, used as an epithet of such spiritual leaders as, e.g., the 318 Fathers of the Council of ↗Nicaea, ↗John Chrysostom, *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla. The frequency of the use of the epithet as a pen name makes it difficult to identify the R.H. who authored the homilies.

The first R.H. wrote prior to 1337 as the homilies he authored are transmitted in manuscript EMML 1763, copied in the year 521 of the Great Cycle (1329 A.M. = 1336/37 A.D.; s. EMML V, 223). As quite a few of the texts in EMML 1763 belong to Aksumite literature, it seems fair to assume that this R.H., who chose not to give his real name for reasons of modesty, flourished during ↗Aksumite period. This may also be the reason for the author of these homilies and the author of the Vita of *abba* ↗P̣änṭälewon (an "ordained bishop of Aksum", s. Conti Rossini 1904: 43) to share the same pen-name. Homilies in EMML 1763 ascribed to R.H. are the following:

On John the Baptist, fols. 3r–9r; *On the two Sabbaths*, fols. 37v–48v; *On the Nativity*, fols. 80v–96v; *On Stephen the Protomartyr*, fols. 106r–110r; *On Epiphany*, fols. 114v–121v; *On the Holy Fast* (*Lent*), (1) fols. 139v–143v, (2) fols. 143v–148v, (3) fols. 162r–164r, (4) fols. 182r–184v, (5) fols. 190r–195v, and (6) fols. 195v–199; *On the Ascension*, fols. 240v–245v; *On Pentecost*, (1) fols. 247v–253v, (2) fols. 253v–258r; *On the Disciples and the Community of Saints*, fols. 264v–268r; *On the Blessed Virgin Mary*, fols. 268r–270v.

This R.H., however, cannot have compiled the traditional compendium R.H., whose author must have lived ca. 1375 (cp. ms. EMML 2375, s. EMML VI, 451). He chose to hide his name as what he wrote was the final "truth about how the Word of God was incarnated of the

Holy Spirit and Mary" (ms. EMML 2375, fol. 54r; EMML VI, 454); s. also ms. BN d'Abbadie 80, CRAbb III, 15, no. 154, where the homilies are wrongly ascribed to John Chrysostom, and BritLib Orient. 786 (WrBriMus 231f., no. 343).

The compendium R.H. includes the following homilies, all but one different from those authored by the first R.H. (here according to EMML 2375): *On the Incarnation of the Son* (untitled), fols. 3r–8r; *On the Birth of God from Mary*, fols. 8r–18v; *On how Our Lord Christ was Baptized*, fols. 18v–31r; *For the Eve of the Forty-Day Fast* (*Lent*), fols. 31v–36v; *On Fasting and Almsgiving*, fols. 36v–39r; *On Fasting and peace*, fols. 39r–41r; *On Fasting and Meekness*, fols. 41r–42v; *On How the Word of God was Incarnated of the Holy Spirit and Mary*, fols. 54r–65r; *On how Our Lord Observed* [*ᶜodä*] *Hosanna in the City of Jerusalem*, fols. 65r–67v; *On how (Our Lord) Washed the Feet of his Disciples*, fols. 67v–78v; *On the Death of Our Lord Jesus Christ at the 9th Hour on a Wooden Cross, on Crucifixion, the Thief on Right, death and on Satan*, fols. 78v–89r; *On the Ascension of Our Lord* (= EMML 1763, fols. 240v–245v), fols. 89r–93r; *On the Paraclete* (untitled), fols. 93v–101v; *On the Honoured Springs of Israel which are Peter and Paul*, fols. 101v–104r; *On the Transfiguration of Our Lord*, fols. 104r–108r; *On the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin*, fols. 109r–122r.; *On the Four Living Beasts*, fols. 122r–127v.

The homily *On how the Word of God was Incarnated…* contains a controversial statement about life after death: "Behold, it is known that not a single Christian will ever perish, if he dies with his ↗baptism intact. If he dies while in sin, before ↗penance, he will be given penance in hell in the measure of his deeds. He will then be saved for the sake of the name of Christ." The sentences reflect a belief similar to that of ↗*täzkar* (Getatchew Haile in VarAeth); however, the official position of the EOTC states that there is no penance and salvation after death.

The homily *On the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* does not have a title that attributes it to R.H. A comparison of its contents with that of the ↗*Nägärä Maryam* (e.g., EMML 2044, fols. 25r–33r, EMML VI, 27–41) hints that it may have come from the clergy of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob.

The compendium R.H. may have been authored by the famous *abba* Giyorgis of Sägla. Whilst there is no evidence that Giyorgis ever used a pen name, the epithet "R.H." was frequently attached to his name (cp. YaqMist I, 209 [text]). Besides, there are two homilies in his *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir* attributed to a R.H.: *On Strengthening the Faithful in their Belief in Jesus Christ* (ibid. 217), and *On the Washing of Feet* (ibid. 235). Given the fact he was resented by some of the leading clergy (e.g., Getatchew Haile 1982: 65–91; Colin 1987: 25 [text]), it is possible that Giyorgis occasionally wrote under the name R.H. It seems highly unlikely that there could have been another similarly prolific but totally unknown writer living at the same time.

Another R.H. is the author of the homily (↗*Dərsan*, that later became a ↗*gädl*) on the life of *abunä* ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa (ms. EMML 1960, fols. 29r–55v; EMML V, 477). Since in his compilation this R.H. used many of the notes recorded in the Gospel of Iyäsus Moᵓa in the 15th cent., including the time of *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, he cannot be the same R.H. of the homilies in EMML 1763 or the Vita of *abba* Ṗänṭälewon, or of the R.H. compendium.

↗Gəᶜəz literature

Src.: CRAbb III, 15, no. 154 [ms. d'Abbadie 80]; GÉRARD COLIN (ed., tr.), *Vie de Georges de Saglā,* Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]), 25 (text) = 18f. (tr.); KAROLUS CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum,* I. *Acta Yared et Pantalewon*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]), 43 (text) = 39 (tr.); EMML V, VI; YaqMist I, 209, 217, 235 (text) = 126, 133, 144 (tr.); WrBriMus 231f., no. 343 [Orient. 786].

Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "On the Writings of Giyorgis Säglawi from Two Unedited Miracles of Mary", *OrChrP* 48, 1, 1982, 65–91; ID., "The *Mäṣḥafä Gənzät* as a Historical Source Regarding the Theology of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", in: *VarAeth* 58–76; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti sulla patristica greca di tradizione etiopica", *Studi classici e orientali* 38, 1988, 469–93; LusStud s. index; ID., "L'omelia etiopica *Sui Sabati* di 'Retu'a Haymanot'", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 11, 1988, 205–35; ID., "L'omelia etiopica *Sui Sabati* e il *Sēnodos*", *ibid.* 12, 1989, 193–202.

Getatchew Haile

Revelation of St. John

R., or the Apocalypse of St. John, is the last book in the ↗New Testament (s. ↗Bible: biblical canon). Its Gəᶜəz title, **አቡቀለምሲስ** (*Abuqälämsis*), a loan from the Greek (via Arabic) ἀποκάλυψις, is interpreted – e.g., in ↗*Tərgʷame* – as "seer of mysteries during his [John's] life-time" (Cowley 1983: 81). After ch. 1:1 and the prescript, the description **ራእዩ፡ ለዮሐንስ** (*raᵓəyu läyoḥannəs* 'Vision of John') became established in the manuscripts. In the manuscripts the author is repeatedly taken to be the (4th-cent.) "metropolitan ↗John Chrysostomos of Constantinople" (Hofmann 1967: 1 [text]).

R. was translated into Gəᶜəz along with the rest of the N.T. during the Aksumite period from a Greek Vorlage and was later revised against an Arabic one (↗Bible: Gəᶜəz Bible translation; cp. also ↗Old Testament).

The text is well documented. The earliest witnesses date to the 14th cent. and later

(Hofmann 1967: ii–ix; Marrassini 1984: 91f.; Zuurmond 1989: 2f.; Getatchew Haile's handlist). Printed editions have been available since 1548 (↗Täsfa Ṣəyon), and a critical edition was provided by Hofmann (1967).

The question of the inclusion of R. in the Biblical canon has been for long a very debated one, to the point that several Christian Oriental Churches did not accept it. Even though the Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church has included it, some clear reflexions of the debate can be perceived in some of its writings, e.g., in the ↗*Senodos*, where one of the various Biblical canon, and the oldest one indeed, does not include it (cp. BauSen 178 [text] = 72 [tr.]).

The apocalypticism of the book, with its themes of Satan, the false Messiah, the Last Judgement and the heavenly Kingdom of God, have influenced its theology, as the *Tərgʷame* and ↗*Andəmta* traditions prove (Cowley 1983).

↗Eschatology

Src.: BauSen 178 (text) = 72 (tr.); JOSEF HOFMANN (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopische Übersetzung der Johannes-Apokalypse*, Louvain 1967 (CSCO 281, 282 [SAe 55, 56]); PAOLO MARRASSINI, "I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze" [I], *RSE* 30, 1984 [1986], 81–116, here 91f.

Lit.: ROGER W. COWLEY, *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Cambridge 1983 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 33); JOSEF HOFMANN, "Der arabische Einfluss in der äthiopischen Übersetzung der Johannes-Apokalypse", *OrChr* 43, 1959, 24–53; *ibid.* 44, 1960, 25–39; ID., *Die äthiopische Johannes-Apokalypse, kritisch untersucht*, Louvain 1969 (CSCO 297 [Subsidia 33]); ROBIN MCEWAN, *Picturing Apocalypse at Gondar. A Study of the Two Known Sets of Ethiopian Illuminations of the "Revelation of St. John and the Life and Death of John"*, Torino 2005; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: the Synoptic Gospels. General Introduction*, Wiesbaden 1989 (AeF 27), 2f.

Siegbert Uhlig

Revolution of 1974

The R. (Amh. **አብዮት**, *abyot*) of 1974 led to the downfall of the Ethiopian monarchy and brought the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) to power, headed by Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam, Aṭnafu Abbate and others. It led to a protracted civil war and a period of terror in an attempt to establish a new social and political order.

The immediate factors that sparked the R. were the severe ↗famine of 1972/3, the sudden rise of petrol prices and student protests which caused political discontent, alongside warring factions inside the military, leading to a shift in the loyalties of the army.

The extreme droughts which affected ↗Wällo and ↗Təgray during the years 1971–73, in combination with disastrous mismanagement and corruption on the part of the government and administration, led to the severe famine which cost the lives of ca, 200,000 people (Bartnicki – Mantel-Niećko 1978: 589). Local administrators in Wällo abused the situation by selling small amounts of produce for land. In the capital the hunger was not felt so acutely. In 1973, at the height of the famine, Ethiopia still exported 203,900 tons of food (Brüne 1986: 75). For reasons not fully known, the regime decided to cover up the famine, apparently even ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I was not aware of it. It was the BBC documentary *The Unknown Famine* by Jonathan Dimbleby, broadcast worldwide in 1973, which brought it to light, horrifying the Ethiopian upper class and intellectuals. In the meantime professors and students of Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (now ↗Addis Ababa University) publicized the tragedy as much as they could.

In this mood of general despondency, the government announced a rise of 50 % in the price of petrol on 9 January 1974 due to the global oil crisis. This increase hit taxi drivers, merchants and other low income groups in the cities particularly hard. A further precursor of the actual outbreak of R. was the 12 January mutiny of the troops of the 4th division in the Nägälle-Boräna (↗Nagallee) garrison. Protesting against low pay, bad food and water they arrested their officers. They also sent radio messages to all units of the armed forces informing them that they were not against the imperial order but simply protesting against the bad living conditions. General Dərase Dubale, sent to resolve the issue, was also taken into custody. The situation seemed under control till 11 February when the Ethiopian Teachers Association appealed to the Emperor for a rise in salaries. This same day the Ethiopian Air Force rebelled, arresting their commander. On 14 February University students went on strike and demonstrated. On 18 February the Ethiopian Teachers Association went on a nation-wide strike, stating that the government had failed to meet its demands and protesting against the new educational policy, the *Education Sector Review.* Students, teachers, taxi drivers as well as the many unemployed took to the streets, attacking buses, other government vehicles and limousines. Law and order broke down in parts of the capital – the police arrested over one thousand people, almost half of them taxi drivers; unconfirmed reports put the death toll at five persons. The following days were marked by similar events. The demonstrators got very quickly organized and started to produce and distribute flyers and leaflets calling upon the masses to rise up. The ruling classes were confused by the events; the government seemed paralyzed. Finally on 23 February Ḫaylä Śəllase went on television to announce that the petrol price increase as well as the *Educational Sector Review* had been withdrawn. Soldiers and teachers were promised a salary increase.

While the situation calmed down in the capital, however, it was widely felt in Eritrea that the planned reforms were ineffective. In addition, Eritrea was suffering the effects of a rebellion which had started in the 1960s, leading to a highly politicized atmosphere (↗Eritrean Liberation Front; ↗Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front). The army based in Eritrea revolted on 26 February, they arrested the commander of the 2nd division as well as other senior officers and the provincial governor; they placed ↗Asmära under their control, closed off air traffic, cut off all communications with the outside world and read out their 23-point demand on Asmära radio. Prime Minister ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld resigned together with his cabinet. In a second television statement the Emperor announced the appointment of *ləǧ* ↗Ǝndalkaččäw Mäkʷännən as new Prime Minister, his former son-in-law General Abiy Abbäbä as Minister of Defence and General Wäldä Śəllase Bäräka as Chief of Staff of the armed forces.

The first days of March were marked by further strikes, the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions called for a nation-wide strike with 85,000–100,000 participants, further demonstrations were held, by an estimated 5,000 university students and teachers. Prime Minister Ǝndalkaččäw called out units of the 4th division as well as the Special Police Force to put down the protest; in the end several demonstrators were killed, quite a few wounded, and many arrested. The soldiers who had just suppressed the revolts, came out on 4 March, but this time on the side of the demonstrators. Army helicopters flew over the capital and distributed flyers, calling for reforms. Other sections of the population demonstrated as well, such as 500 priests, calling for fair payment and retirement pensions, and about 5,000 women demanded for equal rights. Ǝndalkaččäw's answer to these demonstrations was the formation of the Commission of Enquiry on 28 March which was to put an end to corruption. He later produced the "white paper" outlining new policies and a reform agenda. During March the revolts spread throughout the country, farmers rose up, unwilling to pay taxes and demanding land rights; civil servants, judges and other officials lost their posts. In several garrisons sergeants and soldiers were forming councils and clandestine committees. Prime Minister Ǝndalkaččäw ordered the immediate arrest of former ministers, governors and generals on 8 April.

Strike of the taxi drivers in Addis Abäba on 2 February 1974; photo courtesy of the Red Terror "Martyrs" Museum Addis Abäba

The largest demonstration was held in ↗Addis Abäba on 20 April by an estimated 100,000 participants, mainly Muslims demanding equality with Christians; one demand was that they should be referred to as "Ethiopian Muslims" and not as "Muslims living in Ethiopia" (↗Islam). On 26 April, on their own initiative, the army arrested 200 high-level civilian and military officials. The army began to pressure strikers to go back to work at companies such as the power company, water supply companies and telecommunications. 24 members of the newly formed labour union were arrested on 24 May. With the formation of the "Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police and Territorial Army" (*Yäṭor ḫayločč yäpolis ənna yäbəḫerawi ṭor astäbabari därg*, abbreviated "*Därg*") on 28 June by radical groups of younger army members the coup gradually took shape. The *Därg* elected Major Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam as chairman and Major Aṭnafu Abatä as vice chairman, and proclaimed the committee's motto: **ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ትቅደም** (*Ityopya təqdäm*, 'Ethiopia First'). The *Därg* imposed a dusk-till-dawn curfew on Addis

Abäba and arrested further members of the old regime. It presented demands to the Emperor on 3 July, forcing him to co-operate closely with the committee, to which the Emperor agreed. On 22 July Ǝndalkaččäw abdicated under pressure from the *Därg* and was replaced by Mikaʾel Ǝmməru. By this time the entire cabinet was under *Därg* control and a new draft constitution proclaimed a constitutional monarchy. Step by step the control of the *ancien régime* was weakened; the ↗Crown Council, the *zufan* ↗*čəlot* and the military council were dissolved on 15 August. The Anbäsa Bus Company, the St. George Brewery and the Ḫaylä Śəllase Prize, all belonging to the Emperor or the royal family, were nationalized by the 6th of September. There was however discord about how to proceed with the various proposals being discussed.

The final push was made on 12 September, when the *Därg* proclaimed the suspension of the existing constitution, deposed Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I and dissolved ↗parliament. In order to acquire respectability and legitimacy, they made the highly respected ↗Aman Mikaʾel ʿAndom chairman of the *Därg*, which they renamed the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council. Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam became vice-chairman and Aṭnafu second vice-chairman. After only a few weeks of major controversies in the leadership, Aman Mikaʾel ʿAndom was killed on 24 November. In the night of the same day they killed close to 60 officers of the ancién regime.

A period of violent upheaval, culminating in the Red Terror of 1977 whose purpose was to weaken political opponents such as *Mäʾison* and the ↗Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party. By the 1980s the leaders of the R. and their followers had assumed institutionalized governmental posts, a situation which contrasted sharply with that of 1974, when even the members of the *Därg* were widely unknown and acted in secrecy. In 1987 a new constitution was promulgated, the administrative divisions of Ethiopia changed, and Ethiopia was declared the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia with Mängəśtu as its president.

Lit.: Aberra Jembere, *Agony in the Grand Palace 1974-1982*, Addis Ababa 2002; Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia*: *From Autocracy to Revolution*, London 1975 (*Review of African Political Economy*, Occasional Publication no. 1); Andärgaččäw Assäggəd, **በአጭር፡ የተቀጨ፡ ረጅም፡ ጉዞ፦ መኢሶን፡ በኢትዮጵያ፡ ህዝቦች፡ ትግል፡ ውስጥ** (*Bäʾač̣č̣ər yätäqäč̣č̣ä räǧǧəm guzo: Mäʾison bäʾityop̣ya həzbočč təgəl wəsṭ*, 'A Long Journey Cut Short, MÄISON in the Struggle of the Peoples of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 2000; Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974–1987*, Cambridge 1993; Andrzej Bartnicki – Joanna Mantel-Niećko, *Geschichte Äthiopiens*: *Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 2, Berlin 1978, 589; Stefan Brüne, *Äthiopien – Unterentwicklung und radikale Militärherrschaft*, Hamburg 1986, 75; BZHist; Christopher Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1988; Marc Fontrier, *La chute de la junte militaire éthiopienne* (*1987–1991*), Paris 1999; Fred Halliday – Maxine Molyneux, *The Ethiopian Revolution*, London 1981; John W. Harbeson, *The Ethiopian Transformation*: *the Quest for the Post-Imperial State*, Boulder, CO 1988; Edmond J. Keller, *Revolutionary Ethiopia*: *from Empire to People's Republic*, Bloomington, IN 1988; David A. Korn, *Ethiopia, the United States and the Soviet Union*, Carbondale, IL 1986; René Lefort, *Ethiopie*: *la révolution hérétique*?, Paris 1981; John Markakis – Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*, Nottingham 1978; David Ottaway – Marina Ottaway, *Empire in Revolution*, New York 1978; Iid., *Soviet and American Influence in the Horn of Africa*, New York 1982; Social Science Panel, Ethiopia: *Pre and Post February 1974 Revolution*, *History, Grade 10*, Addis Ababa n.d., 262–323; Joseph Tubiana (ed.), *La révolution éthiopienne comme phénomène de société*, Paris 1990.

Shiferaw Bekele – Sophia Dege

Rey, Charles Fernand

Sir Charles R. (b. 1877, d. 30 March 1968, Cape Town, South Africa) was a British soldier and civil servant, also a traveller and entrepreneur in Ethiopia.

R's career began in 1900 with his appointment to the Board of Trade. Until 1919 he had held various positions in the Ministry of Munitions, Ministry of National Service and Ministry of Labour. From 1919–29 R. lived in Ethiopia for different periods of time as an employee of the Abyssinian Corporation and took an active role in safeguarding British interests. For example, in 1920 he negotiated a scheme in which *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot of ↗Goǧǧam was able to divert the trade of his province to the Sudan by a road built by the Sudanese government (McCann 1981:676). R. was on close terms with *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) who bestowed on him the Order of the Star of Ethiopia.

From 1930 until 1937, R. served as a Resident Commissioner of the British Bechuanaland Protectorate and Commandant of the Protectorate Police in Bechuanaland. He was knighted in 1932. He spent the last years of his life in Cape Town, but was buried in the cemetery of the British Legation in Addis Abäba, next to two of his sons who had died in Ethiopia in 1920.

R. presented a number of reports on Ethiopia to the African Society and the Royal African Society. In addition, he described his experiences in a number of articles and books. Among his publications, there is also a novel describing life in Ethiopia (*The Lady or the Leopard*). The ↗Bodleian Library keeps R.'s unpublished memoirs (mss. Eng. c. 7191–3) which refer to the years 1947–61 when he lived in South Africa.

During his time, R. was perceived as an outstanding specialist on Ethiopian history, culture and Amharic, which he could speak. He was described as "an intimate friend of the Emperor, [and] received every possible facility for writing about the history, ethnology, and civilization of Abyssinia" (J.B. 1936). On the other hand, R. represented the typical paternalistic attitude of the colonial British, fascinated with the Ethiopian Empire as the only surviving independent African country, while he also described what he perceived as the "barbarism" of the people and their customs. Apart from this attitude, R.'s works are an important source dealing with almost every aspect of life in Ethiopia in the 1920s.

Src.: Charles Fernand Rey, "Abyssinia of To-Day", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 21, 1921–22, 279–90; *ibid.* 22, 1922–23, 17–29, 109–20; Id., "Abyssinia and Abyssinians of To-Day", *The Geographical Journal* 60, 3, 1922, 177–92; Id., "The Arussi and Other Galla of Abyssinia", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 23, 89, 1923, 85–95; Id., *Unconquered Abyssinia as it is To-day*, London 1923 (American ed.: Philadelpia, PA 1924); Id., "A Recent Visit to Gudru and Gojjam", *The Geographical Journal* 67, 6, 1926, 481–505; Id., *In the Country of the Blue Nile*, London 1927 (American ed.: New York 1969); Id., "Abyssinia Wakes up", *World's Work*, October 1927; Id., "Ras Tafari to be Crowned. All Day Banquet. Empress and Regent Who Watch 20,000 Eat In Relays", *Daily Mail*, 5 October 1928; Id., *The Romance of the Portuguese in Abyssinia*, London 1929; Id., *The Lady or the Leopard*, London 1929; Id., *The Real Abyssinia*, London 1935 (American ed.: New York 1969); Id., *Monarch of All I Survey: Bechuanaland Diaries 1929–37*, ed. by Neil Parsons – Michael Crowder, Gaborone – New York – London 1988; Rey's memos to Foreign Office, F.O. 371/4400, 8 Nov, 1 Dec 1920; mss. Bodleian Eng. c. 7191–3.

Lit.: A.B., [review of Rey 1927], *Journal of the Royal African Society* 27, 106, 1928, 193–95; J.B., [review of Henry Darley, *Slaves and Ivory: a Record of Adventure and Exploration among the Abyssinian Slave-Raiders*, London 1935 and Rey 1935], *The Geographical Journal* 87, 2, 1936, 167–68; James McCann, "Ethiopia, Britain and Negotiations for the Lake Tana Dam, 1922–1935", *JAHS* 14, 4, 1981, 667–99.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Ricci, Lanfranco

R. (b. 25 March 1916, Sarzana [La Spezia], d. 15 December 2007, Rome) was the most outstanding Italian scholar of ↗Ethiopian studies in the second half of the 20th cent. A pupil of Carlo ↗Conti Rossini, he was the last scholar in the tradition of studies founded by Ignazio ↗Guidi and pursued by Francesco ↗Gallina, Conti Rossini, Enrico ↗Cerulli and Martino ↗Mario Moreno.

R. graduated from the University of Rome in Humanities in 1938, with a thesis in Ethiopian studies supervised by Conti Rossini. Three weeks later, he left for ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (AOI). He served from December as an auxiliary officer in the army (Regio Corpo Truppe Coloniali dell'AOI), later becoming head of the "residenza" of Aqaqi (Šäwa) in the civilian government. In April 1941, R. was captured by British troops and kept as a prisoner-of-war in Kenya till December 1946.

His involvement in the war had a negative impact on R.'s post-war university career. Working as an executive at the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, R. started in 1947 as an assistant to the professorship in Storia e lingue d'Abissinia (held first by Conti Rossini, then in 1951/52 by Moreno) at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Rome. He was lecturer from 1952 to 1962, also appointed professor from 1953 to 1962. In 1962 he finally became a full professor of Amharic at the ↗Istituto Universitario Orientale (IUO) of Naples. R. kept the chair (later Amharic language and literature) till 1986, and as emeritus till 1991. He also taught Somali (1958–92), Təgrəñña (1958–81) and Ethiopian history (1960–63). He continued teaching his courses in Storia, lingue e letterature dell'Etiopia and Lingue non semitiche dell'Africa orientale at the University of Rome until 1977. From ↗Strelcyn's death in 1981 till 1983, R. held the annual seminars in Ethiopian studies instituted by Cerulli at the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in 1973.

During his years at the IUO, R. strenuously defended the existence and autonomy of Ethiopian and African studies throughout the reorganization of Italian universities from a seminars-based structure to that of Departments. Thanks to his efforts, the professorships and teaching assignments of the Seminario di Africanistica (later Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi) came to include Gəᶜəz, Təgrəñña, Swahili, Somali, Egyptology, Coptic, Hausa, African history, Ethiopian archaeology (the only such professorship in the world at that point), Ethiopian history, Berber and Arabic: a range of disciplines which was, and still is, unique in Italy and with few possible comparisons in and outside Europe.

R.'s academic influence developed through the editorial activity of the ↗Rassegna di Studi Etiopici (RSE). He joined the editorial board early in 1952 and succeeded Moreno as editor-in-chief in 1964. In 1959 he achieved the sponsorship of the Istituto per l'Oriente (IPO), Rome, and in 1983 succeeded in having the journal jointly edited by the IPO and the then IUO. He resigned in 2003, having devoted over 50 years of tireless scientific activity to the journal.

In 1979, R. assumed responsibility for the series Scriptores Aethiopici of the ↗Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, succeeding Cerulli. A member of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei from 1988, as well as of the Fondazione Leone Caetani for Islamic studies, he took active part in the activities of the Istituto Italo–Africano (successor of the ↗Istituto Coloniale Italiano).

R. was probably the last "all-embracing" scholar in Ethiopian Studies. With the practice of Amharic as a spoken language as his starting point, and consistently true to the "historico-philological" approach which he considered essential to the RSE (cp. Ricci 1986: 154), R. broadened the scope of his interests and ↗research to such an extent that there is virtually no branch of Ethiopian studies which he did not touch in his numerous monographs, articles, and reviews (cp. Lusini in EtRicci; Bausi 2008): from archaeology (in 1973 he promoted the Italian Archaeological Mission of the IUO in Ethiopia) to epigraphy (palaeo-Ethiopic inscriptions being one of his lasting concerns), from modern and ancient literatures to languages and linguistics (he mastered Amharic as well as other Semitic and Cushitic languages of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia), from ancient and medieval history, to modern and contemporary issues, from anthropology and sociology to the history of art and religion, he maintained a profound interest in every aspect of Ethiopian society.

Src.: for bibl. s. Alessandro Bausi, "Nota bibliografica", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, 221–22; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Scritti di Lanfranco Ricci", in: *EtRicci* vii–xxiii.

Lit.: Yaqob Beyene, "In memoriam Lanfranco Ricci (1916–2007)", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, 217–21; EtRicci; Paolo Marrassini, "Studi di Etiopistica", in: *Istituto Italo–Africano. Atti del Convegno "Gli Studi africanistici in Italia dagli anni '60 ad oggi". Roma, 25–27 giugno 1985*, Roma 1986, 167–73; Id., [review of Rainer Voigt (ed.), *Die äthiopischen Studien im 20. Jahrhundert/Ethiopian Studies in the 20th Century. Akten der internationalen äthiopischen Tagung Berlin 22. bis 24. Juli 2000*, Aachen 2003 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 2)], *BiOr* 65, 2008, 267–74; Lanfranco Ricci, "L'etiopistica italiana nel cinquantennio 1920–1970", in: *Gli studi sul Vicino Oriente in Italia dal 1921 al 1970*, vol. 1: *L'Oriente preislamico*, Roma 1971 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 63), 153–83; Id., "Studi di Etiopistica", in: *Istituto Italo–Africano* op. cit., 150–66; Siegbert Uhlig, "Editorial", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, 6.

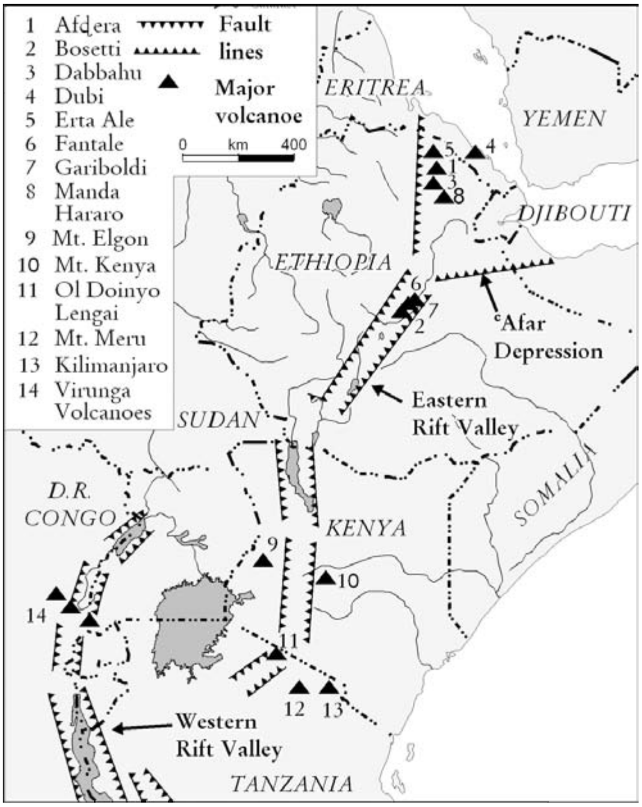
Alessandro Bausi

Rift Valley

The R. ("Great Rift Valley of East Africa" or "East African Rift System" [EARS]) separates the Ethiopian Plateau into a western and eastern half. The name was introduced by John Walter Gregory (1896) for a succession of individual fault-controlled tectonic basins or grabens that are separated by relative shoals, representing transform, transfer and accomodation zones (Chorowicz 2005). The graben basins are bordered by uplifted shoulders which form almost continuous parallel mountain lines or plateaus. The boundary faults are predominantly normal faults running approximately parallel to the rift axis. On the large-scale, the EARS consists of NNE-trending domal uplifts, such as the Ethiopian dome, building a several thousand kilometres long intra-continental ridge (Chorowicz 2005) and is composed of a western, an eastern and a south-eastern branch. The Ethiopian R. represents the northern part of the eastern branch and is build up of three major rift zones with distinct volcanic and tectonic character: the ᶜAfar Rift in eastern Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea, the Main Ethiopian Rift system (MER) in central Ethiopia and the broadly rifted zone in south-western Ethiopia (Giday Wolde Gabriel 2002). The uplift of the Ethiopian Plateau, the formation of the R. and the extensive volcanism (↗Seismology) are thought to be related to one or more mantle plumes (Mohr 1983; Furman 2007). In the Ethiopian Plateau, the first manifestation of rifting was the development of open fractures and the eruption of up to 2 km thick flood basalts in Oligocene times, at around 31–30 Ma (Hofmann et al. 1997; Wolfenden et al. 2004).

The ᶜAfar Rift

The ↗ᶜAfar Rift forms the triple junction between the African, Arabian and Somalian plates (Chorowicz 2005). This broad triangular depression is thought to have resulted from the tectonic interaction of the ↗Red Sea Rift, the Gulf of Aden oceanic rift and the continental MER. The depression reaches up to 156 m B.S.L. in contrast to the adjacent Western Plateau, which is elevated in places over 4,000 m A.S.L. Only the southern half of the ᶜAfar Rift fully belongs to the EARS, being an asymmetric rift made up of a series of east-southeast-dipping tilted blocks forming plateaus that are bounded by normal fault scarps (Chorowicz 2005). The ᶜAfar Rift started to develop in the Miocene, accompanied by the eruption of flood basalts and the intrusion of peralkaline granites (Varet – Gasse 1978). During the Pliocene-Pleistocene period, volcanic activity peaked with extensive flood basalt eruptions and intercalated rhyolithe flows, domes and ignimbrites, and fault bounded basins were filled with fluvial, lacustrine and volcanoclastic sediments (Gasse et al. 1980). In the Quaternary, volcanism was concentrated along the rift axis, being underlain by ocean-type crust (Varet – Gasse 1978; Mengesh Tefera et al. 1996). It is, however, still debated which parts of the ↗ᶜAfar depression are underlain by oceanic or by thinned continental crust (e.g., Mohr 1989; Hayward – Ebinger 1996).



The Main Ethiopian Rift

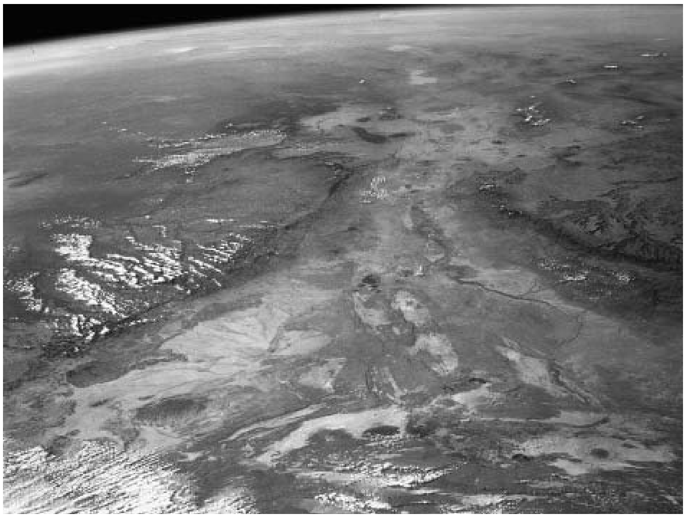
The MER represents the central part of the Ethiopian R. It is a more than 600 km long NNE-SSW-trending valley that narrows southward from about 80–120 km in the north to approximately 30–60 km in the south (Giday Wolde-Gabriel 2002). The rift margins are mostly well defined and follow normal faults that accommodate offsets of 500 to 3,000 m between plateaus and R. floors. The rift is segmented into asymmetric half-grabens (Chorowicz 2005). The floor and margins of the MER consist of early Eocene to Quaternary volcanic rocks. Rifting started in the middle Miocene accompanied by volcanism along the boundary faults and deposition of syn-rift sediments (Giday Wolde-Gabriel 2002; Wolfenden et al. 2004). The rift-related volcanism was mostly bimodal, with rhyolitic and trachytic ignimbrites, pumice and ashes as well as minor lava flows dominating in the R. floor and subordinate basalt lava flows and cinder cones aligned along the rift margins. Volcanic activity shifted during time from the southern part of the MER to the north. Rift-related basin formation started in the middle Miocene, but most of the fluvial, lacustrine and volcanoclastic sediments are Quaternary in age (Le Turdu et al. 1999).

South-western Ethiopia

The broadly rifted zone of south-western Ethiopia or ↗Omo-↗Turkana faulted zone is a significantly lower area than the nearby uplifted dome regions at which the MER and the Kenya Rift System overlap (Ebinger et al. 2000). Although it consists of numerous N- to NE-striking half-grabens that are filled with late Cenozoic sediments, the zone has neither a morphologically distinct R. nor rift shoulders.

Rift lakes

Except of Lake ↗Ṭana, most major lakes are located in or near to the R., in tectonically and partly in volcano-tectonically controlled endorheic basins. The salinity of the lake waters varies considerably. Water volume and salinity of the lakes as well as the lake sediments form sensitive recorders of climatic changes in the surrounding highlands. Reconstructions of lake levels and salinity fluctuations of Lake Abbe, the terminal lake of the ↗Awaš River in the ᶜAfar depression, revealed four major humid episodes over at least the last 70,000 years (Gasse et al. 1980). The lake dried out during the Last Glacial Maximum and was filled up again during the latest Pleistocene and the Early Holocene. A similar climatic evolution is documented in the ↗Zʷay-↗Šala lake basin of the



The Rift Valley seen from outer space, with the Assal Lake and the Awaš River (on the upper right Eritrea, on the lower left Djibouti); photo by NASA

MER by palaeoshorelines and fossil lake deposits (Le Turdu et al. 1999; Benvenuti et al. 2002).

Mineral deposits and natural hazards

The lacustrine and volcanoclastic sediments of the R. contain industrial ↗minerals such as bentonite, soda ash, rock salts, native sulphur and diatomite (Getaneh Assefa 1985). Active volcanism in the R. causes hot springs and high geothermal gradients, the latter being exploited in the Aluto-↗Langano and Tendaho geothermal fields (Tsegaye Abebe 2000). Potential natural hazards in the R. include volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, landslides and floodings.

Lit.: Marco Benvenuti et al., "The Ziway-Shala Lake Basin (Main Ethiopian Rift, Ethiopia): a Revision of Basin Evolution with Special Reference to the Late Quaternary", *Journal of African Earth Sciences* 35, 2002, 247–69; Jean Chorowicz, "The East African Rift System", *ibid.* 43, 2005, 379–410; Cindy Ebinger et al., "Rift Deflection, Migration, and Propagation: Linkage of the Ethiopian and Eastern Rifts, Africa", *Geological Society of America Bulletin* 102, 2000, 163–76; Tanya Furman, "Geochemistry of East African Rift Basalts: an Overview", *Journal of African Earth Sciences* 48, 2007, 147–60; Françoise Gasse et al., "Quaternary History of the Afar and Ethiopian Rift Lakes", in: Martin A.J. Williams – Hugues Faure (eds.), *The Sahara and the Nile*, Rotterdam 1980, 361–400; Getaneh Assefa, "The Mineral Industry of Ethiopia: Present Conditions and Future Prospects", *Journal of African Earth Sciences* 3, 1985, 331–45; Giday WoldeGabriel, "The Main Ethiopian Rift System: an Overview on Volcanic, Tectonic, Rifting, and Sedimentation Processes", in: Claudiu Tudorancea – William D. Taylor (eds.), *Ethiopian Rift Valley Lakes*, Leiden 2002, 13–43; John Walter Gregory, *The Great Rift Valley*, London 1896; Nick Hayward – Cindy Ebinger, "Variations in the Long-axis Segmentation of the Afar Rift System", *Tectonics* 15, 1996, 244–57; Corine Hofmann et al., "Timing of the Ethiopian Flood Basalt Event and Implications for Plume Birth and Global Change", *Nature* 389, 1997, 838–41; Caroline Le Turdu et al., "The Ziway-Shala Lake Basin System, Main Ethiopian Rift: Influence of Volcanism, Tectonics, and Climatic Forcing on Basin Formation and Sedimentation", *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology* 150, 1999, 135–77; Mengesh Tefera et al., *Explanation of the Geological Map of Ethiopia, Scale 1: 2,000,000*, Addis Ababa 1996; Paul A. Mohr, "Ethiopian Flood Basalt Province", *Nature* 303, 1983, 577–84; Tsegaye Abebe, "Geological Limitations of a Geothermal System in a Continental Rift Zone: Examples from the Ethiopian Rift Valley", in: *Proceedings World Geothermal Congress 2000* (*May 28–June 10*), Kyushu – Tohoku 2000, 2025–30; Jacques Varet – Françoise Gasse, *Geology of Central and Southern Afar* (*Ethiopia and Djibouti Republic*), Paris 1978; Ellen Wolfenden et al. "Evolution of the Northern Main Ethiopian Rift: Birth of a Triple Junction", *Earth and Planetary Science Letters* 224, 2004, 213–28.

Robert Bussert

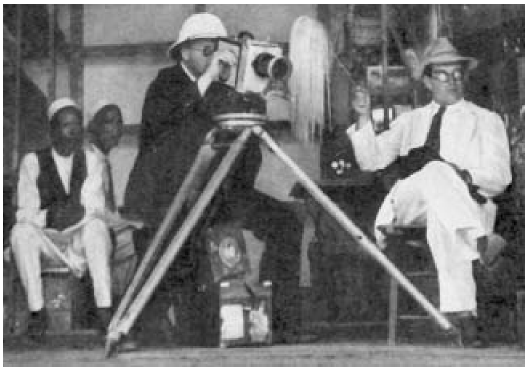
Rikli, Martin

R. (b. 19 January 1889, Zurich, d. 7 April 1969, Zurich), the son of the Swiss botanist Martin Rikli, was a film-maker who produced a cinema film on Ethiopia and the royal court prior to the Italian occupation.

During his studies at the Technical University Dresden R. specialized in photochemistry and obtained his doctorate on the ageing and inflammability of cinematic films. Having finished his studies, he received employment in the Scientific Department of Zeiss-Icon in Dresden. In 1927 he got the chance to accompany an expedition to the former German colonies in East Africa, and was granted leave of absence by Zeiss-Icon. *Heia Safari*, the cinema movie he made about the expedition, was a box-office success in 1928. This film brought him to the attentions of Universum Film AG's Documentary Film Department, where he was engaged as an author and film director. In 1929, R. undertook a second film expedition to Northern Africa (Tunisia, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica), this time for a US company, and made a film called *Am Rande der Sahara*. Further expeditions led him to East Asia in 1932 and to Ethiopia in 1934/35, which resulted among others in the film *Abessinien heute – Brennpunkt der Welt* (The expedition is also well documented in a photobook published in 1935.) R. travelled around the world for Ufa, working as an official propaganda filmmaker for the Nazis, returning to ↗Switzerland in 1944.

In his book *Seltsames Abessinien – als Filmreporter am Hof des Negus* R. reports in detail on the time he spent in Ethiopia; he illustrated the book with photographs he took and which today can be considered as an important document on Ethiopian history around 1935. During his stay in Ethiopia, R. was able to accompany the Ethiopian Emperor during many of his travels, among others to ↗Dərre Dawa and the ↗Ogaden region, where he observed the Emperor's preparations for war. As designated photographer at the Court, he gained many insights into the conditions of imperial life at that time and met many of the Europeans residing in Ethiopia's capital, including the German Ambassador. R. published photographs of Ethiopia in various German newspapers (e.g., in "Die Woche").

After his return to Zurich, R. became the owner of an institute for Colour Photography and continued to produce documentary films.



Martin Rikli during his 1934-filming expedition in Ethiopia; from Rikli 1935: 62

Filmography: Martin Rikli, *Heia Safari*, 1927; Id., *Am Rande der Sahara*, 1929; Id., *Abessinien heute – Brennpunkt der Welt*, UFA, 1935 (Bundesfilmarchiv).
Src.: Martin Rikli, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935, 62 (ill.); Id., *Ich filmte für Millionen*: *Fahrten, Abenteuer und Erinnerungen eines Filmberichters*, Berlin 1942 (= revised, extended ed., *Seltsames Abessinien – als Filmreporter am Hof des Negus*, Zürich [1947], ^{2}1949 [with the text *Abessinien von Heute. Aufschwung seit des Kaisers Rückkehr*, by Peter Hall-Boller]); Lockot I, s. index.

Girma Fisseha

Rim

R. (ሪም) is a form of ↗land tenure found throughout the historic Christian highlands. The meaning and practice of R. varied widely from place to place.

In the 18th and 19th cent. in the endowed churches in the ↗Gondär region, R. supported liturgical services. R. lands were held by individuals whose tenure lasted as long as they met their liturgical obligations. Gondär R. lands were heritable and could be bought and sold (Crummey 2001: 68; Id. in PICES 5b). In mid-20th cent. Ethiopia R. was ↗*madäriya*, land granted temporarily by the crown or a prominent land holder to a subordinate, to provide them with a living (Shiferaw Bekele 2001). In the monasteries of ↗Säraye, monks described R. (strictly speaking *gʷəlti rim*; s. also ↗*gʷəlt*) as the right, which they enjoyed, to receive donations, while peasants in ↗Wälqayt saw R. as equivalent to what they called *əṭan zore*, "inalienable land, situated close to the church, assigned by the church to the cultivators who support it" (Taddia 2001: 18f.). In the 1990s in ↗Ḥamasen in Eritrea R. had come to form a conceptual framework clarifying "the rights and duties of each villager related to land use and kinship system" (Tekeste Negash – Tronvoll 2001: 111ff.).

One can best reconcile these widely contrasting usages if we suppose that, originally, R. was a kind of *madäriya*. However, rather than its temporary nature, what came frequently to be associated with it was the privileged status it gave its holders vis à vis their tributary farmers. While its conditional nature was foremost in many instances, in Gondär the permanency of the church and the unusually individual way in which its land was held turned R. into a transgenerational form of tenure. The dictionary definitions stress either a church dimension ('ecclesiastical fief', GuiVoc 121; BaetDic 180; KaneDic 372; cp. ↗Sämon), or a secular one (THMDic 115), but not both. The primary documents testify to both usages.

The earliest mention of R. appeared with the founding of the church of Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase in Gondär in 1694. The manuscript which records this event may well have been written in the 20th cent. (*Tarikä nägäśt*, Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase, ILL/IES 88.V.23). The earliest document in which R. appears is a will of *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis, which dates to the first decade of the 18th cent. and in which Wäldä Giyorgis awards both his R. and *gʷəlt* to his son, ↗Gälawdewos (CrumLand 115–21). In this context the distinction between R. and *gʷəlt* may be between Wäldä Giyorgis's church and secular holdings. The context of the next reference is secular. The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa notes that, in 1723, in order to get them out of

Gondär the ruler sent the palace guards to their R. lands (GuiIyas 283f., 303f.). The earliest explicit reference we have to church R. dates to Bäkaffa as well, who gave "R. to 52 *däbtäročč*" on behalf of the Church of Qälämuğ Kidanä Məḥrät (Ill/IES, 88.X.19–21, ↗Mändabba Mädḫane ^{c}Aläm, *Wängel Zäwärq*). Following the founding of the church of ↗Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay Q^{w}əsq^{w}am by Bäkaffa's consort and successor, *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), in the early 1740s, the references to R. land swell. They are to be found in the marginalia and end notes of manuscripts which originated in the churches of Gondär (Crummey in *PICES* 5b). In these documents R. is bought, sold and transferred through wills and marriage endowments. Its ownership is contested by litigation.

A practice that may well have originated with the founding of the churches of Gondär was imitated in the later founding of churches in Təgray, Goğğam and Səmen in the later 18th and earlier 19th cent. and continued through to the churches of Addis Abäba (CrumLand 111, 154, 213, 219). R. has typically, as in the dictionary definitions, been seen as a form of *g^{w}əlt*, and, in the standard interpretation of the distinction between ↗*rəst* and *g^{w}əlt*, judged to be limited to the right to collect tribute, not displacing, but juxtaposed to, the inherited *rəst* rights of subject cultivators. However, on the basis of evidence from eastern Goğğam and Gondär, it is argued that, in the cases of the churches in these areas, the establishment of R. displaced pre-existing *rəst* holders and gave to the privileged R. holder rights to the land itself and not just to a portion of its product (Habtamu Mengistie 2004). This appears also to have been the case in several churches of Təgray, notably ↗Aksum Ṣəyon, and Mädḫane ^{c}Aläm in ↗^{c}Adwa (Villari 1938: 1435; CrumLand 214). The rural land reform of 1975 eliminated R.

Src.: BaetDic 180; GuiIyas 283f., 303f.; GuiVoc 121; THMDic 115; KaneDic 372; ታሪክ፡ ነገሥት (*Tarikä nägäśt*, 'History of the Kings') Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase, ILL/IES 88.V.23, 88.X.19–21.

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi – Gianni Dore – Irma Taddia (eds.), *Materiale antropologico e storico sul "rim" in Etiopia ed Eritrea. Anthropological and Historical Documents on "Rim" in Ethiopia and Eritrea*, Torino 2001 (Il Politico e La Memoria); Donald Crummey, "The Term *Rim* in Ethiopian Land Documents of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", in: Bausi – Dore – Taddia 2001, 65–81; Id., "Gondarine *Rim* Land Sales: an Introductory Description and Analysis", *PICES* 5b, 469–79; CrumLand 111, 115–21 et passim; Habtamu Mengistie, *Lord, Zèga and Peasant: a Study of Property and Agrarian Relations in Rural Eastern Gojjam*, Addis Ababa 2004 (Forum for Social Studies); Shiferaw Bekele, "Some Notes on Secular *Rim* from the Liberation to the Revolution", in: Bausi – Dore – Taddia 2001, 83–92; Irma Taddia, "*Rim* Workshop: Introductory Remarks", *ibid.* 5–21; Tekeste Negash – Kjetil Tronvoll, "*Rim*: a Form of Land Holding or a Conceptual Framework of Local Governance? The Rise and Decline of *Rim* in Eritrea", *ibid*. 93–114; Gerardo Villari, "I 'Gulti' della Regione di Axum", *Rassegna Economica dell'Africa Italiana* 26, 9, 1938, 1430–44.

Donald Crummey

Rimbaud, Arthur

R. (in Ethiopia: *muse* Rämbo, also Rabo; b. 20 October 1854, Charleville, d. 10 November 1891, Marseille) was an outstanding French writer and later a trader in Aden, ↗Zayla^{c}, ↗Tağūra, ↗Harär and ↗Šäwa.

At a very young age, R. was an exceptional poet and an "enfant terrible" of the literary scene in Paris. Some of his poems are characterized by a strong expression of fundamental dissent (including allusions to European imperialism), which may partially explain his later life as an errant merchant in Africa and Arabia. At the age of 21, R. began a series of wanderings through Europe and the Orient. In 1880, he settled in Aden and became a foreman in the ↗Bardey company (until 1884). The following years he established trade connections between the Red Sea coast, Egyptian Harär (where he arrived in December 1880) and the Ethiopian kingdom of Šäwa, where he entered into relations with *nəguś* ↗Mənilək II.

R. regularly travelled among the ^{c}Afar, Somali and Oromo for several months, with whom he established close relations, and learnt Arabic, Oromo and Amharic. Between 1883 and 1884 he spent nearly a year in Tağūra trying unsuccessfully to form a caravan to go to Šäwa. In March 1887, after Harär had been annexed and occupied by the Šäwan armies, R. was at ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo witnessing the triumphal return of Mənilək. R.'s correspondence with the latter and his confident ↗Ilg shows that R. was then mainly active in the import of arms, and exported coffee and hides (among others – but not slaves, as some posthumous rumours claimed); however, he was not able to make a substantial profit due to the difficult conditions. R. then also established commercial contacts with *ras* ↗Mäk^{w}ännən Wäldä Mika^{ɔ}el in Harär. In 1884 R. took a Šäwan (or Argobba, s. WagHar 29, 36f., 40f., 43, 49ff.) wife, with whom he lived in Aden, and in 1888–91 he had an Oromo or Təgrayan concubine in Harär (WagHar 35, 179); in his will, however, he left assets only to his family and his servant Ǧāmi^{c} Wada^{c}ī, a young man who later worked for ↗Rolph Bienenfeld in Harär (WagHar 37, 40, 43, 47, 50f.).

In Harär R. developed writing projects for the Société de Géographie, but he quickly gave up. As an explorer he only penned a short description of ↗Ogaden (1883) – the earliest report on that region – and a number of shorter reports and letters on his journeys, and made sketches (e.g., of a route linking Harär with Ǝnṭoṭṭo built by Mənilək, WagHar 510). R.'s letters, even if often penurious, contain a lot of information on trade conditions, itineraries, notables (e.g., ↗Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm of Zaylaᶜ), travellers and activities of ethnic subgroups. R. was also a pioneer photographer (showing, e.g., himself in the garden of the Egyptian governor ↗Muḥammad Raᵓūf *bašša*), but due to defective equipment his photos are mostly of low quality (Lefrère 2002). After having fallen ill in Harär, he travelled back to Europe, and died of cancer in France.

R.'s stay in Harär has aroused the imagination of innumerable writers. He appears in novels, studies and travel reports (for an extensive bibliography of publications on R., s. WagHar 35–55; Lefrère 2001); his African writings, including his letters, have repeatedly been published and translated (s. Rimbaud 1972; an annotated bibliography of his publications of 1884, 1887, and 1888, cf. WagHar 70, 131f., 505; a bibliography of posthumous publications and re-editions, s. WagHar 29–34). The Indian-style wooden house in Harär, which on the basis of local traditions has been identified as his (perhaps erroneously, WagHar 40, 396), today houses the French Centre.

Src.: ARTHUR RIMBAUD, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. by ANTOINE ADAM, Paris 1972 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 68); BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopian Records of the Menilek Era. Selected Amharic Documents from the Nachlaß of Alfred Ilg 1884–1900*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 54), 72, 91, 385, 398; ALFRED BARDEY, *Barr-Adjam, souvenirs d'Afrique Orientale, 1880–1887*, Paris 1981.

Lit.: CLAUDE JEANCOLAS, *L'Afrique de Rimbaud, photographiée par ses amis*, Paris 1999; JEAN-JACQUES LEFRÈRE, *Arthur Rimbaud. Biographie*, Paris 2001; ID., *Rimbaud à Harar*, Paris 2002; CHARLES NICOLL, *Somebody Else, Arthur Rimbaud in Africa 1880–91*, London 1997; RubInd, index; WagHar 6, 29–55, 70, 79f., 131ff., 167f., 170ff., 176, 178f., 305, 315, 377ff., 396, 404, 457f., 461, 498, 505, 510, 590f. (Lit.); CARLO ZAGHI, *Rimbaud in Africa. Con documenti inediti*, Napoli 1993.

Wolbert Smidt

Rivista delle Colonie Italiane

Founded in 1927 by the Ministry of Colonies, the R.C.I. was a bimonthly review (monthly from 1933), the first of a series of periodicals devoted to illustrating, analyzing and publicizing Italian colonialism in Africa and especially in the Horn. The alleged aim of R.C.I. was to make the Italian public acquainted with the realities of "our lands" overseas. The chief editor was Camillo Manfroni, professor of Colonial History at the University of Rome. Such experienced and prominent scholars of Somalia and Ethiopia as Enrico ↗Cerulli, Tullio Colucci (a former member of the Anglo–Italian [Jubaland] Boundary Commission in 1925–27), and Rodolfo Micacchi (director of the Inspectorate for Schools and Archaeology of the Ministry of the Colonies) were among the collaborators.

In December 1934, *L'Oltremare* (*Rivista coloniale* in 1906–27), the journal of the ↗Istituto coloniale italiano, was incorporated into the R.C.I., which was renamed *Rivista delle Colonie* (R.C.), and began to deal with the colonial question in general. The new journal (editors and publishers of which were the Ministry of the Colonies and, after 1937, the Ministry of Italian Africa) upgraded its scientific commitment. Martino Mario ↗Moreno wrote book reviews; Angelo Piccioli (a colonial officer who had been superintendent for education in the schools of Tripolitania, Libya) often contributed to the arts section.

Giuseppe Liprandi succeeded Manfroni (d. June 1935) as chief editor for almost a decade. Then, after a short interlude of one month with another director, the post was taken by General Ambrogio Bollati, a participant in the first Africa campaign and later in the re-conquering of Libya. Academic features were overshadowed by the need to promote and exalt the campaign in Ethiopia. The journal became more and more official and militant, hosting representatives of the Fascist regime such as Luigi Federzoni, then president of the Istituto fascista dell'Africa italiana, and General Ettore Bastico. However, it still enjoyed the collaboration of such respected scholars as Gennaro Mondaini, Carlo ↗Giglio and Moreno himself.

After the outbreak of World War II, the events in Europe obscured the colonial scenario. Bollati was joined in the editorship by Angelo Piccioli. The Italian defeat in Africa severely affected the periodical, and in 1943 R.C. disappeared for good.

Src.: *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane* 1927–34; *Rivista delle Colonie* 1934–43.

Lit.: CARLA GHEZZI, "Fonti di documentazione e di ricerca per la conoscenza dell'Africa: dall'Istituto Coloniale Italiano all'Istituto Italo-Africano", *Studi Piacentini* 7, 1990, 167–92; ANGELO VITTORIO PELLEGRINESCHI, "La stampa coloniale italiana", *Rivista delle colonie* 5, 1941, 19–24.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Roads

The topography of the Ethiopian highlands, towered over by high mountain barriers and carved by canyons, has contributed to the political division of Ethiopia throughout history (Donham 1986; cf. also Reclus 1885: 251). Sovereigns used to order R. construction through corvées. However, such R. were unpassable during the rainy season. Reportedly, towards 1630 *aṣe* ↗Susənyos ordered the construction of the first stone bridge in Ethiopia. It was built over the ↗Abbay in Alata by an Indian engineer who came from Diu with the ↗Jesuits (BecRASO VII, 231). Further bridges were constructed by the order of his successors, ↗Fasilädäs, ↗Yoḥannəs II and ↗Iyasu I (cf. Anfray in PICES 8).

Modern R. building might have begun with *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, in accordance with his endeavour to unite the splintered Ethiopian kingdoms. The British contributed to R. bulding as well by constructing a road between ↗Zula and ↗Mäqdäla during the ↗Napier expedition (PankEcon 287). Later, *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II launched a network of "royal" R. linking the ↗*kätäma* after he conquered the South (Marcus 1975: 200). He ordered the construction of a gravel R. between ↗Addis Abäba and ↗Addis ᶜAläm through ↗Holäta, between ↗Dərre Dawa and ↗Harär and the improvement of the streets in the capital for motor-vehicles. Before 1935, earth R. radiated from Addis Abäba; it took one day to drive from ↗Ambo to Addis Abäba (Balsan 1947).

In ↗Eritrea R. building and ↗urbanization came with the Italians, interested in developing the colony as a productive centre (Sbacchi 1980:252f.). This began with the policies fostered by governor Ferdinando ↗Martini. The most important expansion of the transportation network, however, took place in the 1930s. Under ↗Mussolini 2,466 km of R. were constructed, totalling 3,596 km in 1933. The greater proportion of investment focused in the ↗Barka region and was aimed at exploiting its tropical resources (Yemane Mesghenna 1988: 186f.). An outcome of this development was the establishment of markets and small settlements along railway lines and R. and eventually the formation of major towns (Redie Bereketeab 2000: 123ff.; ↗Urbanization).

From 1936 to 1941, during the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, Ethiopia went through its first transportation revolution. The Italians assigned the main part of the colonial budget to design a network of asphalted R. radiating from Addis Abäba. From Addis Abäba the "Strada della Vittoria" led northwards to Asmära and it divided at ↗Däse to serve ↗Gondär and then ↗Asmära. Westwards Läqämte and ↗Ǧimma were reached while eastwards a R. followed the railway as far as Dərre Dawa and Harär. Lastly the Imperial highway leaving from Harär crossed the Ogaden and reached Mogadishu and Kismaayo in Somalia. By 1941, there were about 7,000 km of R., of which about half were asphalted. After the war, ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I used R. improvements to enforce definitively his power over the provincial authorities.

In 1951, the Imperial Highway Authority (IHA) was established. However, due to a lack of resources, R. maintenance and construction stagnated. At the end of the 1960s only the R. radiating from the capital within a 100 km radius were asphalted as were the Rift (Nazret [Adaamaa]–Awasa), Dərre Dawa, Azäzo–Gondär and Kombolča–Däse highways and the Eritrean R. network. During the 1960s the IHA had laid out the Addis Abäba–Gondär R. through the ↗Abbay canyon, linked Däse and ↗ᶜAsäb, opened the R. carrying ↗coffee harvests from Ǧimma and the ↗Rift Valley and then linked the Rift Valley with ↗Bale (Gobba) and with Kenya through ↗Moyale, Dilla and Nägäle–Boräna. Towards the end of Ḫaylä Śəllase's rule an asphalted highway connected Addis Abäba with ↗ᶜAsäb through the ↗Awaš valley in order to avoid having to drive lorries through Däse and the highlands.

During the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) the IHA was restructured as the Ethiopian Road Authority and the Rural Roads Task Force. Under Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam a programme to extend and improve the R. network was set up: the Chinese rebuilt the Däse–Wäldiya–Gondär R., a second bridge crossed the Abbay, asphalt R. reached Läqämte (↗Naqamtee), Ǧimma and Däse and gravel R. reached ↗Gambella and ↗Asosa, where they served the Sudanese refugee camps. In order to increase the trade through ↗Djibouti, the port was linked with the ᶜAsäb R. A network of secondary tracks was opened in order to bring assistance to the victims of the 1984–85 ↗famine and to make resettlement easier in the South. However, the general lack of good R. made food distribution difficult and led to the death of thousands of Ethiopians.

Military conflicts in 1989–90 in Təgray and Wällo and in 1991 along the Abbay gorges and in the Harär region damaged the R. network. Recently, with the help of the European Union, development agencies (↗Development issues) and the World Bank, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has noticeably improved the main highways, extended its network and linked the regions directly by-passing the capital. In 1992 there were 18,081 km of highways (15 % in good condition) and in 2005 37,018 km (6 % in bad condition). Asphalted and R. in good condition averaged 17 % of the total length in 1997 and 49 % in 2005. The R. length per 100 inhabitants has also sligthly increased: from 0.46 km in 1997 to 0.51 km in 2005 (Ethiopian Road Network 2005; Ethiopian Road Authority 2006). The R. density has increased from 21 km per 1000 km^2 in 1995 to 30 km in 2002, which is, however, still less than the average of 50 km per 1000 km^2 for Africa.

2008, Addis Abäba was connected by asphalt highways with Harär, Arba Mənč̣, Dilla, Läqämte, Ǧimma, Gondär, May Č̣äw and ↗ᶜAddigrat. Cross-country truck R. join Läqämte and Gondär through the Abbay gorge and Ǧimma by-passing the Didessa canyon. Ǧimma and Soddo are linked through the Omo gorges. Wällo (Lalibäla), Təgray (Säqota, Abiy ᶜAddi, Mäqäle), northern Šäwa, Arsi and the coffee producing regions to the South-West are no longer distinct enclaves. The Ethiopian authorities have planned to reopen and improve the R. to the frontier via Harär–Hargeysa–Berbera, Moyale–Kenya and Gondär–Gallabat; this last is used by lorries carrying imported petrol from Sudan. Chinese, Japanese and Cypriot contractors have shared the work with Ethiopian firms.

As of 2002, R. in Ethiopia carry about 95 % of the country's passenger and freight traffic. R. improvements have also considerably shortened distances but the country faces new challenges. Even if the capital is by-passed by a ring R. highways which lead to Addis Abäba are blocked by traffic jams. Moreover, the fact that most of the transport is done by lorries whilst transport by ↗railways is still modest damages the R. and the ↗environment and makes Ethiopia increasingly dependent on imported oil.

Src.: BecRASO VII, 231; ETHIOPIAN ROAD AUTHORITY, *Les Nouvelles d'Addis* 54, 15 juillet–15 septembre 2006.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Les monuments gondariens des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. Une vue d'ensemble", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 9–43; FRANÇOIS BALSAN, *Poursuite vers le Nil Blanc,* Paris 1947; DONALD L. DONHAM, "Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopian Empire: Themes in Social History", in: DONALD L. DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia*: *Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986 (African Studies Series 51), 3–48; EMAtlas; *Guida*; HAROLD G. MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 200; MesfGeogr 153f.; ÉLISÉE RECLUS, *L'Afrique septentrionale, première partie, bassin du Nil, Soudan égyptien, Éthiopie, Nubie, Égypte*, Paris 1885, 192–351; REDIE BEREKETEAB, *Eritrea*: *the Making of a Nation 1890–1991*, Uppsala 2000, 123; ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Il colonialismo italiano in Etiopia* (*1935–1940*), Milano 1980, 252ff. (ill.); THE WORLD BANK, "Ethiopia: Second Road Sector Development Program Project", Report no. 25942 ET, [n.p.] 2003, 3; YEMANE MESGHENNA, *Italian Colonialism*: *a Case of Study of Eritrea, 1869–1934. Motive, Praxis and Result*, Lund 1988, 186f.

Alain Gascon

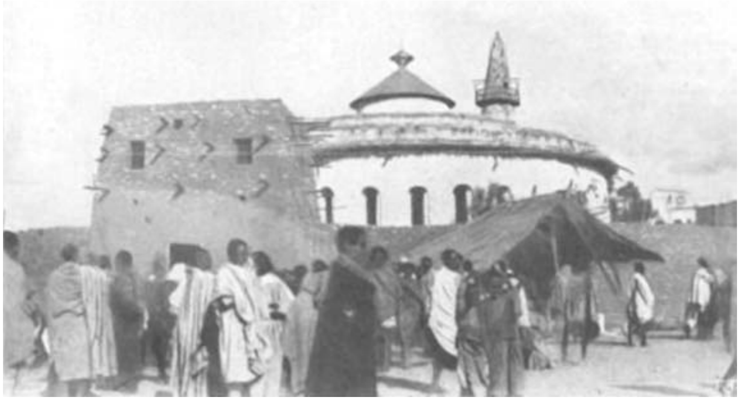
Robecchi Bricchetti, Luigi

R.B. (b. 21 May 1855, Pavia, d. 31 May 1926, Pavia) was an Italian explorer. He studied in Pavia, graduated in engineering from the Polytechnic Institute of Zurich and completed his education at Karlsruhe University.

R.B. travelled to Egypt in 1885 and, with a small caravan, to the Libyan Desert in 1886. He donated his archaeological and anthropological findings to the National Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology in Florence. Between 1888 and 1891, he travelled in the Horn of Africa on behalf of the Società Africana d'Italia and the ↗Società Geografica Italiana. In spring 1888 he headed to ↗Harär. On his way through ↗Ǧildessa he studied the Oromo population and their language (↗Oromiffa). The then governor *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel charged him with constructing a church on the ruins of a mosque. During his stay, R.B. visited neighbouring areas including ↗Č̣ällänqo, ↗Erär and the ↗Argobba-populated areas. He returned to Italy in 1889 and published a detailed description of his voyage (1896).

In 1890 R.B. set out on his next expedition, this time to southern Somalia, via ↗Hobyo, across Cape ↗Gardafui to the Gulf of Aden. He returned to Hobyo in 1891, where he was hosted by *sulṭān* Yūsuf ᶜAlī. He stayed there for a month until leaving for ↗Wabi Šäbälle and ↗Berbera. R.B. was the first European to carry out the trip from Hobyo to Berbera crossing the ↗Ogaden desert. His precise linguistic, geographical and anthropological observations still have a high scholarly value for researchers in the area.

R.B. left important zoological, botanical and ethnographic collections. The photographic and ethnographic patrimony which he bequeathed to his home town of Pavia formed the core of the



The church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm, Harär, after the design of Robecchi Bricchetti; the building was later rebuilt in octagonal plan; from de Castro 1914, TAV XVII, fig. 27

city's ethnographic museum (Vicini 1987). The Civic Library "Carlo Bonetta" in Pavia keeps R.B.'s precious collection of Arabic ↗manuscripts, acquired in Harär in 1888 (Traini 1974).

Src.: LUIGI ROBECCHI BRICCHETTI, "Lettere dall'Harrar", *Bollettino della sezione fiorentina della Società Africana d'Italia* 4, 1888, 243; 5, 1889, 57; 6, 1890, 130 and *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia* 8, 1–2, 1889, 35–38; ID., "Lingue parlate Somali, Galla e Harari, note e studi raccolti ed ordinati nell'Harrar", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 3, 1890, 257–71, 380–91, 689–708; ID., "Gl'Isa Somali", *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia* 9, 1890, 15–19; ID., *Tradizioni storiche dei Somali Migiurtini raccolte in Obbia*, Roma 1891; ID., "I nostri protetti. Gli Harrarini e i commerci coll'Harrar", *Nuova Antologia* 22, 1894, 320–34; ID., *Nell'Harrar*, Milano 1896; ID., *Somalia e Benadir: viaggio di esplorazione nella penisola dei Soimali*, Milano 1899; ID., *Aromatica Regio. Nel paese degli aromi. Diario di una esplorazione nell'Africa Orientale*, Milano 1903; ID., *Dal Benadir. Lettere illustrate alla Società Antischiavista d'Italia*, Milano 1904.

Lit.: CAMERA DI COMMERCIO INDUSTRIA ARTIGIANATO E AGRICOLTURA DI PAVIA (ed.), *Atti del Convegno su Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti e la Somalia, Pavia 21 aprile 1979*, Pavia 1979; LINCOLN DE CASTRO, *Nella terra dei Negus. Pagine raccolte in Abissinia*, vol. 1, Milano 1914, TAV XVII, Fig. 27, 33 (ill.); CARLO DELLA VALLE, *I pionieri italiani nelle nostre Colonie. Appunti storico-geografici*, Roma 1931, 133–38; ETTORE FABIETTI, *Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti e la prima traversata della Somalia*, Torino 1940; ENRICA MALCOVATI, "Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti alla luce della filologia", *Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria* 1980, 3–17; MARGHERITA PARODI, "La musica ed il canto nelle popolazioni dell'Africa Orientale negli scritti di Luigi Robecchi, Carlo Annaratone e Gustavo Pesenti", *Miscellanea di storia delle esplorazioni*, vol. 26, Genova 2001, 217–44; NELLO PUCCIONI, "Per Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti. Inaugurandosi nel Museo Civico di Pavia le collezioni da lui donate il 21 aprile 1926", *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana* 6, 1926, 503–10; FRANCESCO SURDICH, "L'immagine dell'Africa e dell'Africano nelle esplorazioni di Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti", *Miscellanea di storia delle esplorazioni* 5, 1983, 195–225; RENATO TRAINI, *I manoscritti arabi esistenti nelle biblioteche di Pavia (collezione Robecchi Bricchetti)*, Roma 1974 (= offprint from *RANLmor* ser. 8ª, 28, 7–12, 1973); DONATA VICINI, "Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti, la nascita del museo etnografico pavese", *Pavia economica* 3, 1987, 113–18; GIOVANNI ZAFFIGNANI, "Le carte di L. Robecchi Brichetti presso l'Archivio storico di Pavia. Inventario analitico", *ibid.* 118–22; ID., "Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti: viaggiatore pavese in Africa ed agente segreto suo malgrado", *ibid.* 3, 1990, 70–73; CARLO ZAGHI, "Luigi Bricchetti Robecchi nell'Harrar e nella Somalia", *L'Oltremare* 3, 1932, 115–18.

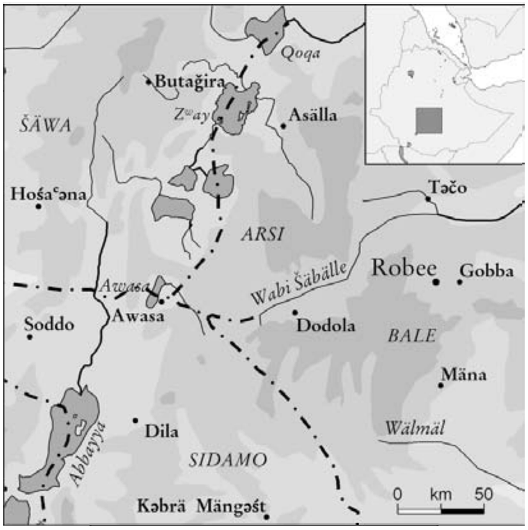
Manlio Bonati

Robee

R. (ሮቤ, Roobee; 7° 8' 0" N, 40° 0' 0" E, 2,492 m A.S.L.) is a town in ↗Bale. The forested highlands around R. were home to the Bale peasant rebellion (1963–67) brought about by the arrival of new settlers evicted from Šäwa and from the Rift Valley by the advance of commercial farms. R. is the gateway to the Bale National Park (↗Parks, National) and hosts tourists coming to visit it.

On January 2008, the Ethiopian Ministry of Education with the help of the German Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) built the regional University of the Bale zone with a capacity of 5,000 students.

Before the 1991 administrative reforms R. was the capital of the Mädäyo/Fasil *awraǧǧa* in the Bale region. It is now the capital of the Sinana-Dinšo *wäräda*, Bale zone. In 1984, R. had 9,303 inhabit-



ants. In 1994 its population was 21,516 (CSA 1998), and about ten years later 40,316 (CSA 2006; cf. also CSA 2004). It is the second largest town in Bale after the zone capital ↗Gobba.

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 2004; CSA 2006.

Lit.: EMAtlas; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia*: *Power and Protest. Peasants Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991 (African Studies Series 71), 125–59.

Alain Gascon

Robel

R. (**ሮቤል**, b. likely 1475–85, d. early March 1529, Šəmbəra Kʷəre, Fäṭägar) was a leading Təgrayan lord of his time. He makes his first recorded appearance in Francisco ↗Alvares's account who in August 1520 met him as ↗*balgäda* of ↗Ǝndärta and describes him as a "great lord", a valiant warrior, and an open-minded individual (BeckHuntAlvar 179f.). Ethiopian tradition later associated R. not with Ǝndärta but remembered him as governor of the neighbouring Bora and ↗Säläwa provinces (GuiIyas 8 [text]). In any case R.'s power base clearly lay in south-eastern Təgray from where he exercised a good measure of control over the important ↗salt trade originating from the neighbouring ᶜAfar lowlands (BeckHuntAlvar 180).

Towards the end of 1524 *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl in the context of a larger surprise reshuffle in leading state offices (↗Ǝslam Sägäd [I], ↗Ros Näbiyat, ↗Wäsän Sägäd), appointed R. as ↗*Təgre mäkʷännən* (BeckHuntAlvar 434). While his appointment as such likely came unexpected for R., he certainly had not neglected to prepare the ground for it by courting the Emperor with a fine tribute presentation (BeckHuntAlvar 428f.). R. did not, however, remain in his new office for long. While the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* charter no. 30 shows that he still held it in December 1525, the same collection's doc. no. 35, issued between September 1527 and August 1528, already records Täklä Iyäsus as his successor (CRAxum 32, 34 [text]). Against this background it makes sense to regard the preceding undated charter no. 34, which documents an imperial land grant to a R. in Təgray (CRAxum 34 [text]), as referring to the R. here under discussion and the grant as a compensation for his loss of office.

However, even after having been supplanted as *Təgre mäkʷännən* R. continued to play a leading role in his native province. For early 1529 the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* thus shows him, and not Täklä Iyäsus, as the de facto leader of the Təgrayan nobles in the run-up to the battle of ↗Šəmbəra Kʷəre, the first major confrontation between the Muslim and Christian armies in the *ǧihād* launched by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ). In the ensuing battle though R. perished alongside many other Christian lords, thus eventually paying dearly for his customary pugnacity. Yet even in death his stature is acknowledged by the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* when it lists him first in its enumeration of Christian notables killed at Šəmbəra Kʷəre and considers it worthwhile to preserve the name of his slayer (BassHist 45ff., 62 [text]).

More than two decades after R.'s death his daughter Śəllus Ḫayla (↗Admas Mogäsa) married *aṣe* ↗Minas. This marriage not only posthumously made R. a grandfather of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl (the other one being Ləbnä Dəngəl), but allied his entire lineage with the Solomonids in their 16th and early 17th-cent. struggle with the forces contending for greater Təgrayan autonomy (*baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq).

Other known members of R.'s family are his brother ᶜUqba Mikaᵓel (he, too, killed at Šəmbəra Kʷəre; BassHist 62 [text]) and three sons, ᶜAmdä Mikaᵓel (ibid. 152f. [text]), Täklä Mikaᵓel (CRAxum 33 [text] [no. 33]) and Täklä Yoḥannəs (Conti Rossini 1922–23:55).

Src.: BassÉt 13 (text) = 104 (tr.); BassHist 45ff., 62, 153 (text) = 103ff., 125, 240 (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 172, 179f., 428f., 434; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La guerra turco–abissina del 1578" [2], *Oriente Moderno* 2, 1, 1922–23, 48–57; CRAxum 30–34 (text) = 35–40 (tr.) (charters 28, 30, 31, 33–35) = HuntLand 40–46 (charters 25, 28, 30, 32–34 in Huntingford's counting); GuiIyas 8 (text) = 8 (tr.); KrLebD 13 (text) = 12 (tr.).

Lit.: AbSea 145, 172f. (nn. 41, 52, 69), 196.

Michael Kleiner

Robillard, Léon de

R. (b. 29 July 1874, Saint-Aignan, Mayenne, d. 5 September 1945, Carrière-sur-Seine, Yvelines, France) was a French official active in Ethiopia and the publisher of *Le ↗Courrier d'Ethiopie*.

R. was first active as a clerk working for a notary, then as a surveyor, and came to Ethiopia in 1912 to work in the land registry. When the printer Alexis ↗Desvages left Ethiopia in 1924, he transferred the copyright in the Francophone journal founded by him, *Le Courrier d'Ethiopie*, to the French Legation, who immediately asked R. to take it over. He was able to increase the circulation of the journal to 500 copies in 1926, and ten years later to 2,500, at a time when only 300 French nationals were residing in Ethiopia.

R. became a personality central to the European community and was acting as a local correspondent for the international ↗press and as a guide. In 1929 he opened his own ↗printing press, the Imprimerie du Courrier d'Ethiopie, which was established next to his house, near the Bank of Abyssinia. Besides the journal, this printing house issued brochures and other printed documents. He created the *Annuaire d'Ethiopie*, of which Adrien ↗Zervos edited the section on the Greeks. When R. became sick, Zervos finalized this project, publishing it under his name as *L'Empire d'Ethiopie, Le miroir de l'Ethiopie moderne* (ZerÉth). The printing house continued working until the Italian occupation (↗Italian war 1935–36); the last issue of his journal appeared 1 May 1936. R. was expelled on 13 May due to his opposition to Italian rule. His daughter, Germaine de Robillard, who had played an increasingly central role in the printing house, stayed behind to liquidate the company, but finally had to give up and to leave Ethiopia.

↗Printing

Src.: interviews with Germaine de Robillard, 1989–91; ZerÉth 271.

Lit.: ALAIN ROUAUD, "Le Courrier d'Ethiopie (1913–1936): un journal éthiopien en langue française", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 711–24; ID., "Quelques précisions sur les impressions et imprimeries éthiopiennes", *Bulletin des études africaines de l'INALCO* 6, 11, 1986, 131–46, here 140, n. 35.

Alain Rouaud

Rochet d'Héricourt, Charles-Xavier

R.d'H. (b. 10 May 1801, Héricourt, d. 9 March 1854, Jeddah) was a French trader, explorer and diplomat. The son of an industrialist, he won first prize in chemistry at the Academy of Florence. Between 1828–29, he lived in Tunisia and from 1829 to 1839 in Egypt. In 1839, he set up an expedition with the aim of crossing Africa from east to west, but did not get further than Šäwa. He accomplished three journeys, in 1839–40, 1843–44 and 1848–49 and published accounts of two of them.

R. was one of the first explorers to attempt the ^{c}Afar road between ↗Tağūra and Šäwa. In Šäwa he was warmly received at the court of the *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase, where he also used his skills in such activities as the production of sugar. An important achievement of his was the treaty of trade and friendship between Ethiopia and ↗France – which, however, never ratified it. The treaty was signed on 7 June 1843 by Śahlä Śəllase at Angoläla and became the basis for later treaties between the two countries.

R. was a skilled observer of cultural features. His remarks on the Arabic language and the trade connecting Tağūra with Šäwa are noteworthy. He also painted several gouaches, which are presently kept at the ↗Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Through conferences in scientific and political circles, he also popularized the image of Šäwa in France.

In 1847, R. joined the consular service in Suez and in 1850 moved to ↗Massawa to replace Eugène Rolland as consul. In 1852, he became consul of Jeddah, where he died two years later.

Src.: ARTHUS BERTRAND, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la mer Rouge, dans le pays d'Adel et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1841, 439; CHARLES-XAVIER ROCHET D'HERICOURT, "Considérations géographiques et commerciales sur le golfe Arabique …", *Bulletin de la société de géographie*, 2 sér., 15, 1841, 269–93; ID., "Observations concernant la géographie physique, la géologie et la météorologie de quelques parties des bords de la mer Rouge et de l'Abyssinie", *Compte-rendu de l'académie des sciences* 12, 1841, 576; ID., "Observations faites durant un voyage dans le pays d'Adel et le royaume de Choa (Abyssinie)", *ibid.* 732; ID., "L'Abyssinie méridionale, journal inédit de M. Rochet d'Héricourt", in: LOUIS REYBAUD (ed.), *Revue des deux Mondes* 27, 1841, 59–93; ID., *Second voyage sur les deux rives de la mer Rouge, dans le pays des Adels et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1846; ID., *Communication de M. Rochet d'Héricourt sur son voyage au Choa, lue dans la séance du 21 novembre*, Paris 1846, 11 [Extrait du *Bulletin de la Société de géographie*, 3 sér., 4, 1845, 208–17]; ID., Rapport: "Considérations politiques et commerciales sur le royaume du Choa", Mai 1840, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Mémoires et documents, Afrique, Abyssinie, 13 (1838–1850). Missions diverses; Dossier personnel de Charles Xavier Rochet d'Héricourt, consul, 1$^{\text{ère}}$ Série, 3507, *ibid.*; Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer, Océan Indien 10/43 "Mission en Éthiopie, dans la mer Rouge et à la côte orientale (1839–1854)".

Lit.: NUMA BROC, *Dictionnaire illustré des explorateurs et grands voyageurs français du XIX*^{e} *siècle*, vol. 1: *Afrique*, Paris 1988, 288f.; GEORGES MALÉCOT, *Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1972.

Lukian Prijac

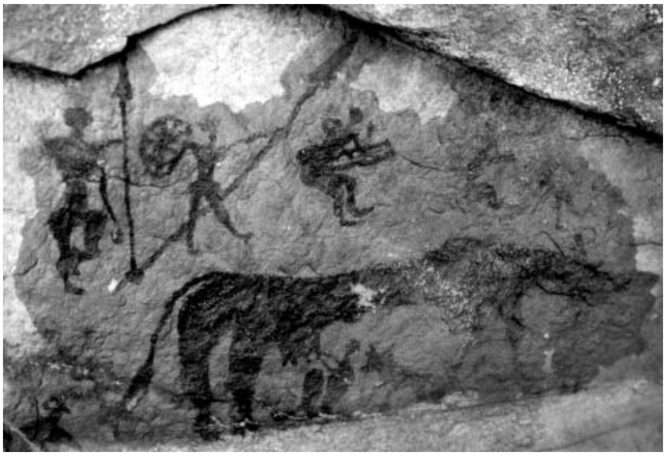
Rock art

The Horn of Africa is rich in R.a. (engravings, paintings, bas-reliefs) dating to various periods. Their chronology is often problematic. While test excavations at ↗Läga Oda produced evidence for Late Pleistocene settlement, the remains of possible cattle paintings inside the painted shelter have been dated back to 3510 ± 105 before the present. This dating may provide a reference point for a chronological approach to representations of domestic animals in R.a. in the Horn of Africa.

The main phases of R.a. in the Horn of Africa can be traced along a stylistic and iconographic path. The R.a. is prevalently the expression of breeder-peoples whose iconography is dominated by bovines. The most ancient period of their art can be traced back to Saharan R.a., in particular to Uwenait art.

Engravings of wild fauna and hunting scenes are only found in north-western Djibouti; probably they are the oldest samples belonging to the breeders' period and may thus belong to the 4th–3rd millennium B.C. (Joussaume 1995).

Wild fauna are also represented in Eritrea (Ṣəllum Bäᶜatti, Tämalihe) and in Ethiopia (Läga Oda), here connected to domestic animals. In this early phase, animal shapes are painted with an accurate hand, providing anatomic details, even if with a degree of abstraction. Horns are thin and extended; their mantel is often brindled with decorative motives. Numerous herds are depicted, while human figures play a secondary role. This phase later shows variants or other local and temporal "phases", starting from common elements. This phase could have started from the second half of the 3rd millennium B.C., by breeders from Sudan and Nubia (Joussaume 1995).



Rock painting from Zəban ᶜOna Libanos from the first millennium B.C. showing warriors with spears and shields, and milking in the foreground; photo courtesy of the author

During the most ancient phases of breeders' R.a. in the Horn, a distinctive Ethiopian–Arabian, or Dahthani style can be distinguished (Červiček 1979). The characteristic way of portraying a bovine figure is in profile with its legs rendered with one single bold line for the forelegs and one for the hind legs. Hoofs are stylized. Head and horns are twisted, as seen from a point lying behind the head; at times, the body is decorated with vertical stripes. Later on, this style developed schematic forms with the animal stretched in an unnatural way, "multiform" helical horns, reduced head and neck. This schematic pattern, however, is widely spread, and a connection with the Arabian Peninsula is only one of many possibilities. Later, images become different in style, depending on the geographical or cultural area. In Arabia, elegant human shapes appear, portrayed in naturalistic narrative scenes, with details such as shields, and spears with large metal points. At the end of this phase – during the second half of the 1st millennium B.C. – the zebu (*Bos indicus*) was introduced from Arabia, followed by the dromedary.

In later phases, the figures grow more stylized, sometimes, only the horns of the bovine figure remaining. In other cases, the animals' images were used to portray events such as battles involving horses and dromedaries reduced to the shape of a comb.

As for the recurring themes in R.a. cycles, many are found in different "phases", drawn in different styles, e.g., the cow feeding or protecting the calf, or a group of lined up men. Other motifs are characteristic of a particular period. E.g., the theme of the "aesthete" warrior, presented with his weapons or as a shepherd-warrior, appears in a mature phase of the Ethio-Eritrean R.a. In most cases, these characters are elegantly shaped and have discernible arms, often apparently protecting their bovines. In the same period, the theme of the feline is found, appearing to attack animals and with an armed man opposed to it. Another recurring theme is an abstract composition of aligned dots or small cups. Its symbolism is not always clear; it is often linked to hump-backed oxen. The fact that it is sometimes linked to a ploughing scene provides chronological and cultural hints. The herd is also often represented; the way animals are positioned and matched may also have symbolic implications. The fight scene apparently appears in a recent period of R.a. in the Horn. Clashes always involve schematic shapes of knights, often facing a fighter on foot.

The most important main R.a. sites are:

I. Eritrea:

↗Qarora, with the bovine R.a. that can be related to the ancient phase: shapes are polychrome or monochrome, in some cases animals are red with an outline and horns are white. Human shapes are combined with animals; in one painting they are aligned and armed with spears;

Bäᶜatti Ṣəllum, near Gänzabo in Akkälä Guzay, with one of the most important painting cycles of the ancient period of R.a. in Eritrea: scrupulously painted bovines, with a taste for schematized naturalism. The horns are long and twisted, the head and the legs are pronounced. In a group of cows, udders from which some calves are sucking are identifiable (Franchini 1952);

Ṣəllum Bäᶜatti cave at the foot of Mount Ǝnda Nəhbi, on the right bank of the Märäb; with paintings of an ancient period. Domestic bovines appear, alongside buffaloes, antelopes, hyenas, felines, perhaps zebras. Outlined men in the shape of an assegai take part in strange rituals; some of them ride mysterious animals decorated with vertical stripes going out of their bodies like rays (Franchini 1951);

Zəban ᶜOna Libanos, 2 km from ᶜAddi Moqäda, a small hollow with paintings that may date back to the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. Elegantly shaped warriors with shields and long spears with large points made of metal are portrayed hunting, playing and resting. A naturalistic scene shows a moment of milking. Such images are related to Zəban Käbäsa and Zəban Abur, where a ploughing scene is painted, as at ↗Amba Foqäda in Ethiopia;

Ǝmba Q̣əlay with engravings of warriors with short spears, maybe of the ↗Aksumite kind;

↗Qoḥayto plateau, where for the first time the early Palaeolithic in Eritrea has been indicated (Calegari 1999);

Säro, where in 1841 d'↗Abbadie discovered R.a. for the first time;

Qʷärtamit, Maği Malhess, Lämdrara, and Dämbi Wadi Muduy in ↗Ḥamasen, west of Asmära, where schematic rock engravings were recorded by Leo ↗Frobenius in 1914–15;

Daᶜro Qawlos near Asmära, where a bas-relief is found in a cave traditionally linked to the legend of a hermit saint. It is a composition of purely anthropomorphic shapes, 40–50 cm tall (Tringali 1988). It can be linked to the bas relief found in 1993 under the rock shelter of Bäᶜatti Maryam, at Bärda village, 23 km west of Asmära. In both cases, shapes are aligned *en face*; their faces are not clearly shown. Local Christians venerate the images which they believe represent the saints and the Virgin Mary.

II. Ethiopia:

Surre, or Ganda Biftu, in ↗Harärge, with R.a. of bovines and humans belonging to three phases: the first shows accurate shapes of oxen with large or "tong" horns and well-defined human figures; the second is more schematic, particularly in human representation, reduced to an H-shape; in the third, animals are less accurately drawn and the hump-backed ox appears;

Läga Oda, also in Harärge, can be compared to Surre. Among the animals, antelopes, elephants, felines, giraffes and camels appear. Similar phases and styles can be found in human and animal shapes at Way Bärr, in the cave of Wərso, at Erär Kimet, at Säka Šarifa and at Läga Gäfra in the same region;

Amba Foqäda, with R.a. dating back to a more recent period, same as Zəban ᶜOna Libanos in Eritrea;

↗Č̣abbe in Sidamo, with the bas-reliefs showing 50 bovines, 40–50 cm high (first recorded in Anfray 1967). All are in profile, with small heads and long horns. Very similar are the bovines in bas-relief in Galma (Odela) and in Soka Dibič̣č̣e. The iconography of such shapes can be compared with the final phase of the most ancient period.

III. Djibouti:

Wad Balho, near the north-western border with Ethiopia, with ancient-phase engravings showing wild fauna (giraffes, ostriches, antelopes) no longer present in this region, and domestic bovines;

Dorra, a region of many sites with rock engravings showing wild fauna and scenes of hunters with bows. The bovine figures are of a later period and more schematic.

IV. Somalia:

Karin Heegan, the best studied site, with many shapes of bovines painted in a small cave in "Ethio–Arabian style". A man and a dog stand near an ox with decorated horns. A few other sites in northern Somalia have R.a. traceable to different periods.

Lit.: AGAZI NEGASH, "Ethiopia and the Horn: Rock Art", in: JOSEPH VOGEL (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Precolonial Africa*, Walnut Creek, CA 1997, 357–61; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Les sculptures rupestres de Chabbè dans le Sidamo", *AE* 7, 1977, 19–22; STEVEN A. BRANDT – NANNY CARDER, "Pastoral Rock Art in the Horn of Africa: Making Sense of Udder Chaos", *World Archaeology* 19, 2, 1987, 194–213; GIULIO CALEGARI, *L'arte rupestre dell'Eritrea. Repertorio ragionato ed esegesi iconografica*, Milano 1999 (Memorie della Società italiana di scienze naturali e del Museo civico di storia naturale di Milano 29, 1); PAVEL ČERVIČEK, "Some African Affinities of Arabian Rock Art", *RSE* 25, 1979, 5–12; VINCENZO FRANCHINI, "Pitture rupestri a Sullum Ba'attì", *ibid.* 10, 1951, 121–23; ID., "Pitture rupestri a Ba'attì Sullum nel Deghien", *ibid.* 11, 1952, 42–48; ROGER JOUSSAUME, "Préhistoire récente (protohistoire) de la Corne de l'Afrique", in: ID. (ed.), *Tiya, l'Ethiopie des mégalithes. Du Biface à l'art rupestre dans la Corne de l'Afrique*, Paris 1995, 19–115; GIUSEPPE TRINGALI, "Danni alle sculture di Daro Qawlos (Eritrea)", *RSE* 32, 1988, 167–69; ZELALEM TEKA, "Distribution and Significance of Ancient Rock Art Sites in Eritrea", in: PETER RIDGWAY SCHMIDT – MATTHEW CHAD CURTIS – ZELALEM TEKA (eds.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 2008, 49–61.

Giulio Calegari

Rock-hewn churches and churches-in-caves

Ethiopia is richly endowed with ecclesiastical ↗architecture cut into, or out of, the living rock (cp. ↗Church buildings). There is also a small number of built churches constructed in caves. They will be discussed here respectively as "rock-hewn" (R.c.), "monolithic" (M.c.) and "churches-in-caves" (C.c.; Sauter 1963: 236).

There are hundreds of examples of R.c. in the highlands (s. fig. 3) and although some claim their inspiration and origin to be entirely indigenous, there are many examples of foreign precedents. The phenomenon is common to the northern

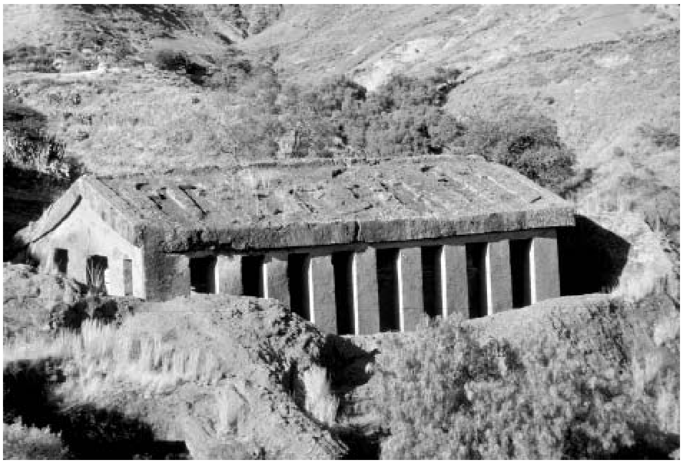


Fig. 1: The 13th-cent. monolithic church of Gännätä Maryam, Lasta, facing north-east; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

and eastern shores of the Christian Mediterranean World, and has influenced Ethiopian church building, or seen counterparts develop as far apart as France and Central Germany in the north-west and Georgia to the north-east. A major impetus for the excavation of such sites came with the 8th–9th-cent. Iconoclastic Controversy when Byzantine monks and artists sought refuge in Cappadocia (esp. Göreme) and Phrygia in Asia Minor, and in Basilicata (esp. Matera) in southern Italy. Even prior to that time, Byzantine artists, influenced by the description in the 2nd-cent. *Protevangelium Iacobi* (cp. ↗*Lədätä lämaryam*), established the iconography of Christ's birth in a cave. This setting, which itself derived from ancient cosmology (cf. Porphyry's *On the Cave of the Nymphs)*, saw the cave as a microcosm of the universe, to the darkness of which Christ, as a sun-God, brought enlightenment. In the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, one descends into the grotto where Christ is said to have been born. His burial in a rock-hewn tomb completed the cycle, commemorated since the time of Constantine by the grotto under the aedicule in the Church of the Anastasis (or Holy Sepulchre) in Jerusalem. The eremetical tradition, which has seen any number of saintly and other hermits from the time of St. ↗Anthony onwards living in grottos, caves and tombs, perpetuates this association. Other physical examples lay closer to Ethiopia, namely the rock-hewn temples and tombs of Pharonic Egypt. In the Early Christian period, many of these tombs were turned into churches (e.g., Ǧabal al-Ṭayr, or Apa Hor).

It has been argued that what some think to be among the earliest examples of rock-hewn ecclesiastical architecture in Ethiopia, the so-called *églises de vallée*, or churches located in the plain (↗Dəgum, Bäraqit and ↗Ḥawzen in ↗Gärᶜalta; Gazen and Gundəfru Śəllase in Aṣbi Dära), were associated with tombs or occasioned by tombs (Lepage 1997). Pre-16th-cent. churches of all sorts regularly served as burial places, expectedly for the patrons of the place. A noteworthy example is the M.c. of ↗Wəqro Mäsqäl near Säqoṭa, where one branch of the burial crypt, entered from the *qəddəst*, extends directly under the sanctuary while the other runs north (Gervers 2002). At other sites, there is a tendency for the crypt to lie in the north-east corner of the church, an area held in particular reverence in respect of the biblical description of the Old Temple. Of particular note are the monolithic tombs in the north aisle of ↗Wəqro Maryam and in the sanctuary of Däbrä Näzrawi, and the recumbent relief figure referred to as the "Dead Christ" in Betä Golgota at ↗Lalibäla. At Wəqro Qirqos (↗Dängolo), a tomb lies in the east wall of the south *pastophorion*.

The R.c. has several advantages over its built counterpart. In the first place, because it is part of the living rock, it is far more durable. With few notable exceptions, constructed churches have long since collapsed and are known to us only as excavation sites, if at all. Consequently, the survival rate of the R.c. may be inproportionate to the number of ↗church buildings which inhabited the landscape at the time they were created. R.c. have survived, while most of the built churches have disappeared. Secondly, they could be excavated to imitate constructed buildings with little more than hammers and chisels, without the intervention of trained architects, unless they were particularly skillfully made as in the case of ↗Ṣəraᶜ Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa. This technology largely determined where such excavations occurred; relatively soft limestone and sandstone environments were preferred. The tradition continues, with the newly R.c. of Ṗeṭros wä-Ṗawlos (Ṣäᶜada Ǝmba, Təgray), Č̣äč̣äho Gäbrəʾel (Wällo-Gondär border), ↗Ǝtissa (Däbrä Ṣəlaləš, Sälale), and several others. Sandstone excavations have

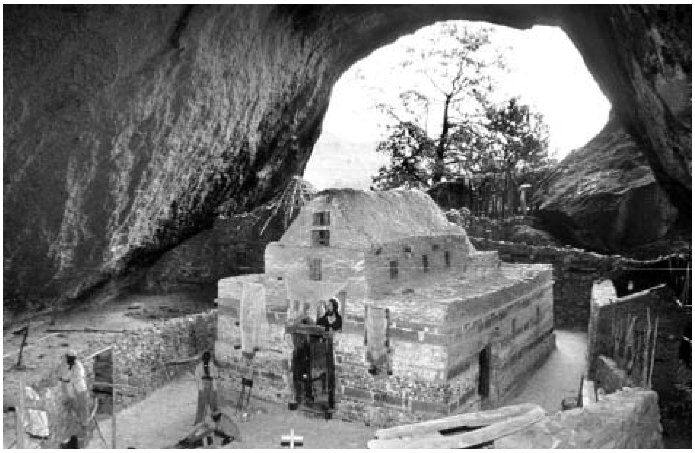


Fig. 2: The late 13th cent. church of Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm, built in a cave above Gännätä Maryam, Lasta, facing north-east; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

proved to be the more vulnerable with some, such as Gazen, disintegrating by the moment. There, as at ↗Qorqor Maryam, ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon and elsewhere, the deterioration of the fabric also threatens the priceless murals painted on walls and pillars.

In their most unsophisticated form, these places of worship were adapted from natural caves, which in some cases continue to be designated as *waššа* (**ዋሻ**, Amh. 'cave'). One such site, ↗Waša Mikaᵓel in Wällo, has rows of remarkable hunting scenes running the length of the north and south walls, suggesting pre-Christian origins (cf. Mercier 2002). The opposite end of this spectrum was the wide-spread, R.c. or *wəq̱ro* (**ውቅሮ**, Tgn. 'cut stone'), sometimes of considerable proportions (Wəq̱ro Maryam, Wəqro Mäsqäl, Wəq̱ro Qirqos). Most R.c. are of this type. These R.c. may be considered in every way contemporary in form and details with standing buildings of the time, if only because they had to correspond to the changing needs of the liturgy. They never served a different purpose from that of built churches. It is through them, and the few constructed churches which have survived, that one may examine both the architectural record of the time and the periodic changes to the liturgy which are reflected in them. Their ground plans generally follow the form of the basilica, but if some have wide naves and transepts covered by barrel vaults (Ṣəraᶜ Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa, ↗Mikaᵓel Amba) or, as in the case of Gʷahəgot, by the imitation of a saddle back ceiling, others are of the hypostyle type, with columns supporting flat ceilings of even height and akin to more ancient Egyptian prototypes.

The carving of M.c. is virtually unknown outside Ethiopia, although monolithic temple architecture was well-established in India from the 7th cent. (cf. Mahabalipuram, on the west coast, and Ellora) and knowledge thereof may have reached the highlands over the maritime ↗trade routes. Almost every R.c. has the potential of being a M.c., and although few are, many are monolithic to a degree. Generally speaking, the M.c. incorporate the best workmanship within the field of rock-hewn architecture. To produce them was far more labour intensive and hence costly than was the case for churches carved into the rock, indicating that their existence depended upon the patronage of the very wealthy. The pure monoliths of Däbrä Roha (Lalibäla) and Gännätä Maryam (s. fig. 1) are royal foundations; they appear to be largely contemporary with the near monoliths of Wəq̱ro Mäsqälä Krəstos near Säqoṭa, and Bilbala Qirqos (Lasta), which also lie in Wällo Province. They all contain western as well as eastern side rooms, a feature known in Syria as well as in Nubian churches of the 8th through 12th cent. Distinctly semi-monolithic (with two-thirds of their total mass excavated towards the west) are the great churches of Ṣəraᶜ Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa, Wəq̱ro Qirqos and Mikaᵓel Amba (East Təgray). Without drawing firm conclusions about the dating of all the Lalibäla monoliths, the custom of excavating a wide passage around such monuments later dwindled, perhaps for economic reasons, leading to the narrow separation from the surrounding rock of such churches as Wəqro Mädḫane ᶜAläm (South Gondär) and Gäbrəᵓel ↗Wäqen (Tämben). Qanqanit Mikaᵓel, Sarzäna Mikaᵓel and ↗Ǝšätän Maryam (Lasta) introduce a new architectonic development, possibly drawn from the colonnades of Lalibäla Mädḫane ᶜAläm and Gännätä Maryam, whereby a western porch continued on the north and south sides as a gallery.

C.c. find their finest example in the royal church of ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (Lasta). Like it, most are built in large, open-mouthed caves in the massif of ↗Abunä Yosef (Wällo). Above Gännätä Maryam are ↗Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm (s. fig. 2) and Lədäta Maryam, and somewhat to the north-east is the 15th-cent. Zämmado Maryam. Others, as yet undocumented, lie between Lalibäla and Wäldiya. Related is Däbrä Sälam Mikaᵓel (near Aṣbi [Wänbärta, Təgray]), the ceiling, north and west sides of which are cut from the mother rock, while the rest is constructed, like Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos but with wall binders known as "monkey heads" (in this case decorative and non-functional), of alternating horizontal layers of stucco-covered split stones and dark wooden facing. The mother rock is used for the south wall of the apparently early church of Agewo (Agobo) Qirqos, and for parts of the east end and ceiling of Qirqos Ṣäba ᶜAyna, both in Aṣbi Dära.

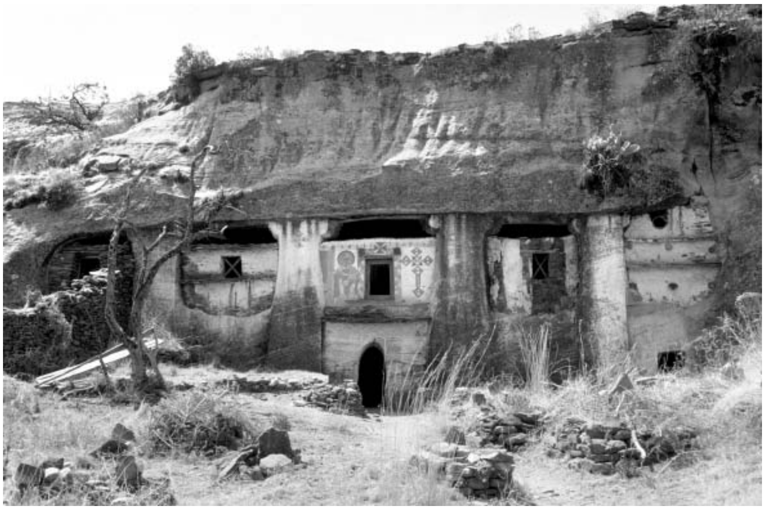


Fig. 3: The probably 14th cent. rock-hewn church of ᶜAddi Qešo Mädḫane ᶜAläm, Təgray, facing east; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Scholarly opinion about the chronology of these churches has varied widely. Some see them dating as early as the 6th cent., while others argue that the R.c. were introduced during the Zagʷe dynasty (TadTChurch 58). The *églises de vallée* have been attributed both to the 8th to 12th cent. (Lepage 2006: 24) and, less convincingly, to the 13th or 14th cent., or later (Buxton 1971: 38, 56–57). The 15th-cent. Vita of Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (Marrassini 1995: 80–90) describes the ruler as the builder of what is now considered to be his eponymous church (apparently dedicated originally to Qirqos), the murals of which point to a date in the second half of the 12th cent. The contemporary Acts of *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla claim that this late 12th- early 13th-cent. ruler was responsible for excavating ten R.c. there, which, according to the tradition recorded by Alvares, was accomplished over a 24-year period with the intervention of Copts (Beckingham 1959: 145). The work might well have begun prior to his reign, while stylistic and liturgical evidence provided by the Lalibäla Golgota-Śəllase complex and by Lalibäla Betä Giyorgis has led some authors to posit a post-13th cent. date (Gervers 2003), while others would still accept the tradition as basically correct (Fritsch 2008). An inscription in the monolithic church of Gännätä Maryam attributes it and its murals to the patronage of the late 13th-cent. King ↗Yəkunno Amlak.

Liturgical change has proven to be the best explanation so far for variations in the development of ecclesiastical architecture in Ethiopia. It offers a relative chronology for built and especially rock-hewn churches, but one that is difficult to interpret because such changes did not occur in a purely linear progression. Numerous forms might overlap, as at Gännätä Maryam, and Wəqro Maryam near Näbälät, where altars were introduced to the seeming *pastophoria*, thus extending the sanctuary. Such changes were triggered by the example in Egypt, where the Copts sought to commemorate more saints at times when it was not possible to construct more churches. Their solution was to introduce altars dedicated to these saints into rooms which had originally been made for other purposes, especially those which flank the sanctuary on its north and south sides. This change led to other developments concerning the altar-tablet (↗*Tabot*) and the shape of future churches.

A typology may be established by tracing the route used to pass from a *pastophorion* through doorways to the sanctuary. In the late Aksumite period, doorways from the north and south *pastophoria* opened westwards into the aisles (↗Adulis, ↗Mäṭära). This feature continued in certain churches (Gazen, Gundəfru) while, in others, the *pastophoria* opened only to the sanctuary (Dəgum, Bäraqit). Subsequently, an additional set of doorways permitted direct access to both an aisle and the sanctuary (Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, Lalibäla Mädḫane ᶜAläm, Lalibäla Maryam). This arrangement happened to facilitate 1) the extension of the sanctuary into the side rooms and across the full width of the church and, therefore, 2) the multiplication of altars from one to two or three in older churches (Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, Lalibäla Mädḫane ᶜAläm et al.) as well as in new ones (Gännätä Maryam, Lalibäla Abba Libanos, Wəq̱ro Mäsqäl). The blind doorways between *pastophoria* and aisles at Lalibäla Abba Libanos or Bilbala Qirqos document the transition from double east-west/north-south, to single north-south access, thereby apparently reverting to what had been the case at Dəgum and elsewhere. Subsequently, the side rooms and their western walls disappeared, leaving the entire east end as an open sanctuary (Lalibäla Däbrä Sina, Betä Golgota and Betä Śəllase, and ↗Gʷəḥ Yəmʾata, Däbrä Ṣəyon and ↗Mäᶜaquddi Yoḥannəs in Gärᶜalta).

The 14th cent. also sees the introduction of the monolithic altar (*mänbärä tabot*) which, from modest beginnings (↗Maryam Dəngəlat), develops into the high altars of the ciborium type current today (May Kado Giyorgis, Däbrä Ṣəyon, Maryam Wəq̱ro [Amba Sännayti]), also of Coptic origin. Under the same impulse still later, monuments are further characterized by high ceilings with a multiplicity of cupolas, sometimes replaced with decorative figures such as diamonds, on relatively slender pillars (Abba Yoḥanni and Gäbrəʾel Wäqen) and, in the case of C.c., by ashlar building blocks (Zämmado Maryam [Wällo]).

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 199–228; CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, "Notes on an Unpublished Manuscript of Francesco Alvares: *Verdadera Informaçam das Terras do Preste Joam das Indias*", *AE* 3, 1959, 139–54; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), "Gli Atti di Re Naʾakuěto La-ʾAb", in: *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Francesco Gallina*, Roma 1943 (= *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 2), 105–232; PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), *Il Gadla Yemrehanna Krestos. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione,* Napoli 1995 (Annali IUO Supplemento 85), 85–90; JULES PERRUCHON, *Vie de Lalibala, roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1892, 121–27; MARIANO VITTORIO VESCOVO DI RIETI, *Chaldeae seu Aethiopicae linguae institutiones … Item omnium Aethiopiae Regum qui ab inundato terrarum orbe usque ad nostra tempora imperarunt libellus*: … *nuper ex Aethiopica translatus lingua*, Romae 1552 (no pagination).

Lit.: WILLIAM Y. ADAMS, "Architectural Evolution of the Nubian Church, 500–1400 A.D.", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4, 1965, 87–139; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Les peintures murales de l'église rupestre éthiopienne: Gannata Maryam près Lalibela", *Arte Medievale* 12–13, 1998–99, 93–209; EAD. – MICHAEL GERVERS, "The Church of Yemrehanna Krestos and its Wall-Paintings: A Preliminary Report", *Africana Bulletin* 49, 2001, 10–47; LINO BIANCHI BARRIVIERA, "Le chiese in roccia di Lalibelà e di altri luoghi del Lasta", *RSE* 18, 1962, 5–76 and plates; *ibid.* 19, 1963, 5–118 and plates; DAVID R. BUXTON, "The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 92, 1947, 1-42; ID., "The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *ibid.* 103, 1971, 33–100; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, "The Churches of Lalibäla (Ethiopia) Witnesses of Liturgical Changes", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 5, 2008, 69–112; ID., "The Altar in the Ethiopian Church: History, Forms and Meanings", in: BASILIUS J. GROEN – STEVEN HAWKES TEEPLES (eds.), *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship*: *Acts of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Rome, 17–21 September 2008*, Leuven in preparation (Eastern Christian Studies 10); ID. – MICHAEL GERVERS, "*Pastophoria* and Altars: Interaction in Ethiopian Liturgy and Church Architecture", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 7–50; GerKir (Eng.); MICHAEL GERVERS, "The Iconography of the Cave in Christian and Mithraic Tradition", in: UGO BIANCHI (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae*, Leiden 1979, 579–96; ID., "The Rehabilitation of the Zaguë Kings and the Building of the Däbrä Sina-Golgotha-Sellassie Complex in Lalibäla", *Africana Bulletin* 51, 2003, 23–49; ID., "The Rock-Cut Church of Maryam Dəngəlat (Haramat, Tigré)", in: *PICES* 15, 435–55; ID., "An Architectural Survey of the Church of Ǝmakina Mädhane Aläm (Lasta, Ethiopia)", in: WälYoh 92–112; ID., "Quand la liturgie modèle les églises", *Religions & Histoire* 17, 2007, 50–59; ID., "Christliche Baudenkmäler vom 6. bis 13. Jahrhundert in Äthiopien/Christian Monuments of Ethiopia, 6th to 13th Centuries", in: ANNEGRET MARX (ed.), *Steh auf und geh nach Süden: 2000 Jahre Christentum in Äthiopien/Arise and go toward the South: 2000 Years of Christianity in Ethiopia*, Frankfurt 2008, 69–78; PETER GROSSMANN, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten*, Leiden – Boston, MA 2002 (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1, 62); JEAN GIRE – ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Étude des églises rupestres du Tigré: Premiers résultats de la mission 1970", *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des civilisations éthiopiennes* 1, 1970, 73–79; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "Legends of Lalibala: the Development of an Ethiopian Pilgrimage Site", *Res* 27, 1995, 25–38; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Les monuments rupestres de Degum en Éthiopie", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 22, 1972, 167–200; ID., "L'Église rupestre de Berakit", *AE* 9, 1972, 147–88 and pls.; ID., "Une origine possible des églises monolithiques de l'Éthiopie ancienne", *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* 1997, 199–211; ID., "Entre Aksum et Lalibäla: les églises du sud-est du Tigray (IXe–XIIe siècles) en Éthiopie. communication du 6/01/2005," *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* 2006, 9–39; ID. – JACQUES MERCIER, *Art éthiopien*: *les églises historiques du Tigray – Ethiopian Art*: *the Ancient Churches of Tigray,* Paris 2005; ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Lalibala. Le chiese ipogee e monolitiche e gli altri monumenti medievali del Lasta*, Roma 1940; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia the Unknown Land*: *a Cultural and Historical Guide*, London – New York 2002; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia,* New Haven, CT 2009; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigré, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie?", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92; ID., "Églises rupestres au Tigré", *ibid.* 10, 1976, 157–75; TadTChurch 58; JAN TROMP, "Aksumite Architecture and Church Building in the Ethiopian Highlands", *Early Christian Art* 4, 2007, 49–75; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "Ethiopia's Lalibäla and the fall of Jerusalem 1187", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 27–49.

Michael Gervers – Emmanuel Fritsch

Rodatz, Hans Albert

R. (b. 7 April 1816, Kuhhorst, Brandenburg–Preußen, d. 20 September 1849, ship "Africa", near Madagascar) was a sea captain and pioneer merchant, who explored possibilities of commerce with North-east Africa and Zanzibar.

First, in 1843, R. travelled to the ↗Red Sea from Bremen with his own ship "Alf". After becoming almost bankrupt in early 1844, he joined the O'Swald Company, Hamburg, and awakened their interest in the Red Sea and eastern Africa. He continued to explore the ports of Aden, Jiddah, ↗Massawa and ↗Sawākin, with a focus on Massawa. Contacts with the German settler ↗Schimper (at that time governor of ↗Ǝntič̣č̣o province) and ↗Parkyns in ᶜAdwa enabled R. to undertake an exploration journey to ↗Təgray, where he was received by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam. He documented the products of the Ethiopian interior and the coast, aiming at opening the market for German products (such as knives and swords from Solingen, firearms, textiles, glass such as *bərəlle* for ↗*ṭäǧǧ* etc., to be traded against ↗ivory, gum arabicum, wax, hides, mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, ↗coffee, ↗zibeth etc.). This was followed by an exploration of the ↗Dahlak archipelago, after which he visited the northern Somali ports, again documenting their economic potential, and from where he continued to Zanzibar. Back in Hamburg in 1845, R. published a travelogue, relating interesting details especially on the political situation in Təgray (1846).

In 1846, R. was sent back to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean to continue his exploration, staying in Massawa for almost half a year in 1847, after which, however, his focus shifted to Zanzibar. His secret reports to his firm contain detailed descriptions of the new, but already corrupt Egyptian governorship of Massawa, products and the situation of war in the Ethiopian hinterlands. R. suggested establishing a full commercial station in Zanzibar (which was realized in June 1849, the beginning of German involvement in eastern Africa), and employing a commercial agent in Massawa. His brother Johannes accompanied him on this journey and published a vivid report on their expeditions into the coastal lowlands (1849).

R. died during a third exploration journey to the Indian Ocean. His unpublished commercial reports, kept in the state archives of Hamburg, contain a wealth of information on the state of the economy of the Horn of Africa and East African coast at that time.

Src.: ALBERT RODATZ, "Auszug aus dem Tagebuch des Capitän Alb. Rodatz, Schiff 'Alf', betreffend einen Besuch von Massowah aus bei Dr. Schimper im Inneren von Abessinien, und Weiterreise von Massoah bis zur Umschiffung des Cap Guardafui", *Das Ausland. Ein Tagblatt für Kunde des geistigen und sittlichen Lebens der Völker* 19, 1846, 127–84.

Lit.: WOLBERT SMIDT, "Pre-Colonial Exploration: the Sea Captain Rodatz in Massawa and Tigray 1843–48 – the Quest for a Commercial Station at the East African Coast for Hamburg", *JES* [*Festschrift for Rita and Richard Pankhurst*, ed. by HERAN SEREKE-BERHAN], in preparation.

Wolbert Smidt

Rodd Mission

The R.M. of 1897 was a British mission to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, which constituted the first talks between Britain and the rulers of Šäwa since the reign of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase half a century earlier. The R.M. included its leader, Sir Rennell Rodd, first Baron Rennell (1858–1941), who was second-in-command to Lord Cromer, the British ruler of Egypt; Colonel Reginald Wingate, head of British military intelligence in that country; Captain H.G.C. Swayne, who had travelled widely in Somaliland; Count Gleichen, a War Office intelligence officer; and Captain Tristram Speedy, who was considered an expert on Ethiopia, which he had first visited in the 1860s.

The R.M. was dispatched in the aftermath of the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, not only because the battle had enhanced Mənilək's prestige – making Ethiopia a power "to be reckoned with", but also because it had weakened Italy's position in the area, and thereby intensified rivalry between Britain and ↗France, the region's two main colonial powers. The R.M.'s ostensible object, as stated in the House of Commons on 25 February 1897, was to assure Mənilək of Britain's "friendly intentions", to "promote amicable political and commercial relations", and to "settle certain [frontier and other] questions" between Ethiopia and the neighbouring British Somali Protectorate. Rodd (1923: 112), however, also admitted that the British were afraid that Mənilək might ally himself with the Sudanese ↗Mahdists, who had destroyed Britain's position in Sudan, or with the French, who sought to establish an east-west axis in Africa, thus clashing directly with Britain's proposed "Cape to Cairo" axis. The British were also perturbed by the advance of Ethiopian forces into neighbouring lands, particularly in the Somaliland area, to which Britain laid claim.

The R.M. ignored the Ethio–Sudanese frontier, since it was then under Mahdist rule, and limited itself to discussing the Ethio–Somaliland border, where it found much of the disputed area already under effective Ethiopian occupation. Rodd established cordial, though far from harmonious, relations with Mənilək, as well as with *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel (with whom he later negotiated the ↗British Somaliland frontier, threatening to leave if Mäkʷännən remained adamant). Rodd nevertheless wrote highly of both Ethiopian leaders' intelligence and character.

Mənilək and Rodd duly signed a six-point treaty on 14 May 1897. Written in both Amharic and English this (1) permitted Ethiopian and ↗British Somaliland subjects to cross their common frontier freely; (2) stipulated that this frontier should be separately negotiated by Rodd and Mäkʷännən; (3) kept open the Zaylaᶜ–Harär caravan route; (4) gave Britain most favoured commercial rights; (5) granted Mənilək the right to import ↗fire-arms through British territory; and (6) had the Emperor prohibit the supply of such weapons to the Sudanese Mahdists, whom he officially declared "the enemies of his empire". Anxious to avoid any ambiguity such as that resulting from the differing interpretations of the Wəčale treaty (↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce), it was specified in an Annexe that the two versions should be accompanied by a French translation which would be deemed correct should the above versions differ.

The R.M. owed much to the ability of the British Assistant Resident in Zaylaᶜ, Colonel Sir John Lane ↗Harrington, who organized its supplies.

Src.: Great Britain, Foreign Office, nr. 403/255; James Rennell Rodd, *Social and Diplomatic Memories (Second Series) 1894–1904 Egypt and Abyssinia*, London 1923, 112.

Lit.: Albert Edward Wilfred Gleichen, *With the Mission to Menelik 1897*, London 1898; Yaltasamma, *Les amis de Ménélik*, Paris 1899; Harold Golden Marcus, "The Rodd Mission of 1897", *JES* 3, 2, 1965, 25–35; Ernest Work, *Ethiopia, A Pawn in European Diplomacy*, New York 1936, 254–61.

Richard Pankhurst

Rodinson, Maxime

R. (b. 26 January 1915, Paris, d. 23 May 2004, Marseille) was an *islamisant*, sociologist of the Near East and Ethiopianist, born into a Jewish family of emigrants from Russia. In his memoirs (2005) R. describes the milieu of his family, atheistic, communist and non-Zionist, that was to deeply influence his political orientation (from 1937 to 1958, he was a member of the French Communist Party).

In 1932 R. enrolled as a student at the École nationale des Langues orientales (now ↗Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, INALCO). During his time as a student of INALCO (1932–36) he took his "baccalauréat" degree (in France = end of secondary school) in 1934. In 1935–36 he obtained degrees in Turkish, Arabic (written, eastern, Maghreb), and in "Abyssinian" (i.e., Amharic), the latter course being taught by Marcel ↗Cohen. R. also attended Cohen's course in Gəᶜəz at the École pratique des hautes études (EPHE), IVᵉ section, as well as other courses at the École du Louvre and the Institut d'ethnologie. He took bachelor degrees (in French "Licence") in literature (1936) and in Arabic (1939), followed by two diplomas at the EPHE (1949 and 1955–56) and by a doctor's degree "based on already performed works" (1970).

During World War II, R. was assigned to Syria. Demobilized in 1940, he stayed in Lebanon until 1947, occupying various teaching and scholarly positions. Upon returning to France, he worked on the oriental printed editions at the ↗Bibliothèque Nationale de France. He also became an active participant at the sessions of Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitique. From 1949 he lectured at the EPHE along with Cohen, whom he succeeded in November 1955 as director of the Ethiopian and South Arabian studies section – continuing to teach and to publish for many years, until his retirement in 1984. In the *Annuaire* of the EPHE, IVᵉ section, one finds R.'s scrupulous reports on his courses and his scholarly achievements. His classes were attended by most French and several foreign *éthiopisants* and *sémitisants*, such as Robert Beylot, Gérard Colin, Alain Rouaud, Jacques Mercier, Eric Godet, Mäkʷännən Argaw, etc. The revised version of Cohen's *Précis* of Gəᶜəz grammar, which constituted the linguistic part of R.'s lectures, is about to be published. Thanks to R., South Arabian studies, both ancient and modern, were revived in France, and are today continued by his former students, esp. by Christian Robin and Antoine Lonnet. Ethiopisants are indebted to him for his important book on ↗magic in Gondär (1967) and a number of other scholarly works (s. Robin 1985).

Next to his activities in the field of Ethiopian studies, R. pursued a second, and even more successful carrier as a student of Islam. He gave a course of historical ethnology of the Near East at the EPHE VIᵉ section from 1959 to 1971, and published several general works, among which his masterpiece on the Prophet ↗Muḥammad (1961) – thus ranking among the greatest French *islamisants*.

Src.: MAXIME RODINSON, *Magie, médecine et possession à Gondar*, Paris – La Haye 1967; ID., *Mahomet*, Paris 1961; ID., *Souvenirs d'un marginal*, Paris 2005.

Lit.: SÉBASTIEN BOUSSOIS, *Maxime Rodinson: un intellectuel du XXe siècle*, Paris 2008 (Bibliothèque des idées); JEAN-PIERRE DIGARD (ed.), *Le cuisinier et le philosophe. Hommage à Maxime Rodinson …*, Paris 1982; CHRISTIAN ROBIN, "Maxime Rodinson. Quarante-cinq années de recherches, d'enseignement et d'action", in: ID. (ed.), *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson par ses éleves, ses collègues et ses amis*, Paris 1985 (Lit.); MAXIME RODINSON – HASSAN ARFAOUI – LAURENCE MAZAUD (eds.), *Maxime Rodinson, 1915–2004, un orientaliste atypique …*, Paris 2004; ALAIN ROUAUD, "In memoriam Maxime Rodinson (1915–2004)", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 214–17.

Alain Rouaud

Rodriguez, Gonçalo

R. (also *mestre* Gonçalo, b. Portugal, d. 4 March 1564, Goa) was the first member of the ↗Jesuits to enter Ethiopia. He joined the Jesuit order in 1545 and studied at the University of Coimbra. In 1550, he arrived in Goa and was immediately dispatched to Ormuz where he assumed the duties of Father Gaspar Barzeo. After five years, he went to Ethiopia with Brother Fulgencio Freire and the Portuguese Diogo Dias to meet *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos.

The Portuguese reached Dəbarwa in March 1555 and met with João ↗Bermudez, who informed them that Gälawdewos had no intention of embracing Catholicism and that he had already put in a request for a new metropolitan from Alexandria. This notwithstanding, R. and Dias were received by the Ethiopian sovereign at his court in ↗Damot the following month. R. presented Gälawdewos with letters from ↗João III in which the Portuguese king expressed his desire to send a Catholic patriarch and several Jesuit fathers to Ethiopia. The Emperor then took a month to weigh the proposition, but his response would prove to be ambiguous. While awaiting the monarch's reply, R. composed a treatise elucidating the faults of Ethiopian doctrine vis à vis the virtues of Catholicism. The text, which was translated into Ethiopic by a Portuguese living in Ethiopia called Afonso de França (both versions have been lost to history), drew the ire of the Ethiopian sovereign, who asserted that he had never intended to renounce the Orthodox faith. Moreover, the monarch wrote a defense of his doctrine, the *Confessio Fidei of King Claudius* (Ullendorff 1987; Cohen in PICES 14), which he presented to R.

Before leaving the country, R. and a group of other Portuguese were invited to ↗Däbrä Libanos by a local monk. Upon his return to India, R. reached the conclusion that Emperor Gälawdewos had tendered his invitation to the Portuguese for purely practical reasons, namely the procurement of arms.

Src.: BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *Historia geral de Etiopia a alta*, Coimbra 1660, 161–65; BecRASO II, 410f., 519f.; III, 27–33; V, 357–65; X, 46–51, 62f., 68–71, 90f.; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "The Confessio Fidei of King Claudius of Ethiopia", *JSS* 32, 1, 1987, 159–76.

Lit.: LEONARDO COHEN, "The Portuguese Context of the *Confessio Fidei* of King Claudius", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 152–68; ELESBAN DE GUILHERMY, *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jésus. Assistance de Portugal. Première Partie*, Poitiers 1867, 223–27.

Leonardo Cohen

Roḥa ↗Lalibäla

Rohlfs, Gerhard

Friedrich Gerhard R. (b. 14 April 1831, Vegesack, d. 2 June 1896, Rungsdorf) was a German physician, explorer, writer and diplomat. His several books and numerous articles on Ethiopia and on northern and western Africa which were published in the academic journals of the time such as *Petermanns Geographische Mittheilungen*, *Globus*, *Ausland*, etc. (cf. Lockot I) are still valuable sources (↗Ethiopian studies).

R. attended secondary school in Osnabrück. In 1848 he enlisted in the volunteer Bremen Corps, took part in the Schleswig-Holstein war, and was promoted to officer rank two years later. After leaving military service in 1850, he studied medicine in Heidelberg, Würzburg and Göttingen. His interest lay nonetheless in exploration and in 1855 he left for Algeria where he learnt Arabic. For a while, he joined the French Foreign Legion and even took part in a battle in Kabylia, northern Algeria, but he soon left the military to explore Morocco, pretending to be a Muslim. His medical training (which he never actually completed) also facilitated his access to the country, as he became private physician of the *sulṭān*.

Upon his return to Germany in 1867, after having explored, mapped and described various regions in Algeria, Morocco, the Sahara and western Africa, the Prussian king assigned him, together with Count Seckendorff, to accompany the British ↗Napier expedition to ↗Mäqdäla as an observer (Rohlfs 1869; Seckendorff 1869). Although he had wished to travel throughout the length and breadth of Ethiopia, he followed the

Gerhard Rohlfs, etching after a photograph; from Smidt 2005:21

route the military took from ↗Zula to ↗Sänᶜafe, ↗ᶜAddigrat, ↗Ǝndärta, ↗Ḥašəngä to ↗Mäqdäla. His descriptions of people, events and places are astoundingly rich and accurate. On his way back, he separated from the British expedition which was travelling quite quickly, and he travelled at leisure through ↗Lalibäla and ↗Aksum, leaving us an account of their historical splendour and their appearance at the time of his visit.

Only a few months after his return to Prussia, R. set out for northern Africa to explore parts of Libya and Algeria as well as the Sahara and beyond. He could not travel southward, because of various ethnic conflicts, but he was able to cross Cyrenaica, reaching Egypt by way of the Siwa Oasis in 1869. He returned to Prussia, got married and settled in Weimar. In 1873–74, he conducted an expedition on behalf of *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl to the Libyan desert. In 1878–79, R., together with his nephew Dr. Anton Stecker (1855–83), undertook an expedition to Wadai on behalf of the Deutsche Afrika-Gesellschaft. They crossed the Sahara, but could not proceed beyond Kufra, as they encountered stiff resistance (as did ↗Munzinger, who was sent to Wadai 17 years earlier). They were nonetheless able to map and describe a region which was still largely unknown to Europeans.

In 1880 the new German imperial government chose R. as an envoy to the Ethiopian court. Once again, this assignment would not let him travel as widely as he wished. But this time, he saw to it that Stecker accompanied him on behalf of the Deutsche Afrika-Gesellschaft. *Aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, impressed by R.'s personality, requested him to act as his minister plenipotentiary in the Ethio–Egyptian negotiations which had been dragging on since the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war of 1875–76. In return, the sovereign promised to pay all his expenses and to promote Stecker's scientific research. R., however, had to seek the permission of his government in order to be able to undertake such a task. His profound knowledge and judgment of the Ethio–Egyptian conflict can be read in his book published in 1883. He did his best to convince Berlin to grant him permission to act on behalf of Yoḥannəs, but in vain. The British were supporting Egyptian interests, and the German government did not wish to offend the British by involving themselves in the matter (instead, the British dispatched their own envoy, who concluded the ↗Hewett Treaty).

In spite of this, Yoḥannəs allowed Stecker to travel wherever he wanted. He explored the Lake ↗Ṭana region and ↗Goǧǧam as well as a large part of the Oromo country south of the ↗Abbay. His aim was to cross what later became southern Ethiopia and go down to Mombasa. But this project failed as the result of the conflict between the rulers of Goǧǧam and Šäwa which culminated in the Battle of ↗Ǝmbabo in June 1882. ↗Mənilək treated Stecker well, but did not allow him to travel further south. Instead, he brought him back to Yoḥannəs, then in Wällo. The sovereign allowed the traveller to visit the northern regions, including parts of the ↗ᶜAfar depression, until he returned to Europe via ↗Massawa. The publications of both R. and Stecker are still among the most reliable sources for geographical, historical and ethnological studies of Ethiopia.

In 1885, R. was appointed German consul to ↗Zanzibar. When German claims over the island were given up in exchange for Heligoland in 1890, R. was brought back to Germany.

Src.: GERHARD ROHLFS, *Im Auftrag Sr. Majestät des Königs von Preußen mit dem englischen Expeditionscorps in Abessinien*, Bremen 1869; ID., *Meine Mission Nach Abessinien auf Befehl Sr. Maj. des Deutschen Kaisers, Im Winter 1880–81*, Leipzig 1883; BAIRU TAFLA, "Some Documents on Nineteenth-Century Ethiopia from the Nachlass of Gerhard Rohlfs", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 175–235; GÖTZ BURKHARD GRAF VON SECKENDORFF, *Meine Erlebnisse mit dem englischen Expeditionskorps in Abessinien 1867–1868*, Potsdam 1869.

Lit.: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 53, 1907, 440–49; Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopia and Germany. Cultural, Political and Economic Relations 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), 52–55, 203ff., passim; Cornelia Essner, *Deutsche Afrikareisende im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Zur Sozialgeschichte des Reisens*, Wiesbaden 1985, 200, 204, 217; Konrad Guenther, *Gerhard Rohlfs. Lebensbild eines Afrika-Forschers*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1912; Lockot I, s. index (Lit.); Volker Matthies, *Historische Reisen nach Aksum. Europäische Entdecker und Forscher beschreiben das antike Zentrum der äthiopischen Kultur*, Berlin 2003, 75–81; Wolbert Smidt, *Äthiopien und Deutschland, 100 Jahre diplomatische Beziehungen. Ethiopia and Germany, 100 Years of Diplomatic Relations*, Addis Ababa 2005, 21 (ill.); Wilhelm Wolkenhauer, "Gerhard Rohlfs, 1831–96", *Deutsche Geographische Blätter* 19, 1896, 165–82.

Bairu Tafla

Rolph Bienenfeld, Giuseppe and Vittorio

The brothers R.B. (also Bienenfeld [Rolph]), Giuseppe (b. Trieste, d. 6 March 1913, Trieste) and Vittorio (d. 1933), were Triestine merchants of Jewish descent. In the 1860s they established an important import-export company with the head office at Aden and agencies in ↗Massawa and ↗Harär.

Because of his commercial interests, Giuseppe R.B. wanted to see the Bay of ↗ᶜAsäb under Italian rule and travelled extensively, staying for long periods in Harär and in Eritrea. From the mid-1870s onwards he was the resident of the Italian consulate at Aden. From there he offered support to all Italian explorers from Orazio ↗Antinori to Vittorio ↗Bottego. In his consular function he had to communicate with the foreign ministers of the time, including Pietro ↗Antonelli, both before and after the ↗Italo–Ethiopian treaty of 1889 was signed. Together with Enrico Tagliabue, Pietro ↗Sacconi's nephew Giuseppe Guasconi and other Italian traders he founded the first Società Commerciale Eritrea (later Società Coloniale Italiana), dedicated to developing trade between Italy, Šäwa, Harär, Eritrea, Somalia and Yemen. The company, however, was unsuccessful, and Giuseppe R.B. lost most of the capital he had earned in Aden. He subsequently retired to Trieste where he died; the Bienenfeld trading company was bought out by the Società Coloniale Italiana.

Vittorio R.B. filled the post of vice consul in Aden several times, once also replacing Antonio ↗Cecchi.

Among the agents of the Bienenfeld trading company were also such Italian explorers as Ugo ↗Ferrandi and Emilio Dal Seno, a member of two expeditions organized by Eugenio ↗Ruspoli; other employees worth mentioning were the merchant Ottorino Rosa, whose memoirs are an important source for the Egyptian period in Harär, and Gaetano Sacconi. R.B. were among the influential merchants who made Italian colonialism possible.

Lit.: ErDizBio 49; Camera dei Deputati, *Documenti diplomatici presentati al Parlamento italiano dal Presidente del Consiglio Ministro ad interim degli Affari Esteri (Crispi). Etiopia. Seduta del 17 dicembre 1889*, Roma 1890; Maria Carazzi, *La Società Geografica Italiana e l'esplorazione coloniale in Africa (1867–1900)*, Firenze 1972, 95; Enrico De Leone, *L'Italia in Africa. Le prime ricerche di una colonia e la esplorazione geografica politica ed economica*, Roma 1955, 329; Angelo Del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale. Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma – Bari 1976, passim; Carlo Giglio (ed.), *L'Italia in Africa. Etiopia – Mar Rosso*, vol. 1: *1857–1885*, vol. 2: *1859–1882. Documenti*, vol. 3: *1883–1885. Documenti*, vol. 5: *1885–1886. Documenti*, vol. 6: *1887–1888. Documenti*; vol. 7: *1888–1889. Documenti*, vol. 8: *1890–1891. Documenti*; vol. 9: *1891–1893. Documenti* [ed. by Donata Giglio], Roma 1958, 1959, 1960, 1966, 1972a, 1972b, 1977, 1981; Carlo Zaghi, *Le origini della Colonia Eritrea*, Bologna 1934; Id. (ed.), *Crispi e Menelich nel Diario inedito del conte Augusto Salimbeni*, Torino 1956, 27; Id., *La conquista dell'Africa. Studi e ricerche*, 2 vols., Napoli 1984; Id., *Rimbaud in Africa. Con documenti inediti*, Napoli 1993; RubActa s. index.

Manlio Bonati

Romanä Wärq

R.W. (**ሮማነ፡ ወርቅ**; fl. 16th cent.) was the daughter of *aṣe* ↗Naᵓod and sister of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. She married the ruler of Gäñ, Semo Wäld, and gave birth to two sons, ↗Ḥamälmal[ä Wärq] and Laᵓəkä Maryam.

Laᵓəkä Maryam fought against the Muslim army of ↗ᶜAbbās b. Abūn b. Ibrāhīm in 1539 and was captured alongside the future *aṣe* ↗Minas and the son of R.W.'s and Ləbnä Dəngəl's sister Amätä Dəngəl, also Laᵓəkä Maryam. The two namesakes were castrated by the Muslims shortly upon their capture. The three prisoners were later sent to the Ottoman *paša* in Zabīd in Yemen. They were eventually released in exchange for ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's son Muḥammad in 1544.

R.W. was also married to Abuqir, the son of *aqqabe säᶜat* ↗Nägädä Iyäsus. It is probably by him that she had her son Yoḥannəs, who later joined other lords from Amhara in the revolt against Minas led by *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq.

R.W. is mentioned in the chronicles of Gälawdewos and Minas. In an 18th-cent. manuscript of the ↗*Sənkəssar* (BN Éth. 126), her ↗*täzkar* is commemorated on 20 *Mäskäräm*.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 108; ColSyn VI, 453, VIII, 251; ConzGal 34f. (text) = 142f. (tr.); GuiSyn I, 378ff.; KrLebD 38f. (text) = 42 (tr.); Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, *Zena Minas. Historia de Minas, Ademas Sagad, rei de Ethiopia,* Lisboa 1888, 18–22, n. 11, 39, 59; ZotBNat 151–78, ms. Éth. 126..

Marie-Laure Derat

Romna

Ǝmmäbet R. (**ሮምና**, possibly hypochoristic for Romanä Wärq; fl. 15th cent.) was a wife or a concubine of *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam. According to the latter's chronicle, she bore him two sons, ↗Ǝskəndər and ᶜƎnqʷä Ǝsraᵓel, the latter sometimes assumed to be the same as ↗Naᶜod. She apparently spent the last years of her husband's reign in exile in Amhara and was reintroduced to the court when Ǝskəndər was enthroned. As he was too young to reign, she assumed the regency with two other counsellors: *yäqäñ bitwäddäd* ᶜAmdä Mikaᵓel and the *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Täsfa Giyorgis. The consecration ceremony was probably performed for R. and her son at this time.

During her regency, R. developed a close relationship with the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa and its abbot, ↗Märḥa Krəstos. The *History of Däbrä Libanos*, written in the 17th cent., mentions a church named Məᶜərafä Maryam that R. allegedly commissioned and gave to Däbrä Libanos. Her special attention to the monks and her devotion were recognized in this monastery, and the author of the Vita of Märḥa Krəstos celebrated her memory in this hagiographical text. He tells of her ties to the Däbrä Libanos community and commemorates her death on 12 *Näḥase*.

Src.: Stanislas Kur, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), here 88ff. (text) = 81f. (tr.); PerrEsk 338f. (text) = 352f. (tr.); PerrZarY 155, 161; Sergew Hable Sellassie, "Sources for the History of Däbrä Libanos", *Journal of the Archives of Ethiopia* 1, 2, 1993, 1–107, here 40f.

Lit.: CerDLib 145–49; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropoliti Yesḥaq, Yāᶜeqob e Mārqos d'Etiopia (sec. XV–XVI)", *RANLmor* ser. 9a, 15, 2004 [2005], 679–90, here 680; TadTChurch 288; Taddesse Tamrat, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 526–29; Id., "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 109ff.; DerDom 341.

Marie-Laure Derat

Rora

R. (**ሮራ**, Tgr.: 'high place') is a region of present Eritrea delimited by the Eritrean–Sudanese lowlands in the west and north, by the coastal plain in the east and by ↗Ḥamasen in the South (for location s. map for Qarora). The region is mainly inhabited by ↗Təgre-speaking groups but also by ↗Beğa speakers and other minor groups and is characterized by deep valleys draining from the Ḥamasen plateau to the coastal lowlands. Due to its geographic features and location in a strategic position between the highlands, the coastal strip and the Gaš-Märäb draining towards the Nile, the region was always crossed by the pastoral peoples in their seasonal movements and by trade caravans.

The importance of the region's history and its archaeological sites was emphasized by Carlo ↗Conti Rossini. A large number of archaeological monuments recorded in the area remain, however, undated. Among them there are several cairns and tumuli or more complex monuments formed by a squared stone structure supporting a cylindrical building topped by a cone or by a second cylinder with domed top. Most of these monuments had a funerary function and some can be related to Islamic times and ascribed to the well-known type of the Islamic domed tombs named *qubba*. ↗Rock art sites (among them Qarora, Nagran, "Cullite", Däwdäw, and "Dinae") are quite abundant, but most of them are affected by chronological uncertainty. They mainly consist of representations of domestic bovines and camels sometimes associated with Christian symbols. These sites show iconographical and stylistic similarities with regions as far away as the Egyptian–Nubian Eastern Desert and central Ethiopia, as well as South Arabia. Other sites are characterized by the occurrence of undated ↗stelae (see e.g. Ḥəmbol, Mamäruk and Ǝnzəlal).

At Rora Laba a unique monument was found, consisting of a couple of stone stelae surmounted by a sculpture of a crouching ↗lion, lying on its side, with crossed paws and, probably, head turned to the side, showing Hellenistic stylistic influence. At R. Laba, "Aranto" and "Danga" foundations of large buildings on podia of apparent Aksumite (↗Aksum) affinity occur as well. An important Aksumite site was investigated in colonial times at Aratu, in the area of R. Ḥalḥal, by Abele ↗Piva. It was characterized by stepped walls roughly dressed and by a stone platform with big carved rectangular stone slabs on the top, and gave a late Aksumite coin and a Gəᶜəz inscription. Also the stone thrones or seats recorded at Dəgdəg, close to ↗Naqfa, at Gäläb, and at Aḵra may be related to the well-known type of the Aksumite thrones, but this needs confirmation. On the basis of the available data, a striking aspect of the archaeology of the region is the quantity and variety of elements related to the cultures of the neighbouring

View on the mountainous region east of the Rora Ho, near Azmat in the Zara valley, which is separating two Roras; photo 1983, courtesy of Günter Schröder

regions, such as the Ethio–Eritrean highlands, the Sudanese lowlands or even the Nile Valley. This may be linked to the fact that traditionally the R. represented a bridge between these different cultural contexts.

Lit.: Anon., "Ricerche Archeologiche nel Bet Tacuè", *Bullettino Ufficiale della Colonia Eritrea* 38, 1905, 215; Anon., "Scoperte archeologiche", *ibid.* 10, 1906, 37; Oreste Baratieri, "Negli Habab", *Nuova Antologia. Rivista di Scienze Lettere ed Arti* 122, 1892, 201–26; Giulio Calegari, *L'arte rupestre dell'Eritrea. Repertorio ragionato ed esegesi iconografica*, Milano 1999 (Memorie della Società Italiana di Scienze Naturali e del Museo di Storia Naturale di Milano 29, 1), Carlo Conti Rossini, "Documenti per l'archeologia eritrea nella bassa valle del Barca", *RRALm* ser 5^{a}, 12, 1903, 139–50; Id., "Antiche rovine sulle Rore eritree", *ibid.* 31, 1922, 241–78; CRStor; Giotto Dainelli – Olinto Marinelli, *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912, 469–567; Rodolfo Fattovich, "Alcuni siti inediti dell'Eritrea settentrionale", *Abbay* 10, 1979, 77–86; Isaak G. Iyesus, *Dialogo introduttorio all'Eritrea archeologica*, Asmara 2005; Andrea Manzo, "Between Nile Valley, Red Sea and Highlands: Remarks on the Archaeology of the Tigre Area", paper presented at the conference *History and Language of the Tigre-speaking Peoples*, Napoli 2008; Werner Munzinger, *Studi sull'Africa Orientale*, Roma 1890; Abele Piva, *Origine fisionomica e storia delle antiche genti dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1907; Id., "Una civiltà scomparsa dell'Eritrea e gli scavi archeologici nella regione di Cheren", *Nuova Antologia* 128, 1907, 323–35; Giovanni Sapeto, *Viaggio e missione cattolica fra i Mensa, i Bogos e gli Habab con un cenno geografico e storico dell'Abissinia*, Roma 1857, 234–62; Theodor von Heuglin, *Reise in Nordost-Afrika. Schilderungen aus dem Gebiete der Beni Hamer und Habab nebst zoologischen Skizzen und einem Führer für Jagdreisende*, Braunschweig 1877, 2 vols.

Andrea Manzo

Ros Näbiyat

R.N. (**ሮስ፡ ነቢያት**, Arab.: Rās Banyāt; in Portuguese sources: Arraz Anobiata etc., fl. 16th cent.) was a prominent member of the ruling elite and nobility of the Ethiopian empire on the eve of the Muslim invasion of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"). The name R.N. means literally 'the offsprings of the prophets' (in the O.T. sense, as in 2 Kgs 9:1; for *ros* s. Ex 21:4, DillmLex 306).

Occasionally, R.N. is mentioned as ↗*azzaž* and governor of Šäbäl, a small region in Goǧǧam (around the river of the same name) that he might have governed in the 1510s (cp. mss. EMML 2190, 3667). When ↗Alvares was at the court of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl in 1520/21, R.N. was *bəḥt wäddäd* (↗*Bitwäddäd*), seemingly "of the right" (BeckHuntAlvar 385; cp. CRAxum no. 27); he was appointed ↗*baḥər nägaš* (BeckHuntAlvar 114) probably in 1524, holding that office for ca. two years (cp. CRAxum no. 20). He appears as the only *bəḥt wäddäd* in the 18th year of Ləbnä Dəngəl's reign, i.e. in 1526 (s. CRAxum no. 30), and as *bəḥt wäddäd* "of the left" shortly thereafter (ibid. nos. 31, 33).

During the Muslim war, R.N. was first the commander of the strategic province of ↗Däwaro. The *Futuḥ al-Ḥabaša* has it that he came to terms with the Muslims and surrendered to them an important pass, provided that an important church of the area be spared (BassHist 135f.). On another occasion, R.N. led his Däwaro troops against Aḥmad "Grañ" (ibid. 143f.), but was defeated, despite his personal bravery. At a later stage of the war, as the Muslim troops were about to enter Amḥara (s. EAE vol. 5), he was ordered to defend a strategic pass leading into ↗Mänz (BassHist 283): a plan overthrown by the defeat of the royal army in the battle of Wasil, October 1531. After the fall of ↗Däbrä Bərhan, R.N. was sent to face ^{c}Uray Abūñ in ↗Ifat, but was again unsuccessful: during the battle at "Kesâyah" (in ↗Gəddəm) he was attacked by ↗^{c}Abbās b. Abūñ b. Ibrāhīm and escaped with difficulty (ibid. 357f.). Lastly, he is mentioned as heading an expedition to Wäräb(a), which was unsuccessful as well, since local people refused to help him (ibid. 393f.).

Src.: BassHist 135f., 143f., 283, 357f., 393f.; BeckHuntAlvar 18, 114, 119, 385, 428, 556; CRAxum nos. 20, 27, 30, 31, 33; DillmLex 306; EMML vol. 6, 301–02, no. 2190; vol. 9, 95, no. 3667.

Denis Nosnitsin

Rosen, Felix

R. (b. 1863, Leipzig, d. August 1925, Breslau) was a German professor of botany, who was a member of the German extraordinary diplomatic mission to Ethiopia 1904–05, headed by his brother, the diplomat Friedrich ↗Rosen.

R. grew up in Jerusalem and Belgrade, where his father Georg R. served as a Prussian, later German, diplomat (for more details on the family s. Rosen, Friedrich). R. had strong ties to the town of Detmold, Westphalia, where his paternal family came from. After studying in Basel and Strasbourg (acquiring a doctorate in 1886), he began to work in Breslau in 1891, as an assistant to Ferdinand Cohn, the head of the institute for plant-physiology. He finished his Habilitation in 1892, and in 1906 became director of the institute. He also taught at the University, but did not have full tenure until 1920 (Staercke 1935). He was murdered in his sleep.

R. joined the mission dispatched to Ethiopia in 1905 as consultant naturalist and collector. The delegation negotiated the establishment of permanent diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and ↗Germany, and the members of the mission, especially R., used the opportunity to undertake research. R. wrote a vivid travel account, which also contains detailed information on Ethiopian history, including oral accounts, ethnography and politics, illustrated by 160 photographs (Rosen 1907).

R. was a specialist in observing plants in their living environments, and the relation between nature and art (Rosen 1903). Both aspects influenced his mode of observation, and his rich photographic presentation of Ethiopian landscapes and people. In Ethiopia R. collected ethnographic objects, including music recordings on wax cylinders (↗Phonograms), for the ethnological museum of Berlin, and for the Wurttemberg Association for the Geography of Trade (today Linden-Museum, Stuttgart; Rosen 1907:238). He also made a collection of plant specimens (Pax 1907; Cufodontis 1950:127). This collection was partly destroyed when the Botanical Museum of Berlin-Dahlem was bombed in 1943 (Cufodontis 1950:106, 129). As a botanist R. only published on the *ǧibarra* (*Lobelia Rhynchopetalum*; Rosen 1911) and discussed it in its ethnographic context in his travel account (Rosen 1907:443). Apart from that he focused on ethnographical and historical issues.

Src.: FELIX ROSEN, *Die Natur in der Kunst. Studien eines Naturforschers zur Geschichte der Malerei*, Leipzig 1903; ID., *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907; ID., "Die biologische Stellung der abessinischen Baumlobelie (*Lobelia Rhynchopetalum* [Höchst.] Hermsl.)", *Cohn's Beiträge zur Biologie der Pflanzen* 10, 2, 1910, 265–97.

Lit.: GEORG CUFODONTIS, "Pittosporum in Aethiopien (Vorarbeit zu einer Revision der afrikanischen Arten)", *Österreichische Botanische Zeitschrift* 98, 1–2, 1951, 105–37; RUDI PARET – ANTON SCHALL (eds.), *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik: Lebensbilder aus der Feder von Enno Littmann und Verzeichnis seiner Schriften. Zum achtzigsten Geburtstage am 16. September 1955 zusammengestellt*, Wiesbaden 1955, 74f.; FERDINAND PAX, "Die von Rosen in Abessinien gesammelten Pflanzen", *Engler's Botanische Jahrbücher* 39, 1907, 602–62; MAX STAERKE, "Felix Rosen (1863–1925)", in: ID., *Menschen vom lippischen Boden*, Detmold 1935, 331–32.

Thomas Zitelmann

Rosen, Friedrich

R. (b. 30 August 1856, Leipzig, d. 26 November 1935, Beijing) was a German Orientalist, diplomat and Minister of Foreign Affairs. His father Georg R. served as Prussian, later German consul in Jerusalem and Belgrade where Friedrich grew up, his mother Serena, née Moscheles, came from a British family.

R. studied philology in Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, Göttingen and Paris, and was fluent in Arabic, Turkish, Farsi and Urdu. For some years he was the private tutor for the sons of Prince Albrecht of Prussia and for the son of Lord Dufferin, viceroy of India, where he stayed in 1885–87. In 1887 he became lecturer for Urdu and Farsi at the Department of Oriental Languages of the University of Berlin. In 1890 he joined the German Foreign Service, first as dragoman, i.e. diplomatic interpreter, serving in Beirut and Teheran. In 1898 he was posted as consul to Baghdad, in 1899 to Jerusalem. In 1900 he returned to the Foreign Office in Berlin and was promoted head of the section for the Orient. In 1904 he attracted the attention of Emperor Wilhelm II when he accompanied him on his trip in the Mediterranean Sea.

The Emperor considered R. the right man to head "the extraordinary imperial delegation" to Ethiopia which embarked in December 1904. Since ascending the throne in 1889, *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II of Ethiopia had sent several letters to his German counterpart, trying to involve ↗Germany in the development of his newly forged empire. Mənilək looked for a fourth player to keep the expansive colonial powers ↗United Kingdom, ↗France and ↗Italy at bay, which had already encircled his territory. He was equally impressed by Germany's technological progress from which his country hoped to benefit on its way to modernity. For more than a decade the German Foreign Office which anxiously tried to avoid any conflict of interests with England and

France had ignored these offers, until Wilhelm II made it his personal cause.

R. was head of this delegation of eight men – among them his younger brother, the botanist Felix ↗Rosen – guarded by nine soldiers and accompanied by two servants, which arrived in Addis Abäba, on 12 February 1905. Mənilək and *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu welcomed the Germans with a splendid dinner for several thousand guests. *Käntiba* ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa served as local interpreter. On 7 March 1905 Germany and Ethiopia signed a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce (↗Treaties and conventions, s. EAE vol. 5), Germany being the last to do so after Great Britain, France, ↗Russia and the ↗United States of America. In addition, Mənilək conceded German capital to participate in the founding of the Bank of Abyssinia (↗Banking system) and in the railroad company (↗Railway), the latter being obstructed by France. He also gave permission to excavate ↗Aksum, allowing Enno ↗Littmann to embark on the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition in early 1906.

Friedrich Rosen during his expedition to Addis Abäba, with the famous Somali warrior and poet, Šawal [Schëual] Abdi; photo ca. 1905, from Rosen 1907: 110

The scholarly outcome of the R. delegation proved to be more fruitful than the economic aspirations. The expedition documented Ethiopian civilization, peoples, flora and fauna (Rosen 1907), and collected ethnographic objects and music recordings on wax cylinders (↗Phonograms). When the delegation left Ethiopia in May 1905, *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam accompanied them to Berlin, where for two years he taught in collaboration with Eugen ↗Mittwoch at the University's department of Oriental languages. It was due to R.'s support that the German government decided to establish permanent diplomatic relations with Ethiopia at the end of the same year.

The Ethiopian mission laid the foundation of R.'s future impressive career: He was appointed head of diplomatic mission to Tangier, Bucharest, Lisbon and the Hague, until he became Foreign Minister from May till October 1921. After his resignation he returned to his interests as an Orientalist.

Src.: FELIX ROSEN, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907, 110 (ill); FRIEDRICH ROSEN, *Aus einem diplomatischen Wanderleben*, vols. 1–2, Berlin 1931–32; vols. 3–4 ed. by HERBERT MÜLLER-WERTH, Wiesbaden 1959; HANS VOLLBRECHT, *Im Reiche des Negus Negesti Menelik II*, Stuttgart – Berlin – Leipzig 1906.

Lit.: WERNER DAUM, "Gelehrter und Diplomat. Friedrich Rosen und die Begründung der diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Äthiopien. Der Mann, ohne den es die Axum-Mission nicht gegeben hätte", in: *AfrHorn* 265-81; URSULA GEHRING-MÜNZEL, "100 Jahre deutsch–äthiopische diplomatische Beziehungen", in: *PICEA* 7, 67–101; ENNO LITTMANN, *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik*, Wiesbaden 1955, 74–82; THOMAS ZITELMANN, "'Das Telegramm ist angekommen'. Friedrich Rosen, Enno Littmann und die politische Einbettung der Aksum-Expedition", in: *WenDAE* I, 111–18.

Ursula Gehring-Münzel

Rosenthal, Henry

R. (b. Mecklenburg in Fürstenburg, resident of London) was a 19th-cent. missionary to the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel.

He entered Ethiopia together with his wife late in 1862, in the company of Henry ↗Stern, a representative of the ↗London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. The R. were to establish themselves as missionaries at Ǧända in Dämbəya, continuing the work established by Stern on a previous visit in 1860.

Stern and R. spent much of 1863 at Ǧända. Other Protestant missionaries, settled as artisans at ↗Gafat, near Däbrä Tabor, hearing of Stern's arrival, had unsuccessfully petitioned Emperor ↗Tewodros II to refuse him entrance into the country. They had anticipated the storm which was to come. In October 1863, Stern was arrested, beaten and taken in chains to Gondär, where his papers were searched, and passages found offensive to the Emperor were reported. Correspondence was also discovered in which R. and Pauline ↗Flad had expressed disparaging views of Tewodros. The two were arraigned. R. had written, with reference to the Emperor, of his "first meeting with the wild beast" and alleged that Tewodros had written to the acting English consul at Massawa to come and get drunk with him (RubInd 233; in his own account of this correspondence, R. noted simply that he had added some personal remarks to a journal).

While Flad was released, R. was chained and thrashed on 5 November. Subsequently, the Emperor alleged that R. had presumed to know what was taking place inside the royal compound, even though he had only been in the country for a few months, that he had ridiculed the Emperor's invocation of the Trinity in his formal correspondence, and that he was the source of information that the British Government had laughed at him. R. noted that for some time he was chained in such a manner that he was unable to stand upright and that his feet were bound very closely together. By May 1865, R. was writing from Tewodros's fortress of ↗Mäqdäla, where he was to stay until his release by the ↗Napier expedition in April 1868.

Src.: Public Record Office (London), FO 401, vol. 2, 177f. no. 189, 201f. no. 225, 335 no. 390; HORMUZD RASSAM, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, king of Abyssinia …*, London 1869, vol. 1, 300.
Lit.: CrumMis 130–33, 135; RubInd 233.

Donald Crummey

Rossetti, Carlo

R. (b. 18 October 1876, d. 1948, Turin) was an Italian Navy officer, diplomat, geographer and cartographer.

As a lieutenant in the Royal Navy of the Kingdom of Italy, serving in the Colonial Office of the Consulta, he undertook long journeys to Africa, Australia and Asia. He contributed a number of articles to the journal *L'Italia coloniale* and later to the bulletins of the ↗Società Geografica Italiana and of Società Africana d'Italia, of which he became a member. In 1904 he became a close collaborator of Giacomo Agnesa, central director of the Foreign Ministry for Colonial Affairs. In 1905, Senator admiral Camillo Candiani appointed R. Secretary General of the first Italian Colonial Congress in ↗Asmära. As a result of this conference, l'Istituto Coloniale Italiano with its headquarters in Rome was established in 1906. R. became its Secretary General and the editor-in-chief of the monthly *Rivista coloniale*. In 1914 R. organized the *Mostra Coloniale di Genova* and edited its catalogue. He also drew geographical maps of Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and Libya. In 1938 R. became the editor of the monthly *Africa Italiana* for the Istituto Fascista dell'Africa Italiana, the successor of the Istituto Coloniale.

R.'s *Storia diplomatica* is an important source of the diplomatic history of Ethiopia up to 1910.

Src.: CARLO ROSSETTI, "Colonizzazione italiana agricola nel Benadir", *L'Italia coloniale* 12, 1900, 13–28; ID., "Una punta in Etiopia dalle frontiere del Sudan: note di viaggio", *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana* 1905, 955–85; ID. (ed.), *Atti del Congresso Coloniale Italiano in Asmara (settembre–ottobre 1905)*, 2 vols., Roma 1906; ID., *Carte dimostrative di colonie e paesi coloniali. Somalia Italiana Settentrionale*, Roma 1906; ID., *Carte dimostrative di colonie e paesi coloniali. Colonia del Benadir*, Roma 1907; ID., *Carte dimostrative di colonie e paesi coloniali. Colonia Eritrea*, Roma 1907; ID., *Storia diplomatica dell'Etiopia durante il regno di Menelik II. Trattati, accordi, convenzioni, protocolli, atti di concessione ed altri documenti relativi all'Etiopia …*, Torino 1910; ID., *Manuale di legislazione della Somalia Italiana*, 3 vols., Roma 1912–14.
Lit.: ErDizBio 259; CARLO CUOMO, *1905 Congresso di Asmara*, Napoli 1905, 21; CLAUDIO CERRETI, *La raccolta cartografica dell'Istituto Italo–Africano*, Roma 1987; GIANCARLO MONINA, *Il consenso coloniale. Le Società geografiche e l'Istituto coloniale italiano (1896–1914)*, Roma 2002.

Manlio Bonati

Royal camp ↗Kätäma

Royal Chronicles ↗Chronicles

Rubattino, Raffaele

R. (b. 10 October 1810, Genoa, d. 2 November 1881, Genoa) was an Italian entrepreneur, creator of the navigation company Rubattino and a pioneer of Italian expansion in the Red Sea region.

Son of a well-to-do shopkeeper and an active member of Giuseppe Mazzini's *Giovine Italia* R. helped many Italian patriots during the Risorgimento. The first company he owned was the *Compagnia Lombarda d'Assicurazioni marittime*, which later became the *Società di navigazione,* and finally the *Società dei vapori Sardi della ditta Raffaele Rubattino e C.*

In 1868 R. founded the fortnightly Genoa–Alexandria line and acquired four steamers for the trips to the Indies. In 1869/70 R. was authorized by the government to acquire the ᶜAsäb Bay, through the mediation of Giuseppe ↗Sapeto, whose subsequent research *Assab e i suoi critici* was funded by R. In 1879 the property was transferred to the state of Italy, and in January 1881 the first civil commissioner took office, an act which formally marked the foundation of the ↗Colonia di Assab (1882).

R. also established regular navigation to Tunisia and Libya. To combat its debts, the company tried to become a joint-stock company with limited liability, the *R. Rubattino e C.*; on 28 March 1881 it merged with Florio, a powerful shipping company in Palermo, giving birth to the *Navigazione Generale Italiana*.

R. died the same year and was buried in the monumental cemetery of Staglieno (Genoa) on 5 November 1881.

Src.: GIUSEPPE SAPETO, *Assab e i suoi critici*, Genova 1879.

Lit.: GUSTAVO CHIESI, *Raffaele Rubattino. Cenni biografici*, Genova 1882; ARTURO CODIGNOLA, *Rubattino*, Bologna 1938; ENRICO DE LEONE, *L'Italia in Africa. Le prime ricerche di una colonia e l'esplorazione geografica politica ed economica*, Roma 1955, 91f.; GIORGIO DORIA, *Debiti e navi. La compagnia di Rubattino 1839–1881*, Genova 1990; ANGELO GINOCCHIETTI, *La Regia Marina nella conquista dell'Impero*, Roma 1937, 15ff.; GUIDO PO – LUIGI FERRANDO, *L'opera della R. Marina in Eritrea e Somalia* (*dall'occupaz ione al 1928*), Roma 1929; FRANCESCO SURDICH, *L'attività missionaria, politico-diplomatica e scientifica di Giuseppe Sapeto …*, Millesimo 2005; GIULIO ZIMOLO, "Rubattino Raffaele", in: *Dizionario del Risorgimento nazionale …*, vol. 4, Milano 1937, 133ff.; ANGELO UMILTÀ, *Gli Italiani in Africa. Con appendici monografiche su esploratori e personaggi che calcarono il suolo africano dal 1800 al 1943*, ed. by GIORGIO BARANI – MANLIO BONATI, Reggio Emilia 2004, 26, 29, 517, 600 (Lit.).

Manlio Bonati

Rufinus ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan

Rüppell, Eduard

R. (b. 20 November 1794, Frankfurt am Main, d. 10 December 1884, Frankfurt am Main) was a German naturalist and traveller. After visiting Nubia, Kordofan and Arabia Petraea (1823–25), R. chose to do research in Ethiopia. On 17 September 1831 he landed in ↗Massawa, and on 19 April 1832 started his journey into the interior highlands, which had been described before him only by ↗Bruce and ↗Salt. On 12 October he entered ↗Gondär and stayed there until May 1833, making one excursion into the lowlands of Wärqämədər and ↗Armač̣əho, north of Gondär, and then travelling along the eastern shore of Lake ↗Ṭana. On 18 May 1833 R. left Gondär to return via ↗Aksum and ↗ᶜAdwa. He reached Massawa on 29 June.

Dr Eduard Rüppell 1846.

Eduard Rüppell on an early daguerrotype of 1846; courtesy of the Senckenberg Gesellschaft für Naturforschung, Frankfurt am Main

His research journey, described in his two-volume *Reise in Abyssinien* (1838, 1840),) was marked by a number of important findings. R. carried out cartographic, archaeological, numismatical, historical and ethnological research, and, above all, added immensely to the knowledge of the country's fauna (esp. Rüppell 1834–40, 1845). He was the first person to copy and publish two important inscriptions of King ↗ᶜEzana at Aksum (cp. RIÉ nos. 188, 189). Furthermore he acquired a number of Ethiopian ↗manuscripts (s. Rüppell 1840:403–10), which he presented to the Frankfurt Stadtbibliothek (the "Rüppel Collection", s. Goldschmidt 1897). The Ms. Rüpp. Ib (Goldschmidt 1897, no. 18) is an important historiographic work produced by *liq* ↗Aṣqu, R.'s "field assistant" in Gondär (cp. Goldschmidt 1897:63–67; Kropp 1989:239, 302). R. also brought back one of the earliest known ↗Təgrəñña manuscripts (Ms. Rüpp. II, 8; Goldschmidt 1897, no. 8), a Gospel of John, written on the initiative of ↗Gobat. An excerpt from it was printed in ↗Praetorius's Təgrəñña grammar (Praetorius 1871, Beilage 1–5).

R. was actively involved in exchanging information with other scholars working on Ethiopia and finally left his personal papers to the Senckenbergische Naturforschende Gesellschaft, which he co-founded, and of which he was the second director, starting from 1841.

↗Expeditions

Src.: Lockot I, 392, index (Lit.); EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Nubien, Kordofan und dem peträischen Arabien vorzüglich in geographisch-statistischer Hinsicht,* Frankfurt am Main 1829; ID., *Neue Wirbelthiere zu der Fauna von Abyssinien gehörig*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1835–40; ID., *Reise in Abyssinien*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1838–40; ID., *Systematische Übersicht der Vögel Nord-Ost-Afrikas nebst Abbildung und Beschreibung von fünfzig theils unbekannten, theils noch nicht bildlich dargestellten Arten*, Frankfurt am Main 1845; LAZARUS GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die abessinischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Frankfurt am Main* (*Rüppell'sche Sammlung*), Berlin 1897, s. index; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, *Grammatik der Tigriñasprache in Abessinien hauptsächlich in der Gegend von Aksum und Adoa*, Halle 1871, Beilage 1–5; RIÉ nos. 188, 189.

Lit.: ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopien, Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 8; ID., *Ethiopian Studies at German Universities*, Wiesbaden 1970, 11f.; MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däǧǧazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalistische Studien 13), 239, 302; ROBERT MERTENS, *Eduard Rüppell, Leben und Werk eines Forschungsreisenden*, Frankfurt am Main 1949 (Lit.).

Red.

Ruspoli, Eugenio

R. (b. 6 January?, Ţigăneşti, Rumania, d. 4 December 1893, Burǧi) was an Italian explorer. A Roman nobleman, prince of Poggio Suasa, he was a son of Prince Eugenio, patriot and politician, and of the Rumanian princess Catherine Vogoridès-Conaki. His passions were topography and painting. He graduated from the Military Academy of Modena with the rank of Cavalry lieutenant junior grade and was sent to Florence. On turning 21 he inherited his mother's fortune, left the army and started travelling to Russia, Egypt and Mozambique.

In Africa, R. decided to explore the area of Italian colonial influence. In 1891 he prepared an expedition to Somalia. Emilio Dal Seno from Trieste led the caravan and interpreted through Arabic, the language he had learnt in Massawa and Aden as an employee of the ↗Rolph Bienenfeld brothers. Professor Konrad Keller of the Polytechnic Institute of Zurich was the team's naturalist. In Aden, the consul Antonio ↗Cecchi suggested that they start from ↗Berbera. The expedition, which by then included 80 armed locals, 70 camels and horses for the explorers, left Berbera on 8 July 1891. By 15 August they had crossed the ↗Ogaden desert and on 27 August reached the ↗Wabi Šäbälle. Due to attacks from local clans and the subsequent revolt and desertion of the ↗*askari*, the expedition came to an end soon after the river had been crossed.

Back in Rome, R. realized that he had become very popular. Knowing that Vittorio ↗Bottego was preparing an expedition to Juba, R. too hastened to organize his second expedition. This time he was accompanied by the Swiss engineer and geologist Walter Borchardt, doctor and botanist Domenico Riva, Luigi Lucca and again Dal Seno. They started from Berbera on 2 December 1892 with 130 *askari* reaching the Wabi Šäbälle on 23 January 1893. It took 30 days for all to cross it. This time the local inhabitants remained peaceful, the use of arms remaining minimal. In March he saw that the three rivers Wäyb, ↗Ganaalee and Dawa all merge to form the Juba. In Lūq he established friendly relations with the local *sulṭān*, even signing a treaty. Borchardt fell ill and had to stay behind in Lūq, with Dal Seno. R. continued to Bardera, where Ugo ↗Ferrandi had lived, and then on towards the ↗Omo, entering the land of the Amaaro ↗Burǧi where he befriended the *sulṭān* Guǧo. On 6 November he reached Lake ↗Č̣amo which he thoroughly explored. The Italians called the lake Ruspoli in his

Eugenio Ruspoli; photo ca. 1891, from the collection of the author honour. However, the expedition ended shortly afterwards when R. was killed by an elephant he was hunting.

Src.: ADOLFO ROSSI, "La prima spedizione Ruspoli in Africa. Memorie di un superstite (Emilio Dal Seno)", *Nuova Antologia* 1 October, 16 October, 1 November 1898; ID., "La seconda spedizione Ruspoli in Africa. Memorie di un superstite (Emilio Dal Seno)", *ibid.* 16 September, 1 October, 16 October 1899; EUGENIO RUSPOLI, *Nel Paese della Mirra*, Rome 1892; ID., "Africa inesplorata", *Tribuna* 207, 29 July 1893 and 2 November 1893.

Lit.: COSIMO BERTACCHI, *Geografi ed esploratori italiani contemporanei*, Milano 1929, 308f.; MANLIO BONATI, *Vittorio Bottego, un ambizioso eroe in Africa*, Parma 1997; ID., *Vittorio Bottego. Coraggio e determinazione in Africa Orientale*, Torino 2005; GUELFO CIVININI, *Sotto le piogge equatoriali*, Roma [ca. 1930], 209f.; ENRICO DE AGOSTINI, *Pionieri italiani nel mondo*, Roma 1959, 150–57; ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS, *Piccolo Dizionario dei Contemporanei Italiani*, Roma 1895, 786; CARLO DELLA VALLE, *I pionieri italiani nelle nostre Colonie. Appunti storico-geografici*, Roma 1931, 38, 42, 45f., 74, 102, 105, 116, 133, 135, 138ff.; GIOVANNI MARINELLI, *Eugenio Ruspoli e i suoi viaggi nella Somalia e fra i Galla*, Firenze 1895; ANGIOLO MORI, *L'azione coloniale dell'Italia nella Somalia. Il periodo delle esplorazioni*, Roma 1903; GALEAZZO RUSPOLI, *I Ruspoli. Da Carlo Magno a El Alamein*, Roma 2001, 185–213; SILVIO ZAVATTI, *Uomini verso l'ignoto. Gli esploratori del mondo*, Ancona 1979, 260, 344.

Manlio Bonati

Russia, relations with

Early period

R. first showed its interest in Christian Ethiopia towards the beginning of the 18th cent. Prior to that time the Russians, similar to other Europeans, might have met Ethiopians in ↗Jerusalem; any other information about "mythical" ↗*Aithiopía* would have been found in oral accounts collected by Russians travelling abroad.

In 1673, a Saxonian Laurentius Rinhuber (b. in Lucka), briefly in the service of the Russian Tsar Alexej and later an envoy of Ernst I, the Duke of Saxe–Gotha–Altenburg (the patron of Hiob ↗Ludolf) to Moscow, proposed an idea of the Russian–Ethiopian alliance against the ↗Ottoman Empire and the sending of a Russian mission to Ethiopia. In Moscow his ideas were given serious consideration; in 1674 Semion Protopopov, a *podiačij* of Posolskij Prikaz, was dispatched to Saxony, together with Rinhuber, to discuss Turkish affairs and to inquire about Ethiopia. Protopopov returned in December 1674 bringing an extensive memorandum on Ethiopia, on its faith, the Latin propaganda, political situation etc., written by Ludolf. However, at that time, the realization of Rinhuber's idea turned to be impossible. During his last visit to Moscow in 1684, he handed an exemplar of Ludolf's *Historia Aethiopica* to Prince Vasilij Golitsyn, the Head of the Posolskij Prikaz. Two translations of this work were prepared a few years later: a short summary and an exact translation (both kept in St. Petersburg, National Library, mss. F. IV.105 and Pogodin's collection no. 1711). Thereafter, information on Ethiopia reaching R. was only sporadic and indirect, and no attempts at contacts were made over a long period (cp. ↗Pushkin).

Relations in the 19th–20th cent.

The interest in Ethiopia remained, maintained by the general early 19th-cent. development of scholarship (specifically linguistics) in R. and by the first Ethiopian ↗manuscripts brought by Russian diplomats (such as Pavel Dubrovskij, Pjotr Suhtelen). In 1829–36 ↗Gəʿəz was taught at the University of Kharkov (Ukraine, then R.) by ↗Dorn, who, after moving to St. Petersburg in 1836, produced the first scholarly descriptions of twelve Ethiopian manuscripts (at the Institute of Oriental Languages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Imperial Public Library).

From the middle of the 19th cent. onwards, the search for contact was gradually renewed, based on the image of Ethiopia as an Orthodox country, since R. regarded itself as the patron and defender of Eastern Christians. The head of the Russian Orthodox mission in Jerusalem, Archimandrite Porfirij ↗Uspenskij did much to popularize the idea of a political and religious alliance with Ethiopia. For a long time, the "common faith" was frequently referred to as the main argument for establishing close relations with Ethiopia (despite some sceptical voices, cp. ↗Bolotov).

Fragmentary information on R. – a large Christian Empire in the north which had defeated the Turks – also reached Ethiopia. *Aṣe* ↗Tewodros II is reported to have looked for contacts with the Russian Tsar; he knew of the Crimean war (1853–56), hence the name "Sabastopol" for his famous canon (cast by ↗Hall), after the Russian city besieged during that war (1854–55). *Aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV sent letters to Tsar Alexander II (1855–81), as did the Šäwan *nəguś* Mənilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II), but the government in St. Petersburg regarded any active steps as premature.

Changes were brought by important international developments, such as the defeat of the Ottomans in the Russo–Turkish war of 1877–78 and the decline of the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the 19th cent., the Russian government started to see in Ethiopia a chance to counterbalance the colonial ambitions of the ↗United Kingdom in East Africa and to gain a position in the Red Sea. However, the (failed) "Orthodox spiritual mission" of ↗Ashinov had its rôle in the surge of popular slavophile, pan-Orthodox and nationalist moods, rather than in R.'s official politics. In 1889–92, two Russian reconnoitering missions under guidance of ↗Maškov visited Ethiopia. They were followed by the exploratory expedition of Eliseev, Zvjagin and ↗Leontiev in 1894–95. It was only by chance that the political aspect of the latter gained importance, but its outcome was positive for both sides (especially for Ethiopia, by that time *de facto* in a state of war with Italy).

In 1895 *aṣe* Mənilək II sent the first Ethiopian diplomatic mission to R., headed by *fitawrari* Damṭäw. Despite the protests of Italy, which had declared a protectorate over Ethiopia by virtue of the ↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of friendship and commerce, i.e. the Treaty of Wəç̣ale (1889), the Ethiopian mission was met in St. Petersburg with great respect and as the delegation of an independent country. The Russian Foreign Minister Prince Alexej Lobanov-Rostovskij said in his statement to the Italian envoy that R. "had never recognized the Italian protectorate over Ethiopia" and accordingly did not see any obstacles to the establishment of direct relations.

Leontiev managed to convince the Russian government to sell arms to Ethiopia. The first shipment with arms and munition had been sent (with the help of Leontiev and ↗Chefneux) in autumn 1895, but it arrived in Ethiopia only in 1896, after the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa. During the ↗Italian war of 1895–96, Russian sympathy was fully with Ethiopia. Newspapers followed the development of events; a fundraising campaign was started spontaneously to help Ethiopians. In March 1896, a large field ambulance of the ↗Russian Red Cross Mission was sent to Ethiopia, organized on donations and funds allocated by the government to assist Ethiopian soldiers wounded in the battle of ᶜAdwa. Within several months of their activities in Addis Abäba and Harär, the Russian doctors rendered medical care to ca. 30,000 patients. Simultaneously, preparation of local medical personnel began. Later, some Russian doctors became honorary physicians-in-ordinary to the Ethiopian Emperor. *Aṣe* Mənilək II sent five Ethiopian youths to R. for education (one of them being ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat Täklä Maryam).

After the Ethiopian victory, there was no longer any obstacle to the establishment of a permanent political relationship between the two countries. In addition, the French minister of foreign affairs Théophile Delcassé persisted in elaborating a co-ordinated Franco–Russian policy in Ethiopia against the common opponent, Great Britain (cp. ↗Fashoda incident).

In February 1898, the first official Russian diplomatic mission headed by the Envoy Extraordinary Pjotr Vlasov (assisted by A.A. Orlov, his secretary), arrived in Addis Abäba. The diplomats were accompanied by officers (Colonel Leonid K. Artamonov; ↗Bulatovich), a unit of the Cossak-elite troops (under the command of Pjotr N. Krasnov) and a large group of Russian doctors who came to Ethiopia at the request of Mənilək and established the first standing hospital of European kind in the Ethiopian capital.

Russian officers, members of Vlasov's mission, participated in some Ethiopian campaigns in 1896–98. Beside the French, Colonel Leonid Artamonov had participated in the expedition of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Täsämma Nadäw which was supposed to delimit the border of the Sudan between France and Ethiopia at the conjunction of the ↗Nile and Sobat (↗Baro), some 100 km from Fashoda, in accordance with the agreement of 1897. Artamonov personally crossed the Nile and planted the French flag on its left bank. Bulatovich had participated in the campaign of *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis to Lake Rudolf (↗Turkana), and Lieutenant Čertkov took part in the campaign of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel to ↗Beni Šangul. When a military confrontation between Ethiopia and the British became a real danger in 1899, Bulatovich visited the Sudanese border and proposed military measures to Mənilək in case of conflict. Leontiev received the governorship over the "Equatorial provinces" in 1897, but was accused of abuses, lost all his positions and had to leave Ethiopia. A Russian geological expedition led by the mining engineer Nikolaj N. Kurmakov worked in Ethiopia at the invitation of Mənilək in 1904–05. It discovered ↗gold deposits in West ↗Wälläga and organized gold extraction at the state mine in the Meṭi and Birbira river area.

The Russian presence in Ethiopia resulted in growing academic interest in the country. Expeditions yielded a large amount of first-hand information about the cultures and histories of the peoples of Ethiopia, as well as ethnographic and manuscript collections. After Dorn and Bolotov, it was ↗Turaev, who defined ↗Ethiopian studies in R. during the pre-1917 period.

The fact that R. did not have immediate colonial interests in Africa (and the Russian Orthodox Church refrained from any missionary activities), together with its wholehearted support for Ethiopia's sovereignty, helped the Russian mission to grow in importance and to enjoy the favorable attitude of Mənilək. *Abunä* ↗Matewos visited R. in 1902, trying to secure a large Russian credit for Ethiopia and to gain R.'s support in solving problems of Ethiopian possessions in Jerusalem. In 1903, the Russian minister plenipotentiary ↗Lishin came to Addis Abäba. The main principles of the Russian policy in Ethiopia were determined by the instructions of the Foreign Ministry, stressing that "the protection of the independence and territorial integrity of Abyssinia" was to be the fundamental principle of R.'s policy towards Ethiopia.

Despite good relations, Mənilək's hope of a large-scale Russian involvement in Ethiopia was not realized. Thanks to the efforts of the retired Leutenant Nikolaj Šedevr and Russian governmental support, the Ottoman *sulṭān* Abdulhamid II restored the rights of Ethiopian monks in ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān in 1906, though the problem was still far from being solved. It proved impossible to attract substantial Russian investment to Ethiopia (in particular, for gold-mining); in R., some voices were raised against the costly and "luxurious" African involvement of R.'s government. After the defeat in the Japanese war of 1904–05 and the first Russian revolution of 1905, the scale of relations decreased, as did the importance of R.'s diplomatic mission in Addis Abäba. R.'s foreign policy generally turned from confrontation with Great Britain towards an alliance with it. The ↗Tripartite Treaty of 1906 sidelined R.; and in view of the deteriorating health of Mənilək II, R. was not as influential in Ethiopia as before. After Lishin's death, the post of the Russian minister plenipotentiary was cancelled, and the hospital in Addis Abäba was closed. Later, the Russian diplomatic mission was headed by S.A. Lihačov, Skaržinskij, A.I. Kohanovskij, B.N. Čemerzin and N. Vinogradov.

The Russian diplomatic mission in Ethiopia continued till 1919. The principal reason for its closure was the 1917 anti-monarchial revolution in R. An attempt by Soviet R. to resume diplomatic relations in 1921 was rejected by the government of ↗Zäwditu. A small, but remarkable and active Russian Diaspora emerged in Ethiopia in the post-1917 time (such as Admiral D.L. Senjavin; Colonel ↗Konovaloff, s. EAE vol. 5; Captain Buligin). Later, with the exception of the expedition of the Botanist Nikolaj Vavilov in 1926–27, the Horn of Africa occupied only a minor place in Soviet foreign policy. Still, the USSR was the only major power which consistently denounced Italian aggression in 1935, in the ↗League of Nations and elsewhere, referring to the necessity of preserving the collective security system and the equality of the League's members, and refusing to recognize Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia.

The USSR and Ethiopia

In April 1943, during ↗World War II, diplomatic relations between the USSR and Ethiopia were restored. The head of the Ethiopian mission in Moscow was at that time Mihail (Misha) Babichev (the first Ethiopian aviator, a son of Ivan Babichev, who came with the Russian Mission and remained in Ethiopia). The USSR supported the demands of Ethiopia for reparations from Italy as indemnification for the material damage inflicted by the war and occupation.

Political and economic relations between the USSR and Ethiopia in 1943–74, under *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase, were amicable and seemingly balanced. The USSR's involvement was predominantly humanitarian, and gradually expanded, while the Soviet foreign policy in Ethiopia was open, as elsewhere, to any potentials to extend also its political influence.

In 1945 the Russian Center for Science and Culture was opened in Addis Abäba (initially called the "Permanent Soviet Exhibition"). In 1946, during the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the battle of ʿAdwa, the Ethiopian government, in commemoration of the Russian Red Cross Mission, asked the USSR to open a Russian hospital. A permanent Russian Red Cross hospital – today known as the "[*däǧǧazmač*] Balča hospital" – began its activities in 1947. (On 20 September 1997, an agreement was signed to prolong the operation of the hospital for a further 25 years.) Regular teaching of ↗Amharic was introduced in a few universities in Moscow and Leningrad where Orientalists were trained. Various issues of Ethiopian studies were closely attended by such prominent academicians as, e.g., ↗Kračkovskij, Marija V. Rait (cp. Taddia 2009), Dmitrij A. Olderogge (who in 1968 received the prize of Ḫaylä Śəllase I), Sevir Borisovich ↗Chernetsov (s. EAE vol. 5).

Ḫaylä Śəllase I visiting the African Exhibition of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography ("Kunstkammer"), St. Petersburg, on 7 July 1959, Prof. Dmitrij A. Olderogge (right) showing the Ethiopian part of the exhibition to the Emperor; photo courtesy of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Science, St. Petersburg (МАЭ РАН, КIV, оп. 1, 43, no. 58)

In 1959, Ḫaylä Śəllase visited the USSR. In 1962, R. built and equipped the Polytechnic College of ↗Baḥər Dar, as a gift to Ethiopia. Initially, a considerable number of its teachers were Soviet citizens. In 1967 an oil refinery in ↗ᶜAsäb was commissioned. Its capacity was as much as 800 thousand tons of crude oil per year. Still, Soviet involvement was much less in Ethiopia than in ↗Somalia, especially in view of the fact that the ↗United States had a strong position in Ethiopia in the 1960s assisting in many fields, most importantly in the large-scale modernization of the Ethiopian armed forces (↗Army; cp. ↗Peace Corps; ↗Qaññäw). By means of the Soviet presence, Ḫaylä Śəllase strengthened his image as leader of the ↗Non-Aligned Movement and of the ↗Organisation of African Unity.

Relations between the Ethiopian Orthodox and Russian Orthodox churches were resumed in the 1940s. High-ranking delegations of the Russian Orthodox Church visited Ethiopia in 1959, 1966, 1969 and 1974; in 1978, *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot visited the USSR. Starting from the middle-1960s, the Leningrad Spiritual Academy accepted the first students from Ethiopia.

The period from 1974 to 1991 was the time of the most active Soviet–Ethiopian cooperation and Soviet influence. In the 1970s, in a situation of decreasing American attention to Ethiopia, the diminishing personal power of Ḫaylä Śəllase and worsening internal problems in the country, the USSR largely abstained from involvement in the Eritrean conflict and from supporting radicals in the ↗Ethiopian Student movement (cp. ↗Mäʾison, ↗Revolution). It was not until 1976 that the USSR started to respond enthusiastically to developments in Ethiopia, after Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam had openly proclaimed the country to be developing in the direction of "scientific socialism", and American military aid was fully stopped. A Soviet–Ethiopian agreement on military cooperation followed. While tension between Somalia and Ethiopia was growing and mediation efforts did not succeed, Soviet military aid to Somalia was stopped and Soviet presence there ceased. Despite accusations that the Soviet aid made it possible for Siad Barre to build up a strong military force, the USSR (assisted by Cuba and some others from the "socialist camp") was de facto the only country which provided massive help for the crumbling Ethiopian military forces during the critical time of the ↗Ogaden war of 1977–78.

The period up to the late 1980s, has still not been properly evaluated, and was marked by controversial trends: large-scale military and economic aid from the USSR and other countries of the "socialist camp" (thousands of Ethiopians educated, many dozens of projects realized in Ethiopia) and the grave consequences of attempts to implant the Soviet experience on Ethiopian soil, this being one of the reasons for the fall of the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) in 1991. Remarkably, Soviet involvement contributed to a surge of Ethiopian studies in the USSR (mostly on development issues and political science), as Moscow hosted the 9th ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in 1986 (cp. PICES 9). After the fall of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam's government and the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and R. were maintained and are currently positive.

Src.: Leonid Artamonov, *Čerez Efiopiju k beregam Belogo Nila* ('Through Ethiopia to the Shores of the White Nile'), ed. by Isidor Savvič Katsnelson, Moscow 1979; GueCopMen 472 n. 1, and s. index; Sevir Černetsov, "Efiopskij dnevnik russkogo vrača, 1898–1899" ('Ethiopian Diary of a Russian Physician, 1898–1899'), *Vestnik Vostočnogo Instituta. Acta Institutionis Orientalis* 2 [10], 2001, 4–41 [Eng.: Walter Raunig – Asfa-Wossen Asserate, *Äthiopien zwischen Orient und Okzident* …, Münster 2004, 173–38]; Apollon Davidson – Sergej Mazov (eds.), *Rossija i Afrika. Documenty i materialy. XVIII v.–1960 g.* ('Russia and Africa. Documents and Materials: 18th cent.–1960'), vol. 1, Moscow 1999; Jurij Elets, *Imperator Menelik i ego vojna s Italiej. Po dokumentam i pohodnym dnevnikam N.S. Leontjeva* ('Emperor Mənilək and his War with Italy. After the Documents and Travel Diaries of N.S. Leontiev'), St. Peterburg 1898; Andrej Hrenkov, *Rossijsko–efiopskije otnošenija v XIX – načale XX v.* ('Russian–Ethiopian Relations in the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Cent.'), Moscow 1998; Pjotr Krasnov, *Kazaki v Abissinii* ('The Cossacks in Abyssinia'), St. Petersburg 1900; V. Krohin – Maria Rait, "Materialy arhiva vnešnej politiki Rossii. Nekotoryje novyje dokumenty o russko–efiopskih otnošenijah" ('Materials of the Archive of External Policy of Russia. Some New Documents Regarding Russian–Ethiopian Relations'), *Problemy vostokovedenija* 1, 1960, 69–74; Vjačeslav Platonov, *Efiopskije rukopisi v sobranijah Sankt-Peterburga. Katalog* ('Ethiopian Manuscripts in Collections of St. Petersburg. A Catalogue'), St. Petersburg 1996; Id. – Sevir Černetsov, "«Razlicija v vere meždu efiopami i russkimi» – kratkij memorandum …" ('«Differences in Faith between the Ethiopians and the Russians» – a Short Memorandum …'), *Hristianskij vostok* new ser. 4 [10], 2006, 322-31; RubActa II, nos. 91, 205; Boris Turaev, *Efiopskije rukopisi v Sankt Peterburge* ('Ethiopian Manuscripts in St. Petersburg'), St. Petersburg 1906 (Pamjatniki efiopskoj pismennosti 3); ZerÉth 486f.

Lit.: CerPal s. index; Paul B. Henze, *Russians and the Horn: Opportunism and the Long View*, Marina del Ray, CL 1983 (European–American Institute for Security Research 5); Czeslaw Jesman, *The Russians in Ethiopia: an Essay in Futility*, London 1958; David A. Korn, *Ethiopia, the United States and the Soviet Union*, London 1986; Ignatij Kračkovskij, *Vvedenie v efiopskuju filologiju* ('Introduction into Ethiopian Philology'), Leningrad 1955 (Lit.); Evgenij Morozov, *Vnešnjaja politika Efiopii i rossijsko–efiopskije otnošenija v kontse XIX – načale XX vekov* ('External Policy of Ethiopia and Russian–Ethiopian Relations in the End of the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Cent.'), St. Petersburg 2007 (Lit.); Ignazio Guidi, "La chiesa abissina e la chiesa russa", *Nuova Antologia* ser. 3, 26, 1890, 597–611; *PICES* 4; *PICES* 9; Catherine Pillet de Grodzinska, *Les premières informations sur l'Éthiopie parvenues en Russie de 1370 à 1800*, Paris 1996 (Conférences et Documents 9); E. Pugač – Sevir Černetsov, "Udivitelnaja žizn' i sud'ba Evgenija Vsevolodoviča Senigova" ('A Wondrous Life and Destiny of Eugenij Vsevolodovič Senigov'), *Azija i Afrika segodnja* 3, 1, 2003, 29–30; Maria Rajt, "Russkije ekspeditsii v Efiopii v XIX – načale XX vv. i ih etnografičeskije issledovanija" ('Russian Expeditions to Ethiopia in the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Cent. and their Ethnographic Research'), *Afrikanskij etnografičeskij sbornik* 1, 1956, 220–81; RubInd 396, s. index; Irma Taddia, *Russian Ethnographers and the Horn of Africa (20th cent.). Maria Veniaminovna Rait: "My 50 Years with Ethiopia"*, Paris 2009; Edward Thomas Wilson, *Russia and Black Africa before World War II*, New York 1947, 54–78 (Lit.); Carlo Zaghi, *I russi in Etiopia*, Napoli 1972–73.

Andrej Khrenkov – Evgenij Morozov

Russian Red Cross Mission

After the main military campaign in the ↗Italian war of 1895–96, the Russian Red Cross Society decided to send a medical mission to Ethiopia, to render medical help to the wounded. Initially, it was decided that the mission should be made up of two teams: one helping the Ethiopians, and another helping the Italians. The mission, headed by General-Major Nikolaj Švedov, included 61 persons. The members were: K.S. Zvjagin, Lieutenant Ju.V. Kahovskij, Lieutenant Colonel E.Ja. Maksimov, "Cornet" (standard bearer) F.E. Krindač, Leutenant ↗Bulatovich. The mission included also doctors F.A. Goltsinger, K.A. Bykovskij, G.V. Bobin, Boleslav Rodzevič, N.P. Brovtsin, D.L. Glinskij; four students of the Military Medical Academy: K.N. Krečunesko, P. Ščusev, G.G. Fjodorov, P.P. Miller; six medical assistants: N.D. Patsukevič, S.E. Sason, P. K. Kuznetsov, V. Filippov, F. Pavlov, M. Rohkovskij, the pharmacists K.L. Ljudvig and A. Vilde, 12 nurses, 21 paramedics, Ethiopian interpreters Ilya Shojskij and Pjotr Stefanos, as well as Hieromonk Alexander (Rait 1956:232f.). The Russian government allocated 150,000 rubles for the mission, which was organized and equiped in less than two weeks. The members were instructed by ↗Bolotov.

When the mission arrived in Odessa, it became known that the Italian government refused to accept its medical help, and forbade the Russians to pass through Eritrea.

On 30 March 1896 the mission left for Alexandria aboard the "Russia" and arrived on 7 April; on 24 April it left aboard the "Nubia" and arrived in ↗Djibouti on 1 May (Švedov 1897:7ff.). On the way to Addis Abäba, the mission stayed in Harär for a while, waiting for the permission of *aṣe* Mənilək II, who initially was cautious about this large group of foreigners (many of them military) and their purposes. A few members of the mission stayed in Harär, to work there under the auspices of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel. In August the mission arrived in Addis Abäba and was accommodated in the former mansion of the French trader Stevenin, which had been bought by Mənilək.

The hospital was set up in tents and immediately started operating, being the first modern European medical institution in Ethiopia. The efficiency of the professional medical help, which was free and regardless of social status or confession, soon became known, and the popularity of the Russian hospital quickly increased. The

The Secretary of the Russian Diplomatic mission to Ethiopia, A. Orlov, doctors M. Lebedinsky, N. Brovtsin (from left to right); photo courtesy of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (no. 4028–310)

doctors worked with great industry, treating up to 150 people daily and performing surgery; the branch of the mission in Harär (6 May–1 July) operated in the same way.

The mission departed on 25 October, having rendered medical help to some 30,000 sick and wounded (Švedov 1897:20). Rodzevič, Ščusev, Fjodorov, Sason and one paramedic stayed behind in Addis Abäba for the next three months. The mission's activity inspired Mənilək to set up an Ethiopian precursor of the Red Cross Society, which received its first medical equipment from the Russian doctors.

The Russian hospital was frequented by nobles and high-ranking Ethiopians. It was visited by *ras* Mäkʷännən on 26 October 1896, and on 3 November by *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu. Mənilək visited the hospital on many other occasions, and on 2 November he personally observed a surgical operation. Courses for educating medical staff were started in both Addis Abäba and Harär; a guidebook concerning etiology, hygiene and basic methods of medical help was prepared in Amharic (cp. Ščusev 1897).

Mənilək asked Švedov to request the Russian government on his behalf to send fresh personnel, to replace those who had left. This request was granted, and the new mission went to Ethiopia in October 1897 (doctors Brovtsin and M.I. Lebedinskij, pharmacist B.G. Lukjanov, medical assistants Kuznetsov and Sason). In 1899, a new building was built (later it became the Mənilək II Hospital), and the Russian hospital continued to operate until 1906, when the political presence of ↗Russia in Ethiopia started to diminish. The Russian medical presence was resumed only in 1947, with the establishment of the famous Balča-Hospital.

Src.: APOLLON DAVIDSON – SERGEJ MAZOV (eds.), *Rossija i Afrika. Documenty i materialy. XVIII v. – 1960 g.* ('Russia and Africa. Documents and Materials: 18th cent. – 1960'), Moscow 1999, vol. 1, nos. 103–09; D. GLINSKIJ, *Žizn' russkogo sanitarnogo otrjada v Harrare (iz vospominaniy ob Abissinii)* ('The Life of a Russian Medical Team in Harär [from Recollections about Abyssinia]'), Grodna 1899; GueCopMen 454 (Lit.); ANDREJ HRENKOV, *Rossijsko–efiopskie otnošenija v XIX – načale XX v.* ('Russian–Ethiopian Relations in the 19th – Beginning of the 20th Cent.'), Moscow 1998, nos. 49, 51–56, 59, 61–64, 68ff.; F. KRINDAČ, *Russkij kavalerist v Abissinii. Iz Džibuti v Harar* ('A Russian Cavalryman in Ethiopia. From Djibouti to Harär'), St. Petersburg 1897; MIHAIL I. LEBEDINSKIY, "Pervyj gospital' v Abissinii" ('The First Hospital in Abyssinia'), *Istoričeskij vestnik* 11, 1912, 811–26; PJOTR ŠČUSEV, *Vračebnye sovety dlja abissintsev* ('Medical Advices for the Abyssinians'), tr. by ELYAS BÄZZABBƏH, St. Petersburg 1897 [in Amharic, with Russian title and foreword]; NIKOLAJ K. ŠVEDOV, *Russjskij Krasnyj Krest v Abissinii v 1896 g.* ('Russian Red Cross in Abyssinia in 1896'), St. Petersburg 1897.

Lit.: CZESLAW JESMAN, *The Russians in Ethiopia. An Essay in Futility*, London 1958, 89; EVGENIJ MOROZOV, *Vnešnjaja politika Efiopii i rossijsko–efiopskije otnošenija v kontse XIX – načale XX vekov* ('Foreign Policy of Ethiopia and Russian–Ethiopian Relations in the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th cent.'), St. Petersburg 2007, 119–27 (Lit.); RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Beginnings of Modern Medicine in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 9, 2, 1965, 114–60, here 124–29 (Lit.); MARIA RAIT, "Russkije ekspeditsii v Efiopii v XIX – načale XX vv. i ih etnografičeskije issledovanija" ('Russian Expeditions to Ethiopia in the 19th – Beginning of the 20th cent. and their Ethnographic Research'), *Afrikanskij etnografičeskij sbornik* 1, 1956, 220–81, here 242–45.

Evgenij Morozov

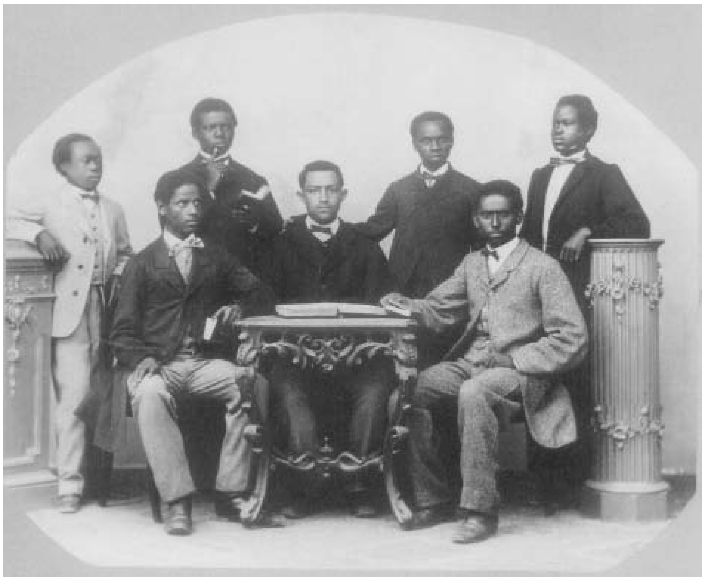
Ruufoo

R. (b. ca. 1848/49, Gombotaa, Guummaa, d. 23 January 1871, Cairo) was the first Oromo to translate important portions of the Bible into ↗Oromiffa. He was, at the age of eleven or twelve, sold by order of "*mooti* Ončo" (probably ↗Ǧaawe Ončo of Gummaa) to fulfil his parents' tax obligations. After having worked for several years as a slave and shepherd in Goǧǧam, R. was purchased and redeemed in 1865 by German Protestant missionaries at the slave market of ↗Mätämma.

Between 1866–68 R. was given Christian education in Weinheim, Baden, and the Pietist settlement Kornthal, Württemberg. In the same period he translated, in the house of the missionary ↗Krapf, the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, the Gospel of Luke, and also revised Krapf's own translations of the Gospels of John and Matthew as well as portions of the O.T. The translation was based on the Greek Bible and a revised version of ↗Abu Rumi's Amharic Bible. The manuscript which resulted from Krapf's and R.'s collaboration was revised by Krapf after 1868, when another Oromo Bible manuscript was delivered to Krapf (written by *aläqa* ↗Zännäb in Ethiopia, and, as Krapf noted, highly similar to R.'s version). Although at first the Latin alphabet was employed, in 1870 it was decided to print the N.T. in the Gəʿəz ↗script, in view of the Šäwa Oromo, who were already acquainted with it. The first portions of the Bible arrived in Šäwa in 1870/71.

In 1867 R. also worked in the Amharic printing house of the ↗St. Chrischona Pilgermission near Basle, was accepted for a missionary education there and baptized in the church of St. Chrischona on 23 May 1869, receiving the new name "Christian Paulus Ludwig Rufo". In the same year he was proposed for a post at the prospective West-Swiss Oromo mission and sent to Jerusalem to pursue his missionary education. Later he continued his education among the German Protestant community in Cairo where he died of a lung disease.

↗Bible: Bible translation into Oromo



Ruufoo, seated at the table (left), around the time of his baptism in Basle, May 1869, with the other African students of the St. Chrischona Pilgermission; at the table: Mikaʾel Arägawi (right), Ǝngdašät alias Wilhelm Schimper junior (middle); second row: Sudanese and West-African students; from the collections of the St. Chrischona Pilgermission, Library

Src.: LUDWIG KRAPF – *Debtera* SANEB – ROOFO (tr.), Wangeelii Luqaasii – **ወንጌሊ፡ ሉቃሲ** (*Wängeli Luqasi*, 'The Gospel according to St. Luke'), St. Chrischona 1870; YOḤANNƎS LUWIS KRAPF et al. (tr.), Qulqulloota maṭaafoota kabuu harawaa afaan yoonaaniitti gara afaan oromootti – **ቁልቁሎታ፡ መጣፎታ፡ ከኩ፡ ሐረዋ፡ አፋን፡ ዮናኒቲ፡ ገረ፡ አፋን፡ ኦሮሞቲ** – *The Holy Books of the New Testament* [*translated*] *from Greek into Oromo*, St. Chrischona 1876.

Lit.: JOHANNES KOBER, *Anjama*, Basel 1882, 77f.; KARL FRIEDRICH LEDDERHOSE, *Galla-Büchlein. Aus dem Leben der Galla-Negerin Pauline Johanne Fathme*, Basel ³1867, 55f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Beginnings of Oromo Studies in Europe", *Africa* (Roma) 31, 2, 1976, 199–205; WOLBERT SMIDT, "The Unknown First Oromo Bible Translator Christian Rufo: Some Insights from Private Missionary Archives", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 634–50; ID., "Quellenübersicht zur Biographie des ehemaligen Sklaven und ersten Oromo-Bibelübersetzers Christian Rufo", *AAP* 67, 2001, 181–97 (Lit.).

Wolbert Smidt

S

Ṣäᶜada Ǝmba

Ṣ.Ǝ. (**ጸዐዳ፡ እምባ**; also Ṣäᶜada Amba, 'White Mountain') is a historical site and *wäräda* in ↗Šire, Tǝgray, between the rivers Märäb and Täkkäze, ca. 75 km north of Mäq̱älä (for location s. map for Šire). Furthermore, Ṣ.Ǝ. is the site of the monastery Ǝnda Abunä Märᶜawi Krǝstos (to be distinguished from the Ṣ.Ǝ. [Śǝllase] monastery in the vicinity of ↗Kärän).

According to local tradition, Märᶜawi Krǝstos was a monk from Aksum who, during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yǝkunno Amlak in the 13th cent., brought a *tabot* provenient from Jerusalem to Ṣ.Ǝ. Among the numerous miracles the saintly monk is believed to have performed was assembling 500 followers on the way from Aksum to the new monastery and teaching them reading and writing within three days (EllLusAnt 14ff.; KinBibl no. 103). The place is said to have been visited by *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot during one of his journeys in Tǝgray, as well as by his disciple ↗Anorewos (HuntGeogr 71, 84).

Another tradition ascribes the (re)foundation of the monastery at Ṣ.Ǝ. to Danǝᵓel of Tämben, who is believed to have been a 15th-cent. follower of *abunä* Täklä Haymanot's disciple ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ (KinBibl no. 38).

↗Ellero counted 56 monks at Ǝndä Abunä Märᶜawi Krǝstos in the 1930s. According to them, the monastery had been an important centre of ↗manuscript culture, esp. when, after *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's troops destroyed many religious texts, *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs sent 171 copyists to Ṣ.Ǝ. to produce new copies (EllLusAnt 14ff.).

In the 17th cent., the area of Š. was used by Iyasu I as a stronghold for launching attacks against "[↗]Šanqǝlla" and Dubani (↗Nara) in late 1692 (GuiIohan 158f.). In December 1935 the neighboring areas (May Ṭǝmqät, Pass Dämbägʷena, Säläk̠lak̠a) witnessed fierce battles between the troops of *ras* ↗Ǝmmǝru Ḫaylä Śǝllase and the advancing Italians.

Src.: AmhChurchD II, 342 [33]; BassÉt I, 324 (text), 413 (tr.); CRAxum 21, 27 (text) = 24f., 31 (tr.) [nos. 8, 22]; GuiIohan 158f. (text) = 165 (tr.); HuntGeogr 71, 84, 218.

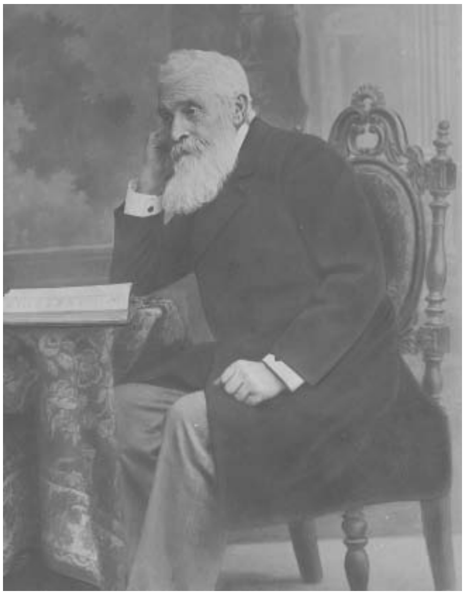
Lit.: AfrZion 189, no. 89; EllLusAnt 6ff., 14ff.; KinBibl 68 [no. 38], 82 [no. 103].

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Saalmüller, Karl Heinrich

S. (b. 29 November 1829, Heldburg, Thuringia, Germany, d. 1906) was a Protestant lay missionary and craftsman active in Ethiopia from 1859 to 1868 in the mission led by the ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission and Bishop ↗Gobat.

Originally, S. was a locksmith; in 1854 he joined the missionary courses at St. Chrischona, graduated in 1857 and then worked in Löwenthal. Due to Tewodros II's demand for craftsmen he was sent to Ethiopia in October 1858 to work for him in ↗Mäqdäla. In 1860 S. joined the craftsmen's colony of ↗Gafat. In his reports S. showed a quite pronounced pessimism towards the possibility of reforming the Ethiopian Church, in contrast to some of his more optimistic co-missionaries (Strebel 2001:148). However, he believed that craftsmanship could help considerably in "civilizing" Ethiopia. Together with the former tsarist soldier ↗Hall and his later brother-in-law ↗Wald-



Karl Saalmüller in his old age, Brumana, Libanon; photo by Adrian Bonfils, ca. 1900, from the collection of Trish Little meier, S. cast the famous cannon "Sebastopol" for the Ethiopian ruler (Smidt 2005a: 307).

In ca. 1866/67 S. was married by Tewodros to Bällätạ̈čč (also Mary; b. 1853 Däbrä Tabor, d. 1 October 1936 Brummana, Lebanon) of Ditäm (mount Guna, Bägemdər), the daughter of the royal advisor *liqä mäkʷas* ↗Bell and Tewodros's eldest grandniece *wäyzäro* Wärqənäš Yəlma Asfaw (b. ca. 1830/32; daughter of *wäyzäro* Wəšän Kənfu, b. ca. 1815, d. after 1855). During the last weeks of Tewodros's reign only Hall, Waldmeier and S. remained on good terms with Tewodros. Unlike the others, they were not chained, but remained his courtiers until the end. This particular relationship may be explained by the fact that they were all married to women of Ethiopian origin, and had cast Tewodros's most powerful weapon (cp. Strebel 2001: 138ff.).

After having been brought out of Ethiopia by the British army under ↗Napier in 1868, S. and his wife joined the mission in Jaffa together with Hall, and, in 1874, Waldmeier's school in Brummana, Lebanon, where he taught craftsmanship to boys (a missionary document of 1883 mentions him in Lebanon "in Syria" in 1881). After his death, Bällätạ̈čč continued to live in Brummana, where she run a "convalescent home", later a family hotel. Their four children grew up there with the children of Waldmeier. Their daughter Stefana (b. 1874, d. 1978, Puerto de Andraitx, Majorca) married the British colonial officer and consul in ↗Gondär, ↗Armbruster (Smidt 2005: 124).

Src.: Staatsarchiv Basel, PA 653, D3, V; ROGER ACTON, *Abyssinia*, London 1868, 70, 72; STEFANA ARMBRUSTER, *Life and History of John Bell and his Descendants by his Granddaughter*, Palma de Mallorca 1966; *Extract From the Family History as Told by Stefana Armbruster-Saalmüller of Mallorca*, ms., in possession of Eva Affolter-Heer, Olten; *Calwer Missionsblatt* 36, Nr. 10, Oktober 1863, 79; *Mittheilungen aus der Correspondenz der Pilgermission, zunächst für deren auswärtige Brüder bestimmt* 2, 1862, 9f.; *ibid.* 4, August 1868, 13f.; RubActa II, 189; THEOPHILUS WALDMEIER, *The Autobiography of Theophilus Waldmeier*, London – Leominster [1886/87], 21–24.

Lit.: ArEvang, index; GERD GRÄBER, "Die befreiten Geiseln Kaiser Tewodros' II. Aus dem Photoalbum der Royal Engineers 1867/68", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 159–82; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Deutsche Briefe von Äthiopiern 1855–1869 aus dem Umkreis der protestantischen Mission zur Regierungszeit von Tewodros II.", in: *VarAeth* 287–316; ID., *Ethiopia and Germany, 100 Years Diplomatic Relations*, Addis Ababa 2005, 16f., 124; BARBARA STREBEL, "Leben auf dem Missionsfeld. Chrischona-Pilgermission in Äthiopien (1856–1868)", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 121–57.

Wolbert Smidt

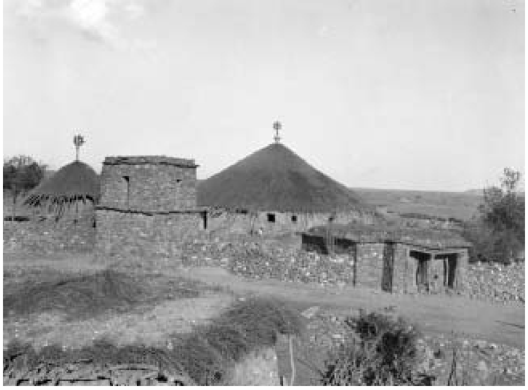
Säᶜatat: Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat s. EAE vol. 5

Ṣäᶜazzäga

Ṣ. (**ጸዓዘጋ**, also Ṣəᶜazzäga, Ṣäᶜadzäga, 15° 20' 60 N, 38° 47' 60 E, 2,269 m A.S.L.), is a village in ↗Ḥamasen, Eritrea, ↗Däqqi Täššəm district, with about 4,600 inhabitants (for location s. map for Ṣänᶜadäglä). It was the seat of the dominant younger branch of the dynasty of Ḥamasen ("*ənda* Ṣäᶜazzäga"), who competed for power with the older branch in nearby ↗Hazzäga.

According to oral tradition, Ṣ. was founded in the early 17th cent. by two younger sons of the local noble Täsfa Ṣəyon (Täsfaṣen) of Hazzäga, Täkkälä and ᶜAggäba. In the mid-17th cent., their descendants in Ṣ. took over control of the ↗Märäb Məllaš, dominating it until the 1870s. Powerful members of this branch were the late 17th-cent. rulers *däğğazmač* ↗Habśəllus and his son ↗Gäbrä Krəstos, who created the law of the district, the ↗*Ḥəggi Hab Ṣəllus Gärä K̠əstos*, which is still in use in Ṣ. and surroundings. The latter's grandson, *baḥri nägaśi* ↗Sälomon Täsfa Ṣəyon, had his seat at Ṣ. and ruled over the whole highlands north of the Märäb. In the late 1850s, Ṣ. was pillaged and burnt by the ↗*Nāʾib*, who extended part of his power over the highlands in competition with the dynasty of Ṣ. (MunSt 174).

The most important member of the Ṣ. dynasty in the 19th cent. was *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən. Occasionally, his rule in Ṣ. was interrupted by appointments of members of the rivalling branch of Hazzäga, especially of his fiercest enemy *raʾəsi* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälomon. Their feud reached the climax when Wäldä Mikaʾel (having replaced the deposed Ḫaylu in 1875) declared Ḥamasen subject of Egypt in 1876, and Ḫaylu reclaimed rulership with seat at Ṣ. (reinstated in



The main church of Ṣäᶜazzäga photographed during the expedition by Leo Frobenius; photo 1915, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (07-8209 M –IP)

March 1876). Ḫaylu's death at the battle of Wäkki Dəbba near Ṣ. in July 1876 ended the rule of the house of Ṣ. The rulership over the Märäb Məllaš passed into the hands of Təgrayan appointees, until in 1889 Ṣ. was occupied by Italy. ↗Abärra Kaśa Ḫaylu, who organized resistance against the Italians, was the last politically important member of the dynasty. Allegedly, ↗Aman Mikaᵓel ᶜAndom from Ṣ., was also a descendant through a side-line.

Ṣ. also plays a prominent role in Eritrean ↗Protestantism. In the late 1860s the priest ↗Wäldä Śəllase Kənfu founded there a local Bible readers movement (↗Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən). In 1872, the Swedish Evangelical Mission (↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen) established a station and a school at Ṣ. Still today a great part of the inhabitants of the area are Protestants.

The main church of Ṣ., St. George, preserves a number of richly illuminated manuscripts, donated by the local dynasty (KolTrad 3, A66), including a manuscript containing the dynasty's genealogy. Traditional oral historiography contains rich accounts of the rulers of Ṣ. Its most important documentation is the **ዛንታ፡ ጸአዘጋን፡ ሃዘጋን** (*Zanta Ṣəᶜazzägan Hazzägan*, 'The Traditions of Ṣəᶜazzäga and Hazzäga'), collected by ↗Kolmodin (KolTrad I–III).

Src.: interview with Bärhe Gäbrä Mikaᵓel Gäbrä Ab, 72 years, Ṣäᶜazzäga, March 2000; GuiIohan; KolTrad I–II, index; "Les annales modernes de Hazzega", in: KolTrad III, A102–A111; RubActa II, III, index.

Lit.: ANDOM GABRAMIKĀEL, *A Biography of Dajjāzmāch Hāylu Tawalda Madihin of Hamāsen, 1815–1876*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Haile Selassie I University, Addis Ababa 1973; ArEvang 197–201; KilHDic 411f.; MunSt 174; RUFFILO PERINI – GABRÈ NEGÙS, *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàsc*), Firenze 1905; WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "Before Eritrea, before the Diaspora: *Habesha* in Exile and on Missions Abroad in the 19th Century", *Eritrean Studies Review* 4, 2, 2005, 1–36, here 11–14; ZewYohan 81.

Wolbert Smidt

Sab ↗Somali

Sabaᵓ

The best known kingdom of pre-Islamic south ↗Arabia is assuredly the kingdom of S. ($S^1B^ᵓ$), also known on account of its famous queen (cp. ↗Makədda) who, legend claims, travelled to visit King ↗Solomon. In South Arabian ↗inscriptions, S. is the name of a sedentary tribe formed around the cult of a common god, ↗Almaqah; S. is also the name of the territory and the kingdom of the tribe of S.

The heart of this kingdom was the area of Mārib in the *wādī* D̠ana (the ancient D̠ᵓNT). Exceptionally large by south Arabian standards, Mārib was the political capital – the royal palace was there (Ja 644:6–7: *ᵓbyt mlkn S^1lḥn b-hgrn Mryb*) – and it was also the main religious centre of the kingdom. The name of the palace is attested in the titles of the Aksumite kings, usually in the form *S^1lḥnm* (cp. ↗Sälḥen; e.g., RIÉ nos. 185:2, 185bis:2, 186:3, etc.; cp. ↗Sälḥen).

The irrigation works in the Mārib oasis date to the end of the second millennium B.C. or even earlier, according to certain scholars. The most famous of these works is the Mārib dam that was restored in the mid-6th cent. A.D. by the Christian king of Aksumite origin ↗Abraha and is mentioned in the inscription CIH 541. The breach of the Mārib dam and the abandonment of the oasis (apparently at the beginning of the 7th cent.) marked the end of the ancient South Arabian civilization.

The earliest Sabaic epigraphic documentation (cp. ↗Epigraphic South Arabian) dates from the beginning of the first millennium B.C., and inscriptions from that period have been found not only in the Mārib region, but also in south Ǧawf and even further, in Tihāma, along the Red Sea coast and on the Yemeni high plateau. The first inscription in the Epigraphic South Arabian to become known in Europe was found by Henry ↗Salt in Ethiopia. The material collected by explorers and scholars who began travelling to southern Arabia in the mid-19th cent. was mainly composed of Sabaic inscriptions. Furthermore, the earliest archaeological missions to southern Arabia were to Sabaean territory (Rathjens's excavations in al-Huqqa in 1928 and the American Foundation for the Study of the Man mission to Mārib in the 1950s).

The history of the kingdom of S. was long – from the beginning of the first millennium B.C. to the end of the 3rd cent. A.D. when it was defeated by the kingdom of ↗Ḥimyar. The history of its language was even longer – indeed Ḥimyarite inscriptions were written in Sabaic until the 6th cent. A.D.

There are clear signs of Sabaean hegemony in southern Arabia in the first half of the first millennium B.C. and some Sabaean kings attempted to unify the country between the 8th and 7th cent. B.C. A major inscription (RES 3945) regarding the military enterprises of the king Karibᵓīl Watar probably also mentions an expedition planned to the opposite shore of the ↗Red Sea. In the first half of the first millennium, Sabaean kings bore the title of *mukarrib* of S.

A throne of the Ethio-Sabaic period, showing a scene from the court, National Museum of Ethiopia, Addis Abäba; photo 2009, courtesy of Pawel Wolf

Between the 1st cent. B.C. and the 2nd cent. A.D., S. forged an alliance with the Ḥimyarite kingdom to form the kingdom of “S. and ḏū ↗Raydān”. There is an indication of this phase of unification of the two regions in the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (ch. 23). This alliance fell apart at the end of the 2nd cent. A.D., and for over 100 years the two kingdoms waged war against each other in which Abyssinian troops from Tihāma (↗Ḥabašāt) also took part.

There is early 2nd-cent. epigraphic documentation of two Sabaean kings which has emerged as important for understanding the relations between S. and the Ethiopian region at the end of the 2nd cent. A.D. The inscription CIH 308, of the reign of the Sabaean king ᶜLHN NHFN, commemorates a mission to establish peace with king ↗GDRT, probably the same king as GDR commemorated in RIÉ no. 180 in non-vocalized ↗Gəᶜəz: *Gdr ngśy ʾksm*. A Sabaean ambassador travelled to GDRT in ca. 210–30 A.D. during the reign of the son of ᶜLHN NHFN, but as indicated by the inscription (Ja 631) war broke out at that point between S. and the king of Aksum. There are several inscriptions from the ensuing period, in the 3rd cent. A.D., that mention wars between S. and the Ḥabašāt, who were often allied with Ḥimyar.

The earliest known written documentation from Ethiopia, from the pre-Aksumite period (s. EAE vol. 3, 156ff.), points to very close relations between S. and Ethiopia. With certain peculiarities, the language of these inscriptions is close to Sabaic. It is written in an ancient-period Sabaean script, and shows the same attention to text composition typical of South Arabian Sabaic epigraphic documents (cp. ↗Script). Some texts are boustrophedon (RIÉ nos. 1, 8, 9, 10, etc.).The authors of some inscriptions explicitly state that they are from Mārib (RIÉ no. 39: *Lḥy grbyn bn Yqdmʾ[lbn F]qmm ḏ-Mryb*; cp. RIÉ nos. 27: 1–2; 30: 1–2).

Similar to royal onomastics in Sabaic, the royal ↗names are sometimes double but, unlike in contemporary Sabaic inscriptions, the kings did not have peculiarly royal names. In RIÉ no. 61, an altar fragment from ↗Mäṭära, king LMN is invoked together with a king named SMHᶜLY who was assuredly a king of S.

The pantheon of divinities referred to in ↗pre-Aksumite inscriptions is Sabaean (↗Religion: Aksumite). The divine symbols are the same (e.g., the symbol of Almaqah, RIÉ nos. 33 and 34). In RIÉ no. 1 the divinities are invoked in the Sabaean order of protocol: ᶜṮTR (↗ᶜAstär), HBS¹ (↗HWBS), ʾLMQH, ↗Ḏāt-Ḥimyam, ḎT-BᶜDNM. There is a special cult attested for HBS¹ (RIÉ nos. 35, 62, 69, 70). While some scholars hold that HBS¹ was probably a goddess in S., in Ethiopia HBS¹ seems to be a male god (RIÉ nos. 1, 4: *Hbs¹ bᶜl ᶜḏt*, ‘HBS¹ the Lord of *ᶜḏt*”) – but the appellative “Lord” is also attributable to female divinities in South Arabia.

The architecture of the temple of ↗Yəḥa studied by the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition in 1906 and excavated by de Maigret in 1998 during the French mission to Təgray, is reminiscent of similar, early first-millennium B.C. structures in Ǧawf. The similarities between the temple of Yəḥa and the temple of the god NKRḤ in Barāqiš are striking not only in the overall basic architecture but also in the technical aspects of the actual building, the details of how the space for worship has been organized and in the decorative elements.

The objects that the texts are engraved on are similar to those of S.: frankincense burners with a pyramid base with abstract figures (RIÉ nos. 8, 9, 10, 20, 25, 34, etc.) have clear parallels in S. such as the offering tables with a bull’s head protome (RIÉ no. 35). The name for incense-burners – *mqṭr* – is the same as that attested in Sabaic inscriptions. Despite some unique features, there are some very clear parallels with Sabaean statuary from the care with which the face is represented to the position of the arms (RIÉ no. 52). Some of the decorative elements, e.g., the lunar symbol (cp. ↗Moon), the false windows, the decorative dentils in the cornice of the inscriptions, the intertwined ↗serpents and the representation of the ibexes are the same as those on Sabaean objects.

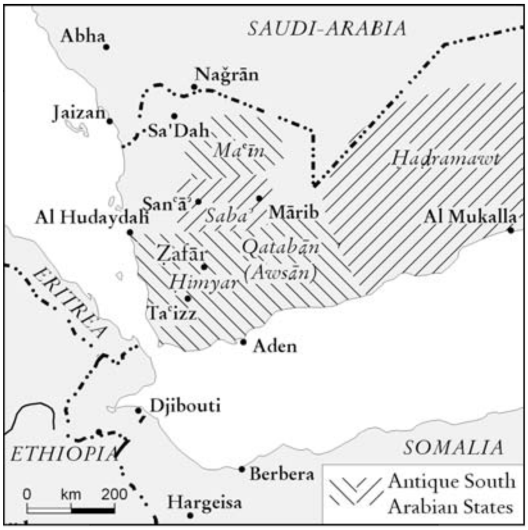
On the other hand, peculiar Ethio-Sabaean artistic elements can be pointed out on artefacts such as the big decorated throne (s. ill.). The institutions are the same: alongside *mlk* ('king'), there is the title of *mukarrib* (*mkrb DᶜMT w-*S^{1}*Bᵓ*). There are clear similarities in these titles, too (for instance the use of the term *mkrb*, which is unknown in other Semitic documentation), but also differences. *Mlk* is never followed by the name of the kingdom as is normal in South Arabia but seems to be a personal title. As in Sabaic, the title of *mkrb* precedes the name of the kingdom; in the Ethiopian inscriptions, S. is associated with the local ↗DᶜMT tribe, where S. is mentioned in second place.

In the royal inscriptions of the Aksumite period, S., together with the name of the royal palace in Mārib remained in the title of the king ↗ᶜEzana (RIÉ no. 185), although he never had control over S. That S. could signify a population and not a territory in South Arabian documentation, too, is demonstrated by the Greek inscriptions of king ᶜEzana in which "king of S." becomes "king of the Sabaeans" (RIÉ no. 270). Later, it again appears in the titulary of Aksumite rulers (↗Kaleb: RIÉ no. 191:9 and WᶜZB: RIÉ no. 192:6) reflecting the victory over Ḥimyar, which by that time had incorporated S.

The hypothesis of the South Arabian origin of the Ethiopians and descendance of Gəᶜəz from Sabaic has long been debated. The origin of Gəᶜəz from South Arabian was first argued by Glaser (1895) and Conti Rossini (CRStor), but the idea was drastically revised by Drewes (1956, 1962). Sabaean influence was then considered ephemeral and an Ethiopian culture prior to the arrival of the Sabaeans was hypothesized.

The issue, however, is both linguistic and cultural. Drewes's reconstruction is based on the "short chronology" which had been imposed on South Arabian studies at the time by Jacqueline Pirenne (s. EAE vol. 5). Sabaic had not been attested earlier than the mid-first millennium and was thus a highly unlikely precursor to Gəᶜəz with its archaic linguistic traits. Now that the so-called long chronology is accepted by all scholars, the presence of S. in Ethiopia can be considered possible from around the early first millennium.

Strong links with an autochthonous element are seen in all the pre-Aksumite inscriptions. The Sabaean presence in the earliest phase of Ethiopian history is not at all to be underestimated but neither can it be simply explained as an act of colonization with peoples from Southern Arabia moving into a cultural vacuum; the presence of Sabaeans in Ethiopia was seemingly preceded by a long history of a "Puntite" civilization (↗Punt).



Src.: RIÉ; CIH; DAE; RES (= *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, 8 vols., Paris 1900–68); Ja (Albert Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs* [*Mârib*], Baltimore, MD 1962 [Publications of the American Foundation for the Studi of Men 3]); Lionel Casson (tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, NJ 1989.

Lit.: Frank P. Albright, "Excavations at Mārib in Yemen", "Catalogue of Objects Found in Mārib excavations", in: Richard Le Baron Bowen (ed.), *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia*, Baltimore, MD 1958, 215–68, 269–86; CRStor; Eduard Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika auf Grund neuentdeckter Inschriften*, München 1895; Abraham Johannes Drewes, "Nouvelles inscriptions de l'Ethiopie", *BiOr* 13, 1956, 179–82; Id., *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962; Iris Gerlach, "25 Jahre archäologische Forschungen im Jemen: die Station und Aussenstelle Sanaa - Geschichte und Aufgaben", in: Ead. (ed.), *25 Jahre Ausgrabungen und Forschungen im Jemen 1978–2003. 25 Years Excavation and Research in Yemen 1978–2003*, Sanaa 2003 (Hefte zur Kulturgeschichte des Jemen 1), 24–36; Norbert Nebes, "25 Jahre epigraphische Forschungen in Marib", *ibid.* 62–68; Paolo Marrassini, "The Semites in Abyssinia. Onomastic and Lexicographic Notes", in: Leonid Kogan (ed.), *Studia Semitica*, Moscow 2003 (Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute), 141–51 (Lit.); Carl Rathjens – Hermann von Wissmann, *Vorislamische Altertümer*, Hamburg 1932; Christian Robin – Alessandro de Maigret, "Le grand temple de Yeha", *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1998, 737–98; Christian Robin, "Sheba dans les inscriptions de l'Arabie du Sud", in: *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, Paris 1996, col. 1047–1254; John Simpson (ed.), *Queen of Sheba*: *Treasures from the Ancient Yemen*, London 2002.

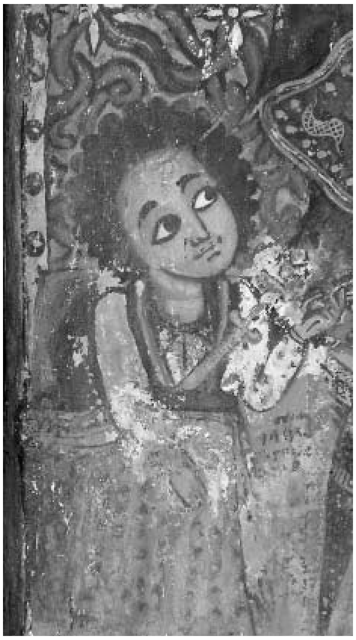
Alessandra Avanzini

Säbagadis Wäldu

Däğğazmač S.W. (Tgn./Amh.: ሰባጋዲስ፡ ወልዱ, local name: *däggiyat* Subagadis [variants: Subagadiš, Wäldu Subagadis] or, after his horse name: Subagadis *ᶜəlum* Abba Gärräy; b. ca. 1780/85, d. 1831, Däbrä ᶜAbbay) was governor of ↗Təgray from 1822 to 1831. He was the son of the Ḥasāballá-↗Irob chief *šum ᶜagamä* Wäldu Kumälit, who ruled ↗ᶜAgamä from the late 18th to the early 19th cent. S.W.'s name is derived from ↗Sāho *suba* ('victory') and *gaadis* ('to send a razzia [= *gaadu*]', cp. ↗*Gaz*; i.e., 'attack and kill by surprise', Tsegay Berhe 1996: 41).

Šum ᶜagamä Wäldu's legacy was the ascendancy of Sāho-speaking local Irob rulers over Təgrəñña-speaking ᶜAgamä in the 18th cent. (Tsegay Berhe 1996: 47ff.; Pearce 1831, vol. 1, 67; Taddesse Gebre Egziabher 1973: 19). Following his father's death in 1802, S.W. and his four brothers clashed over their respective fiefs. The most disgruntled brother, Ṣäᶜədu, joined the services of the then Təgrayan overlord, *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllasse of ↗Əndärta, who in turn appointed him ruler over important parts of his father's estates (Tsegay Berhe 1996: 40; Pearce 1831, vol. 2, 291). S.W. remained a dissident contender for most of the 1800s and 1810s. He consolidated his power in ᶜAgamä by foiling a series of punitive expeditions by *ras* Wäldä Śəllase. In 1811, S.W. even rallied several Təgrəñña-speaking vassals (of ↗ᶜAdwa, ↗Šire and ↗Ḥamasen) against the *ras*. By the mid-1810s, S.W. de facto placed the whole of ᶜAgamä under his authority. *Ras* Wäldä Śəllase then confirmed S.W.'s authority in return for his peaceful submission and recognition of the *ras*'s overlordship (Pearce 1831, vol. 1, 178f.; Tsegay Berhe 1996: 50; Taddesse Gebre Egziabher 1973: 20).

After the death of Wäldä Śəllase, S.W. was one of the strongest chiefs seeking to succeed the *ras*. He fought a series of devastating wars with regional contenders and finally acquired the Təgrayan overlordship in 1822 (Tsegay Berhe 1996: 59; Taddesse Gebre Egziabher 1973: 20). S.W. governed Təgray for a decade by appointing loyalist chiefs and members of his family. Assuming the title of *däğğazmač,* he followed the ambitions of his predecessors to remove ↗Yäğğu political supremacy from ↗Gondär. This was particularly the case after the death of *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa in 1825. To this end, he requested British recognition as well as the supply of military trainers, experts in various fields, and more firearms to boost his army. S.W. also masterminded strong political and military alliances with some prominent regional chiefs in northern Ethiopia, especially *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of Səmen (at times his son-in-law), *wag šum* ↗Kənfu of Lasta and *däğğazmač* ↗Goššu Zäwde of Goğğam against the Yäğğu ruler in Gondär, *ras* ↗Marəyye Gugsa (RubInd 63, 68; RubActa I, 29; AbbSéjour I, 187; AbPrince 35). He presented himself as a protector of Christianity, accusing the Yäğğu lords of being Muslim agents. He aspired to become the *ras bitwäddäd* and protector of the weak kings in Gondär.



A portrait of Säbagadis worshipping St. Mary, church of Gundä Gunde, Təgray; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Neither S.W.'s foreign contacts nor his military pact with Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam bore fruit. He was soon overtaken by a fresh outbreak of extensive fighting engulfing the whole of northern Ethiopia. Marəyye won Wəbe to his side after initial military encounters that led to the ravaging of his province of ↗Səmen (Parkyns 1856, vol. 2, 96f.; Rüppell 1840, vol. 1, 273; Taddesse Gebre Egziabher 1973: 26; Tsegay Berhe 1996: 70). The Təgray–Amhara coalition, which S.W. had sought to establish against the Yäğğu, was suddenly transformed into an Amhara–Oromo front against the Təgrayan chief. In 1830, S.W. ravaged Səmen, having defeated and even chased Wəbe out of his fortresses called "Amba Tazzan" and "Amba Hay" by Parkyns (1856, vol. 2, 96; Taddesse Gebregziabher 1973: 26f.). S. then retired to Təgray after appointing Wəbe's rival and half-brother, *däğğazmač* ↗Märso Ḫaylä Maryam, as his representative in Səmen (Rüppell 1840, vol. 2, 400; Conti Rossini 1947: 36f.; AbbSéjour I, 187; Parkyns 1856, vol. 2, 97; Combes-Tamisier 1838, vol. 3, 153).

However, this victory triggered Marəyye, in collaboration with the fugitive Wəbe, to launch a vigorous campaign against Təgray. Three Təgrayan vassals of S.W., including his own sons-in-law *däğğazmač* Sahlu of Ḥaramat, *däğğazmač* Gäbrä Mikaᵓel of Dära (↗Wämbärta) and Wädağğ of Šire were also said to have defected. They conspired against S.W. with Wəbe and Marəyye Gugsa (Tsegay Berhe 1996: 67). According to informants, S.W. did not accept the advice to wait near ↗ᶜAddigrat for the enemy to march into Təgray where S.W.'s army would have had plenty of advantages (Tsegay Berhe 1996: 67f.). The two forces met for the showdown in western Təgray near the Täkkäze and the Təgrayans were overwhelmed, losing the bloodiest battle they had ever faced during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* (Gobat 1834: 280; Taddesse Gebre Egziabher 1973: 27; Parkyns 1856, vol. 2, 98).

The battle of Däbrä ᶜAbbay concluded with S.W.'s capture and subsequent execution at the hands of the Oromo soldiers who wanted to revenge the death of their leader Marəyye. ↗Dori Gugsa succeeded his brother Marəyye and appointed Wəbe over Təgray (Gobat 1834: 280; RubInd 69; Tsegay Berhe 1996: 70f.).

S.W.'s sons were Wäldä Mikaᵓel, Ḥagos, Kaḥsay, Səbḥat and *šum ᶜagamä* Arägawi. The latter was actively involved in power struggles in ᶜAgamä. S.W. also established new churches such as Aṣbi Śəllase in Aṣbi and Ǝnda Mädḫane ᶜAläm in ᶜAdwa (Nosnitsin 2006: 18) and was closely connected to the monastery of Gundä Gunde, whose patron he was. His descendants ruled over ᶜAgamä until the 1974 ↗Revolution.

Src.: AbbSéjour I, 187; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Canti popolari tigrai", *ZA* 17, 1903, 23–52; *ibid.* 18, 1904, 320–86; *ibid.* 19, 1906, 288–341; CRNuov; Edmond Combes – Maurice Tamisier, *Voyage en Abyssinie: Dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, vol. 3, Paris 1838, 153; Samuel Gobat, *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, London 1834, 280; Denis Nosnitsin, "Historical Records from Ethiopia: a Trilingual Document from Aṣbi Däbrä Gännät Səllase, Təgray", in: *Proccedings of the Workshop "European Schools of Ethiopian Studies: Poland & Germany", October 18–20, 2006*, Warsaw 2007 (Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures 41), 17–47; Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. 2, London 1856, 96ff.; Nathaniel Pearce, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*, London 1831, vol. 1, 67, 178f.; vol. 2, 291; RubActa I, 29; Eduard Rüppell, *Reise in Abyssinien*, Frankfurt am Main 1840, vol. 1, 273; *ibid.*, vol. 2, 400.

Lit.: AbPrince 35; RubInd 63, 68f.; Taddesse Gebre Egziabher, *Power Struggle in Tegray during the Zämänä Mäsafent*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1973, 19f., 26f.; Tsegay Berhe, *A History of Agama, 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996, 40f., 47–50, 59, 67f., 70f.

Tsegay Berhe

Sabaic ↗Epigraphic South Arabia

Ṣäbäl

Ṣ. (Amh. **ጸበል**, commonly also **ጠበል**, *ṭäbäl*, s. KaneDic 2142, 2252f., GuiVoc 816; borrowed into Orom. as *xabala*, Hinsene Mekuria 2005:484) is generally a designation for sacred ↗water containing a specific curative power (cp. ↗Healing). Sometimes also the expression **ማየ፡ ሕይወት** (*mayä ḥəywät*, 'water of life', Amh. *mawat*, *mawot*, *mäwat*; KaneDic 307f., 318), referring to the water which flowed from Jesus's side (Jn 19:34) is used with the same sense as Ṣ.

The original meaning of the Gəᶜəz word Ṣ. (**ፀበል**, *ṣ́äbäl*) is simply 'dust, earth', apparently devoid of any peculiar property (DillmLex 1276; Bausi 2003: 12 n. 48). In Təgrəñña Ṣ. primarily refers to 'dust, dry earth', but can also indicate [sacred] 'earth collected from a church carried on the body [...] or dissolved and drunk with water' (BassDic 960). A distinction between Ṣ. ('dust') and *ṭäbäl* ('holy water used for [↗]baptism and sacred healing water') is registered by Kidanä Wäld Kəfle (KWKDic 591, 741f.). The two elements are juxtaposed in a definition of Ṣ. as 'earth or water that people rub on or drink as a medicine' (*Mäzgäbä qalat təgrəñña* 1996/97: 915f. *s.v. ḍäbäl*; cp. KaneDic 2142).

One may surmise that an extension of the semantic field of Ṣ. from 'dust' to [sacred health-giving] 'water' took place: this could have been caused by the fact that dust collected in churches and holy places was mixed with water and drunk for magical and medical purposes. The evolution of the meaning may also have been directly influenced by the idea – widespread in Christian and Muslim Ethiopia – that different kinds of water can *per se* heal sickness. Some common spring waters, church blessed water (**ማየ፡ጸሎት**, *mayä ṣalot*; **ማየ፡ ዮርዳኖስ**, *mayä Yordanos*) as well as ritually clean water for Islamic ablutions are considered to be effective remedies for diseases of both body and mind; their many devotional, apotropaic and therapeutic qualities can be deduced from their widespread use (Leiris 1934: 69; Rodinson 1967: 48–55).

Many springs, brooks or pools, specifically called Ṣ. are reputed to have the capacity to heal almost any kind of somatic, psychosomatic or psychological suffering or illness. Ṣ. water sources are always considered to have a supernatural origin. Sometimes they are associated with the Jordan River whose sanctifying power they mysteriously reproduce when they flow or trickle (e.g., in the caves of ↗Lalibäla). Mostly, Ṣ. is thought to rush forth thanks to the miraculous intervention of a Christian ↗saint (for a first critical typology of miracles linked to spring waters s. Marrassini 1981: LXXVIIIf.) or a Muslim ↗*walī* (e.g., *al-ḥāǧǧ* Bušrā in Täsfaye Bərhanu 2006/07: 27f.). Sometimes the touch of a saint or his blessing is sufficient to transform water or dust into Ṣ. To enjoy the beneficial power of Ṣ., one has normally to drink it but sprinkling the water may also have beneficial effect on the human body and mind.

Hot springs and pools of hot water are also often classified as Ṣ. In this case, their natural curative properties are explained by a hagiographic tradition and strengthened by the aura of sacredness that surrounds them. Such thermal baths are the most widespread remedy for syphilis (Pankhurst 1990: 121–31). The faith in the therapeutic power of Ṣ. is still very popular and it seems that it is getting more and more widespread.

A particular use of the term Ṣ. can be found in the expression *Yärufaʾel ṭäbäl* (DTWDic 535, lit. 'the *ṭäbäl* of [St.] Raphael', i.e. the rain falling on 3 *Ṗagʷəmen* (the feast of Archangel Raphael), which seems to be particularly propitious.

Finally, the term Ṣ. is currently used to refer to various effervescent mineral springs in Ethiopia (e.g., ↗Ambo or Babillee).

↗Medicine: Traditional medicine

Src.: BassDic 960; Alessandro Bausi, *La «Vite» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos, tradotti da Alessandro Bausi*, Louvain 2003 (CSCO, Scriptores Aethiopici 106), 12 n. 48; DillmLex 1276; DTWDic 535; GuiVoc 816; Friedrich Heyer, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 192–96; Hinsene Mekuria, *Galmee jechoota afaaan Oromoo – Amaaraa – Inglizii. Oromo – Amharic – English Dictionary*, Addis Ababa 1998 A.M. [2005 A.D.], 484; KaneDic 307f., 318, 2142, 2252f.; KWKDic 591; **መዝገበ፡ ቃላት፡ ትግርኛ፡ በትግርኛ** (*Mäzgäbä qalat təgrəñña bətəgrəñña*, 'Təgrəñña–Təgrəñña [i.e. monolingual] Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D.], 915f.; Michel Leiris, "Un rite médico-magique éthiopien: le jet du danqâra", *Aethiopica* (New York) 3, 1934, 61–74; Paolo Marrassini, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes l'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di Semitistica 10), LXXVIIIf.; Richard Pankhurst, *An Introduction to the Medical History of Ethiopia*, Trenton, NJ 1990; Maxime Rodinson, *Magie, médicine, possession en Ethiopie*, Paris 1967, 48–55; Täsfaye Bərhanu, **አራት፡ ዓይናዎች** (*Arat ᶜaynawočč*, 'The "Four-eyed"' [i.e. the traditional scholars]), Addis Abäba 1999 A.M. [2006/07 A.D.], 27f.

Alessandro Gori

Ṣäbate

Ṣ. (**ጸባቴ**, also *ṣ́äbati*) is an ecclesiastic title, which exists only in the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos of ↗Šäwa. The S. is the second in rank below the *mämhər* of the monastery, on the level of ↗*mäggabi* (in fact, in most cases the Ṣ. is the *mäggabi* of the monastery); he is usually described as "senior administrator" (AmhChurchDic vol. 4, 153).

It is not clear when the office was introduced into the monastery. One speculates that the ↗title is somehow linked with the root *ṣ́bḥ* (Gəᶜəz: 'to pay, collect duties, taxes', LesCDic 545f.; cp. THMDic 1350a), and was created probably in relation to the "pact" between *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I and "the House of Täklä Haymanot" in Azäzo (the ↗*Täwaḥədo* party), according to which the community of Däbrä Libanos could claim tribute from "one third of the land" of the kingdom (cp. ↗*Bəᶜəlä nägäśt*). A certain Ṣ. Fälaskinos was appointed head of ↗Ḥamärä Noḫ in 1719. The annals for 1721 record the name of Ṣ. Səᶜəlä Krəstos, associated with Azäzo, although the function of his office is not described (some of the proposed explanations do not seem to be substantiated enough, s., e.g., DombrChr 303; BegCron 121). Thus, Ṣ. could indeed be the "collector of tributes" of the community. In this sense, Ṣ. was a deputy of ↗*əč̣č̣äge*, i.e. the head of the monastery of Däbrä Libanos (Bairu Tafla 1986: 30), or "vicar" (GuiVoc 862), with administrative and ensuing judicial prerogatives.

↗Church administration; ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church; ↗Titles

Src.: AmhChurchDic vol. 4, 146, 153; Bairu Tafla, "Titles, Ranks and Offices of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahdo Church: a Preliminary Survey", *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 76, 1986, 293–306; BegCron 121; DombrChr 267f., 289, 303; GuiVoc 862; LesCDic 545f.; KaneDic 2253; THMDic 1350a.

Denis Nosnitsin

Sabbath

The observance of the S. (Gəᶜəz **ሰንበት**, *sänbät*, from Hebrew *šabbat*, Syr. *šabbəta* 'cease, desist, rest', s. LesDic 506, Nöldeke 1910:37) as a day of rest and worship has its origins in Biblical religion. In the ↗Bible, the S. is associated with rest on the final day of a 7-day week in commemoration of the completion of creation and the Exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt. In spite of appearances, it is not clear precisely under what circumstances the early Christians began to observe the S. on Sunday. Important factors include Pauline abolition of Saturday as a day of rest, a desire of Christians to distinguish themselves from the Jews, and remembrance of the Lord's resurrection on a Sunday (cp. Rordorf 1962: 174–233, 1972: xiv–xxi).

The Saturday S. is known both as **ሰንበተ፡ አይሁድ** (*Sänbäta ayhud*, 'the Jewish S.'), **ቀዳሚት፡ ሰንበት፡ ቀዳም** (*qädamit sänbät qädam*, 'the first S.'), and **ንኡስ፡ ሰንበት** (*nəᵓus sänbat*, 'the small S.'); as opposed to the Sunday S.: **ሰንበተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Sänbäta krəstiyan*, 'the Christian S.') or **እሑድ** (*əḥud*, 'first'), or **ዐቢይ፡ ሰንበት** (ᶜ*abiy sänbät*, 'the great S.').

There are a number of literary works with the theme of the Saturday-S., including the ↗*Senodos*, ↗*Didəsqəlya*, the ↗Anaphora of Athanasius. There are also several works known as ↗*Dərsanä sänbät*, the best known of which is traditionally attributed to ↗Jacob of Serug. ↗Giyorgis of Sägla was an outspoken advocate of the S.

In the 14th cent., the issue of the S. was the focus of a major controversy within the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC). St. ↗Ewosṭatewos defend the observance of Saturday as a holy day like Sunday referring to the *Senodos*. From his Acts it is unclear whether Ewosṭatewos sought to introduce a hitherto unknown practice or defended an ancient one. The initiative to reject the observance of Saturday as a "Jewish" practice might have come from the Metropolitan and his entourage. Ewosṭatewos left the country, presumably to search for support; his followers in Ethiopia were persecuted. However, after a period of clemency under *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, they regrouped and severed relations with the Metropolitan. ↗Däbrä Bizän and its daughter monasteries in Ḥamasen became centres of the movement of ↗Ewosṭateans. In 1450 *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob summoned a Church council at ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq which resolved the problem by conceding the demands of the dissidents (CRRicBerhan II, 145–53; TadTChurch 209f.). The Emperor himself favoured the observance of the S. rest on Saturday. The Ewosṭateans were granted lands and were asked to evangelize the neighbouring regions. For their part, they agreed to accept ordination from the Metropolitan.

Although this appears to resolve the issue of the S. within the EOTC, it resurfaced in the confrontation with the ↗Jesuits. In defence of the EOTC practice *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos denied that the Saturday S. was a Jewish practice noting that, "as to the pretext of our observing (lit. honouring) the day of the earlier Sabbath, it is not that we observe it like the Jews, who crucificed Christ [...] We, however, honour it [the S.] by offering up on it the sacrifice (eucharist) and perform on it the supper (agape) as our fathers, the Apostles, have commanded us in the Didascalia" (tr. Ullendorff 1987: 171f.).

The devotion of the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel to the Saturday S. is one of the most notable themes of their religious life. Whether compared to "normative" ↗Judaism as practised elsewhere in the world, or to the Orthodox Church in Ethiopia, Betä Ǝsraᵓel observance is extreme. Preparations for the S. begin Friday afternoon: bathing, washing of clothes and preparation of food. Work stops. The S. observance is particularly strict: no fire is lit, no work or journey undertaken, sexual relations (unlike other Jews) are forbidden. If a fast day falls on the S. it is not observed. Special bread called *bäräkät* or *mäśwaᶜət* is consumed. The S. is also the subject of several Betä Ǝsraᵓel literary works, particularly ↗*Təᵓəzazä sänbät* where it appears as a semi-divine mediator. In the *Nägärä sänbät* ('The Discussion of the Sabbath', so far unpublished), and the homiletic work ↗*Abba Elyas*, the S. is a feminine figure who intervenes on behalf of her devotees if they sin. In the words of *abba* Yəsḥaq, a 19th-cent. Betä Ǝsraᵓel holy man, "Mary is the mediator of the Christians, the S. is ours" (Luzzatto 1852: 345). Every seventh S. is celebrated with a special liturgy.

Src.: John M. Harden (tr.), *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London 1920 (S.P.C.K. Translations of Christian Literature, Ser IV. Oriental Texts); Sebastian Euringer, "Die äthiopische Anaphora des hl. Athanasius ...", *OrChr* 24, 1927, 243–98; Wolf Leslau, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven 1951, 3–49; Joseph Halévy, *Te'ezaza Sanbat*, Paris 1902, 1–50, 133–72; Max Wurmbrand, "Le 'Dersana Sanbat'. Une homelie éthiopienne attribuée à Jacques de Saroug", *L'Orient syrien* 8, 1963, 343–94; Getatchew Haile, "The Homily of Aṣe Zär'a Ya'əqob of Ethiopia in Honour of Saturday", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 13, 1982, 185–231; Monica Devens, *The Liturgy of the Seventh Sabbath. A Betä Israel* (*Falasha*) *Text*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 32); CRRicBerhan 145–53 (tr.); Edward Ullendorff, "The Confessio Fidei of King Claudius of Ethiopia", *JSS* 32, 1, 1987, 159–76, esp. 167 (text) =171f. (tr.).

Lit.: Getatchew Haile, "The Forty-nine Hour Sabbath of the Ethiopian Church", *JSS* 33, 1988, 233–54; Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Stellung und Bedeutung des Sabbats in Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1963; Ephraim Isaac, *A New Text-Critical Introduction to Mashafa Berhan*, Leiden 1973, 3–15; Wolf Leslau, "The Names of the Weekdays in Ethiopic", *JSS* 6, 1961, 62–70, here 63f.; Philoxene Luzzatto, "Mémoire sur les Juifs d'Abyssinie ou Falachas", *Archives israélites* 13, 1852, 343–46, here 345; Willy Rordorf, *Der Sonntag. Geschichte des Ruhe- und Gottesdiensttages im ältesten Christentum*, Zürich 1962 (Abhandlungen zu Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testa-

ments 43), 174–233; Id., *Sabbat et dimanche dans l'Église ancienne*, Neufchâtel 1972, xiv–xxi; TadChurch 206–30; UllBible 109–13.

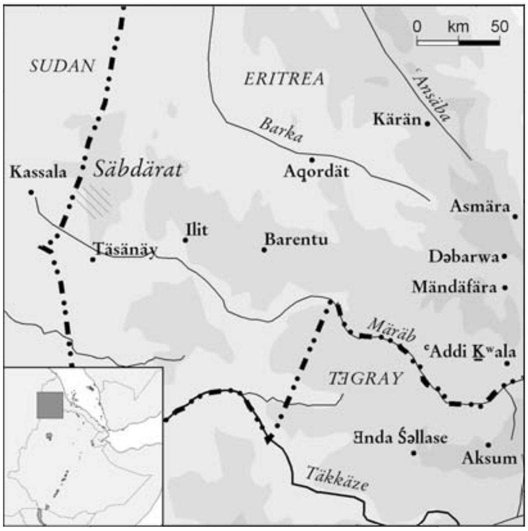
Steven Kaplan

Säbdärat

The S. (ሰብደራት) are a small ethnic group in Eritrea inhabiting the Sudanese border area in the Gaš region, some 30 km east of ↗Kassala and about the same distance north of ↗Täsänäy. The S. are ↗Təgre and Arabic-speaking agro-pastoralists, today usually counted as belonging to the Təgre ethnic group, even if traditionally being socio-politically autonomous, as were many other Təgre groups. All S. are Muslims, followers of the Mālikī legal rite. According to tradition the S. originally formed part of the ↗Marya. Their name derives from the Təgre word *säb* ('people') and Dära, a stream flowing into the ↗ᶜAnsäba River, where, it is believed, the founders of the group had lived at some point in the past, before moving west to the Sudanese border area (PollEr 187).

Italian ethnographic descriptions from the late 1930s noted that although the S. were pastoralists, they were settled and cultivated *dura* and *bultug* ('pearl millet') for local consumption as well as trade. They bred camels and, in the past, horses. S. women specialized in weaving mats from date palm leaves, used as carpets or beds and sold in the markets of Kassala and ↗ᶜAqordät (PollEr 189).

Historically, the geographic situation of the S. on the Sudanese borderlands has placed them in a position of extreme vulnerability, forcing them to seek pragmatic political alliances in their struggle for survival. From the early 1820s Egyptian expansionism in the area was reflected in expeditions to and raids on the ↗Beǧa groups of the ↗Taka area (for cattle and slaves), including the region inhabited by the S. In late 1823 for example, Egyptian forces under the command of *daftardār* Muḥammad *bāy* Ḫusraw reached S. but soon after withdraw westwards. In 1831–32, ᶜAlī Ḫūršīd led a force of 6,000 soldiers against the ↗Haḏánḏowa, aiming to reach and take S. but the Haḏánḏowa were able to fight back and defeat the Egyptian forces (Hill 1959: 64). A few years later the Egyptians occupied Taka, and took Kassala in 1840. It is not clear when the S. converted to Islam, but it seems that when the Egyptians occupied Kassala they were under the protection of a family of *ašrāf* who, through marriage, gradually intermingled with the S. (who now collectively claim descent from one of ↗Mecca's *ašrāf* families).



During the Mahdīya revolt the S. fought the ↗Mahdists for many years, especially under the leadership of ᶜAli Nūrīn. Mahdist attacks forced the S. to leave their area in 1883–84 and settle temporarily around ᶜAqordät. They continued to fight the Mahdists, this time siding with the Təgrayan leader, *ras* ↗Alula, but were able to return to their lands only in July 1894, after the Italian general ↗Baratieri had conquered Kassala. In subsequent years the S. continued to fight the Mahdists alongside Italian colonial troops (Longrigg 1945: 125, 129; PollEr 187f.). The S. found themselves again in the crossfire, this time as the British and the Italians fought on the Eritreo–Sudanese border in 1940.

In 1931 the number of the S. was estimated at 1,000 and in the mid 20th cent. the number was put at 3,000 (PollEr 188; Longrigg 1945: 158; TrIslam 170). During the Eritrean independence struggle, the S. area was a crossing point, especially for Eritreans from the western lowlands into Sudan (KilHDic 364). In the 1990s it was noted that some of the S. lived in the "large village" of ᶜAwāḍ, situated close to the border (MuhTarih 233).

Lit.: Richard Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820–1881*, London 1959, 17, 64; KilHDic 364; Stephen H. Longrigg, *A Short History of Eritrea*, Oxford 1945, 84, 125, 129, 145, 157f.; MuhTarih 233; PollEr 41, 168, 186–89, 239; TrIslam 115, 170, 233.

Jonathan Miran

Säblä Wängel

Ǝtege S.W. (ሰብለ፡ ወንጌል; b. ca. 1500, d. 30 November 1567 A.D. [25 *Ḫədar* 1560 A.M.]) was the wife of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl and the dominant female dynast of her time. She came from a noble ↗Goǧǧam Amhara family (GuiIyas 7 [text]), a background which made her the only non-Təgrayan 16th cent. ətege. Before Ləbnä Dəngəl around 1518 chose S.W. as his wife, the young monarch had already rejected a proposed union with a ↗Hadiyya princess because he did not find her attractive (cf. ConzGal 3f.; Whiteway 1902: 15), thereby demonstrating that he would not consider a purely political marriage. For S.W. on the other hand Ləbnä Dəngəl felt a strong affection, apparently throughout their entire married life (ConzGal 3f.).

Francisco ↗Alvares indicates that S.W. in the early 1520s lived a highly respected life at court. It was also during the 1520s that she gave birth to most of her children. This largely peaceful decade thus likely was a happy period in S.W.'s life – in stark contrast to the 1530s which were marked by the unfolding of the ↗*ǧihād* launched against the Christian Kingdom by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ). Its continuous successes compelled the imperial family to seek refuge in ever more northerly parts of the realm, eventually (perhaps in 1537; cp. Whiteway 1902: 14, n. 1) on ↗Däbrä Damo. After losing her eldest son ↗Fiqṭor to the *ǧihād* in April 1539, and after suffering the abduction of Minas only one month later, S.W. there eventually witnessed Ləbnä Dəngəl's death on 2 September 1540 (KrLebD 17, 20, 36 [text]). On Däbrä Damo she also subsequently withstood a major Muslim siege which allegedly was led by Grañ himself (Whiteway 1902: 15).

S.W.'s fate began to turn again in July 1541 when 400 musket-armed Portuguese relief troops under Christovão da ↗Gama landed on the Eritrean coast and sought contact with her. Recognizing the unique chance that lay in their intervention, S.W. with significant personal risk accompanied the Portuguese on their march southwards, counseling them, lending them legitimacy, and re-kindling the indigenous Christian resistance (Whiteway 1902, passim; KrLebD 22 [text]). Ultimately the Muslim threat was averted when joint Portuguese and Ethiopian troops killed Grañ and decisively defeated his army in the battle of ↗Wäyna Däga in February 1543.

The war over, S.W. and Grañ's widow ↗Bati Dəl Wämbära then proceeded to arrange the exchange of their captive teenage sons Minas and Muḥammad, which was effected in late 1544. Ever after Minas to an extraordinary degree seems to have sought the advice and assistance of his mother. It was thus, e.g., at S.W.'s instigation that he in the 1550s married his companion Śəllus Ḫayla (↗Admas Mogäsa) in a full church ceremony (↗Matrimony), and in 1559, after *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos's death, he relied heavily on S.W.'s support in order to ensure the crown's smooth transition to him (KrLebD 53 [text]).

S.W.'s personal power base lay in east Goǧǧam where she had her residence at a locality called Mängəśtä Sämayat ('The Kingdom of Heaven'), in the vicinity of ↗Däbrä Wärq (GuiIyas 7 [text], KrLebD 53 [text], CRHist 5 [text]). There she probably spent most of her post-*ǧihād* years, and it was from there too that she staged her life's last major political intervention when in 1563, after Minas's death, she helped secure the throne for her 13-year old grandson ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl. She skillfully resisted the powerful lords (↗Ḥamälmal, ↗Täklä Haymanot/Täklo, ↗Yəsḥaq) who aspired to seize or even kill the young monarch, install a puppet Solomonid and become the *de facto* rulers of the country. In the first months of Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl's reign S.W.'s assistance was instrumental in saving him from his persecutors and gaining him time until he had consolidated his own power base (cf. CRHist 3–14 [text]).

For S.W.'s four sons from Ləbnä Dəngəl we know the sequence of their births: Fiqṭor, Gälawdewos, Minas, ↗Ya^{c}əqob. For the daughters by contrast we only have some certain and some less certain names. Indubitably attested are Amätä Giyorgis and Wälättä Qəddusan, less so Tewodada, and Wälättä Ḥanna (BassÉt 21 [text]; CRHist 34, 42, 82 [text]; Kropp 1989: 176f., 179f.). S.W. was for considerable time remembered as one of the great queens of Ethiopia (GuiIohan 7, 11 [text]).

Src.: BassÉt 21, 23 (text) = 113, 117 (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 327, 330, 361, 366, 443; CRHist 3–14, 27f., 90, 137 (text) = 5–17, 31ff., 103, 156 (tr.); ConzGal 3f. (text) = 122f. (tr.); DombrChr 48 (text) = 177 (tr.); GuiIohan 7, 11 (text) = 6, 11 (tr.); GuiIyas 7 (text) = 7 (tr.); KrLebD 17, 20, 22, 27f., 36, 44–53 (text) = 16, 20, 23, 31f., 40, 46–54 (tr.); Manfred Kropp, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däǧǧazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalistische Studien 13), 176f., 179f.; Jules Perruchon, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Galâwdêwos (Claudius) ou Asnâf-Sagad", *RevSem* 2, 1894, 155–66 (text) = 263–70 (tr.); Richard Stephen Whiteway (ed.), *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–43* …, London 1902 (Hakluyt Society Papers 2) [repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein 1967], 10, 14f., 18, 22, 24, 28, 32ff., 38f., 54 et passim, esp. ch. 3–12 and 20.

Lit.: Michael Kleiner, "Säblä Wängêl, Kaiserin Äthiopiens (ca. 1500–1567/68): eine politisch-biographische Skizze", in: Ludwig Gerhardt et al. (eds.), *Umbrüche in afrikanischen Gesellschaften und ihre Bewältigung* …, Berlin 2006, 207–21.

Michael Kleiner

Säblä Wängel

Ǝtege S.W. (ሰብለ፡ ወንጌል; d. 13 January 1690, Hamad Bärr) was the wife of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I and mother of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. She was the daughter of *abeto* Gäbrä Mäsqäl (BassÉt 14), who was the husband of the paternal aunt of Yoḥannəs I. Her marriage to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs was therefore considered incestuous by a council of monks of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, followers of the ↗*Täwaḥədo* doctrine, in October 1668. The condemnation did not have consequences, but it was nullified only ten years later, in 1678, by an order of the patriarch of Alexandria (CrumLand 82).

S.W. resided mostly in ↗Gondär, where the royal couple built several castles and churches such as Ṭädda Ǝgziʾabəḥer Ab. During the dry season she accompanied her husband to ↗Aringo and ↗Yəbaba. She owned land and was able to endow fiefs to her preferred churchmen and nobles.

S.W. acted as patroness of the church in several ways. She was well-read in theological books and therefore strongly supported the production of ↗manuscripts. Some sources credit her with the impulse to translate the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*fäws mänfäsawi* from Arabic in 1687 (however, whilst the oldest manuscripts date from the time of the reign of *aṣe* Iyasu I, the translation was probably much earlier) and the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* (BassÉt 298f.).

In the doctrinal disputes during the Gondärine period, S.W. took the side of the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Sinoda (GuiIohan 174ff.). She donated manuscripts and books to Däbrä Libanos and other *Täwaḥədo* monasteries. She wanted to put an end to the ↗*Qəbat–Täwaḥədo* controversy in favour of the latter. Iyasu, however, also endowed ↗Gonǧ Tewodros, which followed the *Qəbat* doctrine (Bosc-Tiessé 2001: 220ff.).

S.W. possibly died of an infectious disease (ms. Paris, BN 142 mentions "Egyptian death" as the cause; DombrChr 215; BassÉt 143). She was buried as a queen in the royal cemetery on the island of Məṣraḫa in Lake ↗Ṭana, where her husband had built a church and was also buried (GuiIyas 12; DombrChr 333; CrumLand 82).

Src.: BassÉt 12, 143, 298f., 373; BegCron 80ff.; CRHist; DombrChr 333; GuiIohan esp. 66, 174ff., 220ff.; GuiIyas 12 (tr.); BruNile II, 599–611; DonMurad 61ff.; Ignazio Guidi, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia d'Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 3, 1893, 577–605; Id., "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 6, 1899, 1–17; Id., "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia", *Bessarione* 7–8, [49–50], 1900–01, 10–25; Jeronimo Lobo, *Voyage historique d'Abyssinie*, tr. by M. Legrand, Paris – Den Haag 1728, 148ff.

Lit.: LaVerle Berry, *The Solomonic Monarchy at Gonder, 1630–1755: an Institutional Analysis of Kingship in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University 1976, 432 (Lit.); Id., "Factions and Coalitions during the Gonder Period, 1630–1755", in: *PICES* 5b, 431–41; Claire Bosc-Tiessé, *Art, Église et royauté en Éthiopie aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles: écriture de l'histoire et 'fabrique' des images dans l'église du lac Tana*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris–I 2001, 220ff.; Ead., "Inventaire des peintures datés du XVII^{e} au début du XIX^{e} siècles: question sur l'art gondarien (Éthiopie)", *Cahiers du Centre de recherches africaines* 9, 1998, 215–42; CrumLand 77–82, 282f.; HuntGeogr 187–219; Merid Wolde Aregay, *Southern Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom, 1508–1708*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1971; MHAlex II (s. index); Emeri van Donzel, "King Fāsiladas, Abuna Marqos and Abēto Galāwdēwos", in: *SegBodLes* 419–29.

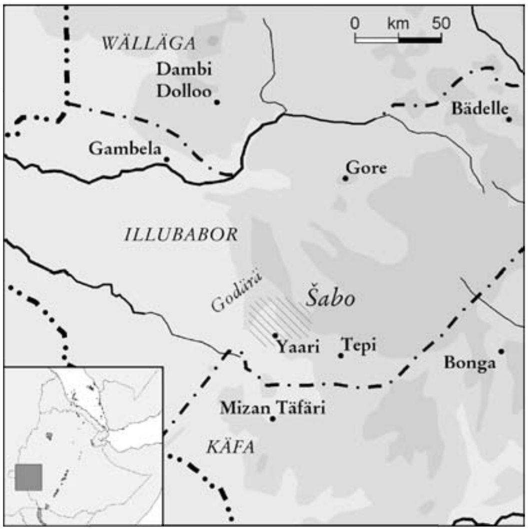
Verena Böll

Šabo

Šabo language

Š. (in literature also known as "Mikeyir", a derogatory name given by the Mağaŋgir) is a moribund language with a number of speakers estimated from 200 to 600 (Daniel Aberra in PICES 14, 1692; ca. 600 speakers according to the present author's data). The genetic classification of Š. is controversial: it may be ↗Nilo-Saharan (s. Anbessa Teferra 1991: 384f.; Fleming 1991: 399ff.), ↗Afro-Asiatic (Dimmendaal in EAE III, 1183), or a linguistic isolate.

Š. speakers live mostly in the districts of Yäki, Maša and Godärä (Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region), but also in Salle Noono district (Oromiyaa Region). The Š. are bilingual either with ↗Mağaŋgir or ↗Šakačo with a few speaking ↗Oromiffaa. Š. has some 30 % lexical similarity with Mağaŋgir and some



16 % with Oromiffaa, due to lexical borrowing. Words from ↗Koman also entered the language. Not all Š. speak Š. language as a first tongue, and they increasingly express a desire to learn Amharic (Jordan – Hussein Mohammed – Netzley 2005: 11).

The consonant phonemes are: labials *p*, *b*, *p̣*, *ɓ*, *m*, [*f*], *w*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *ɗ*, *n*, [*s*], *l*, *r*; palatals *č*, *ǧ*, *č̣*, *ñ*, [*š*], *y*; velars *k*, *g*, *q*, *ŋ*; glottals ʾ, *h*. The phonemic status of the consonants in parentheses is unclear. The phonemic system comprises nine vowels (*i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *ɨ*, *ə*, *a*, *u*, *o* and *ɔ*) of which *i*, *e*, *a*, *u* and *o* have long counterparts. Gemination and vowel length appear to be phonetic rather than phonemic. At least one minimal pair of lexical tone was observed as in *há*, 'kill!' and *hà*, 'meat'.

The presence of ejectives distinguishes Š. from the neighbouring language Mağaŋgir. The segment *p* has free variants [*f*] and [*ɸ*] as in *punqa* ~ *funqa* ~ *ɸunqa* 'ashes'. Free variation is also observed between *č* ~ *s* ~ *š* and between *ǧ* ~ *z*.

The personal pronouns are:

	sg. masc.	sg. fem.	pl. masc.	pl. fem.
1st	*tiŋ*	*taŋa*	*yiŋ*	*ann*
2nd	*kuku*	*kungu*	*sitalak*	*siyakk*
3rd	*yi*	*uŋa*	*otalak*	*odda*
				subak

Object pronouns are marked by *-kak*: *tiŋ-kak* 'me', *yiŋ-kak* 'us', etc. The demonstratives are *ma* 'this' and *ŋatum* 'that'.

There is no morphological number in Š. Plural is expressed by *yero* and *woto* 'many' placed after the noun: *kuro* 'donkey' - *kure woto* 'donkeys'; *ǧuku* 'chief' – *ǧuki woto* 'chiefs'. Possessives are formed by suffixing *-ke* as in *ufa-ke bičča* 'the man's foot'. The numeral system is quinary and involves roots derived from the nouns 'hand' and 'person', e.g., *bap̣-if* 'ten' (cp. *bap* 'two', *ifu* 'hand'), *iŋki-ufe-koor* 'twenty' (*iŋki* 'one', *ufe* 'person', *-koor* 'complete').

Finite verbs consist of an auxiliary (the verb of presence *ɗebe*), a person marker, a lexical base, and a tense-aspect marker. The imperfect is marked by -gg, the perfect (perf.) by *-y* ~ *-e* and the present perfect by *-kkus*. Negative (neg.) morpheme of the imperfect is *-be* (*tiŋ no-be* [I go-neg.] 'I will not go'), and that of perfect and present perfect is *be*-*ge* (*yi am be*-*ge* [he come neg. perf.] 'he has not come').

The conjunction *ŋa* is repeated after each conjoined word. Question words are *neé* 'who?' and *hamma* 'where, which, what?'. The basic word order is Subject – Object – Verb: *kaan*$_1$ *upak*$_2$ *ye*$_3$ 'A dog$_1$ saw$_3$ a man$_2$'.

The ten-word list of Š. is as follows: 'one' *iŋki*, 'two' *bap*, 'three' *ǧiita*, 'fire' *č̣uwa*, 'water' *abuṭe*, 'sun' *oha*, 'moon' *kasipu*, 'blood' *dammo*, 'tongue' *handa*, 'tooth' *kaw.*

Src.: author's field notes, 1990; Linda Jordan – Hussein Mohammed – Jillian Netzley, "Sociolinguistic Survey of Shabo", Addis Ababa 2005, ms.

Lit.: Anbessa Teferra, "Brief Phonology of Shabo (Mekeyir)", in: Robert Nicolaï – Franz Rottland (eds.), *Proceedings of the Fifth Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium* …, Köln 1995, 29–37; Id., "A Sketch of Shabo Grammar", in: Marvin Lionel Bender (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fourth Nilo-Saharan Conference* …, Hamburg 1991, 371–87; Daniel Aberra, "Shabo Pronouns", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 3, 1692–704; Gerrit J. Dimmendaal, "Nilo-Saharan", in: *EAE* III, 1182–85; Harold C. Fleming, "Shabo: Presentation of Data and Preliminary Classification", *Proceedings of the Fourth Nilo-Saharan Conference* …, Hamburg 1991, 389–402; Id., "Shabo: a New African Phylum or a Special Relic of Old Nilo-Saharan?", *Mother Tongue* 7, 2002, 1–37.

Anbessa Teferra

Šabo ethnography

The Š. (self-name Sabu; called "Mikeyir" by the Mağaŋir) are a small group of ca. 700–900 people living dispersed amongst the ↗Mağaŋir people in the Käfiččo–Šekačo Zone in south-western Ethiopia, between Godärä and Maša; some live in the Mağangir Zone of Gambela Region. Many Š. live in the villages of Yaari (Yeri) and Duši, although settled life in villages was not common among them.

The origins and ethnogenesis of the Š. remain unresearched. It is not known whether the Š. were settled in the area before the Mağaŋir arrived (cf. Stauder in PICES 3, 109). With the existing pressure on their language, their ethnic group identity is recently undergoing change.

The Š. are organized in a clan structure, are polygamous, and live in family units mostly among the Mağaŋir, having few separate villages. They are hunter-gatherers and beekeepers in the highland forest, forming a caste-like "sub-society" within their Mağaŋir host group. They have now started practising subsistence farming and found employment in nearby coffee plantations. Women produce pottery. Their material culture is simple and not distinct. They have their own songs. The Š. are traditional-religious, but (Evangelical) Christianity is expanding among them, partly because it has an "empowering" function. The Š. dependency relations with the Mağaŋir are in many ways similar to that of the ↗Kʷegu among the ↗Mursi.

There are no ethnological or other studies of the Š. and on their interaction with the Mağaŋir, but intermarriage with them and with other groups is increasing (Jordan – Hussein Mohammed – Netzley 2005: 11). They are connected to others economically in the local markets and via school education.

Src.: Ryan Boone, *People Profile Summary*: *Shabo*, Addis Ababa 2005, ms.; Linda Jordan – Hussein Mohammed – Jillian Netzley, *Sociolinguistic Survey of Shabo*, Addis Ababa 2005, ms.

Lit.: Anbessa Teferra – Peter Unseth, "Toward the Classification of Shabo (Mikeyir)", in: Marvin Lionel Bender (ed.), *Topics in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics*, Hamburg 1989 (Nilo-Saharan 3), 405–18; Jack Stauder, "Notes on the History of the Majangir and their Relationships with Other Ethnic Groups of Southwest Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 3, 104–15.

Jon G. Abbink

Sabra

According to ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel tradition, *abba* S. (**ሳብራ**, also Ṣäbra, Ṣəbra, Səbra) is credited with being the founder of their monastic tradition and many aspects of their religious life. He is said to have been a native of Šäwa. Some traditions say he was from ↗Mədrä Käbd (s. EAE vol. 5), and that he became a monk after having committed a murder. While some traditions date S. to the Aksumite period, most agree that he lived in the 15th cent.

The origins of S.'s name are uncertain. It may be of Cushitic origin; Säbra or Säbriqu may have been the name of a region. Although there are claims that his ↗*gädl* exists, no text has been found to date.

S. is remembered not only for establishing the institution of ↗monasticism among the Betä Ǝsraᵓel, but also for introducing their laws of purity. He is also credited with having composed their religious music and some of their religious texts such as ↗*Bäqädami gäbrä əgziᵓabəher*. S.'s most important disciple was ↗Ṣägga Amlak, who is said to have been a son of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob.

S. is associated with the holy sites of Mədraru in Ṣäqqält and Huhʷara, which became the site of the largest Betä Ǝsraᵓel monastery.

Lit.: Steven Kaplan, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia*: *from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1991, 56; James Arthur Quirin, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*: *a History of the Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1991, 51f., 67ff.; Kay Kaufman Shelemay, *Music, Ritual and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1989, 79f., 202f.; Shoshana Ben-Dor, "Hameqomot ha-qeddošim šel Yehudai Etiyopia" ('The Holy Places of Ethiopian Jewry'), *Pe'amim* 22, 1985, 41–45; Wolf Leslau, "Taamrat Emanuel's Notes on Falasha Monks and Holy Places", in: *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume*, New York 1975, vol. 2, 624–37, here 624f.

Steven Kaplan

Ṣabraddīn I Muḥammad b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr

Ṣ. (صبرالدين محمد بن دلحوى بن منصور, r. 1330/31–32) was the ruler of ↗Ifat. With him, the power of the ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty was restored, after several years of turmoil, during which three usurpers (Abut, Zubayr and Maᵓati Layl) followed one after the other.

Ṣ. tried to free Ifat from its vassalage to the Ethiopian empire. He appointed governors for all parts of Ethiopia in anticipation of his future conquests, and prepared for war. *Aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I warned him and pointed to the sad fate of Ṣ.'s rebellious brother ↗Ḥaqqaddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr. Ṣ. ignored the warning and, following the advice of the diviners, mustered troops. He was eventually defeated and his capital destroyed, but he was able to flee.

Although ↗Ḥaydära, ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's governor of ↗Däwaro, was ready to conspire with Ṣ., the latter – upon hearing that ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon had assembled new troops to pursue him – gave up, and, through the mediation of the queen, offered to surrender. The Emperor spared his life, although the Ethiopian nobles asked to kill him. Ṣ. was deposed, and replaced by his brother ↗Ǧamāladdīn II b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr. According to the Chronicle of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, this must have happened in 1332. Although the Walašmaᶜ Chronicle reports that Ṣ. ruled for five years, thus till 1335/36, this may include the reigns of Ǧamāladdīn and ↗Naṣraddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr (these puppets of the Christian Emperor are not mentioned in the Walašmaᶜ Chronicle at all).

Src.: Enrico Cerulli, "Documenti arabi per la storia del-l'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 41 (text) = 44 (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 137 (text) = 149 (tr.)]; KrAmdS 1–16 (text) = 1–15 (tr.); MarAmdS 50–77; MaqIlmam^2 9; Philipp Paulitschke, *Harar*: *Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ostafrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 504; PerAmdS 279–301 (text) = 327–46 (tr.).

Lit.: CerStud I, 23 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 300]; Enrico Cerulli, "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 3, 272–94, here tabula [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80, tabula]; TadTChurch 135–45; TrIslam 71; Ewald Wagner, "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Harariner Emirslisten", in: Brigitta Benzig – Otto Böcher – Günter Mayer (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik*: *Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Meisenheim am Glan 1976, 186–204, here 191 and tabula 1.

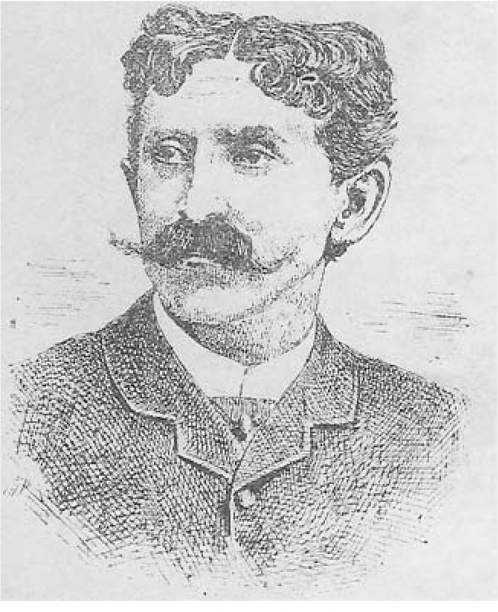
Ewald Wagner

Sacconi, Pietro

S. (b. 11 February 1839, Borgonovo Val Tidone, Piacenza, d. 12 August 1883, Kora Nagott, Ogaden) was an Italian explorer and trader.

S. took part in the *Risorgimento* campaigns under the command of Giuseppe Garibaldi. After the end of the third war of independence, he moved to Alexandria in Egypt. After serving as a volunteer in Candia, he served in the Compagnia Khediviale di Navigazione, in the company for the excavation of the Suez Canal, and in a commercial house in Jeddah. He then briefly returned to Egypt, and from there he departed for Massawa. From there he arrived in the land of the Bogos (↗Bilin) where Giovanni ↗Stella had established his Colonia Italo-Africana at Šotäl. S.'s further advancement was rendered impossible by Werner ↗Munzinger, and S. returned to Suez.

In 1869, S. headed from Aden to ↗Zayla^{c} with a shipment of guns for its governor, *amīr* ↗Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šaḥīm, to trade them for local products. S. visited the market towns of ↗Tağūra, Bulhar, ↗Berbera, and ↗Harär. He studied the ↗Somali language, the climates of the interior, the habits of the inhabitants and their products. Soon after his return to Aden, he resumed his travels and visited Ethiopia, stopping at the ↗Colonia di Assab on his way back. On 6 September 1872, not far from Lasgori, S. was attacked by Warsangali Somali. He had to give them all his savings to save his life.



Pietro Sacconi; portrait from *Il Secolo* 1883

Thereupon S. engaged in silkworm import from Japan, but in 1882 he returned to Africa. With his brother Gaetano he arrived in Harär and launched a business there on behalf of the Milanese Società d'Esplorazione Commerciale in Africa. The trade in leather, coffee and other goods flourished, and the S. brothers were soon joined by their nephews Vincenzo and Giuseppe Guasconi. On 13–14 June 1883 S. made an excursion into the surrounding Oromo country, together with Arthur ↗Rimbaud and other companions. His geographical and ethnographical observations were minutely documented.

On 8 July 1883 S. was the first European to cross the border to Ogaden, where he intended to start a new business, but was ambushed and killed shortly after.

Src.: *L'Esploratore* 1882, 362–63, *ibid.* 1883, 106f., 156, 169–73, 308–12, 372–79, *ibid.* 1884, 39–45.

Lit.: Cesare Cesari, *Gli Italiani nella conoscenza del-l'Africa*, Roma 1938, 220ff.; Anon. [Cesare Cesari], *Voyageurs Italiens en Afrique*, Rome 1931, 125f.; *Il secolo illustrato della domenica*, *Settimanale illustrato di Attualità*, Milano, Sonzogno, 15 November 1883; «*Il secolo illustrato della domenica*», *Settimanale illustrato di Attualità*, Milano, Sonzogno, 15 November 1883 (ill.); Angelo Umiltà, *Gli Italiani in Africa. Con appendici monografiche su esploratori e personaggi che calcarono il suolo africano dal 1800 al 1943*, ed. by Giorgio Barani – Manlio Bonati, Reggio Emilia 2004, 441–46, 448, 453f.; Carlo Zaghi, *Le origini della Colonia Eritrea*, Bologna 1934, 98f., 106.

Manlio Bonati

Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide

The S. (also known as Propaganda Fide, i.e. '[concerning the] Propagation of the Faith', today Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples) is a department in the Roman Curia aimed at the organization of the missionary activities of the Catholic Church. Officially founded on 22 June 1622 by Pope Gregory XV, it was in fact a revival of earlier projects longed for by Pope Pius V (establishing a cardinals' commission for the East Indies already in 1568) and by the Jesuit Francesco Borgia (1510–72), and fostered by such writings as Tomás de Jesus's *De procuranda salute omnium gentium* (Antverpiae 1613). Created in the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation, the Congregation aimed at centralizing and promoting the diffusion of the Catholic faith (it thereby absorbed the defunct Congregatio de rebus Graecorum, for the Catholics of the Greek rite, founded by Pope Gregory XIII in 1573) rendering it independent from political power (cf. Metzler 1971: 82ff.). It also engaged in freeing

Christian slaves from the Muslims, in suppressing the cultivation and use of opium, in founding schools for instructing local people and clergy at different levels.

The S. was governed by a body initially of 13 cardinals, two prelates and a secretary, and headed by a cardinal prefect. The first general prefect was Cardinal Antonio Barberini Senior (1632–45), and the first secretary Francesco Ingoli (1622–49), who played a major role in laying its foundations and in organizing it. In 1627, Pope Urban VIII established the seminary known as Collegium Urbanum de Propaganda Fide, an integral part of the Congregation since 1641, and in 1639 cardinal Barberini added to it a school "Pro Nationibus Aethiopum, seu Abissinorum, et Bragmanorum Indiae Orientalis" (Raineri 2006; Fiaccadori in preparation). The Collegium is still extant today as the Pontifical Urbaniana University.

In the beginning, the S., which in 1623 had established a prefecture in Egypt, seldom interfered in the affairs of the Jesuit mission in Ethiopia (cp., though, BecRASO XII, 408). Yet, when the ↗Jesuits were exiled in 1632–33, it changed its policy. In 1634, Ingoli obtained from the S. a decree permitting the ↗Franciscans to send a mission there (Metzler 1971: 225). The Roman authorities were also openly opposed to Portuguese Jesuits resuming their mission from ↗Goa (APF, Indice generale fino ad Aprile 1657, A1: ABCDE [Fondo Acta-Indice alfabetico], vol. 6, 20; Acta: Congregazioni particolari, vol. V, 392r–93r). A series of missions led by Reformed Franciscans and ↗Capuchins was soon to follow.

By introducing the mendicant orders, the S. also wanted to apply softer methods than those of the Jesuits – i.e. tolerance of ↗circumcision and acceptance of the indigenous priesthood. However, the S. was unsuccessful in establishing permanent positions in Ethiopia (Metzler 1971: 624ff.). Most of the appointed missionaries, who travelled by sea from Suez to ↗Sawākin, were not to get any further than the ↗Sudan. Towards 1680, the missions in Egypt and Ethiopia were assigned to the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. At the turn of the 18th cent., further expeditions across the *Bilād as-Sudan* were organized, mostly with Franciscans and Jesuits. Being French, the latter enjoyed the support of the French consul in Cairo. From ↗Sinnār, by then the headquarters of all missionary endeavours, a few of them managed to reach the Ethiopian court of ↗Iyasu I at ↗Gondär. Among them were Charles ↗Poncet, the Franciscan friars Brevedent, Joseph, Pasquale da Montella, Benedetto da Atripalda and the Jesuits Grenier and Paulet. In 1703, Joseph, the prefect of the mission, took seven Ethiopian youths for instruction to Rome (Crawford 1951: 203ff., 311). In 1716, three more Franciscans reached ↗Massawa, but were stoned to death. As a result, the mission was suspended (↗Martyrdom).

In 1752, the S. managed to send a small expedition of Franciscan friars headed by Remedius ↗Prutky. In the 18th cent., prominent figures related to the S. were Bishop ↗Ṭobiya Giyorgis Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer and the prefects Cardinals Giuseppe Spinelli (1756–63) and Stefano Borgia (1770–1804), who also gathered an impressive collection including oriental artefacts and manuscripts, among which were Coptic and Ethiopic examples, for his museum in Velletri. His manuscripts are preserved at the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and at the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III in Naples (GreTisVat II 763–858; Fiaccadori in preparation; Buzi 2010; cp. Nocca 2001).

In the mid-19th cent., at the request of Antoine d'↗Abbadie, the S., headed by Cardinal Giacomo Franzoni, resumed work in Ethiopia with missions by the Capuchins and the ↗Lazarists (MasMis^2 vol. 1, 4ff). A twofold strategy for local people was then enforced: the Capuchins were to officiate the Latin rite in the Apostolic Vicariate of the Galla, the Lazarists, the Ethiopian rite in the Apostolic Vicariate of Abyssinia.

In 1862, a special section of the S. was instituted "pro negotiis ritus orientalis", to become independent as the ↗Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus, i.e. "for the Oriental Churches", in 1917.

The S. has promoted geographical exploration for both missionary and scholarly purposes, resulting in linguistic and ethnological studies. Since ca. 1626, it has run a Polyglot printing-office that has published books by Wemmers, ↗Massaja and ↗Sapeto. It was incorporated into the Vatican Typography in 1907 (↗Printing). The earliest Ethiopic works issued there were an Ethiopic syllabarium (1631) and a re-edition of Mariano Vittorio's *Chaldeae, seu Aethiopicae linguae institutiones* (1630). In 1789, an *Alphabetum Aethiopicum, sive Gheez et Amharicum* appeared that was published by Giovanni Cristoforo Amaduzzi (Fumagalli 1893: nos. 217, 292, 1173, 1184, 1321, 1374, 1391, 2292, 2295).

The headquarters of the S., the activity of which is now ruled by the 1988 papal bull *Pastor bonus*, are still in Rome, at the Palazzo di Propaganda

Fide (1634–67, by the architect Francesco Borromini), together with the archives, including several files on the missions to Egypt and Ethiopia.

↗Catholicism

Src.: Archivio di Propaganda Fide [APF], "Indice generale fino ad Aprile 1657", A1: ABCDE [Fondo Acta-Indice alfabetico], vol. 6, 20; "Acta: Congregazioni Particolari", vol. V, 392r–93r; Niccolò Forteguerri, *Memorie intorno alle missioni* [1709], ed. Carmen Prencipe di Donna, Napoli 1982, 21–28; Giuseppe Fumagalli, *Bibliografia Etiopica*, Milano 1893, nos. 217, 292, 1173, 1184, 1321, 1374, 1391, 2292, 2295; GreTisVat II 763-858; Francesco Ingoli, *Relazione delle quattro parti del mondo* [1628], ed. Fabio Tosi – Josef Metzler, Città del Vaticano 1999, 210–20; MasMis^{2} vol. 1, 4ff.; BecRASO XII, 408; XIII, 125ff.

Lit.: Paola Buzi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti copti Borgiani conservati presso la Biblioteca "Vittorio Emanuele II" di Napoli, con un profilo scientifico del cardinale Stefano Borgia e Georg Zoega*, Roma 2010 (MRALm, ser. 9, vol. 25, fasc. 1, 2009); Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar; with a Geographical Account of the Middle Nile Region*, Gloucester 1951, 196ff.; Edward G. Farrugia (ed.), *Da Benedetto XV a Benedetto XVI. Atti del simposio nel novantennio della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali e del Pontificio Istituto Orientale*, Roma 2009 (OrChrA 284); Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Alle origini del *Kebra nagaśt*", in preparation; Anna Germano – Marco Nocca (eds.), *La collezione Borgia: curiosità e tesori da ogni parte del mondo*, Napoli 2001; Leon Lopetegui, "San Francisco de Borja y el plan misional de San Pío V. Primeros pasos de una congregación de Propaganda Fide", *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 11, 1–2, 1942, 1–26; Gaudenzio Manfredi, *Ricerche sull'origine del 'Praefectus missionis' e la prefettura d'Egitto–Etiopia affidata ai Frati minori (1630–1692)*, Cairo 1958, 56ff.; Josef Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum: 350 anni al servizio delle missioni*, 3 vols., Rom – Freiburg – Wien 1971–75; Marco Nocca (ed.), *Le quattro voci del mondo: arte, cultura e saperi nella collezione di Stefano Borgia 1731-1804*, Napoli 2001; Osvaldo Raineri, "La versione etiopica del breve *Onerosa pastoralis officii* di Urbano VIII", *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 13, 2006, 581–611, here 582f.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus

The S. (Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ital.: Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali) is a permanent body of the Roman Curia responsible for the Eastern Catholic Churches. It has now exclusive authority (also for the Latin rite) over Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula, Eritrea and northern Ethiopia, southern Albania and Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Israel, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, the Palestinian territories, Syria, Jordan, Turkey, and Ukraine.

The S. began as a section "pro negotiis ritus orientalis" of the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide that was created on its own by Pope Pius IX on 6 January 1862 (apostolic constitution Romani Pontifices). The organism became autonomous in 1917 under Pope Benedict XV (who also established the Pontifical Oriental Institute in the same year), and its responsibilities were notably increased by Pope Pius XI in 1938, with the motu proprio Sancta Dei Ecclesia, by which the S. "pro Ecclesia Orientali" was formally instituted. More recently, Pope Paul VI (constitution *Regimini Ecclesiae universae*) and Pope John Paul II (*Pastor bonus*) further clarified the scope of the S., which adopted its current name in 1967. Formerly headed by the pope himself, it had a cardinal secretary (since 1967, prefect), who directed and represented it; the number of its members was fixed in 27 cardinals, one archbishop and four bishops. By right and competences, the patriarchs and the major archbishops of the Oriental Churches and the president of the Pontifical council for the promotion of unity among Christians were also included.

In Ethiopia and Eritrea the S. has established friendly relations with the local Orthodox churches. Its experts have prepared the edition of the liturgical books for the Catholic communitiy of Ethiopic rite, and its secretaries and officials have also striven to expand gradually Catholic facilities into those countries. In 1931, a collection of canons was prepared for the S. by Mauro da ↗Leonessa (da Leonessa 1931), at whose suggestion the Pontifical Ethiopian College, depending on the S., was founded in the ↗Vatican City (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori).

The S. had one of its most dynamic figures in Cardinal Eugène-Gabriel ↗Tisserant, its secretary from 1936 to 1959, who succeeded cardinal Luigi Sincero (1927–36). Worth mentioning is also Mgr. Giuseppe Mojoli who, from 1931 to 1960, worked in the liturgical department of the S. focusing on the Ethiopian Church. He contributed to the preparation of Ethiopian editions of the Missal, the Liturgy of the Hours and the Pontifical. In 1957, Mgr. Giuseppe McGeough, from the S., was appointed first apostolic internuncio in Ethiopia, with the aim of (re)opening diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the government of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. He was replaced in 1960 by Mojoli, who conducted an active work in support of missionary stations and Catholic parishes (Mojoli 1973: 86, 98ff.). The current cardinal prefect is the Argentinian Leonardo Sandri.

Src.: Josef Wohlmuth – Alberigo Giuseppe (ed., tr.), *Dekrete der ökumenischen Konzilien/Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, 3 vols., Paderborn et al. ^{1}1972, ^{3}2000–02; [Mauro da Leonessa], *Testi di diritto antichi e moderni riguardanti gli Etiopi*, Romae 1931.

Lit.: GIUSEPPE MOJOLI, *La Chiesa in Etiopia. Note e ricordi di un nunzio*, Vicenza 1973, 86, 98ff.; GABRIEL ACACE COUSSA, "Congregazioni romane, sacre: III: S.C. per la Chiesa orientale", in: GIUSEPPE PIZZARDO (ed.), *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. 4, Città del Vaticano 1950, cols. 318–19; *La Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali. Nel cinquantesimo della fondazione* (*1917–1967*), Roma 1969.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Sacraments ↗Baptism; ↗Eucharist; ↗Matrimony; ↗Ordination; ↗Penance; ↗Unction

Sacred kingdom ↗Kingship, divine

Sacrifice

Many Ethiopian and Eritrean cultural and religious traditions contain the idea or the actual practice of S. (cf. Levine 2000^{2}: 51), which is defined here in the anthropological sense as a religious act of immolating a valued being, usually an animal, to a deity or other supernatural force that is addressed by humans in order to show deference or awe and ask for blessing, propitiation or forgiveness. The word S. derives from Lat. *sacrificium* ('making holy or consecrated'; from *sacer*+*facere*), and expresses the motivation of the sacrificial act in both traditional and monotheistic religions. S. is a complex phenomenon but may well be a transcultural universal in religion. Indeed, it is seen by some (e.g., in the theory of Girard 1972) as the most important foundational idea of all religion.

In many traditional ↗religions in Ethiopia, S. as a vicarious offering of life force (animal blood) by humans, expresses the respect for, or perceived dependence of people on, life forces deemed to be controlled by supernatural agents. S. usually expresses the desire for communication between the living on the one hand, and the divine ↗spirit(s), ↗ancestors, or forces of nature on the other.

As a result of consecrated killing, an animal, a living being, is transformed into a transcendental object connecting to the sphere of the supernatural, and S. is a powerful "creative" act that defines a cosmology, a structure of meaning, for the sacrificer, himself made "sacred" in the act, and for his people. The consecrated animal or object hence stands for the sacrificers and their community in their attempt to communicate with worlds beyond.

While non-bloody "offerings" could also be considered as S. in the sense of giving something consecrated to supernatural forces or deities, the term S. is usually restricted to "bloody" S., whereby a sacralized stock- or domestic animal is ritually killed for the gods or spirits. In Ethiopian history human S. is rare and not well-attested: only a few examples are known (VSAe III, 108, 353f.; s. also Tornay 2001: 283f.). In these cases, humans appear to have been sacrificed "for the benefit" of a king and his auspicious rule. After the imperial conquest of the South in the late 19th cent. the new rulers forbade this practice.

S. can have many ritual forms and varieties, partly correlating with modes of livelihood (e.g., pastoralist vs. sedentary-agricultural), or type of society (hierarchical, egalitarian, kingdom, theocracy, etc.), but the basic meaning, given above, is the same. However, not all animal killings in ritual are S.: some are "slaughter" (cf. Miyawaki in PICES 13, 711), where an animal is killed without consecration, as, e.g., in divination (↗Oracles and divination) where intestines are "read", or the killing of cattle at burials to honour the deceased.

1. In the monotheistic traditions (Orthodox ↗Christianity, ↗Islam and ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel, cp. ↗Judaism), traces of the practice of S. are visible. Following Biblical precepts, the Betä Ǝsraᵓel sacrificed a consecrated sheep or a cow at Passover, and also a bull at the *Sigd* festival (Leslau 1957: 70f.; Salamon 1999: 57, 62). On some occasions, the Betä Ǝsraᵓel were asked by Christians to perform a sacrificial ritual to protect their community from a plague (cf. Salamon 1909: 62f.). In the 19th-cent. European Protestant missionaries working among the Betä Ǝsraᵓel immediately rejected their sacrificial rites and tried to eliminate them. The Jewish missionary Jacques ↗Faïtlovitch also condemned the practices since Jews elsewhere no longer performed S.

In Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity there are no bloody S. However, in the Holy Communion (↗Eucharist) the unique, one-time event of Christ's self-sacrifice is commemorated and ritually re-enacted (Luke 22: 19, 20; Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Motovu 1970; Kaplan 2003). The Eucharist is interpreted as an unbloody S., offered on the altar for the salvation of Mankind (1 Cor. 10: 18–21). Furthermore, the religious customs of Orthodox Christians include offerings (**መሥዋዕት**, *mäśwaᶜət*) of bread, ↗*ṭälla* or other ↗food items which are brought to a priest to be consecrated and then consumed (e.g., by the ↗*Maḫbär*). They are meant to support appeals for forgiveness, blessing or humility before God.

Among Muslims, S. (*qurbān*, or *ḍabiḥa*) also exists and is carried out at certain festivals (↗Feasts, Islamic), mainly the *ᶜĪd al-Aḍḥā*, where a sheep or goat is killed, based on the injunction of Allāh to Ibrāhīm to be prepared to offer his son Ismāᶜīl (Sūra 37, 101–07, parallelling the Biblical story of Isaac, cf. Genesis 22). As with the other two religions above, the core of the Muslim sacrificial act is said to be not the killing of the consecrated animal itself, but the sacrificers showing their piety and commitment to God. In these religions, S. is thus a "vehicle" for religious devotion, and is seen as supporting or extending the role of prayer and pious service to God; its main attraction here is the communal aspect.

S. can only be carried out in specific spatial settings (an ᶜ*awd* or holy space near a church or prayer house, a sacred place, e.g., the *mora* among the ↗Konso), a specific hill-top, an *adbär*-↗tree grove etc.), and by designated and capable officiators. In Ethiopian Muslim as well as Christian traditions, the sacrificial rituals often show a hybrid or "syncretic" character as to origin, spiritual message and social significance, which derives from the long interaction between different religious traditions (↗Syncretism).

2. In traditional religions of various ethnic groups across the country, S. is a vibrant part of religious practice, and expresses similar ideas of communion, respect and establishing contact with spiritual forces, the (Sky-)God, or the ancestors. A wide variety of peoples, even if they are partly Christianized or Islamized, maintain sacrificial practices in some form or other. One reason for the persistence and "popularity" of S. may indeed be the element of communal meal after killing the animal, which has a strong integrative aspect, drawing people into a shared religious or community space. S. rituals are often embedded in a cosmology which refers back to underlying ecological and livelihood elements relevant to the particular group.

Some S. are primary religious in nature in that spiritual or natural forces are appealed to in order to ensure cosmic order and the fertility of humans, cattle and crops. Others fuse religious and political aspects, calling for both the blessings of the spirits, the divinity or the ancestors for the well-being of society at large (e.g., with the *kawo* sacrificers among the ↗Gamo groups, s. Bureau 1981; Freeman 2003), or to honour those in authority (cp. Tornay 2001) and for the correct behaviour of the society's members. The installation of a new ruler or officiator in the ritually proper manner is usually effected via rituals of S. as well. This was the case with, e.g., divine rulers (*kati*) or chiefs (*kyaz*) in several southern Ethiopian ethnic groups (such as ↗Maale, ↗Oyda, or ↗Dizi; ↗Kingship, divine). In some societies (↗Suri, ↗Mursi, ↗Dáassanač, etc.), the ↗initiation of new age-grades also required a big S.

Among the ↗Oromo a large variety of forms of S. exists, e.g., the ↗Mäçça sacrifice to the lineage spirit (*ayaana abbaa*) at certain crucial moments in the yearly cycle, or at the acceptance of a new ↗*qalluu* (Knutsson 1967). In the ↗Guǧǧi and ↗Boorana ↗*gadaa* systems, major S. were made at the initiation of men into an important new age grade and at the installation of new *abbaa gadaas* or other high officials (cp. Hinnant 1978). S. here is meant to invoke an auspicious period of rule and the preservation of the social and cosmic order. Similar rites of S. exist among the ↗Sidaama when men are initiated into adulthood in the *luwa* system. The same is done in other groups, where they also perform S. in times of social or natural disaster (cf. Hamer 1996: 534).

In most of these sacrificial rituals, meticulous care is taken that the right procedure is followed, e.g., with unblemished animals, reciting the required words in the right order and performing the proper actions, which indeed form one integrated whole. Ethiopian S. rituals also show a great variety in the ways in which the animal is killed: not only with a knife, but also with a spear, with wooden poles, or via strangling. The places on the body where the animal is hit also vary. All these choices (cf. Miyawaki in PICES 13; Abbink 2003) reveal the intricate symbolism of S.

3. In both the Ethiopian monotheistic and traditional religions, the principle of S. is well reflected in the ritual slaughtering of animals and the common consumption of their meat on important social occasions, e.g., life cycle events such as weddings, initiations or burials, harvest ceremonies, local religious festivals (↗Feasts), ↗ancestor commemorations, healing rituals, possession rituals, or *adbär* ceremonies.

Among many ethnic groups, sacrifices are often made for more "secular" reasons: or personal transgressions, to compensate for wrongdoing or to "cleanse" or re-socialize the culprit of adultery, injury, theft or homicide. In several groups in southern Ethiopia (e.g., the ↗Meᵓen, Oromo), a sheep is killed by a neutral sacrificer and the flow of blood used to reconcile the transgressor and the victim or his/her group (cp. Bartels 1983; Abbink 1992). The sacrificial animal is hereby first, in a metaphorical sense, declared the perpetrator, and then killed and cast out, so that God or the ancestor spirits may produce a cooling of anger as well as a reconciliation. (In addition, compensation is paid to the victim's kin group.) Also here, however, there is a religious dimension, in that reference is usually made to supernatural forces and the cosmic order.

Lit.: JON ABBINK, "Gender and Power: Male and Female in a Me'en Homicide Compensation Ceremony", *Sociology-Ethnology Bulletin* 1, 2, 1992, 67–73; ID., "Love and Death of Cattle: the Paradox in Suri Attitudes Toward Livestock", *Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology* 68, 3, 2003, 341–64; AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 102f.; BartOrom 249–54; JACQUES BUREAU, *Les Gamo d'Éthiopie: Étude du Système Politique*, Paris 1981, 59, 98f.; RENÉ GIRARD, *La Violence et le Sacré,* Paris 1972, passim; JOHN HINNANT, "The Guji: *gada* as a Ritual System", in: URI ALMAGOR – PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time*, London 1978, 207–44; DENA FREEMAN, *Initiating Change in Highland Ethiopia*, Cambridge 2003, 23, 67, 72–77; CHRISTOPHER ROBERT HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia,* Oxford 1972, 232, 237, 267; JOHN HAMER, "Inculcation of Ideology among the Sidāma of Ethiopia", *Africa* 66, 4, 1996, 526–51; STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Social and Religious Functions of the Eucharist in Medieval Ethiopia", *AE* 19, 2003, 7–18; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1967, 62, 107; WOLF LESLAU, *Coutûmes et Croyances des Falacha (Juifs d'Éthiopie)*, Paris 1957, 70f.; DONALD NATHAN LEVINE, *Greater Ethiopia: the Evolution of a Multiethnic Society*, Chicago, IL – London 2000^2; YUKIO MIYAWAKI, "Ewe Lamb as a Feminine Divinity, Male Kid as a Naughty Wild Creature? Some Notes on the Symbolic Universe of the Hoor of Southwestern Ethiopia through the Examination of Sacrifice and Ritual Slaughter", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 706–47; HAGAR SALAMON, *The Hyena People. Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA – London 1999, 57, 62f.; SERGE TORNAY, *Les Fusils Jaunes. Générations et Politique en Pays Nyangatom (Éthiopie),* Paris 2001, 273; VSAe II, 203, 249–52, 337; VSAe III, 108, 353f.

Jon G. Abbink

Sadača ↗Afre

Saᶜdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad

S. (سعد الدين ابو البركات محمد بن احمد حرب ارعد, r. 1386–ca. 1413) was one of the three sons of the ↗Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān* of ↗Ifat, ↗Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad b. ᶜAlī b. Ṣabraddīn, who were born while their father was in hostage at the court of *aṣe* Nəwayä Krəstos (↗Säyfä Arᶜad). S. succeeded his brother ↗Ḥaqqaddīn II b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad, after the latter's death in 1386.

S. continued the ↗*ǧihād* against the Christians. He was once taken prisoner during an unsuccessful battle and brought in fetters to the Christian general, but freed by a Muslim knight. Most of S.'s campaigns were, however, victorious, e.g., his attack against *amano* (here a title, not the ↗Amano, who fought against ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I) of ↗Hadiyya, the Emperor's vassal. After the conquest of ↗Zälan, S.'s private part of the booty was 40,000 cows which he at once gave as alms to the poor and to the dervishes.

Through these campaigns S. enlarged the territory of Ifat which from then on, for more than hundred years, was named Barr Saᶜdaddīn, 'the land of S.'. The fame of S. among the Christians is testified by the Vita of *abunä* ↗Märqorewos, where he is called Saᵓalädin: *aṣe* ↗Dawit II could not withstand his attacks and had to ask for the Saint's intercession. Märqorewos's prayers were heard by God. Saᵓalädin was killed and his head thrown in front of Dawit.

The *Ilmām* of al-↗Maqrīzī (MaqIlmam^2, the main source on S.'s reign) gives the following account of the end of S.'s reign. When the Emperor sent his general Bārū against him, S. met him with an army of *ǧihād* fighters. The Muslims were defeated and 400 *šayḫs* died. S. fled to the island of ↗Zaylaᶜ. The Christians besieged Zaylaᶜ, cut off the fresh water supply, and with the help of a traitor entered the town. S. fought against them and was stabbed to death.

S.'s children fled to the ↗Yemen where they were welcomed by the Yemenite ruler al-Mālik an-Nāṣir Aḥmad b. al-Ašraf Ismāᶜīl.

The *Ilmām* and the Walašmaᶜ Chronicle (s. Cerulli 1931) agree that S. ruled for 30 years but differ on dates. According to the *Ilmām*, S.'s rule lasted from 1374/75 till 1402/03, followed by a 20-year long Christian occupation of Ifat. The Walašmaᶜ Chronicle says that S. ruled from March/April 1386 till 16 February 1415, and the interval until the return of his son Ṣabraddīn from Arabia was only one year. The dates of the Walašmaᶜ Chronicle seem more accurate (s. Cerulli 1931:49, n. 18, also confirmed by the *amīr* lists, s. Wagner 1976). Even the date 1415 should probably be corrected by at least two years: according to the Christian source, S. was killed during the reign of *aṣe* Dawit who died on 6 October 1413. This must be the *terminus ante quem* for the death of S.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 41 (text) = 49 (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 138 (text) = 143f. (tr.)]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta Marqorewos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 38–41 (text) = 51–54 (tr.); MaqIlmam^2 11–14; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar: Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ostafrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 504.

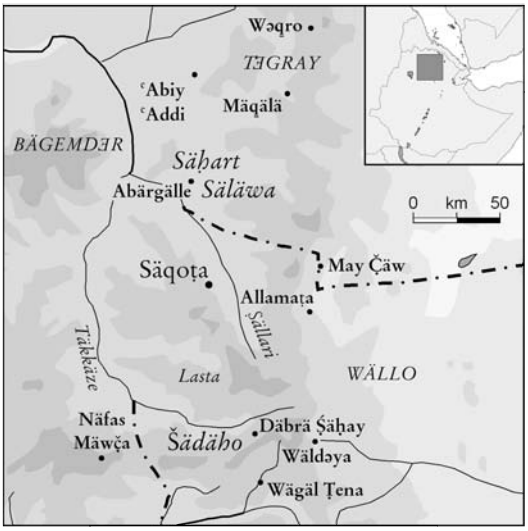
Lit.: BrHad 81; CerStud I, 25f. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 302f.]; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 3, 1943, 272–94, here tabula [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80, here tabula]; TrIslam 74f.; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Harariner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BÖCHER – GÜNTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Meisenheim am Glan 1976, 186–204, here tabula.

Ewald Wagner

Šädäho

Š. (ሸደሆ) is a lowland region in Mäqet, ↗Lasta, which is generally referred to as Š.-Mäqet. It is largely inhabited by Muslims, whose main occupation is weaving (↗Weavers and weaving). The market place of Däbäkko is known for its cloth. It is a meeting place for Muslim ↗weavers who come from highland and lowland areas to exchange their commodities. They travel seasonally into other parts of Lasta, ↗Wag, ↗Yäǧǧu, Wadla and Dälanta, and beyond Š. to ↗Bägemdər to work as weavers.

Š. is mentioned in sources at least from the 17th cent., e.g., in 1620 ↗Susənyos campaigned in the area (PerChron 247f.). Local tradition indicates that *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs established the land tenure system of Š.-Mäqet (Assefa Maru 1995: 10, 56, 78f., 98). During the period of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, a certain Ayyo, a warrior from Bägemdər, settled in Däbäkko, supported by Gubala, the local ruler of Lasta and a rebel against the court of ↗Gondär. Ayyo is also believed to have established a number of churches in Š. When Bäkaffa campaigned in Lasta in 1725, to suppress the rebellion of Gubala and subdue another rebel, ↗Amməḫa Iyäsus, a distant relative of the king who had taken refugee in Š., the king's army sacked the property of Ayyo at Däbäkko for having sheltered Amməḫa Iyäsus (ibid.).



Again in 1726, Bäkaffa mobilized the Ǧawi and Baso Oromo warriors and devastated Š.-Mäqet. Bäkaffa's chronicler indicates that the region was plundered because the people of Lasta concealed their property in Š. *Däǧǧazmač* ↗Wänd Bäwäsän, a regional ruler in Lasta and one of the king-makers in Gondär in the early period of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, is said to have established the church of Däbäkko Maryam.

Src.: BassÉt 85; BTafA 631, 879, 895, 898, 999, 962; GuiIohan 292, 298, 363; PerChron 247f. (text).

Lit.: ASSEFA MARU, *Land Tenure in Shadaho Maqet Warada from 1672–1916*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1989, 36; WUDU TAFETE, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 10, 56, 78f., 98.

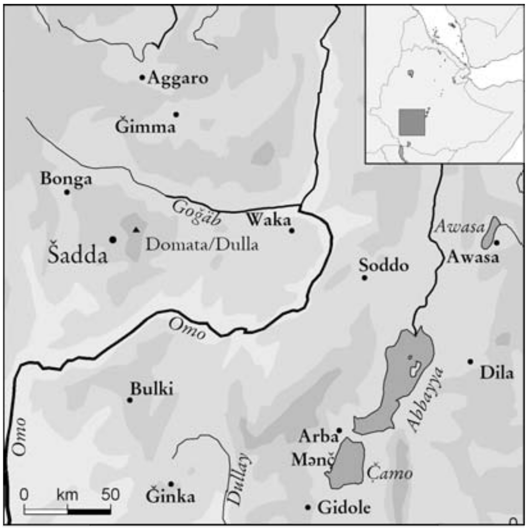
Wudu Tafete Kassu

Šadda

Š. (ሻዳ; 7° 1' 60 N–36° 30' E) is one of the oldest towns in ↗Käfa (9,192 inhabitants in 2007). It is located (2,401 m A.S.L.) to the south-west of ↗Bonga between two valleys on the foothills of the mountains of Butta and Domata/Dulla at the confluence of the Bitino and Merro rivers. From the Bonga–Waka–Soddo road Š. can be reached by a track which branches off in Butta town. Š. belongs to the Gimbo *wäräda*, a division of Käfiččo–Šäkiččo zone in the Southern Region.

Š. was known historically as the place of coronation of the early kings of Käfa, and the first Käfa king was said to have come from Š. (Lange 1982). It was abandoned as chief residence by the "Bonga ↗*tato*", probably identical with King Boretta (r. 1565–1605), in the early 17th cent. in favour of Bonga. The burial grounds of all the Käfa kings were near Š., at the Šoša hill. Until the defeat of Käfa in 1897, the town remained the place of a secondary royal residence where the king stayed during certain religious holidays and performed important royal sacrifices (Lange 1982: 279). Together with the other royal compounds it was destroyed in 1897. No trace is left of its earlier structures.

According to Bieber (1920), who was in Käfa in mid-1905 and in 1909, it used to be a significant market, but started to decline after the Ethiopian conquest. De Brun, also travelling in Käfa in 1905, did not mention it in his account. Today,



Š. is a small local market town in an area where livelihoods are mainly based on subsistence agriculture and some forestry.

Src.: Friedrich Julius Bieber, *Kaffa. Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Wien 1920–23, vol. 1, 170ff.; vol. 2, 124; Central Statistical Authority – Ethiopian Development Research Institute – International Food Policy Research Institute, *Atlas of the Ethiopian Rural Economy*, Addis Ababa – Washington, DC 2006, 10f.; Robert de Brun, *Voyage en Éthiopie méridionale. Pays Galla, Changalla et Danakil 1905–1906*, n.d.; Consociazione Turistica Italiana, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana, scala 1:1000000*, no. 3, Milano, n.d.; Guida 539; HuntGal 111.

Lit.: Johan Eriksson, *Okänt Etiopien*, Stockholm 1966, 93; Werner Jürgen Lange, *History of the Southern Gonga*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 273, 279, 282; Amnon Orent, "Refocusing of the History of Kafa Prior to 1897: a Discussion of Political Processes", *African Historical Studies* 3, 2, 1970, 263–93, here 268ff.; David H. Shinn – Thomas P. Ofcansky – Chris Prouty, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*, Lanham, ML 2004, 233.

Alain Gascon

Ṣadəqan

The Ṣ. (**ጻድቃን**, 'The Righteous'), are a group of monks of "Roman" (Byzantine) origin who are traditionally considered, alongside the ↗Nine Saints, ↗Libanos (Mäṭaᶜ) and Yoḥanni of ↗Däbrä Sina in Sänḥit, to be the main protagonists of the so-called "second Christianization" of the Aksumite kingdom (↗Aksum). The tradition might reflect the arrival in Ethiopia in different waves (from the end of the 5th through to the beginning of the 6th cent.) of a number of monks.

According to the traditions preserved in several hagiographic writings, the Ṣ. arrived in Ethiopia as a group and lived together in Aksum; one year after their arrival, they split into smaller groups and scattered throughout the highlands. Each group was subsequently named after the place in which they settled. Their exact number as well as their personal names are unknown. Unlike the Nine Saints, the Ṣ. remained together in groups till the end of their lives.

The available sources allow us to identify different groups of Ṣ.:

(a) The "Ṣ. of Baräknaha" (**ጻድቃን፡ ዘባረክናሃ**) were active in the region of Šəmäzana. This group is particularly known from the churches of ↗Mäṭära and Baräknaha, where their relics, already noted by the Portuguese in the mid-16th cent. (Whiteway 1902:26f.; cp. CRAxum no. 27), are still venerated.

Their story has been preserved in the *Gädlä Ṣadəqan zäBaräknaha*, attested in five mss.:

(1) a ms. from the church of Baräknaha (publ. Conti Rossini 1903, tr. Raineri 1979, 1996a); (2) the ms. Roma, ANL, Conti Rossini 78, fols. 12r–31r, 20th cent. (Strelcyn 1976:203f., no. 78; consulted by Raineri and added in the footnotes of his edition); (3) a missing ms. from the church of Baräknaha preserved in a copy in the church of Mäṭära (a fragment is publ. by Schneider 1963; the variants and the *mälkəᶜ* tr. by Raineri 1980); (4) the ms. Cambridge University Library, Bible House Library, Ethiopic 191, fols. 1ra–20va, 19th cent. (Cowley 1982:108f.; the same recension as [2]); (5) a ms. photographed by Emilio Ceccarini (Raineri 1996b:372, no. 64).

According to their Vita, the Ṣ. left their country ("Rom") and, by way of ↗Jerusalem and ↗Egypt, arrived in Ethiopia during the reign of ↗Əllä ᶜAmida. There they split into different groups and moved to various places. They took shelter in clefts in rocks and ate only grass. 30 years later, a rebellion broke out in the region of ↗Bur (Beccari 1912:133f.; CRStor 259; Ricci in MiscAethKur). On that occasion, God opened a passage through the earth so that king ↗Kaleb and his army were able to reach Mäṭära from Aksum without being seen. The king killed all the rebels and destroyed the town. Some time later, while the Ṣ. were eating grass in the region of Ṣiʾatä Männa, one of them was wounded by an arrow shot by the owner of the field. Thereafter they stopped eating and starved to death in their shelter. There, "a king" erected a wonderful church and a spring of healing water flowed out east of the church. The ↗*Sənkəssar* celebrates them on 19 *Ṭəqəmt*.

(b) The "Ṣ. of [the river] Kädiḥ" (**ጻድቃን፡ ዘከዲሕ**) are remembered in a number of sources:

(1) a text on the *Qəddusanä Kädiḥ* transmitted in ms. EMML 1479, fols. 283r–85v, 1459/60 (EMML vol.

IV, 597; Getatchew Haile in PICES 8, vol. 1, 653ff.); (2) a hymn from the collection ↗*ᶜArke* in ms. EMML 1279, fol. 72r (EMML IV, 303); (3) a hymn from the collection *Nägś* in ms. EMML 204, fol. 74r, ascribed to ↗Giyorgis of Gasəçça (EMML I, 215); (4) a hymn from the ↗*Zəmmare* in ms. Paris, BN Éth. 372, fol. 49rb–va (GrébGriaule III, 130, no. 68).

The text of their Vita is corrupted in several places to such an extent that it is sometimes hard to follow the plot. On 18 *Taḫśaś*, the Ṣ. left the town of Abᵓaza and reached the Kädiḥ. There an angel sent by God told them to spend the night by the river. They fell asleep on 24 *Taḫśaś* and never woke up. The news spread everywhere and numerous people, including clergymen and the faithful, flocked there, singing songs and offering up incense and prayers to God. Their bodies remained exposed to wild animals for five days, but were miraculously untouched. Those who gathered there buried them and built a church dedicated to Mary over their tomb. A golden cross was found at the tomb. They are commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 24 *Taḫśaś*.

(c) The activity of the "Ṣ. of ↗Ḥawzen" (**ጻድቃን፡ ዘሐውዜን**) is attested in the region of that name. The only source of information about them is the *Gädlä Ṣadəqan zäḤawzen*, transmitted in a recently discovered manuscript, which dates the coming of the Ṣ. to the 20th year of Anbäsa Wədəm's reign, "year of mercy 910" (1194 A.D.), after the reign of "Gudit, queen of Aksum" (↗Ǝsato; Brita 2008:6). The *Sənkəssar* remembers them on 24 *Ṭərr*.

(d) The "Ṣ. of Qaḥen" (**ጻድቃን፡ ዘቃሔን**) are so named after the area between ↗Wəqro and ↗Mäqälä, where two churches are dedicated to them.

Their Vita is transmitted in three recently discovered mss.:

(1) a ms. containing a short story which presents the same text as the *Gädlä Ṣadəqan zäBaräknaha* (1); (2) a ms. containing the *Zena kidanomu läṣadəqan zäMäṭära wäzäQaḥen* and the *Gädlä Ṣadəqan*, 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; (3) a ms. of the *Gädlä Ṣadqan zäQaḥen* (Brita 2008:7).

(e) A church dedicated to the "Ṣ. of Dägʷe" (**ጻድቃን፡ ዘደጔ**) is located in the environs of Aksum. Their Vita, transmitted in a recently discovered manuscript, set their arrival in Ethiopia from "Rom" in the time of "Asfəḥ son of Abrəha" (Brita 2008:8). They are commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 29 *Ṭərr*.

Additionally, the tradition remembers other groups of Ṣ., whose hagiographies are not accessible at present: the Ṣ. of Abräntant (*Ṣ. zäᵓAwran Ṭant*; cp. ↗Däbrä Abräntant), the Ṣ. of Wäsif (commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 17 *Ḫədar*), the Ṣ. of Däbrä Asa (commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 5 *Ḥamle*), the Ṣ. of Qʷaᵓat, the Ṣ. of Tänkäḥe, the Ṣ. of Mädära, the Ṣ. of Akofin.

↗Byzantine empire; ↗Gəᶜəz literature

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli di Libānos»*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]), xiii–xiv, n. 4; CAMILLO BECCARI (ed.), *Il Tigrè descritto da un missionario gesuita del secolo XVII*, Roma ^{2}1912, 133f.; BerTarik 199–207; ANTONELLA BRITA, *I racconti tradizionali sulla cristianizzazione dell'Etiopia: il «Gadla Panṭalēwon» e il «Gadla Liqānos»*, Ph.D. thesis, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" 2008, 5–8; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Ṣādqān", in: ID., *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, Asmara 1903, 7–22; ID., *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942, 175 (text) = 214 (tr.); ROGER W. COWLEY, in: M. ROSARIA FALIVENE – ALAN F. JESSON (ed.), *Historical Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Bible House Library*, London 1982, 66–121; CRAxum 30 (text) = 34f. (tr.), no. 27; EMML I, IV; GETATCHEW HAILE, "A Text on the Saints of Kädiḥ", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 653–64; GrébGriaule III; OSVALDO RAINERI, "«Gadla Ṣādqān» o «Vita dei Giusti» missionari dell'Etiopia nel VI secolo", *Nicolaus* 7, 1, 1979, 143–63; ID., "«Vita dei Giusti». Missionari dell'Etiopia nel sesto secolo: varianti e inno", *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* 31, 1980, 377–413; ID., *La Spiritualità etiopica,* Roma 1996a (La Spiritualità Cristiana Orientale 1), 78–99; ID., "I manoscritti etiopici fotografati da P. Emilio Ceccarini (1912–1979)", *Quaderni Utinensi* 8/15–16, 1990 [1996b], 367–74; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Une page du Gadla Ṣādqān", *AE* 5, 1963, 167–69; StrANLin; SynCol; MARC-ANTOINE VAN DEN OUDENRIJN (ed., tr.), *La vie de saint Mikāᵓēl Aragāwi*, Friburg [Suisse] 1939, 23ff.; RICHARD STEPHEN WHITEWAY, *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543 as Narrated by Castanhoso*, London 1902 (Hakluyt Society papers 2, 10), 26f.

Lit.: BHO 177f., no. 812 [confused with the Nine Saints]; BrakAksum 126f.; CRStor 156ff., 259; KinBibl 87, no. 128; ANTONIO MORDINI, "La chiesa di Baraknaha, nello Scimezana", *AE* 4, 1961, 131–38; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Ṣādqān" in: *EncSan*, vol. 2, 918; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Zĕbān bur, Zĕbān Abùr", in: *MiscAethKur* 235–39; SERGEW HABLE-SELLASSE, "Ṣadqan", in: *DicEthBio* 140–41; SerHist 125f.

Antonella Brita

Sadiq al-Muᵓayyad al-ᶜAzm

S. *paşa* (Ottoman: ᶜAzm-zâde Sadik el-Müᵓeyyed; d. 15 October 1910, Istanbul) was born as one of the many grandsons of Aḥmad al-Muᵓayyad (1806–88), founder of the Muᵓayyad branch of the famous al-ᶜAzm family of Damascus. He entered military service in the Ottoman army and rose to the rank of a *farīq* [*ferik*] (lieutenant-general). Furthermore, he became *yaver* ('aide-de-camp') to the *sulṭān* Abdülhamid II. (r. 1876–1909).

In 1886 and 1895 (cp. Yılmaz 2004: correctly converted from Rumī-date), S. was sent to Benghazi upon the *sulṭān*'s orders, to make contact with the local leaders and sheikhs of the inner Sahara. These missions can be seen not only as a reaction to the ambitions of the Italians in Tripolitania, but also as part of the *sulṭān*'s "Islam politics" by which he tried to influence Muslim groups and movements which were not under the authority of official Ottoman religious institutions, especially in Arab countries and in North-Africa. S.'s diary, which he kept on his second journey, was published in 1314 H. [1896 A.D.] under the title *Afrika Sahrayı Kebirinde Seyahat* ('Journey in the Great Desert of Africa'). Later, S. supervised the construction of the Ḥiğāz telegraph line and, in 1901, became vice-director of the Directorate for Building of the Ḥiğāz Railway.

In 1904, after an Ethiopian diplomatic delegation had come to Turkey (1903; s. Orhonlu 1974: 165, year 1896 A.M. = 1903/04 A.D.), it was decided to send a small delegation in return to Ethiopia. S. was appointed as head of this delegation. In Addis Abäba he learned that the Muslims in this town had no great mosque for Friday Prayer. S. promised to ask *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II for a mosque and a cemetery. He was granted audience twice by the Emperor, where the Monarch explained that he loved his Muslim subjects like his Amhara subjects, and awarded S. the "Order of Solomon" on 13 June 1904. But in S.'s travel account, there is no mention of any promise by Mənilək to build a great mosque in Addis Abäba, unlike what is found in the secondary literature (ErlEth 77, 79, 106; Erlich 2002: 93; EAE vol. 3, 1031). S.'s diary was published under the title *Habeş Seyahatnamesi* ('Journey to Abyssinia') in 1904. After his mission to Ethiopia, S. was Commissioner in Bulgaria until 1908, and thereafter governor of Jeddah.

In 1905, another Ethiopian delegation came to Istanbul to negotiate about the monastery of ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān. During the talks, the question of building mosques was brought up in order to gain concessions. The Ottoman Cabinet Council even worked out a proposal on this matter (Orhonlu 1974: 165f.). But when the Ethiopians did not obtain their goal, Mənilək is said to have shelved the "promise" (ErlEth 77) mentioned above.

In 1908 an Arabic translation of S.'s itinerary was pulished in Cairo; however it is not a mere translation, but a revised and enlarged version of the Turkish original. S.'s journey marked a turning point in diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and the ↗Ottoman Empire, and his book, especially the Arabic version, is one of the most comprehensive accounts of a non-European visitor to Ethiopia at that time. In Turkey today where interest in the "Osmanlı" has increased and an edition in modern Turkish was printed in 1999.

Src.: ᶜAZM-ZĀDE SADIK EL-MÜ'EYYED, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi* ('Journey to Abyssinia'), Istanbul 1322 H. [1904 A. D.]; SADIQ *baša* AL-MUR̊AYYAD AL-ᶜAZM, *Rihlat al-Habaša* ('Journey to Abyssinia'), tr. RAFIQ *bey* AL-ᶜAZM – HAQQI *bey* AL-ᶜAZM, Cairo 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]; SADIK EL-MÜEYYED *paşa*, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi 1904* ('The Journey to Abyssinia of 1904') ed. MUSTAFA BAYDEMIR, İstanbul 1999; HAKAN YILMAZ, "Afrika çöllerinin medenîleri" ('Human Civilizations in the African Deserts'), *Yağmur Dergisi* sayı 24, 2004, internet resource.

Lit.: ErlEth 77–83; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Cross and the River*: *Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile*, Boulder, CO – London 2002, 93f.; UFUK GÜLSOY, *Hicaz Demiryolu* ('The Ḥiğāz Railway'), İstanbul 1994, 109; CHRISTOPH HERZOG – RAOUL MOTIKA, "Orientalism alla Turca. Late 19th/early 20th Century Ottoman Voyages into the Muslim Outback", *Die Welt des Islams* 40, 2, 2000, 169–72; CENGIZ ORHONLU, *Osmanlı Imperatorluğu'nun güney siyaseti, Habeş Eyaleti*, ('The Southern Politics of the Ottoman Empire: Habeş Eyaleti'), İstanbul 1974, 165f., 169 n. 26, 170 n. 29; LINDA SCHATKOWSKI-SCHILCHER, *Families in Politics*: *Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th Centuries*, Wiesbaden – Stuttgart 1985, 140f.

Detlev Finke

Ṣafī b. al-ᶜAssāl, aṣ- ↗Ibn al-ᶜAssāl, aṣ-Ṣafī

Šafiᶜism

Š. (Arab. *al-maḏhab aš-Šafiᶜī, Šāfiᶜīya*) is one of the four schools of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) in Sunni ↗Islam. Š. is associated with the eponymous Muḥammad b. Idrīs aš-Šafiᶜī (also known as *imām* aš-Šafiᶜī; 767–820 A.D.) who began as a member of the School of Medina (cp. ↗Mālikism), before developing a set of methodological principles that gradually became the foundation of jurisprudence making a pivotal contribution to the systematization and institutionalization of Islamic legal science.

More a theoretician than a legal practitioner, aš-Šafiᶜī developed his methodology of jurisprudence as a response to the opposing tendencies of the mainly Kufa-based *ahl al-ḥadīṯ*, or the "Traditionists", who believed that the ↗Qurʾān and the Ḥadīṯ were the sole sources of the law on the one hand, and the Medina-based *ahl al-raʾy*, who took into consideration established practices ("what is commonly done") in specific areas as a basis for a rule of law, on the other. Aš-Šafiᶜī sought a synthesis between the two tendencies that would create uniformity across the *Dār al-Islām* ('Abode of Islam').

In his *al-Risāla fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (‘Treatise on the Foundations of Islamic Jurisprudence’) aš-Šafiᶜī revolutionized legal thought by theorizing and systematizing the methodology of jurisprudence and raising it to the status of a science. While he was more inclined to the *ahl al-ḥadīṯ*, his methodological synthesis systematized the other sources (*uṣūl*) of *fiqh*, namely *qiyās* (‘analogical reasoning’) and *iğmāᶜ* (‘consensus’) by grounding them in the revealed sources (Qurᵓān and Ḥadīṯ) which he understood as possessing the final authority in expounding law. He criticized Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa (↗Ḥanafism) and came out against *taqlīd*, or the acceptance of the views of legal scholars as authoritative. This position might be perceived as somewhat contradictory since aš-Šafiᶜī’s authority is identified with the existence of a school.

The origins of the *maḏhab* as a separate and well defined school is still unclear and subject to debate among scholars. Aš-Šafiᶜī himself worked in Iraq, the Ḥiğāz, Yemen and later in Egypt where his teachings gained greater success. Recent revisionist scholarship argues that aš-Šafiᶜī was not the founder of a *maḏhab* but that a group of followers who referred to him can be traced to about one century following his death in Baghdad. This group was led by Abū l-ᶜAbbas b. Surayğ (d. 918) who also composed a *muḫtaṣar* (manual summing up general rules of law) and who is considered as the actual founder of the *maḏhab* (Melchert 1997: 68–115). The Iraqi legal scholars based much of their work on the Egyptian *fiqh* scholars who studied with aš-Šafiᶜī in Egypt, especially Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāᵓil al-Muzānī (d. 878), Abū Yaᶜqūb Yūsuf al-Buwayṭī (d. 846) and Abū Muḥammad al-Rabᶜ Murādī (d. 883/84) (Chaumont in EI², vol. 9, 186f.). Aš-Šafiᶜī also authored the magisterial *Kitāb al-Umm* in which he developed his legal thought and theories.

In its initial phases Š. spread into many areas of the Middle East and was able to establish itself in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Ḥiğāz, Yemen, Iran, and Central Asia but competition with other legal schools, especially the Ḥanafiya, later shifted its distribution and influence in specific areas. Nowadays, it is the prevalent legal school in Lower Egypt, the Ḥiğāz, parts of Yemen and is practically the *maḏhab* of the Indian Ocean rim, from the Red Sea littoral, East Africa, the west coast of India and the vast majority of Muslims in South East Asia.

To a great extent, the diffusion of Š. along the Indian Ocean coasts went hand in hand with the circulation of Yemeni traders, itinerant scholars and migrants who introduced Š. *fiqh* texts and manuals from East Africa to South East Asia. The learned members of the *sādah* and *mašāyḫ* stratum were intensively engaged in the spread of Š. around the Indian Ocean (Bang 2003: 23; Martin 1971, 1974). This is also true in north-east Africa where the introduction and diffusion of Š. in Somalia and Ethiopia can be historically traced back to the centres of Š. learning in Yemen, especially in ↗Zabīd and Tarīm in ↗Ḥaḍramawt.

Among the very early known sources concerning the history of the legal schools in north-east Africa, al-Dimašqī (1256–1327 A.D.) signalled the presence of Š. in ↗Berbera. When ↗Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited ↗Zaylaᶜ in 1337 he noted that the Somalis were Š. (CerStud I, 46). In the 14th cent. (1342–49), al-↗ᶜUmarī noted that while the inhabitants of the Muslim states of ↗Däwaro, ↗Arabäbni, Šarḫā, Bali (↗Bale), Dära and ↗Hadiyya were Ḥanafi (whose influence in the Ethiopian area also originated in the Yemen), the majority of the population of ↗Ifat (Awfāt) followed Š. This is corroborated by al-↗Qalqašandī who based his information on al-ᶜUmarī and noted that the majority of Muslims in the region follows Ḥanafism except in Ifat, where the Š. *maḏhab* was predominant (CerStud I, 44f.). Oral traditions collected in the late 20th cent. associate the presence of Š. with the ancestors of the ↗Argobba in Ifat as early as the 12th cent. Other oral data suggest that one of the possible early centres of diffusion of Š. was the locality of Qorare. A certain Ismāᶜīl Aḥmad is credited with its expansion in the area. Traditions relate of an older centre of Š. diffusion at ↗Mafud, where a local scholar, who died before the time of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, had brought the *maḏhab* from Egypt (HusIslam 65ff.)

In 1432 al-↗Maqrīzī noted in his *Kitāb al-Ilmām* that although the Š. are predominant in Ifat, a Ḥanafī minority was growing there. Other evidence suggests that a certain shift towards greater Š. influence to the detriment of the up to then Ḥanafi predominance might have occurred around the 15th cent.

Some clues as to the dynamics of the spread of Š. can be gleaned in the Arabic hagiographies of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale, who had probably lived at the end of the 13th cent. The *Rabīᶜ al-qulūb* and the *Nuzhat al-asrār* describe two disputes of a juridical nature over the question whether beer and hydromel were permitted to drink. While the Ḥanafīs permitted their consumption *šayḫ* Ḥusayn adopted a position which declared these beverages *ḫarām*, or forbidden. According to the texts, the disputes ended with *šayḫ* Ḥusayn's position in advantage. The *Nuzhat al-asrār* also reports the introduction of two Š. manuals of jurisprudence widely used in Yemen, the *Kitāb al-tanbāh* and the *Kitāb al-Muhaddab* of al-Šīrāzī. They were introduced by one of *šayḫ* Ḥusayn's followers, *faqīh* Mūsā al-Muqrī who had studied in Yemen with Aḥmad Mūsā b ^{c}Uǧayl (d. 1291) and Ismā^{c}īl al-Haḍramī (d. 1298). Once *faqīh* Mūsā returned to Bale he was able successfully to spread Š. in the region (with the intercession of *šayḫ* Ḥusayn, according to the hagiographical account). Yet it seems that the effective success of Š. over Ḥanafism in southern Ethiopia took more time, possibly associated with strong links with Š. centres in Somalia such as Merka (Gori 2006: 203–06; CerStud II, 26).

Š. is prevalent in the lowland areas of ↗Wällo while the highland areas are inhabited by followers of Ḥanafism. On the basis of oral tradition Š. was propagated in Dawway thanks to the efforts of *muftī* Dāwūd b. Abū Bakr (d. 1234 H. [= 1818–19 A.D.]) who, following his training as a jurist in Zabīd, returned to Wällo and established a school in Gaddo (HusIslam 67).

It is known that Š. legal texts were present in the libraries of learned scholars and jurists in places such as ↗Harär (Drewes 1983: 68–79). Š. manuals, especially those used in Yemen or composed by Yemeni jurists, are known to be in circulation in Ethiopia and Eritrea nowadays. E.g., in the 1990s Gori noted the presence in ↗Asmära of *al-Muqaddima al-ḥadramīya fī fiqh as-sādati aš-šāfi^{c}īya* by ^{c}Abdallāh b. ^{c}Abdarraḥmān Bā Faḍl al-Ḥaḍramī and printed in Singapore (Gori 1995: 96f.).

It seems that Š. has had a long presence in Massawa, and oral traditions in the town point to the so-called Š. mosque as the oldest. With Ottoman expansion in the area in the mid-16th cent. and the propagation of Ḥanafism – the official Ottoman *maḏhab* – it became the prevalent legal school in the port town and the wider area. In the broader Eritrean context, Š. was prevalent among certain ↗Ǧäbärti, the coastal ^{c}Afar and some Təgre-speaking groups (^{c}Ad Sawra, ↗^{c}Ad Mä^{c}allim). In 1931 a census reported that 9 % of the Muslim population of Eritrea followed Š. (65 % Mālikism, 26 % Ḥanafism).

In the mid-20th cent. and in addition to the Eritrean followers of Š. it was reported that Š. was prevalent among part of the Muslims in Wällo, the Oromo of south-west Ethiopia, Harär and the surrounding Oromo groups, the ↗Gurage, ↗Səlṭi, ↗Sidaama, ↗Beni Šangul and among most Somalis and Yemeni immigrants (TrIslam 232) Followed by the Somalis and Oromo, Š. is the most prevalent *maḏhab* in North-east Africa.

Src.: UmMasGaud 5, 14f., 17ff.; Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi^{c}ī, *Islamic Jurisprudence*: *al-Shāfi^{c}īs Risāla*, tr. by Majid Khadduri, Baltimore 1961.

Lit.: Anne Bang, *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea*: *Family Networks in East Africa, 1860–1925*, London 2003; CerStud I, 44ff., II, 26; Eric Chaumont, "Shaf^{c}iyya", in: *EI*², vol. 9, 185–89; Abraham J. Drewes, "The Library of Muḥammad b. ^{c}Alī b. ^{c}Abd al-Shakūr, Sultan of Harar (1272–92/1856–75)", in: Robin Leonard Bidwell – Gerald Rex Smith (eds.), *Arabian and Islamic Studies*: *Articles Presented to R.B. Serjeant*, London, 1983, 68–79; Alessandro Gori, "Soggiorno di studi in Eritrea ed Etiopia. Brevi annotazioni bibliografiche", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 81–129; Id., "Lo Yemen e l'Islam in Africa Orientale: contatti, testi, personaggi", in: *Storia e cultura dello Yemen in età islamica, con particolare riferimento al periodo Rasûlide*, Roma 2006, 201–18; HusIslam 65, 67, 109, 145, 193; Bradford G. Martin, "Arab Migration to East Africa", *IJAHS* 7, 3, 1974, 367–90; Id., "Migrations from the Hadramawt to East Africa and Indonesia, c. 1200 to 1900", *Research Bulletin* (University of Ibadan, Nigeria) 7, 1–2, 1971, 1–21; Christopher Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law, 9th–10th Centuries C.E.*, Leiden 1997, 68–115; Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964; TrIslam 61, 67, 73, 140, 153, 205, 215, 220, 231f.

Jonathan Miran

Safuu

The socio-religious concept of S. in ↗Oromo cosmology specifies the relations between things, and, in so doing, explains how an individual should properly live. The concept of S. includes different connotations of balance, respect, interdependence, distance, avoidance, acceptance of constraint and a given order, as well as perceptions of power and rivalry.

The nature of S. is the result of the cosmic and social order given to the world by the sky-god ↗Waaqa and the Earth (Laafa) from the very beginning (Bartels 1990: 172). Here, every human being, animal, plant, element or object has its own *ayyaana* (spirit) and is thereby distinguished from others by particular characteristics and by a specific place in a set of relations to other things existent in the world. Certain relations are formally perceived as being S. towards each other: water and cattle, ashes and dough, big and small, tree-stumps and toes, man and cattle, thorns and the soles of the feet, elder brother and younger brother, daughter and mother, slave and master, etc. (Bartels 1990: 171). S. relations are marked by distance and the maintenance of boundaries: each should follow its own way and not get mixed up (ibid. 339). Thus, world-order is not always perceived as harmonious; a possible threat of oppositions and rivalries that have to be well balanced is contained here as well. A predictable and functional equilibrium might be kept only by means of avoidance and respect, thereby assuring Waaqa's blessings (Van de Loo 1991: 276f.).

In daily interaction, S. mainly applies to a person's sense of moderation, expressions of which are a gentle style and abstention from disruptive behaviour. Being able to be calm or to calm someone else are said to be a mark of S. (Van de Loo 1991:276ff.). This holds not only for interhuman relationships, but also for the treatment of ones' cattle. In this sense, S. can be perceived as an individuals' mature capacity to accept and handle certain constraints or relations of power, e.g., those between father and son (Van de Loo 1991: 276f.).

What goes beyond human understanding, will and power, things that only Waaqa knows, can be described as S. as well (Bartels 1990: 331f.). *Safuu ḍa* ('it is S.') is also a common expression of astonishment, fear, pain, pity or shame (TilDic 511).

Among the ↗Mäčča Oromo, S. was invoked every eight years in a ceremony preceding the proclamation of the laws (↗*Seera*) of the ↗*gadaa*, since both were seen as the very basis of society (Bartels 1990: 334).

Src.: TilDic 511.

Lit.: LAMBERT BARTELS, *Oromo Religion. Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia: an Attempt to Understand*, Berlin 1990, 171f., 331f., 334; JOSEPH VAN DE LOO, *Guji Oromo Culture in Southern Ethiopia. Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs*, Berlin 1991, 276ff.; MHasOr.

Andrea Nicolas

Sägäde

S. (**ሰገዴ**) is a historical region in north-west Ethiopia, near ↗Wälqayt south of the ↗Täkkäze River (for location s. map for Səmen). It is mentioned in a manuscript claiming to be concerned with the time of the legendary ↗Mənilək I (Mondon-Vidailhet 1904: 259–68; Quirin 1992: 23).

By the 14th cent., S. is listed as one of the places where those considered ↗*Ayhud* by the Christian state lived. These *Ayhud* of S., along with those of ↗Wägära, ↗Səmen and ↗Ṣällämt rose in an (unsuccessful) revolt against *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon in 1332 (PerrAmdS 293; Quirin 1992: 49). S. is mentioned again in the 15th cent.: after *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq defeated the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel of Wägära, traditions assert that some of the people dispersed to S. (Quirin 1992: 55f.).

By the 19th cent., a traveller observed that the Betä Ǝsraᵓel in S. were known as "*fogära*", perhaps a remembrance of earlier Betä Ǝsraᵓel dispersals after defeat in the Lake Ṭana region since ↗Fogära was a historical region just east of the lake (Halévy 1869: 287; Quirin 1992: 65f.).

With the conquest of the Betä Ǝsraᵓel in S., the region was gradually incorporated into the Ethiopian state. In the 17th cent., it was a well-known province of the state and was said to have paid tribute in ↗gold (BeckHuntAlm 13, 15f., 18; PankIntro 187). In 1677, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I made peace between two warring factions in the region, including the governor of S. (GuiIohan 18). In 1768, *aṣe* ↗Iyoᵓas appointed a *däǧǧazmač* of S. (GuiIyas 243).

In the late 19th cent., according to oral traditions, S. is mentioned with regard to the use of Betä Ǝsraᵓel artisans (Quirin 1992: 171). Thus, although the region was much less significant than either Səmen or Ṣällämt, it did continue to be a location where the Betä Ǝsraᵓel lived into the 20th cent.

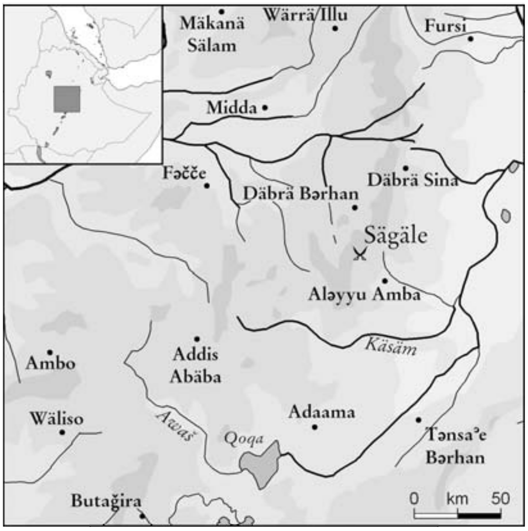
Src.: CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET, "Une tradition éthiopienne", *RevSem* 12, 1904, 259–68; GuiIyas 243; PerrAmdS 293.

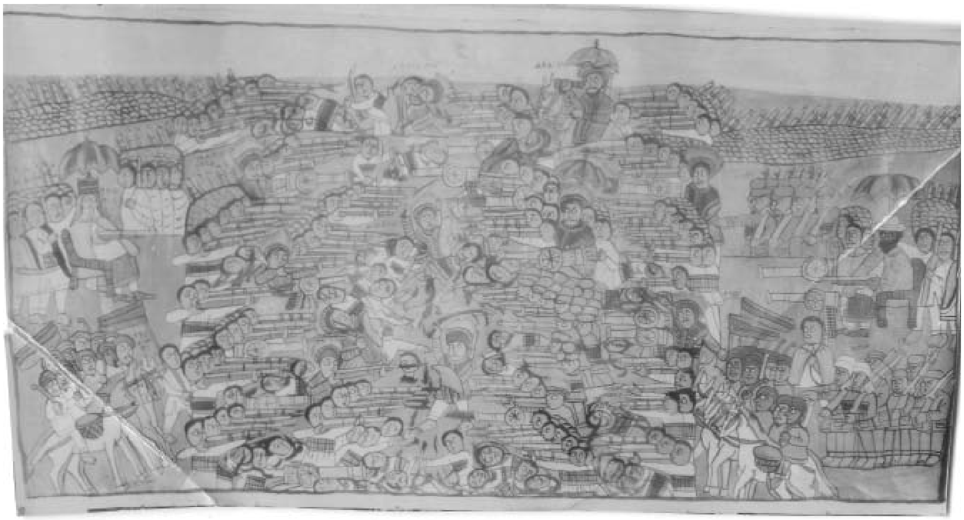
Lit.: JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: A History of the Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *to 1920,* Philadelphia, PA 1992, 49, 55f., 65f., 171; JOSEPH HALEVY, "Excursion chez les Falacha en Abyssinie", *Bulletin de la société de géographie* sér. 5, 17, 1869, 270–94, here 287; PankIntro 110, 187.

James Quirin

Sägäle

S. (**ሰገሌ**) is the name of a locality in the Ṭarra district of Northern Šäwa, ca. 20 km to the south





Early 20th-cent. traditional painting of the battle of Sägäle; photograph from the collection Carl Haertel, courtesy of Johannes Bohnenberger

of ↗Däbrä Bərhan. It is known as the site of an important battle relating to the ↗coup d'état of 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081), which resulted in the deposition of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu and the ascension of ↗Zäwditu. It was fought on 27 October 1916 between the troops of the Šäwan lords headed by *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis Dinagde and *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) and the army of *ləǧ* Iyasu's father, *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Ali.

Mikaʾel Ali had moved south from his province of ↗Wällo towards Addis Abäba as soon as the new government was formed. His army counted ca. 30,000 soldiers. On 17 October, at Tora Mäsk, Mikaʾel defeated and killed *ras* ↗Ləʿul Sägäd, whose troops numbered ca. 11,000. They possessed several thousand modern rifles, some cannons and ten machine guns.

Habtä Giyorgis's forces were far less in number, and he therefore waited until Täfäri's troops reached him on 21 October. They arrived on 22 October and camped at Qəmbəbit near Šäno, ca. 10 km to the west of S. Täfäri was accompanied by *əč̣č̣äge* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis who insisted on participating. Thanks to additional help from the rulers of the southern and western provinces, by the time the battle started, the new government's forces were much stronger in number than those of their adversaries.

Habtä Giyorgis and Täfäri Mäkʷännən waited some more days. This gave them the opportunity to relocate to a better strategic position and, at the same time, it weakened the Wällo army which faced problems with supplies.

The fighting was started on 27 October at dawn by *ras* Mikaʾel. He stationed his army officers on the right and left flanks, and positioned himself in the centre. *Ləǧ* Iyasu and his army did not arrive in time to support *ras* Mikaʾel; on the day of the battle, they were in the region of ↗Ankobär.

Fitawrari Habtä Giyorgis led the vanguard and *ras* Kaśa Darge was positioned at the rear of Mikaʾel's forces, other officers on the right and left flanks. In the first clash, the Wällo forces had some success, but Mikaʾel did not manage to develop it. At some point, his machine guns run out of munition, and his artillery was disabled by the Šäwans. *Ras* Täfäri joined battle about midday, when the Šäwan forces were already winning.

At 3.30 p.m. the battle was over; this was announced by telephone to Addis Abäba. The number of dead and wounded was high. *Ras* Mikaʾel tried to resist until the last moment but finally had to surrender.

Täfäri offered an amnesty to the surviving Wällo soldiers, provided they swore loyalty to the Empress Zäwditu. Two Mikaʾel's officers, *ras* Yəmär and *fitawrari* Sirah Bəzu, escaped.

The victorious army, led by Täfäri, entered Addis Abäba on 3 November and was greeted by Zäwditu.

Src.: GebMolIyas 369–72; GIRMA FISSEHA – WALTER RAUNIG, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Frankfurt am Main 1985, 64, 156f. [no. 36]; HSLife 54f.; TSTarik IV, 109ff.

Lit.: BZHist 128; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *Haile Sellassie I: the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA

1987, 23f.; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia*: *a New Political History*, London 1965, 140–44, 151, 412; PAUL B. HENZE, *Layers of Time*: *a History of Ethiopia*, London 2000, 196f.

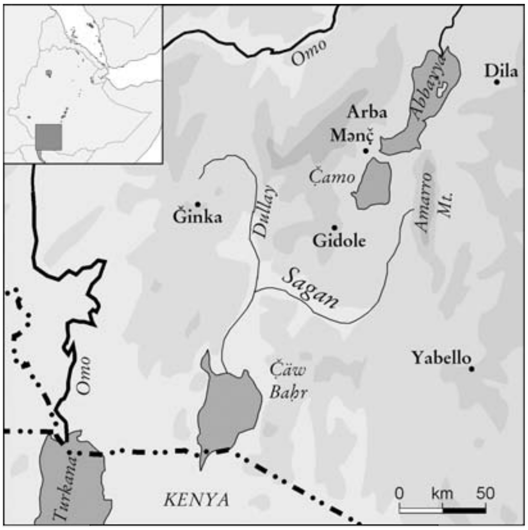
Hanna Rubinkowska

Sagan

The S. River is a seasonal river rising in the northern ↗Amarro mountains east of Lake Č̣amo. From there it flows south and then west to join the Dullay (Wäyto) River. Its course is determined by tectonic forces: the upper part follows the Ethiopian Rift Valley, while the western breakthrough of the river is likely to be in line with the southern boundary of the ↗Konso horst fault (Nowack 1954: 18).

Among the first Europeans to see the S. River and partly follow its course were members of the expeditions of Donaldson Smith (1894) and Vittorio ↗Bottego (1896). In 1893, the Italian explorer Prince Ruspoli (after whom Lake Č̣amo was first named) lost his life in the S. valley near ↗Burği when ↗hunting elephants. In Konso cosmology the S. valley stood for the wilderness per se, however, the valley today has lost its richness in game described by early-20th-cent. travellers (s., e.g., Erlanger 1902: 70; Hallpike 1972: 150, 258, 324, 295). For ritual hunts relating to their ↗*gadaa* ceremonies, Burği and Konso went down to the upper part of the S. valley. Today, Konso have irrigated fields there. The river passes the territories of further ethnic groups, such as ↗Guğği, ↗Boorana, ↗Gawwada and ↗Arbore.

Sasse (1986) demarcated a geographico-linguistic area named the "Sagan language area" (stretching from south of Lake Č̣amo across the valley of the Dullay River to the west and beyond the upper course of the S. to the east, and bounded on the south by the lower course of the S.). The area is inhabited by some 15 groups which have several socio-cultural features in common and are subsumed under the collective term "Burği-Konso cluster". Genetically, their languages belong to four different language groupings (Konsoid, ↗Dullay, Highland East ↗Cushitic, and ↗Omotic), but they share a "considerable number of specific phonological, grammatical, lexical and semantic isoglosses" (Sasse 1986: 340). Therefore, Sasse rejects a strict genealogical tree model and favours instead an areal classification which would parallel with and take account of the exchange of socio-cultural features within the Burği-Konso cluster.



Src.: HELMUT STRAUBE, *Die Burdji,* ms. 1955.
Lit.: CARLO VON ERLANGER, *Meine Reise durch Süd-Schoa, Galla und die Somal-Länder*, Berlin 1902 (Abteilung Berlin-Carlottenburg der Deutschen Kolonial-Gesellschaft 6, 3), 70; Guida 553; CHRISTOPHER R. HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1972, 150, 258, 324, 295; ERNST NOWACK, *Land und Volk der Konso* (*Süd-Äthiopien*), Bonn 1954, 18; HANS-JÜRGEN SASSE, "A Southwest Ethiopian Language Area and its Cultural Background", in: JOSHUA A. FISHMAN et al. (eds.), *The Fergusonian Impact*, vol. 1: *From Phonology to Society,* Berlin et al. 1986, 327–42; VSAe III, 73, 103, map 3.

Alexander Kellner

Ṣägga

The Amh. expression **የጸጋ፡ ልጅ** (*Yäṣägga ləğ*, 'Son of Grace'), frequently abbreviated as **ጸጋ** (Ṣ., 'wealth, gift, honour etc.', from Gə^{c}əz *ṣäggäwä* 'to give', cp. KWKDic 743), became a byword for a Christological position (↗Christology) that, by the 18th cent., had grown as a religious, political and geographical affiliation. The label was often deemed to be derogatory by Ṣ. supporters (cp. ibid. 643).

Christology entered a period of full-blown crisis with the ↗Jesuit Mission in the country (1555–1634). Alfonso ↗Mendes and Peter ↗Heyling are both credited by tradition with deliberately planting discord (TSTarik III, 105–08; Conti Rossini 1916: 439, n. 1). The bone of contention between the various groups was essentially on how the "human nature" of Christ was "honoured". The ↗*Karra* party maintained that the union of the Word of God with humanity, implied the glorification of the flesh at the very moment of Incarnation. The ↗*Qəbat* taught that the humanity of the Lord was honoured by the anointment of the Holy Spirit. The followers of Ṣ., in what appears to be a middle way, believed that whilst the flesh was honoured by the union with the Word, through the anointment of the Holy Spirit Jesus was constituted the firstborn of the faithful, priest, prophet and king. Both Ṣ. and *Qəbat* thus accepted the formula **መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ቅብዕ**, *mänfäs qəddus qəb*^{c}, 'the Holy Spirit is the ointment'. The term *tä*^{c}*aqəbo* ('preservation') was used by the Ṣ. party to underline the co-existence of both the divinity and the humanity of Christ after his Incarnation, the former not suppressing the latter.

The followers of *Karra* recognized "two births" in Christ (↗*Hulätt lədät*). The Ṣ. carried then the banner of *Sost lədät*, or 'three births', from the Father from all eternity, from the Virgin without human seed, and also by the work of the Holy Spirit in the womb of Mary (termed *yägəbr lədät*, 'generation of action'), which restored her to Adam's "natural purity" (**ንጽሐ፡ ጠባይዕ**). There is no solid evidence suggesting that the *Sost lədät* party taught that Jesus received this grace at his baptism in the river Jordan.

The emergence of the Ṣ. teaching seems difficult to date. Guidi (1900–01: 10) found its earliest mention in the second half of the 18th cent., during the reign of ↗Iyoʾas; Ethiopian tradition rather speaks of the reign of ↗Yoḥannəs I, nearly a century earlier. In any case, the controversy did not attract much attention until the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. Ṣ. has always been associated with the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos, and its power base was mainly central Šäwa, where it enjoyed the support of regional leaders such as ↗Amməḫa Iyyäsus and attracted several scholars.

The first important council involving Ṣ. took place at ↗Däbrä Tabor under *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa, where Ṣ. and *Qəbat* stood together against *Karra*. Gugsa favoured Ṣ., but *abunä* ↗Qerəllos opposed Ṣ. and *Qəbat* and excommunicated them. The second assembly was held in ↗Gondär, where church scholars sent by *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase discussed doctrinal questions before *abunä* ↗Sälama. The metropolitan, a defender of the *Hulätt lədät*, lost and was expelled from the town, seeking the protection of *däǧǧäzmač* ↗Wəbe in Təgray. The metropolitan and his position were rehabilitated with the advent of ↗Tewodros II who, willing to subdue the Šäwans, at the council of ↗Amba Č̣ara called them to repudiate the Ṣ. and *Sost lədät* doctrine in favour of the *Karra* and *Hulätt lədät*. The Ṣ. was briefly reinstated by *nəguś* Mənəlik, until ↗Yoḥannəs IV convened the council of ↗Boru Meda in May 1878. Here, only *Karra* emerged as the Orthodox doctrine. At least two prominent Ṣ. followers received physical punishments at the order of the Emperor: they had their tongues cut off and their upper and lower limbs amputated. Boru Meda represents the beginning of the end of the Ṣ. and *Sost lədät* doctrine.

Though in periods when Ṣ. was forbidden systematic attempts were made to remove it from religious writings, its traces can be detected in several ↗*Andəmta* commentaries (e.g., Tedros Abraha 2001).

Verdicts such as Ṣ. "was a radical heresy […] a tendency towards Adoptionism was clear", or "it effected a sharp degree of subordination and separation within the Trinity" (CrumMis 25f.) and "pro-Nestorian heresy, crypto-catholic" (Getatchew Haile in CE vol. 3, 986) do not seem to do justice to the doctrine (Uqbit Tesfazghi 1973: 82 n. 32). The enthusiastic evaluation of Ṣ. by some Catholic scholars, particularly Ayala Takla-Haymanot (Mario da Abiy-Addi), also needs to be considered with some caution.

Src.: Admasu Ǧämbäre, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne*, 'The Book of Qəne'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 279–83; Azzäzä Tädla, **ነገረ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Nägärä haymanot*, 'Discourse about Faith'), ms., n.d.; BlunChr; Berhanou Abebbé (ed.) – Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው፡ ቀደምት።** *La foi des pères anciens*, 1. *Texte éthiopien. Enseignement de Mamher Kefla Giyorgis* …, Stuttgart 1986 (SKK 79); Carlo Conti Rossini, "Fonti storiche etiopiche per il secolo XIX, I. Vicende dell'Etiopia e delle missioni cattoliche ai tempi di Ras Ali, Dejjac Ubié e re Teodoro secondo un documento abissino", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 25, 1916, 425–50, here 440–46; Ignazio Guidi, "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia", *Bessarione* 5, 8, 1900–01, 10–25; Mängəstu Lämma, **መጽሐፈ፡ ትዝታ፡ ዘአለቃ፡ ለማ** (*Mäṣḥafä təzzəta zäʾaläqa Lämma*, 'The Book of Reminiscences by *Aläqa* Lämma'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]; Tedros Abraha (ed., tr.), *La versione etiopica della Lettera ai Romani*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 57), 698–705.

Lit.: Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (ed.), *A Short History, Faith and Order of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1983; Ayala Takla-Haymanot (Mario da Abiy-Addí), *La chiesa etiopica e la sua dottrina cristologica*, Roma 1973; Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Joachim Motovu, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Abäba 1970; CrumMis 23ff., 32f., 50f.; Donald Crummey, "Doctrine and Authority: *Abuna* Salāmā, 1841–1854", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 567–78; Getatchew Haile, "Ethiopian Heresies and Theological Controversies", in: *CE* vol. 3, 984–87, here 986f.; Ignazio Guidi, "La Chiesa abissina", *Oriente moderno* 2, 1922–23, 123–28, 186–90, 252–56; TSTarik III, 105-08; Tedros Abraha, "Una versione Tigrina (popolare?) degli *andəmta* sui quattro Vangeli: un altro passo nelle edizioni degli *andəmta* nell'ultimo ventennio", *OrChrP* 73, 2007, 71–72, 83–85; TedEthPrel 1028–36; Uqbit Tesfazghi, *Current Christological Positions of Ethiopian Orthodox Theologians*, Roma 1973 (OrChrA 196), 82; Yaqob Beyene, *L'Unzione di Cristo nella Chiesa Etiopica*, Roma 1981 (OrChrA 215).

Tedros Abraha

Ṣägga Amlak

According to ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel tradition, Ṣ.A. (ጸጋ፡ አምላክ) was a son of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob. He became attracted to the teachings of *abba* ↗Sabra and converted to the faith of the Betä Ǝsraʾel. He settled with his teacher in Huhʷara. His father offered a reward for information about him and his location and sent his army to find him. God, however, hid the Betä Ǝsraʾel settlement from them. In memory of this event he was named S.A. ('Grace of God'). Ṣ.A. is also associated with other great figures of Betä Ǝsraʾel monasticism, including *abba* Saquyän.

The phenomenon of a Christian monk joining the Betä Ǝsraʾel is attested in the case of the 14th-cent. monk ↗Qozmos. Moreover, there are also traditions of clashes between Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob and his sons, which resulted in the sons joining the ↗*ᶜAyhud*. According to the ↗*Ṭomarä Təsbəʾət* (Getatchew Haile 1991: 67) Gälawdəyos staged a failed coup against his father. He "became a Jew, abandoning his Christianity and denying Christ".

Src.: Getatchew Haile, *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob* (*Ṭomarä Təsbəʾt*), Louvain 1991 (CSCO 522, 523 [SAe 95, 96]), 67 (text) = 54 (tr.).

Lit.: Steven Kaplan, *The Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *in Ethiopia*: *from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1991, 56; James Arthur Quirin, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*: *a History of the Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1991, 51f., 67ff.; Id., "The Beta Esrael (Falasha) and Ayhud in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopia: Oral and Written Traditions", *NEASt* 10, 2–3, 1988, 89–103; Kay Kaufman Shelemay, *Music, Ritual and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1989; Shoshana Ben-Dor, "Hameqomot ha-qeddošim šel Yehudai Etiyopia" ('The Holy Places of Ethiopian Jewry'), *Pe'amim* 22, 1985, 41–45; Wolf Leslau, "Taamrat Emanuel's Notes on Falasha Monks and Holy Places", in: *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume*, New York 1975, vol. 2, 624–37, here 624f.

Steven Kaplan

Ṣägga Krəstos

Ǝc̣c̣äge Ṣ.K. (ጸጋ፡ ክርስቶስ, d. October 1696) was a prominent 17th-cent. ecclesiastic and the 25th head of the community of ↗Däbrä Libänos of Šäwa and the "house of Täklä Haymanot" at ↗Azäzo (CerDLib III, 170).

Ṣ.K. was first appointed *əc̣c̣äge* during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I, in 1680/81 (Perruchon 1899: 175). Two years later, in 1682/83, he was dismissed by the newly crowned *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, a victim of the new ruler's pro-↗*Qəbat* politics (cp. GuiIohan 62 [tr.]; BegCron 55; BassÉt 140). *Abba* Həryaqos of ↗Mägʷina became the new *əc̣c̣äge*.

Ṣ.K. participated in several church councils during 1679–80. The first one concerned the issue of the ↗relics of *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos (GuiIohan 40 [tr.]; CerLib II, 178) and favoured Iyasu I's decision to honor the relics, despite the opposition of the monks of Däbrä Libanos. The fact that Ṣ.K. took the same position as Iyasu confirms Ṣ.K.'s bond with the Emperor. During the council of May 1680, the "houses" of Täklä Haymanot and Ewosṭatewos were engaged in fierce argument; Ṣ.K. argued mainly with *abba* Ṭäbdä Krəstos of ↗Gonǧ (GuiIohan 48f. [tr.]).

Ṣ.K. was reappointed by Iyasu on 16 November 1693. He remained in office until shortly before his death in October 1696 (CerDLib III, 178f.). The "short chronicles" do not specify who deposed Ṣ.K. the second time (cp. BassÉt 155), however the Chronicle of Iyasu indicates that this was the choice of the monks (GuiIohan 192 [tr.]; BegCron 70). He was succeeded by *əc̣c̣äge* Yoḥannəs (BegCron 67); after the death he was buried in Däbrä Libanos.

Src.: BassÉt 35, 44f., 47 (text) = 140, 152f., 155 (tr.); Osvaldo Raineri, "Il regno di Iyāsu I°, re d'Etiopia dal 1682 al 1706 (traduzione del testo etiopico edito in PerrN XV)", *OrChrP* 58, 1992, 213–40, here 222; BégCron 55, 67, 70; DombrChr 218 (tr.); Jules Perruchon, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: Le règne de Yohannes (Ier), roi d'Éthiopie de 1667 à 1682", *RevSem* 7, 1899, 165–75, here 175; GuiIohan 39, 47, 63, 168, 183 (text) = 40, 48f., 62, 176, 192 (tr.).

Lit.: CerDLib II, 178f., III, 170; Getatchew Haile, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38; RicEnbYoh IV, 84; Elsa Rossignol, *L'aqqäbe sa'ät et l'eččage*: *deux hauts-dignitaires éthiopiens entre l'Eglise et l'Etat* (*16ème–18ème s.*), M.A. thesis, Université de Paris I 2004, 104f.

Elsa Rossignol

Ṣägga Zäʾab

Ṣ.Z. (ጸጋ፡ ዘአብ, "Zagazabo" in Portuguese sources, b. ca. 1465–75, d. ca. 1539–45, probably on an unachieved return journey from Portugal to Ethiopia [Andrade 1796, part III, ch. LXXII]) was an Ethiopian Orthodox monk and ↗*liqä kahənat* who twice, in 1520 and 1526, served *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl as his emissary in Portuguese affairs. His second mission even took Ṣ.Z. to Portugal itself where his subsequent collaboration with Damião de ↗Góis produced the *Fides, religio moresque aethiopum* ('The Faith, Religion and Customs of the Ethiopians', ed. Uhlig – Bühring 1994). First published in 1540, the *Fides*, together with Francisco ↗Alvares's *Prester John* which appeared in the same year, is one of the earliest reliable accounts about Ethiopia to have been printed in Europe.

Probably in continuation of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Ṣ.Z. already at an unknown time before 1520 had been to Italy. There he had picked up some Italian and even learned a little Latin (BeckHuntAlvar 182, 294, 420). His thus acquired cultural and linguistic familiarity with Catholic Europe, however rudimentary, in 1520 likely played a major role in making him Ləbnä Dəngəl's choice as head of the Ethiopian party that received the Rodrigo da ↗Lima mission in ↗Angot and from there conducted it to the royal ↗*kätäma* in Šäwa. While Alvares in his account does not mention Ṣ.Z. by name, it can contextually be reliably inferred that it was indeed he who led – and supervised – the Portuguese on their way through central Ethiopia (ibid. 419, n. 1).

The relationship between Ṣ.Z. and the Portuguese delegation initially was not free of tensions, with the Europeans being particularly irritated by harsh punitive measures that their guide on several occasions took against subordinates (BeckHuntAlvar 182, 259f.). Ṣ.Z.'s determined attempts to prevent the members of the Portuguese delegation from any outside communication before they had been received and vetted by the monarch and his retinue were a further cause of discord. Here however Ṣ.Z. did not follow his whims but simply executed his orders which themselves followed long-established local procedures. Over the years though the relationship between the Portuguese and Ṣ.Z. improved and even became friendly, as shown by the formers' wholehearted approval when, in 1524, Ləbnä Dəngəl proposed that Ṣ.Z. accompany them as his ambassador to Portugal (ibid. 420).

It was only in April 1526 however that Ṣ.Z. and the Portuguese party left Ethiopia. Sailing via India, they arrived in Lisbon in July 1527. There Ṣ.Z. was received with all honours by King ↗João III and was well provided for. Soon though he became unhappy over the denominational animosity and polemics he experienced in an increasingly self-consciously Catholic country at the beginning of Europe's denominational age (Uhlig – Bühring 1994:[78–86]/256–65, [93]/277f.). Ṣ.Z.'s frustration was further increased by the fact that he was not allowed to travel to Rome and deliver a letter to the Pope that Ləbnä Dəngəl had entrusted to him (ibid. 42, [19]/173, [32]/188).

In 1533 though Ṣ.Z. met and befriended the humanist scholar Damião de Góis. Ṣ.Z.'s role in their subsequent collaboration that eventually produced the *Fides* was much more than that of an informant. Rather he himself in Portuguese wrote a draft version of the text which de Góis then, authorized by Ṣ.Z., edited and translated into Latin (Uhlig – Bühring 1994:32ff., [52f.], 211f., [94], [93]/278).

Src.: FRANCISCO DE ANDRADE, *Chronica Do Muyto Alto E Muyto Poderoso Rey Destes Reynos De Portugal Dom João O III Deste Nome*, Coimbra 1796, part III, ch. 72; BeckHuntAlvar 7, 182f., 188, 227–36, 246, 250f., 257, 259f., 265–67, 273–75, 294, 415, 419–23, 434, 463–65, 470, 484–85, 489, 491–94, 501, 503, 507; SIEGBERT UHLIG – GERNOT BÜHRING (ed.), *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 39).

Michael Kleiner

Ṣäggaye Däbalqe

Ṣ.D. (**ጸጋዬ፡ ደባልቄ**, also Ṣäggaye Däbälke, b. 1937, d. 2 February 1977, Addis Abäba) was a ↗music critic, lecturer, and composer. During the early 1960s, he was sent to Hungary to study music composition. Ṣ.D. taught music theory at the National (Yared) School of Music that trains students to be bi-musical, bi-lingual, and bi-cultural. Ṣ.D. was an intellectual who sought to broaden the scope of *zämänawi musiqa* ('contemporary [art] music' or 'modern [popular Ethiopian] music') by integrating other musical idioms into the basic Ethiopian music structure in intercultural, art, and popular music genres. His composition "Goferie" in *Ančihoy Qəññət* utilized an Ethiopian traditional melody scored for a Western string ensemble incorporating Western fugue and contrapuntal techniques framed by the sonata form. As Music Director of the Ethiopian Broadcasting Service, S.D. recorded music of Ethiopian musicians for its archives in the early 1970s.

Acting as censor, Ṣ.D. took particular care to select music and texts for broadcasts acceptable to *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I. Married and father of five children, Ṣ.D. was a member of the Creative Arts Center Advisory Committee and the second highest official at the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Youth. He authored several articles in the *Ethiopian Mirror*, *Ethiopian Herald* and *Yared Music School Annual*, including a criticism of ↗Orchestra Ethiopia. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party was implicated in his murder at home, as it sought to attack the government directly through urban terrorist tactics.

Src.: personal communication with Ṣäggaye Däbalqe in 1972; CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN, *Field Notes*, book 2, 1972, 64 (ms.); EAD., "Ethiopian Head and 6 in Capital Reported Slain", *New York Times*, 4 February 1977, A1, A4; ṢÄGGAYE DÄBALQE, "Goferie" [music composition], in: "Mulatu Astatke, Ethio-jazz Maestro", by ABEBE ZEGEYE [music description by CYNTHIA TSE KIMBERLIN], *Muziki* 4, 1, 2007, 135; ID., "Are there Short Cuts to Music?", *Ethiopian Mirror*, March 1962, vol. 1, no. 3, 5; ID., "Ethiopian Music and Musical Instruments", *Ethiopian Herald*, 5 November 1967; ID., "Orchestra Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Herald*, 20 December 1969; ID., "Folk Art and Evolution", *Yared Music School Annual* 1973, 37.

Lit.: ASHENAFI KEBEDE, "Zemenawi Musika: Modern Trends in Traditional Secular Music in Ethiopia", *The Black Perspective in Music* 4, 3, 1976, 289–301; HAROLD D. NELSON – IRVING KAPLAN (eds.), *Ethiopia a Country Study,* Washington, DC 1980, 53; DONALD PANETH, *News Dictionary 1977*, New York 1978, 132; LESTER SOBEL, *Political Terrorism,* New York 1978, vol. 2, 203.

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən

The Poet Laureate Ṣ. (**ጸጋዬ፡ ገብረ፡ መድኅን**; b. 17 August 1936, Boda, 30 km south of Ambo, d. 25 February 2006, New York) was an eminent poet and playwright. His father, *ato* Gäbrä Mädḫən Qawesa, was an Oromo from Mäč̣č̣a, and his mother, *wäyzäro* Fälläqäčč Daññe Ḫaylu, an Amhara from Ankobär.

After receiving a traditional ↗education, Ṣ. went to an elementary school in ↗Ambo (1948–52). His first play, written in English at the age of 13, about the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse, was performed at the school in the presence of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

In 1956, Ṣ. graduated from the Commercial Secondary School in Addis Abäba. In 1959, he received a Bachalor of Law at the Blackstone School of Law in Chicago. In 1959–60, Ṣ. was granted a UNESCO scholarship to study experimental ↗theatre, which enabled him to visit the Royal Court Theatre in London, the Royal Theatre at Windsor, the Comédie Française in Paris and the Opera in Rome.

Upon his return, Ṣ. started his service at the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre, as Acting Director (1961–71) and General Manager (1967–74). After the ↗Revolution he was appointed Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Culture and Sports (1975–76), and in 1977 became Assistant Professor at ↗Addis Ababa University, Department of Education. He served as Secretary General (1978–79) of the Ethiopian Peace, Solidarity and Friendship House. In 1988 Ṣ. was an Adviser in the Ministry of Culture.

Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən ("Tsegaye Gabre-Medhin"); photo 2003, courtesy of the family

Ṣ. was a prolific playwright and poet in Amharic and English, as well as in Oromiffaa. He translated plays by Shakespeare, Molière and Brecht into Amharic (cp. ↗Amharic literature: Amharic drama). Among his various prizes and awards for his literary contributions are: the Ḫaylä Śəllase I International Prize for Amharic Literature (1966); Ethiopia's Golden Red Star Award (1987); the Free Expression Award (granted by the Human Rights Watch Organization in 1994); the Gold Laurel Award with the title of Honorable Poet Laureat (granted by the Congress of World Poets and United Poets Laureate International in 1997).

Ṣ.'s international fame, esp. in Africa, grew steadily. His most significant play in English, *Oda Oak Oracle,* was staged in both African and European countries as well as in the United States. Ṣ. wrote the lyrics for the anthem of the ↗Organization of African Unity in 1986. In 2002 Ṣ. was a candidate for the Nobel Prize for Literature.

The first collection of 52 of his Amharic poems was *Ǝsat wäy abäba* (1973/74). As an author, Ṣ. saw it as his duty to expand and enrich the language. His highly specific and innovative style is full of neologisms and sometimes difficult to understand. The new poetic form generated by Ṣ. is nowadays called **ስምንትዮሽ፡ ቅኔ** (*Səmməntyoš qəne*, 'Eight-syllable ↗*qəne*') or **የጸጋዬ፡ ቤት** (*Yäṣäggaye bet*, lit. 'Ṣ.'s verse').

The poetry of Ṣ. combines elements of various Ethiopian cultures. His plays and poems such as *Ǝsat wäy abäba,* or *Hahu wäym Päpu* (1990), are full of dialectical tensions.

Alongside his literary pursuits, Ṣ. was deeply interested in world history, mythology, philology, anthropology, theology, etc. (cf., e.g., his introduction in Tsegaye Gabre-Madhin – Tessore 1984). His *magnum opus* under the title *Kabara Afraqa* (1997) was devoted to pre-classical African culture.

Ṣ. was actively engaged in the African freedom movements. Throughout his life, he was an adherent of ↗Pan-Africanism and ↗Ethiopianism (cf., e.g., Teklu Tabor 1993). He supported the ↗Revolution in Ethiopia and authored several pro-revolutionary plays. Nevertheless, his relationship with the *Därg* regime deteriorated quickly. In fact, Ṣ.'s plays, essays and poems have repeatedly been subject to censorship and frequently banned by the authorities under all regimes, starting from the 1950s and continuing into the 1990s.

In 1998, Ṣ. went for treatment of his diabetes to the USA, where his children lived. He continued his intellectual productivity and activist militancy.

Ṣ. was survived by his wife, *wäyzäro* Lakäčč Bitäw, three sons and three daughters. He was buried in Addis Abäba, in the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral.

Src.: WENDY BELCHER, "Ethiopia's Poet Laureate Tsegaye Gabre-Medhin – an Interview", *Ethiopian Review*, September–October 1998; TEKLU TABOR, "Laureate Tsegaye Gabre-Medhin – an Interview", *Ethiopian Review*, August 1993; TSEGAYE GABRE MEDHIN, "Poems", *EthObs* 9, 1, 1965, 50–60; ID., "Tewodros", *ibid.* 9, 3, 1965, 209–26; ID., "Azmari", *ibid.* 9, 3, 1965, 227–39; ID., *Oda Oak Oracle,* London 1965; ID. – ALBERTO TESSORE, *Ethiopia, Footprint of Time*, Udine 1984; ID. [ṢÄGGAYE GÄBRÄ MÄDḪƎN], **ይድረስ፡ ለኛ** (*Yədräs läñña*, 'Addressed to Us'), *Ṭobya* 1993; ID., **ካባራ፡ አፍራቃ** (*Kabara Afraqa*), *Ṭobya* 1997; ID., **እሳት፡ ወይ፡ አበባ** (*Ǝsat wäy abäba*, 'Fire or Flower'), Addis Abäba 1966 A.M. [1973/74 A.D.], ^{2}2006; ID., **ሀሁ፡ ወይም፡ ፐፑ** (*Hahu wäyəmm Päpu*, lit. '*Hahu* or *Päpu*', i.e. 'ABC or XYZ', or 'Peace and/or War'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M.[1990 A.D.]; ID., *Collision of Altars – A Conflict of the Ancient Red Sea Gods …*, London 1977.
Lit.: BIODUN JEYIFO, "Art and Ideology in the Plays of Tsegaye Gabre-Medhin", in: TADDESSE ADERA – ALI JIMALE AHMED (eds.), *Silence is Not Golden*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995, 183–90; GETIE GELAYE – MARTIN HAARS, "In Memoriam Tsegaye Gebre Medhin (1936–2006)", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 208–10; KaneLit 14, 22, 148f.; MIKAᵓEL ŠIFÄRRAW, **ምስጢረኛው፡ ባለቅኔ** (*Məsṭiräññaw baläqəne*, 'The Enigmatic Poet'), n.p. 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.]; MolLit 269–74; NEGUSSAY AYELE, "Poet Laureate Tsegaye Gabre-Medhin of Ethiopia: a Profile of the Man and his Writings", *Emergences*: *Journal for the Study of Media and Composite Cultures* 10, 1, 2000, 179–91.

Negussay Ayele

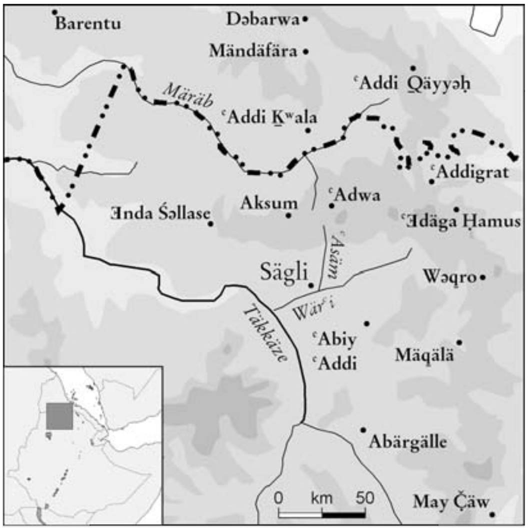
Sägli

S. (**ሰግሊ**) is the name of a village and an administrative district (*ṭabiya*) south of ↗Aksum, which was formerly known for its production of carpets (Tgn. *mənəṣaf*, Amh. ↗*Mənṭaf*) and curtains or hangings (↗*Mägaräğa*). Thus, the term S. is also used to designate hangings produced in S.

S. *ṭabiya* is surrounded by the important provincial border river Wärᶜi and the River ᶜAsäm, flowing from ↗ᶜAdwa. Historically, S. was administratively linked to Aksum. In the mid-20th cent. S. belonged to the Naᶜadär *wäräda* under Aksum, later to May Qänätal *wäräda*. Since the 1990s' administrative reform, S. belongs to Wärᶜi Läk̠ä *wäräda*.

In oral tradition the origin of S. is linked with the Solomonid princess Krəstosawit, the wife of the late 16th-cent. Təgrayan governor ↗Kəflä Waḥəd (genealogies s. Mäsfən Zärabruk̠ Mängäša 1997: 68f.). S. was allegedly given to her as a *gʷəlt* on the occasion of her marriage. According to a manuscript kept in the monastery of Ǝnda Maḫbär, in the princess's period, or later, under *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Śəḥul, the inhabitants of S. received the privilege of working as craftsmen for monasteries and nobles. Muslims also settled in S., working as weavers (*šəmane*).

Christian inhabitants of S. were active as masons and weavers of ↗silk carpets and hangings (allegorically *ayärä sämayat*, 'the air of the heavens'). These textiles were produced in caves below the monastery of Ǝnda Maḫbär and were delivered to monasteries and churches all over Təgray (cp. Gervers 2004). In addition, there were potters and blacksmiths, called ↗Kayla. In



S. this term seemingly meant both Christian and ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel craftsmen; they allegedly intermarried with Muslim Yemenite migrants. Local tradition reports that the Kayla were abducted, perhaps in the early 19th cent., by nobles who wanted to use their services. Some descendants of Muslim craftsmen still live in Ḥadduš ᶜAddi near S., but craftsmanship has ceased to flourish.

Gunpowder was traditionally produced from so-called *gunfal* stones in S., mixed with charred wood and sulphur from Dallol (Tewolde Berhan Egziabher et al. 1993). Marble was traditionally mined in Fälafəl in S.

Important centres of worship in S. are the two churches dedicated to Maryam; Ǝnda Iyäsus; Baᵓata; Giyorgis, built by *aṣe* ↗Iyoᵓas I; and the monastery of Ǝnda Maḫbär on a hillside above the ᶜAsäm, in which Mikaᵓel Səḥul is said to have been raised (he was buried in Dagna near S.). Ǝnda Maḫbär, which once hosted around one hundred monks, possesses an important manuscript collection and other historical objects. Ruins on a hill overlooking the lowlands are said to have belonged to an ancient "*nəguś* Inena". Other ruins ascribed to local nobles also exist around S.

Most inhabitants of S. today claim descent from Krəstosawit. S. is known as the origin of several important nobles, who were active in ᶜAdwa.

Src.: interview with Gäbrä Ḥəywät Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer, Mäqälä, April 2008; manuscript kept in the church Ǝnda Maḫbär, Sägli.

Lit.: Michael Gervers, "The Tablet-woven Hangings of Tigre, Ethiopia: from History to Symmetry", *The Burlington Magazine* 146, 2004, 587–601; Mäsfən Zärabruk̠ Mängäša, ዛንታን፡ ወለዶን፡ ካብ፡ ኤርትራ፡ ክሳብ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ (*Zantan wälädon kab Erətra kəsab Ityopya*, 'History and Genealogies from Eritrea to Ethiopia'), Mäqälä 1990 A.M. [1997 A.D.], 68f.; Tewolde Berhan Gebre Egziabher – Yoseph Gebre Egziabher – Sue Edwards, "The Impact of Modern Science and Technology on Human Rights in Ethiopia", in: Christopher Gregory Weeramantry (ed.), *The Impact of Technology on Human Rights*: *Global Case-Studies*, Tokyo 1993.

Wolbert Smidt – Muluwork Kidanemariam

Ṣäḥafe lam

Ṣ. (**ጸሐፌ [ጸሓፌ]፡ ላም**, also *ṣaḥafe laḥm*, *ṣaḥafä lam*, *ṣaḥaf lam*, *ṣafälam*, *ṭafälam*, lit. 'the one who registers the cows') is an old title, associated with the governorship of a few important provinces (TadTChurch 97). Attested in a document of *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla with no indication of territorial extension or link to a specific region (Ṣ. Səbḥat, s. CRDLib no. 7B), it appears later as attached to the governors of Qəda (a historical region in southern Təgray) and Amḥara (s. EAE vol. 5; MarAmdS 53; KrAmdS 3 [text]). More explicitly than ↗*nägaśi*, ↗*nəguś* and *ḥaṣani* (↗*Aṣe*), this title betrays the original function of the office, i.e. registering and sequestering cattle for royal tribute (which would in turn reflect a conspicuous feature of the economy and "wealth" of those regions, cp. PancSoc 7).

Under *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob both Amḥara and Šäwa had a Ṣ. as governor (PerrZarY 15f., 101), but in 1453 the Emperor ordered the revenues of the Ṣ. of Šäwa (as well as of other governors) be transferred to ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa (ibid. 101). *Aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam put also ↗Damot under a Ṣ. (ibid. 111), while Qəda was still ruled by another Ṣ. (ibid. 145). In the reign of Bäᵓədä Maryam', the Ṣ. of Šäwa was a certain Däbrä Ṣəyon (ibid. 153). In the 16th cent., on the eve of the wars against the Muslim, ↗Alvares observed the same distribution of the title. However, he reports that, in 1521, *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl – like Bäᵓədä Maryam before him – "removed" the Ṣ. of Amhara and "passed on to the churches the lordship" of this region, with ↗Mäkanä Śəllase holding a special position (BeckHuntAlvar 257). How long this new order was to last is unknown, but under *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, some time after the Muslim wars, the old order was revived with Ṣ. governors for Damot, Šäwa and Amhara (cp. CRHist 49, 83 [text]; cp. also the same order in LudHist lib. II, cap. 17, § 8).

The 8th and 10th position of the Ṣ. in the official "order of precedence" of courtiers and regional governors was confirmed by *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I and *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa (GuiIohan 145f., 293 [text]). In the 17th–early 18th cent., the Ṣ. of the "new Damot", on the northern bank of the ↗Abbay, was an important official, repulsing the Oromo raids into Goǧǧam and campaigning in several places from the southernmost region of the ↗Gondärine kingdom. These governors seem to have all possessed the rank of ↗*däǧǧazmač*.

In the early 17th cent., under *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, the Ṣ. of. Damot was *däǧǧazmač* ↗Bukko; the Ṣ. of Amhara, appointed probably after *däǧǧazmač* Hafä Krəstos, was *däǧǧazmač* Śärṣo (↗Śärṣä Krəstos), who extended his authority also over ↗Mänz and ↗Atronsä Maryam (PerChron I, 254). The last Ṣ. of Amhara/Šäwa was *däǧǧazmač* ↗Dəmeṭros. With the rise of the local Šäwan dynasty, the governorship of Šäwa was to disappear, as it was split by *aṣe* Iyasu I, who appointed Dəmeṭros over ↗Märḥabete alone (AWTarik 72, n. 39). Likewise, the emergence of a local dynasty in Goǧǧam cast the title of Ṣ. into oblivion there, too, although Damot remained an important part of that province.

↗Titles

Src.: AWTarik 72, n. 39; BeckHuntAlvar 257, 559; BTafA 347, 902f., s. index; CRDLib 190, no. 7B, 192; CRHist 49, 83 (text) = 57, 95; 190 (tr.); GuiIohan 145f., 293 (text) = 152f., 314 (tr.); KrAmdS 3 (text) = 4f. (tr.); LudHist lib. II, cap. 17, §8; MarAmdS 53, s. index; PerChron I, 254, 287; II, 91, 221; PerrZarY 15f., 101, 111, 145, 153, s. index.

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Punti di vista sulla storia dell'Etiopia", in: *PICES* 1, 5–27, here 7ff.; DerDom s. index; PancSoc 7; TadTChurch 97.

Denis Nosnitsin

Ṣäḥafe təᵓəzaz

Ṣ.t. (**ጸሐፌ [ጸሓፌ]፡ ትእዛዝ**, pl. *ṣäḥaftä təᵓəzaz*, Gəᶜəz, lit. 'scribe of order[s]') is the title of the court official who served as the royal secretary and scribe. The first mention of this title seems to originate from the time of *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla (CRDLib 187 [cp. also 192]; Ṣ.t. Zäkrəstos and "his scribe Hallo Amlakənä, son of Zena Krəstos"); but from that time until late 16th cent., the title is nearly missing in the known sources. Among rare exceptions, cp. Amharized form *ṭafäzaz* in late 15th-cent. ms. Paris, BN Éth. 342 = Griaule 38, fol. 64vb; recent EMML no. 1226, fol. 113a: Ṣ.t. Märqorewos, Ṣ.t. of *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob(?). In the pre-16th Muslim wars documents of the *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* the occurrence of the title *bäᶜalä mäṣḥaf* (**በዓለ፡ መጽሐፍ**, lit. 'the master of the book/writing') is frequent, sometimes mentioned together with *säḥafi* 'scribe' (CRAxum 38 [text], no. 41; s. Bausi 2006, *s.v.*); it is still unclear if it was equivalent to Ṣ.t. (cp. also *ṣäḥafe Aksum*, lit. 'the scribe of Aksum', the ancient appellation of *abba* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan, Getatchew Haile 1979: 314 [text]). In any case, the function of the royal secretary must have existed during these centuries, being executed by a courtier (an ↗*azzaž*, with or without another title), alone, or supported by assistant-scribes (cp. BassÉt 4; s. above), or simply by learned monks (cp. Bartnicki – Mantel-Niećko 1978, vol. 1, 642; DombrChr 304).

Due to the itinerant life, which the Ethiopian royal court had led until the foundation of ↗Gondär in 1630s, the royal bureaucracy was rather limited (cp. ↗*Kätäma*). The royal secretary had few royal orders to write down; most of them were issued orally, and messengers went with oral orders and a small piece of parchment on which the royal ↗seal had been stamped (cp. ↗Post). The secretary was not so much a royal scribe as the keeper of this seal. But he was a man of letters, a fact which imposed some other duties upon him, such as teaching of young princes and, probably, writing the royal chronicle.

According to the ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt*, in the late 16th/17th cent. there were several Ṣ.t. occupying a special place in "the order of precedence" (Varenbergh 1915-16: 28). In the 17th cent., the royal court grew and so did its bureaucracy. The tradition of royal ↗historiography had also developed considerably during the period of the ↗Gondärine kingdom; the duties seem to have been divided between at least two officials with the same title (perhaps, royal secretary and royal historiographer, cp. GuiIohan 62 [text]).

The first Ṣ.t. known by name appears to be *azzaž* Täklä Śəllase "Ṭinno" of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (but the title Ṣ.t. was not explicitely applied to *abba* ↗Məhərka Dəngəl, Ṭinno's precursor as royal chronicler). From that period, other prominent chroniclers are known by name (mentioned with or without the title), such as ↗Ḥawarya Krəstos, Wäldä Haymanot, *azzaž* Zäwäld from Iyasu I's reign; *azzaž* Akasi under *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos; and, later, ↗Sinoda and ↗Kənfä Mikaᵓel (cp. GuiIohan 345 [tr.]; BassÉt 4f.). During the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, regional rulers had secretaries of their own, but they apparently did not appoint any Ṣ.t.

During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II another division between his secretaries occurred, when frequent contacts with foreigners demanded a special secretary and interpreter. For this there was appointed the missionary-educated ↗Yosef

Nəguśe, who became Mənilək's personal foreign secretary, while the title of Ṣ.t. was granted to *aläqa* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Wäldä Arägay who executed the traditional duties of Ṣ.t., i.e. carried out the royal correspondence in the ↗Amharic language (cp. ↗Epistolography), put the royal seal on all letters and charters in Amharic, and also wrote the official chronicle of Mənilək's reign. When on 25 October 1907 Mənilək announced to the foreign powers that he was forming a cabinet of ministers, Gäbrä Śəllase was appointed the first so-called Minister of the Pen (**የጽሕፈት፡ ሚኒስተር**, *Yäṣəḥfet ministär*, cp. MahZekr 646), the head of the Emperor's "secretariat". It was rather an artificial institution, created, in the words of Gäbrä Śəllase himself, "to introduce European order" (GSMen 334 [text], tr. GueCopMen 527f.). Gäbrä Śəllase became the last genuine Ṣ.t., and he was still responsible for writing the Emperor's chronicle (as still was, in fact, his short-term successor ↗Afäwärq Wäldä Maryam). The nomination of Wäldä Mäsqäl (s. GebMolIlyas), and, much later, ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yohannes and ↗Gäbrä Wäld Əngəda Wärq followed a different pattern: the title of S.t. became honorific, but their personal responsibitilies of the functions of the office they headed, the Imperial Scretariat, though quite "modern", were in principle still not quite dissimilar to what Ṣ.t. had done in pre-modern time (PerGov 86, 92, 407f.). Starting from 1961, the title was born by ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld, and abolished after the ↗Revolution of 1974.

Src.: CRAxum; BassÉt 4f.; BruNile III, 305 [French tr.]; BTafA 962f., s. index; CRDLib 187, 192; DillmBodl 82; DillmLex 1268; DombrChr 304; EMML no. 1226; GebMolIyas s. index; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily in Honour of St. Frumentius, Bishop of Axum (EMML 1763, ff. 84^{v}–86^{r})", *ABoll* 97, 1979, 309–18, here 314 (text) = 317 (tr.); GueCopMen 168 n. 1, 527f., s. index; GuiIohan 62 (text) = 60 (tr.); GrébGriaule II, 18ff., ms. Éth. 342 = Griaule 38; GSMen 334; GuiVoc 861; MahZekr 646, 649; PerChron ch. 58; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerᶜata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 28 (text) = 45 (tr.).

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Civil Titles and Offices in the Reign of Emperor Menilek II, 1889–1913", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 596–612; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Un indice del *Liber Aksumae*", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 102–46; ID., "Un indice dell'*Evangelo d'oro* di Dabra Libānos (Šemazānā, Akkala Guzāy, Eritrea)", *ibid.* 10, 2007, 81–91; ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens*, Berlin 1978, vol. 1, 642; PerGov 86, 88, 91f., 98, 202ff., 407f.

Sevir Chernetsov – Denis Nosnitsin

Säḥart

S. (**ሰሐርት**, Tgn.: Säḥarti; Sarte, Sart, Cart in Portuguese sources) is a historical province of ↗Təgray, in eastern ↗Əndärta (for location s. map for Šädaho). Its governor bore the title of *śəyyumä S.* (cp. ↗Šum). In the 20th-cent. administrative division, S. was a *wäräda* within the Əndärta *awrağğa.*

S. is an ancient toponym and ethnonym possibly indicative of early South Arabian settlement in pre-Aksumite Təgray, as suggested by the similarly named Sahartān district in Arabia (CRStor 103, 109). The latter may have been the site of the South Arabian incursion against the ↗Ḥabašat under the Sabaean king Šamir Yuharᶜis in the 3rd cent. A.D. (CRStor 112; s. the inscription ibid. p. 127).

According to the land charters attributed to the half-legendary Late Aksumite ruler ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl and preserved in the so called *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum*, several lands in S. in the then south of the empire were donated as a fief to *abba* ↗Gärima (CRAxum 21, no. 3). Gubərya in S. was accordingly donated by ↗Säyfä Arᶜad to *abba* ↗Mädḫaninä Əgziᵓ (ibid. 24, no. 8).

In the 1270s, the head of S. rebelled against *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak (Cerulli 1943: 277ff.). ↗Ewosṭatewos passed through S. in his travels enjoying the hospitality of the then governor Fäqadä Krəstos (Conti Rossini 1904: 21). Ewosṭatewos's pupils ↗Märqorewos and ↗Absadi spent time at Däbrä Säqʷərt in S. (ibid. 21, 31; LusStud 76). Another pupil, Gäbrä Mäsqäl, was abbot of May Qʷərqʷər in S. (LusStud 8; possibly the same person as Gäbrä Mäsqäl of Gärᶜalta, the founder of ↗Däbrä Mäᶜar; ibid. 76).

During the reign of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, the area belonged to the northern provinces, and its governor was one of those who was asked to fight the otherwise unknown rebel Nədḫan (MarAmdS 68).

Al-↗ᶜUmarī identifies S. with Təgray (UmMasGaud 22, 34: Aksum as capital of S.).

Aṣe ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl campaigned in S. in 1533, at which time the *śəyyumä S.* was a certain Sämrä Krəstos (CRAxum 85 [text]). A battle took place in S. between *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos and the forces of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in 1541. S. was among those regions that sided with ↗Ḥamasen during the impostor ↗Yaᶜəqob's revolt against *aṣe* ↗Susənyos in the early 17th cent. (PerChron ch. 35), and with Əndärta in the revolt of *ras* ↗Fares against *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I in 1677. In 1698, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I introduced a customs post in S., at Mačure.

The people of Ham in Eritrea claim descent from S. (Conti Rossini 1942: 179).

Src.: BassHist 483; BeckHuntAlm xcvii–xcviii [cp. BecRASO XV, 302]; BecRASO II, 305; MIGUEL DE CASTANHOSO, *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543*, ed., tr. by RICHARD STEPHEN WHITEWAY, London 1902 (Hakluyt Society Papers 2, 10), s. index; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 3, 1943, 272–94, here 277ff. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80, here 263ff.]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Gadla Marqorēwos, seu Acta sancti Mercurii*, Paris 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 17, 21 (text) = 17, 26 (tr.); ID., *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942, 179 (tr.); CRAxum 21, 24, 47, 48, 60, 85; KolTrad II § 30 (genealogy of the Säḥarti in Ḥamasen); MaqIlmam 2; MarAmdS 68 and s. index; PerChron 128f., 242, 272 (text) = 99f., 186, 209 (tr.); UmMasGaud 22 and n. 4, 34, 251.
Lit.: CRStor 103, 109, 112f., 127; CrumLand 68, 100, 103; HuntGeogr 61, 67, 78f., 81, 95f., 99, 132, 163, 186, 234, 237, 248, 251; LusStud 8, 54, 76, 109f.; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Ancora sulle 'origini' etiopiche", in: SANDRO FILIPPO BONDÌ et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 303–15, here 309ff., nn. 52–55 (Lit.).

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Ṣ́äḥaṭi, Säʿaṭi ↗Dogʿali

Ṣ́äḥay Ḫaylä Śəllase

Princess Ṣ́. (**ፀሐይ፡ ኀይለ፡ ሥላሴ**, baptizmal name Wälättä Bərhan, given name Yäšimmäbet; b. 13 October 1919, Addis Abäba, d. 17 August 1942, Näqämte) was one of the initiators of the first women's movement in Ethiopia. The daughter of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and *ətege* ↗Mänän Asfaw, in her youth she received a private education in the house of reverend Friedrich Flad, son of Johannes Martin ↗Flad, in St. Légier (French Switzerland).

In August 1935, two months before the outbreak of the ↗Italian war, Ṣ́. founded the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association (**የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሴቶች፡ በጎ፡ አድራጎት፡ ማኅበር**, *Yäʾityopya setočč bäggo adragot maḫbär*) under the patronage of Empress Mänän. Assisted by Lady Barton, wife of the British ambassador, Ṣ́. organized women of the capital to prepare clothes, mattresses, gas masks, bandages, and to pack rations for the Ethiopian troops (Minale Adugna 2001: 23). In 1935, she made a broadcast appeal to the world from Addis Abäba against the Italian invasion and use of poison gas, which drew the attention of several activists in London, among them Sylvia ↗Pankhurst. The Princess also appealed in a letter to the Women's Council of the League of Nations Union on behalf of the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association, asking its members to protest against the breach of the 1925 protocol by the Italians.

Ṣ́. accompanied Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase in exile to Great Britain and, having a fluent command of English and French, served him as a secretary and translator (Minale Adugna 2001: 24). In London she made public speeches in support of the Ethiopian cause. As the patron of the Friends of Abyssinia League, Ṣ́. held numerous meetings with its members to garner support against the Italian invaders.

Ṣ́. began her training as a nurse at the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street, London, where she qualified as a State Registered Children's Nurse. She worked at the Royal National Orthopaedic Hospital, and proceeded to Guy's Hospital for further training. Upon her return to Ethiopia in response to the Emperor's call, the Princess proceeded with her activities as the leader of the Association, organizing help for the troops and personally caring for the wounded, the sick and the orphaned.

On 26 April 1942, Ṣ́. was married to Colonel Abiy Abbäbä, governor of ↗Wälläga, and died shortly after due to sudden illness. Friends of Ethiopia in Great Britain obtained the approval of her royal parents to establish the Princess Ṣ́äḥay Memorial Hospital in Addis Abäba – the first Ethiopian Teaching Hospital, completed by 20 June 1947 and opened in 1951.

Princess Ṣ́äḥay Ḫaylä Śəllase as a nurse in a children's hospital in London; photo 1930s, private collection of Lothar Domkowski

Src.: *New Times & Ethiopia News*, Essex, 12 June 1937, 3; *ibid.*, 4 May 1946, 3f.; *ibid.*, 11 September 1948, 1; *ibid.*, 6 November 1948, 4; YARED GÄBRÄ MIKAʾEL, **የሀምሳ፡ አመት፡ ጋብቻ፡ ወርቃዊ፡ ኢዮቤልዩ፡ ከ***1903–1953* **ኣ.ም**. (*Yähamsa amät gabəčča wärqawi iyobelyu kä1903–1953 a.m.*, 'The Golden Jubilee of Fifty Years of Marriage from 1903 to 1953 A.M.'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.].
Lit.: MÄRSƎʿE ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ** … *1896–1922* **ኣ.ም**. (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye … 1896–1922 a.m.*, 'My Me-

mories of the History of the Time … 1896–1922 A.M.'), Addis Abäba 1999 A.M. [2006/07 A.D.], 228; MINALE ADUGNA, *Women and Warfare in Ethiopia, A Case Study of their Role during the Campaign of Adwa, 1895/6 and the Italo–Ethiopian War, 1935–41*, Addis Ababa 2001, 23; SYLVIA PANKHURST, "Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association", *EthObs* 4, 2, 1960, 45–47; EAD., "Changing Face of Addis Ababa", *ibid.* 4, 5, 1960, 134–76, here 138.

Fentahun Tiruneh

Ṣ́äḥayu Sägäd ↗Yostos

Ṣ́äḥayäwärq Darge ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase

Ṣ́äḥayu ʿƎnqʷä Śəllase

Däǧǧazmač Ṣ́. (**ጸሐዩ፡ ዕንቈ፡ ሥላሴ**; b. ca. 1910/15, Märḥabete, Šäwa, d. July 1974, Sälale) was a patriot and later governor of several regions. His father was *grazmač* ʿƎnquśəllase Bantəydaññ in ↗Märḥabete and his mother was *wäyzäro* Fəqərtä Hayläśəllase (FanTarik 554).

During the Italian occupation 1936–41 Ṣ́., his four brothers, among them the well known *däǧǧazmač* Wärqu Ǝnquśəllase, governor of ↗Bale, and their close kinsmen joined the ↗Resistance and rallied the youth of Märḥabete and of ↗Sälale. Ṣ́. is said to have scored many victories against the Italians (Getaččäw Yarom 2007/08: 219). He was also among the founding members of the 'Association of the Patriots of Ancient Ethiopia' (↗*Yäṭəntawit Ityop̣ya ǧägənočč maḥbär*; Ṭəlahun Bərhanä Śəllase 2003/04: 352).

Upon the return of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I to Ethiopia Ṣ́. was appointed governor of ↗Gamo Gofa. During this time several complaints against him were registered, and in 1960 he was transferred to Goǧǧam province. As in Gamo Gofa, also in Goǧǧam Ṣ́. was unpopular with the population who complained of his excessive use of power (Getaččäw Yarom 2007/08: 220).Furthermore, Ṣ́. forced the citizens of Goǧǧam to raise funds to erect a statue of the Emperor. With the excuse of eradicating banditry, he infiltrated spies among the people (Bahru Zäwde 2007: 230). When the complaints resulted in even more repression, the people of Goǧǧam began to rebel. This again resulted in Ṣ́.'s transfer to ↗Käfa in 1968. When the ↗Revolution of 1974 broke out, Ṣ́. was asked by the people of Käfa to surrender. He refused and put up a fight in his residence in ↗Ǧimma. Ṣ́. was then secretly transported to Addis Abäba by his supporters. But even here his protection was not guaranteed. Ṣ́. decided to fight together with his brother and left Addis Abäba. His property was confiscated by the new government. Upon his repeated refusal to surrender, Ṣ́.'s hiding place in Sälale was surrounded, and he died fighting (Getaččäw Yarom 2007/08:219).

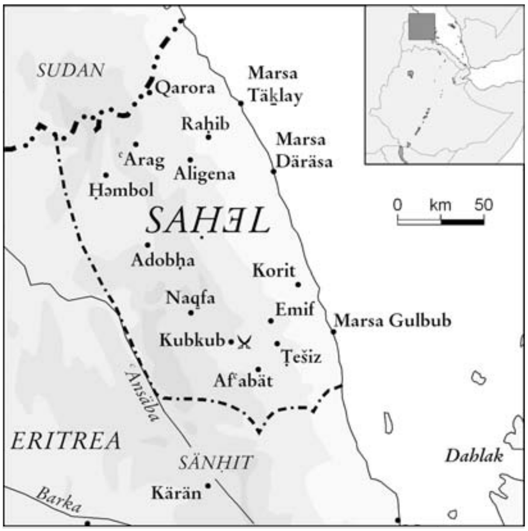
Lit.: BAHRU ZÄWDE, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ፤ ከ1847፡ እስከ1983** (*Yäʾityop̣ya tarik*: *kä1847 əskä 1983*, 'History of Ethiopia: from 1847 [A.M.] to 1983 [A.M.]'), Addis Abäba 2007; FanTarik 554, 589, 718; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia. Power and Protest*: *Peasant Revolts in the 19th Century*, Cambridge 1991, 169–83, 193; GETAČČÄW YAROM, **ስም፡ ከመቃብር፡ በላይ** (*Səm kämäqqabər Bälay*, 'Good deeds never die'), n.p. 2000 A.M. [2007/08 A.D.]; ṬƎLAHUN BƎRHANÄ ŚƎLLASE BETÄ, **የ20ኛ፡ ክፍለ፡ ዘመን፡ ኢትዮጵያ፤ አንደኛ፡ መጽሐፍ** (**፲፱፻፡ እስከ፡ ፲፱፻፷፮፡ ዓ.ም.**) (*Yä20ññaw kəflä zämän Ityop̣ya, andäñña mäṣḥaf* [1900 *əskä* 1966 A.M.], 'Ethiopia of the 20th Cent., vol. 1: [1900 till 1966 A.M.]'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.], 351f.

Fentahun Tiruneh

Saḥəl

Until the administrative reform in 1995 S. (**ሳሕል**) was one of the ten provinces of Eritrea which were established during the Italian colonial period in the Eritrean extension of the Sahel ecoclimatic and biogeographic zone. It comprised the area of north-eastern Eritrea – bordering on the Sudan – including the ↗Red Sea coast line with the small harbours of Marsa Gulbub and Marsa Täḵlay and the northern highlands or ↗*Rora* with the major towns ↗Qarora, ↗Afʿabät and ↗Naqfa. Today it has partly merged into the new administrative region Northern Red Sea.

In S. province, signs of prehistoric civilizations and of the Ottoman presence can be found. For example, in the former Italian and now Eritrean customs post, Qarora, there are prehistoric cave paintings, and in the vicinity of Afʿabät there is the



Ottoman fort Kubkub, which was later used as an Italian *residenza*. A decisive battle was fought at Kubkub in 1941, which together with the Battle of ↗Käran led to the withdrawal of the Italians from Eritrea and Ethiopia (↗World War II). An Italian colonial post was set up in Naqfa in the 1890s, which developed between 1940–50 and in which *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I funded the construction of the big mosque in the early 1960s (KilHDic 321, 322). The Northern Highlands or Rora Mountains – a string of plateaus rising up to 2,700 m in height and running parallel to the coast from northern ↗Sänḥit to the Sudanese border – is only sparsely populated by ↗Təgre-speaking transhumant pastoralists from the ↗^{c}Ad Šayḫ, ↗Bet Asgäde and the smaller ↗^{c}Ad Mä^{c}alləm, ^{c}Ad Sawra and Bet Ma^{c}ala groups (KilHDic 363, 366).

S. province, in particular the inaccessible mountain region, was the military base of the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and of the so-called "liberated areas", in which the EPLF organized an independent Eritrean area, with Naqfa as its symbolic capital between 1978 and 1991. As part of this new Eritrean society the agricultural project of Rora Ḥabab was initiated, a project which stood as a model for the EPLF to educate the rural population and to improve the living standards of all Eritreans. S. was the scene of many battles with the Ethiopian Army and its settlements and towns were mostly destroyed during the armed struggle, but, after Eritrean independence, much investment helped to rebuild the towns of S.

Lit.: KilHDic 321f., 363, 366; NadEr 31–45; ROBERT PAPSTEIN, *Eritrea: Revolution at Dusk,* Trenton, NJ 1991; RESEARCH and INFORMATION CENTRE on ERITREA, *Life in Liberated Eritrea: Portrait of a People who are Constructing a New Society*, Rom 1987; SCHWEIZERISCHES UNTERSTÜTZUNGSKOMITEE für ERITREA, *Handbuch Eritrea. Geschichte und Gegenwart eines Konflikts*, Wettingen n.d., 15, 25, 40f., 50, 135f.

Kerstin Volker-Saad

Śahlä Dəngəl

Nəguś Ś.D. (**ሣህለ፡ ድንግል**, more commonly Śahlu, fl. 1832–55) was the nominal ruler of Ethiopia in 1832–40, 1842–43, 1846–50, and 1852–55, alternately in the 1840s and 1850s with *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs III. In his correspondence he styled himself *nəguśä nägäśt* and *nəguśä Ityopya*. In land transactions of the period he is often referred to as *aṣe*. He played but a modest role in events, being the tool of the effective rulers of the country, various *mäsafənt* ('nobles') most notably *ras* ↗Ali Alula, Ali's mother, *yətege* ↗Mänän Libän, and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam. He claimed descent from the 17th-cent. Gondärine ruler ↗Fasilädäs (CRNuov 378). Apparently his only regular income at the beginning of his reign was 300 thalers, which the Muslim merchants of ↗Gondär gave him (RubTew 18).

In 1832, as a spinoff of the doctrinal controversies in Gondär, Ś.D. was excommunicated by the clergy of ↗Azäzo, who belonged to the order of Täklä Haymanot, one of the principal proponents of the teaching of *yäṣägga ləǧ* (↗*Ṣägga*). This led to his deposition by *ras* Ali, who put Gäbrä Krəstos on the throne. After a brief three-month reign, Gäbrä Krəstos died and Ś.D. successfully petitioned to be re-instated. Not long afterwards he was challenged by a certain Əg^{w}alä Anbäsa, who claimed to be the long expected Tewodros (↗*Fəkkare Iyäsus*). Ś.D. confronted him at Qaha, had him beheaded and his head displayed on the main square in Gondär (CRReal 856f.; RubTew 50).

In 1842, when *abunä* ↗Sälama (III) entered Gondär, Ś.D. appears to have welcomed him. In any case, he and Sälama later acted together to maintain the sanctuary of the *abun*'s quarter in Gondär (↗Abun Bet). In 1847 he was one of the Gondär notables sent by *ras* Ali to intercede for the release of Mänän, then captive of *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa (later *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II; CRNuov 393).

In several actions, Ś.D. had at least the appearance of sovereignty. In 1848, he invested ↗Goššu Zäwde of Goǧǧam with the title of *ras*, an action decidedly against the interests of *ras* Ali (RubTew 39). The beheading of an opponent was not a common action by late Gondärine monarchs. In one of the major foundations of the later ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, around 1850, Wəbe built and endowed the church of ↗Däräsge Maryam. The charter granting land to this church follows high Gondärine style and suggests, at first, that the issuer of the charter was Ś.D. himself, although Wəbe quickly appears as a major actor (BritLib, ms. Orient. 481, fol. 3v). Ś.D. also appears as the author of several important bouts of international correspondence: in 1838, to King Louis Philippe I of ↗France and Queen Victoria of England (RubActa I, index). Together with the notables, *əččäge* ↗Maḥṣäntä Mikaʾel, *ras* Ali, *däǧǧazmač* Wəbe and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kənfu of Q^{w}ara, he appealed for military support against what appeared to be the threat of invasion by ↗Muḥammad ^{c}Ali of ↗Egypt. Again, he is the sole author of letters on behalf of the Ethiopian community in ↗Jerusalem, whose long-standing privileges were under threat. He addressed these letters to the Turkish *sulṭān*, the Armenian community in Jerusalem, Samuel ↗Gobat, now Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, Kirakos, Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem, and Kyrillos, Greek bishop of Jerusalem (RubActa I, nos. 109–14). Ś.D. also granted lands to a number of individuals (BritLib, mss. Orient. 659, fol. 100v, 239v; Orient. 777, 16v, 281r; Orient. 778, fol. 4v).

We know the date of neither Ś.D.'s birth, nor his death, which must have occurred sometime during the reign of Tewodros II.

Src.: BritLib, mss. Orient. 659, 777, 778; CRNuov 378f., 381, 384, 393; CRReal 856f., 861, 912f., 915; RubActa I, nos. 28f., 109–14.

Lit.: RubInd 32, 78, 80, 82, 85, 90, 101; RubTew 18, 39, 50.

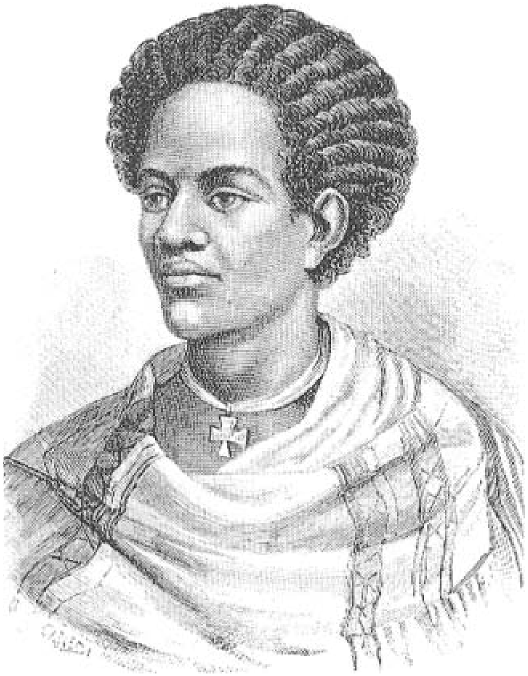
Donald Crummey

Śahlä Maryam ↗Mənilək II

Śahlä Śəllase

Nəguś Ś.Ś. (**ሣህለ፡ ሥላሴ**, horse name Abba Dina; b. ca. 1795, Ges, d. 22 October 1847, Däbrä Bərhan) was a king of ↗Šäwa reigning from 1806–47. He was a son of Zännäbä Wärq, a daughter of a chief from the district of ↗Mänz while his father was *märədazmač* ↗Wäsän Sägäd, the ruler of Šäwa (r. 1808–13). The sources repeat the statement that when his father died, Ś.Ś. was 18 years old and that he was brought from the village of ↗Sälla Dəngay, Mänz, where he had received a traditional education, to be "crowned" (CecZeila vol. 1, 244; AWTarik 28).

Ś.Ś. showed diplomatic skill and military ability from the very beginning, which enabled him to restore order and peace in Šäwa. There had been widespread restlessness, particularly among the ↗Oromo, when news of his father's assassination was heard. The rebels went as far as burning Wäsän Sägäd's main centres of ↗Däbrä Bərhan and ↗Qʷəndi (BTafA 531; CecZeila vol. 1, 244; AWTarik 28). In fact, it was because of these rebellions that the first born son, Bäkurä (or Bäkurye), who was governor of Märḥabete, and supposed to succeed his father, could not arrive on time at the palace to be enthroned. The Oromo of Ǧərru blocked the way (BTafA 533; AWTarik 28; CecZeila vol. 1, 244). Therefore, the dignitaries of the court decided to bring Ś.Ś. from nearby Sälla Dəngay on the grounds that unless succession was quickly effected, the rebellion of the subject peoples would quickly expand (AWTarik 28; CecZeila 244; BTafA 533). Ś.Ś. was made a ↗*ras* upon his assumption of power. He became the seventh Šäwan ruler, counted from ↗Nägaśi Krəstos Wärädä Qal, generally considered the founder of the dynasty.



Portrait of *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase; from MasMis vol. 9, 99

Ś.Ś.'s political ability enabled him to win over the vacillating elements among the rebels and, with their help, he was able to suppress the rebellions very quickly (Darkwah 1975:20; EgeClass 33). He succeeded in getting the allegiance of the ↗Abbičuu clan of the Oromo. Their chief Märäč̣ became his loyal vassal. The support of the Abbičuu seems to have enhanced his military strength and enabled him to conquer their traditional rivals, the Galaan as well as the Salaallee (cp. ↗Sälale) and other ↗Tuulama clans (BTafA 535; ↗Finfinnee). Ś.Ś. appointed ↗Mätäkko, a capable general of Oromo descent, as the governor (or ↗*abägaz*) over the newly conquered Oromo clans of central Šäwa (BTafA 537; CecZeila vol. 1, 244; EgeClass 33). Šäwan sources and travel accounts agree that Ś.Ś.used skilfully the time-worn policy of "divide and rule" over the various Oromo clans of central and western Šäwa. The rebellion of Mätäkko in ca. 1837 was considered a big challenge to Ś.Ś.; but he was quickly arrested by a combination of ruse and diplomacy and was killed (BTafA 537, 541; AWTarik 28ff.). By about 1827, Ś.Ś. overran the ↗Karrayyuu Oromo and incorporated them into

Šäwa (EgeClass 33). From the newly conquered territories, the army brought back rich booty in cattle and in agricultural products, which further enhanced the prestige of Ś.Ś. By the early 1830s, he had incorporated the plains of western Šäwa up to the ↗Gibe River in the south-west and up to the valley of the Gudär River in the north-west. His increasing territorial conquests seem to have given him the confidence to proclaim himself ↗*nəguś* around the year 1839 and also claimed to be king of Gurage. His inconsistent use of the title (for sometime styling himself as *ras* Ś.Ś. *nəguś* of Šäwa) for sometime showed that he was not yet sure of it (BTafA 535; EgeClass 124). The Wärräsek (↗Yäǧǧu) rulers of ↗Däbrä Tabor never recognized his new title, continuing to refer to him as ↗*märədazmač*.

Another notable feature of the reign of Ś.Ś. was the unprecedented arrival of Europeans, missionaries as well as diplomats and explorers, at his court. He received them well and he took them along on his campaigns. Expelled from ↗Təgray by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, ↗Krapf and ↗Isenberg went to Šäwa in June 1839 via the ↗Zayla^{c} and ↗Taǧūra route (AWTarik 32ff.; Darkwah 1975:21f.). Ś.Ś. who was keen to establish contact with Europe was glad to receive the missionaries. Indeed, Krapf's letter to the British Resident in Aden asking for a relationship to be established with the king of Šäwa, was instrumental in the coming of a British diplomatic mission led by Captain Cornwallis ↗Harris in 1841 under the auspices of the Bombay government (Darkwah 1975:22). The objectives of the mission included the establishment of commercial links and diplomatic relations, scientific research, and the promotion of the abolition of the slave trade (↗Slavery). It was not able to achieve these goals although it succeeded in signing a ↗treaty of friendship. In fact, "the treaty remained a dead letter" (Darkwah 1975:22). Harris left Šäwa in February 1843.

Another foreign visit of some consequence was that of ↗Rochet d'Hericourt who, for the first time, arrived in October 1839. Upon his return to France, Rochet claimed that he had signed a treaty (on 7 June 1843) with the Šäwan king. Rubenson (RubActa I, 83, no. 66) raised some doubt about the authenticity of the document. Later, however, both the French and *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II accepted it as a genuine agreement and repeatedly referred to it in their diplomatic discussions.

The travellers left behind a corpus of material on the Šäwa of the 1840s. Most of them had seen the conditions in the other parts of northern Ethiopia before they went into the Kingdom of Ś.Ś., were impressed by the peace and prosperity of Šäwa, admired the administration of Ś.Ś. and in general portrayed him in their accounts as a generous and just lord (CecZeila vol. 1, 245; GueCopMen 70f., n. 7). Sources generated in Šäwa also single out Ś.Ś. among all the rulers of the kingdom with the exception of his grandson Mənilək as the most successful, just and generous ruler of the polity (GueCopMen 70f.; AWTarik 28).

Ś.Ś. descended in direct line from Nägaśi Krəstos Wärädä Qal, the earliest historically established ruler of some districts in Mänz. The Šäwan court claimed that Nägaśi Krəstos was the descendant of *abetohun* Ya^{c}əqob, one of the sons of *aṣe* ↗Ləbna Dəngəl. Through marriage alliances (his own and those of his children) he was related to all the important families of Šäwa and beyond.

Ś.Ś. was married to *wäyzäro* Bäzzabbəš, the daughter of Däǧän, the chief of Märḥabete. He had many concubines acquired for political purposes from among the Amhara, the Oromo and Gurage peoples (AWTarik 35), one source giving the apparently exaggerated figure of five hundred (EgeClass 105). A mid-20th cent. Šäwan source with connection to the imperial court gives the names of only six women from whom Ś.Ś. had regognized children. They were Bäzabeš, Wäriga the mother of *ras* ↗Darge, Yemänusal, who gave birth to Tänäññä Wärq, the grandmother of Ḫaylä Śəllase I, and several other children some of whom played important roles, Mäläfiya, mother of Ayahlušim and grandmother of *nəguś* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboye and other notable lords, Ǝtenäš and an unknown woman simply described as the daughter of an Arsi chief. He had two sons from Bäzzabbəš, ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot and ↗Säyfu Śahlä Śəllase, and a daughter, Wäsän Yäläš (Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl 1965 A.M.: 18–41).

Ś.Ś. rebuilt Däbrä Bərhan and founded ↗Angoläla, which became his principal settlements (BTafA 533; CecZeila vol. 1, 245). His kingdom, according to Cecchi, was divided into four principal provincial units governed by lords who carried the title of *abägaz*. Each province was in turn subdivided into several districts (called ↗*nägarit*) governed by a chief who bore the title of ↗*ato* (CecZeila vol. 1, 249). In his reign Šäwa became a sizeable kingdom which claimed an area extending from ↗Yəfat, Mänz and Märḥabete in the north to the Gurage up to the Gibe River and the Oromo up to the Gudär River (AWTarik 28).

Ś.Ś. died on 22 October 1847 (12 *Ṭəqəmt* 1840 A.M. in AWTarik 35 and CecZeila 248; BTafA 543 gives a different date, 19 *Ṭəqəmt*, but does not give the year; AWTarik 35 gives the same date but a different year, 1848; GueCopMen 76 repeats the day but gives 1838 A.M.) following, according to Cecchi who collected the information from the court in Šäwa, an accidental shooting by his own servant during a hunting expedition. He suffered from the wound for several weeks and died in the town of Däbrä Bərhan and was buried in the Mikaʾel Church of ↗Ankobär, the principal church of the town built by him (BTafA 543; GueCopMen 76).

Ś.Ś. was succeeded by his first born ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot. At the end of the 1870s, during the floreat of Mənilək, Cecchi collected an apocryphal tradition according to which Ś.Ś. issued a proclamation, upon his deathbed, to all of Šäwa that he had given his throne to his son, Ḫaylä Mäläkot (CecZeila vol. 1, 248; BTafA 541 offers a similar account). His horse name Abba Dina became a household name in the era of his great grandson Ḫaylä Śəllase I (via his daughter Tänaññä Wärq and his grandson Mäkʷännən) when the Emperor named the Police College after it; the criminal investigation bureau of the Police was also known popularly as Abba Dina.

Src.: AWTarik 28f., 32-35; BTafA 531, 533, 535, 537, 541, 543; CecZeila vol. 1, 244f., 248; GueCopMen 70f., 76; ROCHET D'HERICOURT, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris 1846; MAḪTÄMÄ ŚƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **ኍልቈ፡ ትውልድ፡ ዘንጉሥ፡ ሣህለ፡ ሥላሴ** (*Hʷəlqʷä təwləd zänəguś Sahlä Śəllase*, 'Genealogy of *Nəguś* Sahlä Śəllase'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.],18–41; RubActa I, 83.

Lit.: CrumLand s. index; KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813–1889*, London 1975, 20ff.; EgeClass 33, 105, 124; MasMis vol. 9, 99 (ill.); RITA PANKHURST, "In Quest of Ankobar's Church Libraries", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 198–226.

Shiferaw Bekele

Śahle Ṣädalu

Ś.Ṣ. (**ሣህሌ፡ ጻዳሉ**; b. 30 June 1887, Ankobär, d. 11 April 1971, Addis Abäba) was a prominent 20th-cent. politician.

Ś.Ṣ. was born into a clerical family of some distinction. His father, *aläqa* Ṣädalu Wäldä Täkle, claimed descent from *ras* ↗Gäbre Täsfa; he migrated to Šäwa from Sämen in the last quarter of the 19th cent. in search of better employment. His mother, Ǝnawgalät Abiyä Hoy, belonged to an old chiefly family of Bulga. Ś.Ṣ. had three elder siblings.

Śahle Ṣädalu; photo 1934/35, from Rikli 1935: 19

Ś.Ṣ. completed all stages of his traditional ↗education at Marqos church in ↗Sälla Dəngay, where he was ordained ↗*diyaqon*. In 1904/05 Ś.Ṣ. moved to Addis Abäba where he was employed in the provincial branches of the Customs Office. Three years later, he was transferred to the Ministry of Pen and then, also briefly, to the Secretariat of *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu. In 1907, Ś.Ṣ. was among the first 80 students recruited to the newly founded ↗Mənilək II Secondary School. There, Ś.Ṣ. studied French, English and Arabic, and met the young aristocrats who attended the school. In 1910 Ś.Ṣ. was appointed translator to a French physician of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu. He later worked in the same capacity for the Municipality. In 1914/15, he became Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and from 1916 till 1927/28 he served as Director General of the same Ministry.

In 1919/20 Ś.Ṣ. was sent to Paris for a year on a commercial mission. He did the groundwork for the grand European tour of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (the future ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in 1924, and then accompanied the Heir Apparent.

While in Europe, Täfäri sent Ś.Ṣ. on a diplomatic mission to Germany. In 1924/25 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to the ↗League of Nations.

In 1928/29, Ś.Ṣ. was appointed Director General of the Ministry of Education and was given the task of reorganizing the institution with a view to placing it on a modern footing. The same year he became head of the Ethiopian delegation to Alexandria for the final negotiations concerning the consecration of Ethiopian monks as bishops.

Following the proclamation of the ↗Constitution and the creation of ↗Parliament in July 1931, Ś.Ṣ. became Vice President of the Senate. From 1932 to 1935 Ś.Ṣ. was the Minister of Education and particularly promoted primary education.

Ś.Ṣ. surrendered to the Italians in June 1936 and remained in Addis Abäba until he was deported alongside other notables and intellectuals in the aftermath of the ↗Graziani assassination attempt in 1937. He stayed in Italy until 1939 and continued working for the Italians until the Liberation in 1941.

According to family sources and his friend ↗Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos, Ś.Ṣ. was sick for several years after 1941, and this unspecified illness kept him from government service. However, his absence from public life may well be due to his collaboration with the Italians (Marcus in HSLife II).

Ś.Ṣ. returned to public life in ca. 1955 when he was appointed President of the Board of Directors of the Dərre Dawa Cement Factory. In 1956 he became the Chief of the National Library and Museum. In 1959, Ḫaylä Śəllase gave him the sinecure post of Senator.

His funeral at Mänbärä Nägäśt Qəddəst Qʷəsqʷam church in Addis Abäba was attended by the Emperor, the Prime Minister and other high ranking officials.

Src.: HSLife I, II; *Nägarit Gazeṭa* 7, 30 March 1959, 34; obituary read by Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos at the funeral, *Addis Zämän*, 5 *Miyaziya* 1963; *Kəbur blatten geta Śahle Ṣädalu, 1879–1963*, commemorative family booklet, 21 May 1971.

Lit.: MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935, 19 (ill.).

Shiferaw Bekele

Śahləkä

Ś. (**ሣህልከ**, lit. 'Your clemence', referring to the *incipit* of Ps 50) is a type of ↗*qəne*. It is the short subtype of the ↗*zäyəᵓəze qəne*. It has three *bet*-verses and is always sung in ↗*gəᶜəz* chanting mode. There is also a ↗*Dəggʷa* element of the same name, usually performed together with Ś. *qəne*.

Ś. is performed only during the ↗*Mäwäddəs addärarä*s (Sunday office); it is inserted if the ↗*Arbaᶜət* does not provide ↗*məlṭan*. The singers chant the text of the *qəne* 22 times. The aim of Ś. *qəne* is to pray for the rulers or local authorities, either civil or religious.

Its performance used to be followed by the ↗litany of the *mästäbqʷəᶜ* type for the king (*bäᵓəntä nəguś*, Yəḫeyyəs Wärqe 1967/68: 16, Alemayyehu Moges 1973: 106), but has now been replaced by the intercession 'for peace' (*bäᵓəntä sälam*).

The Ś. is composed by elderly people, well versed in *qəne* tradition, in interpretation and in history. The Ś. is never practised at the ↗*qəne bet* schools, but rather during religious services.

Lit.: ADMASU ǦÄMBÄRE, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ፡** (**ዝክረ፡ ሊቃውንት**) (*Mäṣḥafä qəne* [*zəkrä liqawənt*], 'The Book of the *Qəne* [The Memory of the Scholars]'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; ALEMAYYEHU MOGES, "Geez and Amharic Study without Qene is Incomplete", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 99–116; ID., "Language Teaching and Curricula in Traditional Education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *The Ethiopian Journal of Education* 4, 1, 1973, 87–114; ERIC GODET, "La métrique du qənē guèze", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 117–203, esp. 158 167, 184ff.; HabTent 104f.; HabUff 215f.; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne*, 'The Book of the *Qəne*'), Addis Abäba 1918 A.M. [1926/27 A.D.]; *mämhər* YƎḪEYYƎS WÄRQE, **ንባብ፡ ወትርጓሜ፡ ዘቅኔያት፤ አዕማደ፡ ምስጢራት** (*Nəbab wätərgʷame zäqəneyat*: *aᶜmadä məsṭirat*, 'Text and Interpretation of the *Qəne*: the Pillars of Mysteries'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; VelMe II.

Habtemichael Kidane

Sāho

Sāho language

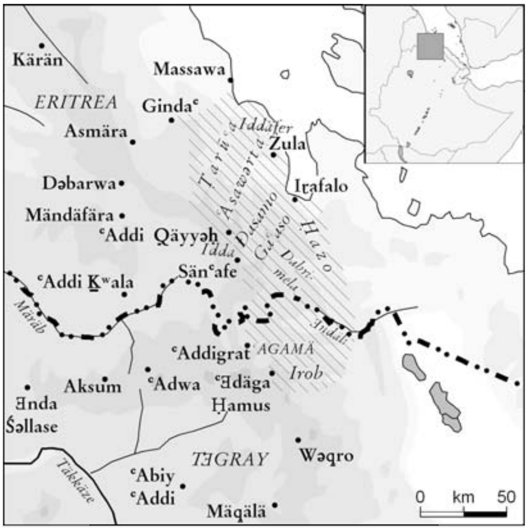
S. language (*Saahót waaní* 'language of the S.' or *Saahót lux'á* 'id.') is the term used for the group of varieties spoken by the S. in central and south-eastern ↗Eritrea and north-eastern ↗Təgray. Together with the ↗ᶜAfar language they form a dialect continuum that is commonly regarded as a subgroup within ↗Lowland East Cushitic.

Northern S. dialects distinctively preserve *z in several inherited East Cushitic words, e.g., *mízga* 'right (side)' vs. southern S. and ᶜAfar *mídga* (and *mígda*), Somali *midig*, Rendille *miig*, Oromo *mirga*, Điraašša *miskitt*, etc. Some southern S. speakers also have *z* in this and a few other words as an individual variant. Northern S. dialects also have several occurrences of *š* after **i* or **y* in inherited words and morphemes, e.g., *bíšo* 'colour, appearance' vs. southern S. *bíso*, ᶜAfar *bísu*, Oromo *bifa*, Konso *pisa* 'flower', etc.; northern S. *-iš-* suffixal causative root extension vs. southern S. and ᶜAfar *-is-*, Somali *-iy-* ~ *-š-*, Oromo *-s-*, Konso *-š-*, etc. Furthermore, northern and central S. varieties differ from southern S. and ᶜAfar ones in displaying ejective consonants, the velar fricative *x* and palatal affricates, mainly in loanwords from northern ↗Ethio-Semitic languages, Arabic and Italian (cf. also Morin 1994).

The S.-ᶜAfar dialect continuum extends from south of ↗Massawa to ↗Awaš in central Ethiopia, and counts ca. 1,300,000 native speakers according to Lewis (2009), of which ca. 191,000 speakers of S. in Eritrea and ca. 23,000 in Ethiopia (↗Irob). S. is also spoken in diaspora communities in Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the United Kingdom, the USA, etc. Most S. speakers in Ethiopia are bilingual in ↗Tǝgrǝñña and occasionally use an adapted form of the *fidäl* for writing S. Yet there are very few publications; children use mainly Tǝgrǝñña at school. In Eritrea, liberation movements opted for a Latin orthography for S. already in the early 1980s and introduced it in elementary schools (cf. Banti – Vergari 2008:70). There, a written form of S. mainly based upon the northern dialects established itself in the following decades and is now used in S. schools as well as in several publications. There are still several monolingual speakers of S. in Eritrea, especially in smaller settlements and among the female population. Performances of S. ↗oral literature are common during feasts and other celebrations, and audio recordings of popular S. secular and religious singers can be found in music shops in Asmära as well as in the S.-speaking areas. S. music and dramas are produced both in Eritrea and Ethiopia and in the Diaspora.

The first data on S. are short word-lists in accounts of European travellers from the beginning of the 19th cent. (e.g., SalTrav 404ff.), but the first comprehensive descriptions of the grammar and lexicon of this language were produced by ↗Reinisch (1878, 1878, 1890), who also published the first extensive collections of texts (1889). S. lexicography has since been advanced in recent years by Vergari – Vergari (2003), who are also preparing a major dictionary. A new reference grammar of the written language and of its major dialects remains a desideratum.

All varieties of S. have long and short *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and the diphthongs *ay*, *ey*, *oy* and *aw*, *ew*, *ow*. The consonant phonemes common to all varieties are (differing Eritrean Latin spelling in brackets): plain stops *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, ʾ (-); retroflex stop *ḍ* (*dh*), realized as *ṛ* (*rh*) after vowels and in a few other contexts; fricatives *f*, *s*, *z*, *ḥ* (*x*), ᶜ (*c*), *h*; nasals *m*, *n*; liquids *l*, *r*; glides *y*, *w*. The consonant phonemes that occur only in northern and central S. are: *ṭ* (*th*), *q*, *č̣* (*ch*), *ṣ* (*ts*), *q̱* (*qh*), *ḫ̣* (*kh*), *č* and *ǧ* (*j*). Vowel length and consonant gemination are phonemic.



Hayward (1997:69ff.) describes central and southern S. varieties as having a system of pitch accent with either high or low tones on short vowels and also falling and rising tones on long vowels. Only one syllable generally bears a high, falling or rising tone in each word, and tonal sandhi operates within complex noun phrases (NPs).

Personal pronouns have separate nominative (or subject) and oblique forms: (nominative) 1st pers. sg. *anú*, 2nd pers. sg. *atú*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *usúk*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *išé*, 1st pers. pl. *nanú*, 2nd pers. pl. *atín*, 3rd pers. pl. *usún*; (oblique) 1st pers. sg. *yí*, 2nd pers. sg. *kú*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *káa*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *tée*, 1st pers. pl. *ní*, 2nd pers. pl. *sín*, 3rd pers. pl. *tén*. Dialectal variants of *išé* are *iší*, *isé*, *isí*. Oblique pronouns are used both as direct objects and as possessives: *yí tublé* 'she saw me', *yí baṛá* 'my daughter'. Oblique pronouns are also used with postpositions, e.g., *yí* + *-k* 'to' → *yók* in *yók yén* 'they told me', *ní* + *-lih* 'with' in *nóolih yemeetín* 'they arrived with us'. So-called emphatic forms are used, e.g., as NP predicates and in conjoining: *yettá*$_1$ *kinní*$_2$ 'it's$_2$ me$_1$', *kóo*$_1$ *kee*$_2$ *kw*$_3$*-ábba*$_4$ 'you$_1$ and$_2$ your$_3$ father$_4$'.

Demonstratives lack gender and number agreement and occur only as modifiers. Three of them are strictly deictic: *tá* 'this' (near to the speaker), *tó* 'this' (near to the addressee), *tóo* 'that' (far from both). *Amáa* ~ *tamáa* is anaphoric. The main interrogative words are: *míya* and *íyya* 'who?', *áy* and *áyim* ‘what?’, *áymih* ‘why?’ (*áyim* + the postposition *-h*), *aagínah*, ‘how?’ (*aa* ‘which’ + *gína* ‘kind’ + *-h*), *áwla* and *álle* ‘where?’, *mánda* and *ánda* ‘when?’.

The cardinal numbers beyond those shown below in the ten word list are: *afár* ‘4’, *kǒon* ‘5’, *líḥ* ‘6’, *malḥín* ‘7’, *baḥár* ‘8’, *sagál* ‘9’, *táman* ‘10’, *lamaatánna* ‘20’, *soddóm* or *sazzám* ‘30’, *marootóm* ‘40’, *kontóm* ‘50’, *laḥtám* ‘60’, *malḥintómon* ‘70’, *boḥortómon* ‘80’, *sagalatáman* or *bool ságla* ‘90’, *bôol* ‘100’, *šíiḥ* ‘1000’.

The two genders, masculine and feminine, are marked on nouns, personal pronouns and 3rd pers. sg. verb forms. Several nouns and indefinites distinguish sg. masc. from sg. fem. tonally, e.g., *báɣa* ‘son’ vs. *baɣá* ‘daughter’, *ta-tíya* ‘this one (masc.)’ vs. *tá-tiyá* ‘this one (fem.)’. There are two numbers, singular and plural. Pl. forms are derived from sg. ones by means of suffixes or internal modification: *^{c}éela* masc. ‘well’ vs. *^{c}éelit* masc. and *^{c}elwá* fem. ‘wells’, *^{c}okká* fem. ‘ear’ vs. *^{c}ókkak* masc., *anráb* masc. ‘tongue’ vs. *ánrub* masc. ‘tongues’, *ábba* masc. ‘father’ vs. *ábbub* pl. ‘fathers’. It appears that pl. verb agreement occurs mainly with pl. nouns indicating humans, whereas other pl. forms take either masc. or fem. agreement. Number-indifferent nouns such as *okólo* masc. ‘donkey(s)’ have singulative forms in *-ótta* masc., *-ottá* fem. or in *-átto*, *-attó* like *zellátto* ‘male monkey’ from *zellá* fem. ‘monkey(s)’ in northern S., while central and southern S. have *-óyta*, *-oytá* and *-áyto*, *-aytó*. The core cases are absolutive (for direct objects, N predicates, etc.). nominative and genitive, that are distinguished by means of inflectional endings and tonal alternations. Other syntactic relationships are indicated by means of postpositions.

Like ^{c}Afar, S. has three major inflectional classes of verbs: prefix-conjugated verbs (C1), suffix-conjugated verbs (C2) and stative verbs (C3). Almost 42 % of all verbs are C1, and mark subject concord by means of prefixes and suffixes, like *ublé* ‘see’. Ca. 50 % of verbs are C2, and mark subject concord by means of a set of suffixes, like *abé* ‘do’. C3 verbs are ca. 6 % and indicate subject concord by means of a different set of suffixes, like *kiḥiná* ‘love, like’. C3 verbs have only a non-past and a participle (simultaneous converb), and express other tenses and moods by means of compound forms; many C3 verbs have adjectival meanings like *^{c}adó* ‘be white’ or *^{c}ilišá* ‘be heavy’. (There are no adjectives *stricto sensu* in S., cf. Vergari 2008). C1 verbs have stem ablaut, e.g., *y-ablé* ‘he sees’ vs. *y-ublé* ‘he saw’, or *n-amiïté* ‘we arrive’ vs. *n-emeeté* ‘we arrived’.

non-past	*ublé* ‘see’	*abé* ‘do’	*kiḥiná* ‘love’
1st pers. sg.	*abl-é*	*ab-á*	*kiḥin-iyó*
2nd pers. sg.	*t-abl-é*	*ab-tá*	*kiḥin-itó*
3rd pers. sg. masc.	*y-abl-é*	*ab-á*	*kiḥiná*
3rd pers. sg. fem.	*t-abl-é*	*ab-tá*	*kiḥiná*
1st pers. pl.	*n-abl-é*	*ab-ná*	*kiḥin-inó*
2nd pers. pl.	*t-abl-ín*	*ab-tán*	*kiḥin-itín*
3rd pers. pl.	*y-abl-ín*	*ab-án*	*kiḥin-ón*

C1 and C2 have a considerable number of simple and compound forms both with and without subject agreement: e.g., non-past, past, subjunctive, jussive, imperative, etc. [-compound, +subjct.agr.], infinitive and invariable participle [-compound, -subjct.agr.], future [+compound, +subjct.agr.], etc. Most tenses and moods have completely different affirmative and negative forms: e.g., aff. impt. sg. *áb* ‘do!’, pl. *ába* vs. neg. impt. sg. *mâabín* ‘don’t do!’, pl. *mâabína*; aff. jussive 3rd pers. sg. masc. *yablôo* ‘he should see!’ vs. neg. jussive 3rd pers. sg. masc. *ablé wâw* ‘he should not see!’ (infinitive + aff. jussive of the auxiliary *wayé* ‘lack’).

Like all Cushitic languages, S. has a system of stem extensions for deriving verbs from other verbs and nouns. The most important categories are causative, middle, passive and inchoative. In most cases C1 verbs have prefixal stem extensions while C2 verbs have suffixal ones. Many C3 verbs have C1 or C2 incohatives, from which other derived verbs are formed. For instance, C1 *igdifé* ‘kill’ → C1 *isgidife* ‘cause to kill’, but C2 *^{c}aré* ‘grow up’ → C2 *^{c}ariše* ‘rear’; C3 *ḍeeɣá* ‘be long’ → C1 *eɣeeɣé* ‘become long’ → C1 *eyɣeeɣé* ‘lengthen’. Multiple stem extensions can co-occur as in C2 *baabé* ‘aggregate’ → C2 *baabiše* ‘cause to aggregate’ → C2 *baabišité* ‘cause to aggregate for one’s own benefit’.

Word order is strictly Subject-Object-Verb both at NP and at sentence level. E.g., *káa*$_1$ *inahí*$_2$ *migá^{c}*$_3$ ‘his$_1$ mother’s$_2$ name$_3$’; *ḥán*$_1$ *baaḥá*$_2$ *ḥiyawtí*$_3$ *yemeeté*$_4$ ‘the man$_3$ who brings$_2$ the milk$_1$ arrived$_4$’ where the heads are always NP-final; *zizzaalé*$_1$ *agiirá*$_2$ *kin*$_3$ *kaddámte*$_4$ *kinón*$_5$ ‘bees$_1$ are$_5$ skillful$_2$ (lit. ‘that are$_3$ skilled persons’) workers$_4$’.

The suffix *-m* converts a sentence into a subject/complement clause or a free relative, e.g., *tamiité*$_1$*-m* *kó*$_2$*-h*$_3$ *me^{c}é*$_4$ ‘it’s better$_4$ for$_3$ you$_2$ that (*-m*) you come$_1$’, *béera*$_1$ *tamiité*$_2$*-m* *mangón*$_3$ ‘those who (*-m*) come$_2$ tomorrow$_1$ are many$_3$’. Focalization is generally expressed by means of (pseudo-)clefts with free relatives marked by *-m*, as in *béera*$_1$ *tamiité*$_2$*-m* ^{c}*Alíi*$_3$*-kee*$_4$ *Roblé*$_5$ *kinón*$_6$ 'it is$_6$ Ali$_3$ and$_4$ Roble$_5$ who (*-m*) come$_2$ tomorrow$_1$' (also ^{c}*Alíi-kee Roblé kinón béera tamiité-m*).

Like most languages in the Horn of Africa, S. has ideophones indicating particular sounds, movements, tastes etc., that form complex transitive or intransitive predicates with the help of auxiliaries (*išé* or *išišé* 'do' for transitive predicates, *eṛḥé* 'say' or *é* 'id.' for intransitive ones). E.g., *sík*$_1$ *káa*$_2$ *iššé*$_3$ 'she silenced (lit. 'did$_3$ *sík*') him$_2$'; *baská*$_1$ *basák*$_2$ *ta*$_3$ *ma*^{c}*aašá*$_4$ *kinní*$_5$ 'honey$_1$ is$_5$ a sweet (lit. 'that says$_3$ *basák*) food$_4$'. Such constructions are generally treated as a fourth conjugational (C4) class in S.-^{c}Afar linguistics.

The ten-word list for S. is: *iník* 'one'; *lammáa* 'two'; *adóḥ* 'three'; *girá* 'fire'; *lay* ~ *layé* 'water'; *álsa* 'moon'; *ayró* 'sun'; *biiló* 'blood'; *anráb* ~ *arráb* 'tongue'; *ikó* 'tooth'.

Src.: M. PAUL LEWIS (ed.), *Ethnologue – Languages of the World – Sixteenth edition*, Dallas 2009; LEO REINISCH, *Die Saho-Sprache*, vol. 1: *Texte*, vol. 2: *Wörterbuch*, Wien 1889, 1890; SalTrav; MORENO VERGARI, *Dilkshineeri amneefecituk Saaho labcad* ('Practice Saho while Using the Dictionary'), Asmara 2005.

Lit.: GIORGIO BANTI – MORENO VERGARI, "A Sketch of Saho Grammar", *Journal of Eritrean Studies* 4, 2005, 100–31; ID., "Italianismi lessicali in saho", *Ethnorêma* 4, 2008, 67–93; ILARIO CAPOMAZZA, "L'assaorta-saho – Vocabolario italiano-assaorta-saho ed assaorta-saho-italiano", *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia* 29, 1910, 166–81 and 213–24, 30, 1911, 131–39 and 173–81; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Schizzo del dialetto saho dell'Alta Assaorta in Eritrea", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 22, 1913, 151–246; RICHARD J. HAYWARD, "External Sandhi in the Saho Noun Phrase", *AAP* 50, 1997, 53–80; ID. – MARTIN ORWIN, "The Prefix Conjugation in Qafar-Saho: the Survival and Revival of a Paradigm – Part I", *African Languages and Cultures* 4/2, 1991, 157–76; MARCELLO LAMBERTI, "Some Word Order Principles of Saho-Afar", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 127–68; DIDIER MORIN, "Dialectologie de l'afar-saho", in: GIDEON GOLDENBERG – SHLOMO RAZ (eds.), *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*, Wiesbaden 1994, 252–66; ID., *"Des paroles douces comme la soie". Introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique (bedja, afar, saho, somali)*, Louvain – Paris 1995; HERMA PLAZIKOWSKY – EWALD WAGNER, "Studien zur Sprache der Irob", *ZDMG* 103, 1953, 378–93; LEO REINISCH, "Die Saho Sprache", *ibid.* 32, 1878, 415–64; ID., "Die Sprache der Irob-Saho in Abessinien", *Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-Hist. Classe der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 90, 1878, 89–142; MORENO VERGARI, "How to Express 'Adjectives' in Saho", in: GABOR TAKÁCS (ed.), *Semito-Hamitic Festschrift for A.B. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungraithmayr*, Berlin 2008, 337–46; ID. – ROBERTA VERGARI, *A Basic Saho-English-Italian Dictionary*, Asmara 2003; WILLIAM EVERT WELMERS, "Notes on the Structure of Saho", *Word* 8, 1952, 145–62 and 236–51; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "'Afar–Saho Linguistics – an Overview", in: HANS G. MUKAROVSKY (ed.), *Leo Reinisch – Werk und Erbe*, Vienna 1987, 85–95.

Giorgio Banti – Moreno Vergari

Sāho ethnography

Introduction

The S. (Sāhó, sg. masc.: *Sāhóyta*, fem.: *Sāhoytá*) are an ethno-linguistic formation, composed of sometimes quite distinct groups. The most prominent of them are ↗Tarū^{c}á, ^{c}Asawərta/^{c}Asaurta (↗Asaorta), ↗Dabrimēla, ↗Minifire, ↗Ḥazo, ↗Irob, ↗Idda and ↗Iddäfer. The ethnonym S. is probably linked to the ^{c}Afar verb *sahha* ('to be refreshed'), referring to the mountainous zone (*Sāho-t ḥangul*) from where the S. traditionally move towards the coastal grazing lands in winter. S. refers to both the language and the people. Language and ↗Islam are important aspects of S. ethnic identity but the Dabrimēla (Labhale-t ^{c}Are clan) and the ↗Irob, the southernmost S.-speaking group, are Orthodox Christians. The S. practise mixed subsistence economy with a high importance of transhumant animal raising.

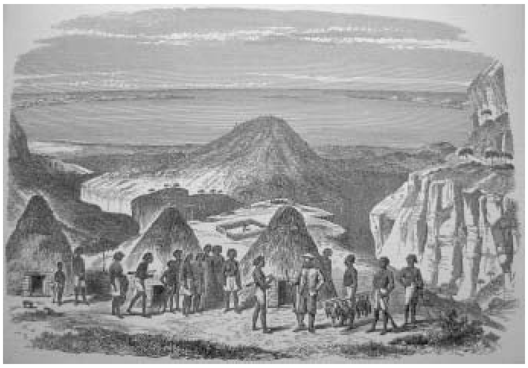
Today the majority of the S. lives in ↗Eritrea, although some S. communities are also found in Ethiopia, especially in ↗^{c}Agamä, Təgray (Irob and partially Ḥazo). Most Eritrean S. inhabit the former province of ↗Akkälä Guzay (and in the Đasamó plain partially belonging to ↗Säraye). Several S. groups live near the coast at the northern borders of ↗Ḥamasen and others in ↗Sämhar. A small number of S.-speakers is to be found in the eastern Sudan. They are known as *Sab Lālit* ('people of the highlands') and have their own chief (*nāẓir*). The S. Tarū^{c}á and the ^{c}Afar ↗Ḥasōbá, in the southern ^{c}Afar-speaking territories (↗Awaš valley in Ethiopia, Djibouti), share genealogical links (MorDicAfar 190).

As a consequence of the long Ethio-Eritrean conflicts and the dispersion of refugees who returned from Sudanese refugee camps after Eritrea's independence many S. today do no longer live in their original homeland.

Population structure

The S. speak a variety of dialects collectively referred to as S. language and belonging to the ↗^{c}Afar language continuum of ↗Lowland East Cushitic (s. the subarticle). Each of the main S. groups speak one or more of the three S. dialects along with other languages, such as Təgrəñña or Arabic. Northern dialect: Tarū^{c}á and ^{c}Asawərta; Central (Mina, Minifire) dialect: Đazamó/Đasamó, Ga^{c}asó and Dabrimēla; Southern dialect: Ḥazo and Irob.

Many groups have experienced language change, e.g., the now ↗Təgre-speaking Iddäfer



Scene in a Sāho village in the mountains above the Zula Bay; from *The London Illustrated News* 1463, vol. LII, 4 January 1868, page 1

who have genealogical links with the Bet Kalīfa of ↗Zula. This bilingualism explains why S. groups and their sub-units might have been identified by scholars as Təgre-speakers. In fact, the S. have, along with the ↗Beğa, been the major ethnic element in the constitution of Təgre-speaking groups, such as the ↗Mänsaᶜ (Bet Ǝšḥaqan), ᶜAd Ḥā, ↗Marya (who may have a S. origin) or the Inḍa ᶜIğlo among the Ḥazo, who have genealogical links with the ↗Beni ᶜAmər Eğeylab (Beğa: *ağīl,* 'tenant', Morin 1995: 20).

The Italian census of 1931 provides the earliest information on the demography of the S. With a total of nearly 39,000, the respective percentages of the S. sub-groups are: ᶜAsawərta (58.4 %); Tarūᶜá (6.7 %), indicating that Northern S. speaking groups were already in the majority (this may explain why the Northern S. dialect became the written variety after independence in 1993); Mina (Đasamó, Gaᶜasó and Dabrimēla: 27.1 %); Southern (Ḥazo: 7.8 %). The Irob living in Ethiopia were not included in the census but the role they played in Ethiopian history may have exceeded what could be expected of a relatively small population, especially at the time of ↗Säbagadis Wäldu (Irob Ḥasaballa ᶜAre), the early 19th-cent. Christian chief of ᶜAgamä. The socio-linguistic situation is complicated by the ᶜAsawərta's claim of speaking *Sāho-t zīḍo* and not *Sāho-t wāni* (*zīḍo* meaning a separate language).

The Government of Eritrea estimates the S. at 5 % of a total population of some 3.5 million, i.e. ca. 175,000. On the other hand, in the colonial statistics of the 1950s, the S. were estimated at 8.25 % (82,500) of a total population of then 1 million (UN Commission for Eritrea 1950).

Scattered on the borders of the traditional S. grazing area, and traditionally considered as inferior, are the Idda, Iddäfer, Baraddota (900 people; PollEr 267) in the area of Akkalä Guzay, peoples who speak both S. and Təgre. The Hassabat ᶜAre (with four lineages: Alet ᶜAre, Sandage, Mekengit and Ḥummad Abisa) may be of "Ḥabäša" (i.e. Gondär) origin (PollEr 268). They numbered ca. 1,300 in the 1931 Italian census (4 % of the S.-speaking groups).

It is believed that the present distribution of the S.-speaking groups in Eritrea is the result of repeated movements of Cushitic- and Semitic-speaking groups in the Horn of Africa. Historically the people referred to as S. occupied the ↗Red Sea coast including the Gulf of Zula (Sāho: Zola), the Sämhar region, and the southern region of the highlands (Akkälä Guzay, Säraye). ↗Iṭāfálo on the Gulf of Zula is the boundary between the S. and the ᶜAfar Ankāla as well as the Dammohóyta of the ↗Buri peninsula. The ancestors of the S. were among the first to be exposed to the South Arabian migrations, which, over a long period of time, crossed their territory, e.g. through the Buri Peninsula to the highlands (PollEr 26).

The political formation of the S. cannot be traced back beyond the 15th cent., during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. By and large, scholars have concluded that the homeland of the S. as well as that of the ᶜAfar must have been the Eastern region of the Horn of Africa (Tadesse Tamrat 1977: 135; Seligman 1930: 125f.; AbPrince 123; Fleming 1964:93); nevertheless, it had been impossible to explain how they concentrated in today's Ethio-Eritrean border.

Socio-economic and political structures

S. social and economic system is based on kinship and descent. The larger groups are divided into a number of sub-groups, defined as genealogical branches sharing descent from a common ancestor, and patrilineages. The various terms used for such sub-units or clans, e.g. *kišo* (Northern ᶜAfar: *kido*, Southern: *kedo*), *mela* (also in ᶜAfar), *dik*, *ᶜáre* 'house' (ᶜAfar: *ᶜári*), *gaysa,* refer to the various ways in which these groups were formed. In the case of *ᶜare* (also *dik* and *ḥarak*), the concept is close to the *bayt* of ancient Yemen (Beeston 1972: 256), referring to both the lineage and the land.

Each sub-group occupies a well-defined area, where they graze their flocks or set up their seasonal camps during the winter, where they cultivate the land and pasture their animals (NadEr 28f.). A complex political equilibrium between the groups, such as between the ᶜAsawərta of the mountains (*agani* ᶜAsawərta) and those of the lowlands (*gubi* ᶜAsawərta) regulating the seasonal move to the coast (Morin in WenDAE 1, 78).

Among the Muslim S. groups certain religious lineages possess an important role in the organization of religious, social and cultural life. A good example of such a "holy family" are the Malḥina Miᶜimbara (or Meᶜembara) 'the seven who have a talisman [*bará*]' (MorDicAfar 222). Their ᶜAfar and S. descent refers to the coming of seven *shayḫ* from Yemen via ↗Zaylaᶜ. The S. count the following groups as descendents of the Malḥina Miᶜimbara: 1. Intile Šek ᶜAre, 2. Ironnaba who belong to the Ḥazo ᶜAsaᶜalīla of ᶜAgamä, 3. *šek* Laḥlaḥa together with the Tarūᶜá of ᶜAylät, 4. *ḥağği* Abkur who are part of the northern S., 5. *ḥağği šek* Dimbago together with the ᶜAsawərta ᶜAsa Lēsan, 6. ᶜAsa Sēka with ᶜAsawərta Lēliš ᶜ*are*, 7. Das Šēka with the Ḥazo ᶜAsaᶜalīla.

The S. organize themselves according to a pattern of relations in which family and kinship play significant roles. A number of extended families work jointly together to perform important functions and they choose a leader from among the family heads. This interdependence of families and clans through cooperation and social integration establishes the broad patterns through which social order is maintained and social solidarity is promoted (Brons 2001: 20).

The extended family is the basic economic unit and it is within such family units that the basic management of resources and social life takes place, e.g. economic co-operation (especially during times of drought and famine), inheritance of cattle, marriage arrangements, re-marriage of widows, care of the elderly and of orphans. The principle of this association of families is primarily the egalitarian agnatic system and the leaders of the different sub-tribes form the basis of the entire political structure of the society. This leads to a balance of power between the sub-units and segments, headed by male family heads, living from their herds and from subsistence agriculture.

The Northern ᶜAfar and Southern S. share common cultural traditions and common challenges such as security, and they enjoy a de facto autonomy, According to the traveller ↗Raffray (1876) the S., which he called "Šoho", and their neighbours nominally acknowled the Ethiopian emperor but only paid tribute when he sent a strong enough army. Administrators sent by him were assassinated by the S. whose egalitarian political system only accepted the authority of councils of elders.

Src.: ACHILLE RAFFRAY, *Abyssinie-Afrique orientale*, Paris 1876; LEO REINISCH, "Die Saho Sprache", *ZDMG* 32, 1878, 415–64; ID., "Studien über Ost-Afrika I: Das Saho Volk", *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* 5, 1877, 65–73; SalTrav, appendix I, XIII–XIV [Saho vocabulary].

Lit.: AbPrince 132; ABDULKADER SALEH MOHAMMED, *Die Afar-Saho-Nomaden in Nordost-Afrika*, Münster 1984, passim; ABDULKADER SALEH et al. (eds.), *Friedensräume in Tigray und Eritrea unter Druck*, Münster 2008, 141-62; ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON, "Kinship in Ancient South Arabia", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of Orient* 15, 1972, 255-68; MARIA BRONS, *Society, Security, Sovereignty, and the State in Somalia*: *from Statelessness to Statelessness*?, Utrecht 2001, 20; RINALDO BRUNA, "Monografia sulle popolazioni delle Acchele-Guzai", in: *Relazioni sulla Colonia Eritrea, Camera dei Deputati*, vol. 32, Roma 1907, 1657–732; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Schizzo etnico e storico delle popolazioni eritree. L'Eritrea economica*, Novara-Roma 1913; ID., *Etiopia e genti d'Etiopia*, Firenze 1937; HAROLD C. FLEMING, "Baiso and Rendille: Somali Outliers", *RSE* 20, 1964, 35-96a; LewPeople; *The London Illustrated News* 1463, vol. 52, 4 January 1868, 1 (ill.); STEPHEN F. LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, London 1974; JOHN MIDDLETON – DAVID TAIT, *Tribes without Rulers*, London 1958; MorDicAfar 190, 222; DIDIER MORIN, "Dialectologie de l'afar-saho", in: GIDEON GOLDENBERG – SHLOMO RAZ (eds.), *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*, Wiesbaden 1994, 252–65; ID., *"Des Paroles douces comme la soie", introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique (bedja, saho, afar, somali)*, Paris 1995 [Saho grammar and dialectology 63–127]; ID., *Le texte légitime, Pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999, 19-27 [Saho socio-linguistics and history], 84–98 [texts]; ID., "ʿAsaurta", in: *WenDAE* 1, 77-83; NadEr 28f.; PollEr 26, 267–68; ACHILLE RAFFRAY, *Afrique orientale*: *Abyssinie*, Paris 1876; CHARLES G. SELIGMAN, *The Races of Africa*, London 1930, 125f.; TADESSE TAMRAT, *Ethiopia: the Red Sea and the Horn. From c. 1050 to c. 1600,* Cambridge 1977 (Cambridge History of Africa 3); TrIslam 177ff.; GERALD K. TREVASKIS, *Eritrea*: *a Colony in Transition*, *1941–1952*, London 1977; UN COMMISSION FOR ERITREA, *Linguistic Diversity in the 1950's*: *Eritrea*, New York 1950 (Fifth Session/Supplement 8, A/1258); UNESCO, *Eritrean Customary Laws* (*Highlands*), New York 2001 (Proclamation of Master Pieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity); LEONE VENIERI, "Sulla etnografia dei Saho", *Archivio per l'Antropologia e l'Etnografia* 65, 1935, 5–59; MORENO VERGARI (ed.), *Ethnorêma. Lingue, popoli e culture. Revista annuale dell'associazione Ethnorêma* 5, 2009 (Special issue: *Atlas of the Traditional Material Culture of the Saho*)[Lit.].

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammed – Didier Morin

Sāho literature

The majority of literary works in the ↗Sāho language belongs to the domain of ↗oral literature. As for the published pieces, most of those are texts (usually just a few short sentences) added to grammatical sketches, or included in dictionaries and in ethnographic surveys, starting with those of ↗Conti Rossini (1904, 1910, 1913). He worked with Northern Sāho-speaking soldiers of the Eritrean Third Battalion. Before him, ↗Reinisch (1889) published what is still the longest collection of texts in different Sāho dialects. After World War II, European religious zeal resulted in the translation of St. John's Gospel (Mahaffy 1964) and other religious texts by the American Evangelical Mission. With the Independence of Eritrea (1993) and the definition of a Sāho orthography, a new S.l. (in Northern Sāho) has developed, mainly pedagogical (Vergari 2005), along with official translations such as the Eritrean Constitution (*Eretreyat Dastor* 1997). Since 2008, *Xanlake* ('Cloud'), a non-printed journal dedicated to Sāho culture and literature has been issued in ↗ᶜAddi Q̱äyyəḥ.

New data on oral ↗folktale literature (both in Northern and Southern dialects) are found in Morin (1995, 1999). In the latter, examples of ᶜ*adar* (Sāho orthography *cadar*) are found. The ᶜ*adar* (which in ↗ᶜAfar means any poem and is a synonym for *gad*) is in S.l. a poetic genre in which a single singer quotes in the direct style the arguments of the protagonists of a former dispute. The contest (joust) consists of their juxtaposition in a rhymed and sung form in opposition to any spoken narration. The poet selects his quotations according to a political balance which always makes it controversial. It prevents the joust from being taken over by a larger group than the singer's one and his allies. The ᶜ*adar* only exists as a mode of composition which may be analyzed along the same lines that Conti Rossini (1906a: 340f.) used for describing popular recitation in Təgray: "Rhythmic recitation […] ignores syllabic scansion or our classical metric foot […] It is less music than recitative […]". This poetic rule, based on adjusting fragments of former recitatives, which become part and parcel of a new ᶜ*adar*, has a regional dimension, and is also characteristic of ᶜAfar but also Təgre and Təgrəñña (cp. the short narrative of the battle of ᶜAddi Qäläto in Conti Rossini 1906b). In the example provided below (Morin 1999: 87), with the final rhyme [e], the singer recalls the divergence among the Sāho during the revolt of February 1891:

[…] *Afad nok an Casa Leesan e*	[…] We know that the ᶜAsa Lēsan [killed them]
Cinxa Cumarto bedel male	The ᶜInḍa ᶜUmarto commit no injustice,
Ye ras Sibxat	said *ras* ↗Səbḥat [Arägawi]
Kue Cagaameyta kue duuda yee	You scions of ᶜAgamä! You fool!
Sanaadir taslibe dooda yee	Whose camps have taken up arms
Iyyir maakin dagum kuuda yee	Who only have few cartridges
Sartim gamdee kee xuduuda yee	Dressed in rags and hides,
Casa Leesan terhxe	[teḍḥe] said the ᶜAsa Læsan
Kela Tilyanii sinah marta	The Italians will not help you always
Nabam rabtado cindham carta	Even if the old die the young will rise,
Ye ras Sibxat […]	said *ras* Səbḥat […]

The convention which organizes the contest is based on this arrangement without any pause in the rhymed fragments. As in ᶜAfar, the change in final rhyme is the indication of the transition from one piece to another or is conclusive as in this auto-glorification by ↗Faḍé-k Ôbe (Morin 1999: 94, revised from Reinisch 1889: 291):

Farhekoobe cangi gide	Faḍé-k Ôbe is like big game
Ma yaxruse	He doesn't cultivate
Ma yangide	He is not a caravaneer
Garin sinraa yakidkide	He eats people's bread
Marcad qaadih yammiggide	He looks like a *qādi* at a wedding
Reedod nugusuh yammiggide	He looks like a king at his wedding
Dakxako inki luqmayto kaa gide	From the collective meal he only takes his share
Taae ishel [išel] cadare yen	So he sang about himself
Dhasamom margada	The Ḍasamo rhythm maker
Farhekoobe Maxammad	Faḍé-k Ôbe, son of Muḥammad

Faḍé-k Ôbe's poetry, however, was perceived as controversial (cp. EAE vol. 2, 483), mostly owing to the lack of consensus esp. as far as the dialect in which literature must be promoted is concerned. The northern dialect which has been standardized since the independence of Eritrea is counterbalanced by older poetry through which the Mina dialect was promoted, starting with Faḍé-k Ôbe of the Đasamo tribe (↗Minifire). This historical importance of the central dialect in Sāho studies is also illustrated by the translation from ᶜAfar to Sāho by ᶜAbdallah "Đasamóyta" b. ᶜAli (Reinisch 1886: 6–109); by the Sāho traditional narratives collected from the same ᶜAbdallah "Đasamóyta" (Reinisch 1889). The southern ↗Irob dialect (starting with Reinisch 1878, Conti Rossini 1910, Plazikowski-Brauner – Wagner 1953) must not be forgotten since it was the native language of the legendary chief of ᶜAgamä ↗Säbagadis Wäldu (d. 1831).

Src.: *Eretreyat Dastor* ('Eritrean Constitution'), tr. by ABRAAHIM MAXAMMAD CALI, [Asmara] 1997; ABRAAHIM MAXAMMAD CALI (ed.), *Riish* ('Firstborn';

a collection of proverbs), Asmara 2005; Id. (ed.), *Silo* ('Sprout', a collection of traditional narratives [*zantat*], poems [*cadar*] and riddles [*sumasumateenit*], also by important poets such as Farhekoobe and Xajji Saalix Xindago), Asmara 2009; Axmad Cumar Axmad (ed.), *Gadda. Eretriyat arde Wazaarat tacliim* ('Richness. Collection of Traditional Eritrean Stories'), [Asmara] 2003; Cabdalla Axmad (ed.), *Ifo. Eretriyat arde Wazaarat tacliim* ('Light. Collection of Traditional Eritrean Stories'], [Asmara] 2003; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Schizzo del dialetto saho dell'Alta Assaorta in Eritrea", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 22, 5, 1913, 151–246, here 180–83; Francis Mahaffy, *Injil Yohannes* ('Gospel of John'), South Holland, IL 1964; *Abrahim*, American Evangelical Mission of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, Senafe, Ghinda, Arafali n.d.; *Yosef*, ibid.; *Saho primer*, 2 vols., ibid.; Herma Plazikowsky – Ewald Wagner, "Studien zur Sprache der Irob", *ZDMG* 103, 1953, 378–93; Leo Reinisch, "Die Sprache der Irob-Saho in Abessinien", *Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-Hist. Classe der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien* 90, 1878, 89–142, here 121–42; Id., "Die Sahosprache", *ZDMG* 32, 1878, 415–64, here 456–64; Id., *Die ᶜAfar-Sprache*, vol. 1, Wien 1886, 6–109; Id., *Die Saho-Sprache*, vol. 1: *Texte der Saho-Sprache*, Wien 1889, vol. 2: *Wörterbuch der Saho-Sprache*, Wien 1890; Moreno Vergari, *Dilkshineeri amneefecituk Saaho labcad* ('Practice Saho while Using the Dictionary'), Asmara 2005; Wazaarat Tacliim Caadat Maktaba, *Saahot Luqhah - Rummaahit Zoobatto* ('Faithful Companion, in Saho Language'), [Asmara] n.d. [ca. 2002/03].

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Canti popolari tigrai", *ZA* 17, 1903 23–52, 18, 1904, 320–86 and 19, 1906a, 288–341; Id., "Poemetto lirico tigrai per la battaglia di Addì Cheletò", in: Carl Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Gieszen 1906b, vol. 2, 925–39; Id., *Al Ràgali*, Milano 1904 (extract from *Bollettino della Società italiana di esplorazione geografica e commerciale* 18, 1903–04); Id., "Gli Irob e le loro tradizioni", *RSO* 3, 1910, 849–900; Didier Morin, "Dialectologie de l'afar-saho", in: Gideon Goldenberg – Shlomo Raz (eds.), *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*, Wiesbaden 1994, 252–66; Id., *"Des paroles douces comme la soie". Introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique* (*bedja, afar, saho, somali*), Louvain – Paris 1995, 264–77; Id., *Le texte légitime, pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999, here esp. 84–98; Id., "Le chameau afar entre éthique et diététique", in: Alain Rouaud (ed.), *L'Homme et l'Animal dans l'Est de l'Afrique*, Bièvres 2006, 93–109, esp. 106–09; Andrzej Zaborski, "'Afar–Saho Linguistics – an Overview", in: Hans G. Mukarovsky (ed.), *Leo Reinisch – Werk und Erbe*, Vienna 1987, 85–95.

Didier Morin

Sai ↗Gumuz

Saᶜīd

S. *bāšā* (b. 1822, d. 18 January 1863) was the fourth son of the Egyptian Viceroy ↗Muḥammad ᶜAli. S. succeeded his older nephew Abbas I (r. 1848–54) as the Ottoman Viceroy of ↗Egypt (r. 1854–63). During his tenure, he had occasion to become involved in Ethiopian affairs. Some border tribes and districts, for example, had trade links to Egypt and Ethiopia. ↗Mätämma, one of the more influential trading centers, paid tribute to both countries. The inhabitants of ↗Sämhar around Ottoman ↗Massawa depended on the Ethiopian highlands for grazing.

S. lowered administrative costs by reducing or withdrawing troops from outlying posts such as ↗Kufit, after which some Ethiopian governors in the border area took advantage of this situation by moving their positions forward. The British Consul, Walter ↗Plowden, sought to avoid hostilities between the two countries by an abortive offer of Massawa and by warning Ethiopia that peace with Egypt was a condition for Britain's friendship. However, Tewodros objected Plowden's efforts to dictate a policy toward Egypt.

In December 1856, the Coptic Patriarch, Qērilos IV (Kyrillos), arrived in Ethiopia with a letter from S. The Patriarch's visit focused on resolving some ecclesiastical problems and improving Ethiopian-Egyptian relations. Qērilos, however, alienated Tewodros by drafting a reply in Tewodros's name to S. requesting "many things and many workers". It is reported that the latter had asked the Viceroy to send Coptic soldiers (cp. Middle East Christian Association n.d., 22, but cp. also Meinardus 2002: 69ff.) and three Turkish officers to discipline Ethiopian troops as well as shipments of "cannons and muskets" as well as enlisting the help of doctors, engineers, sappers, and other skilled personnel. In return, Ethiopia would provide 40 mules for S.'s artillery force. However, Martin ↗Flad maintained that the request afforded S. an opportunity to release some Copts who had been forced to join the Egyptian Army. Additionally, Egypt sent 30 workmen to Ethiopia to replace British and German workers in the country.

In 1857, S. visited the Sudan which alarmed Tewodros who feared an Egyptian attack. However, by November 1857, it had become clear that S. had no intention of attacking Ethiopia. Given the lessening tensions between the two countries, Tewodros sent *aläqa* Gäbrä Iyäsus, a trusted priest, who visited Egypt to deliver a letter to S. whose purpose was to solidify relations between the two countries. In February 1859, the Ethiopian delegation arrived home with many gifts from S., including four cannons, 100 double-barrelled guns, and five tents. However, by late 1861, relations between Egypt and Ethiopia had deteriorated again as Tewodros had failed to answer a letter from S. He was succeeded by his nephew *ḫidīw* ↗Ismaᶜīl (↗Ottoman empire).

Src.: RubActa II, index.
Lit.: OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS, *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity*, Cairo – New York ca. 1999, 69ff.; MIDDLE EAST CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, *The Persecuted*, n.d., n.p. (ms., internet source), 22; MOUNIR SHOUCRI, "Cyril IV", in: *CE* vol. 3, 677–79; RubInd 208–14.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Saint Simonians

The S.S. were a group of young early 19th cent. French idealists. Disciples of the Utopian Socialist, Count Claude Henri de Rouvroy de Saint Simon (1760–1825), they were deeply influenced by his book *Le Nouveau Christianisme*. In it he demanded the transformation of society "to ameliorate as promptly and as completely as possible the moral and physical existence of the most numerous class".

Taking advantage of the freedom resulting from the French Revolution of 1830 the S.S. founded a daily newspaper *Le Globe*; formed a sect, with their own distinctive dress (which symbolically required two persons to put on); and rallied behind Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin (1796–1864), whom they addressed as Père, or Father. Combining his own idiosyncratic ideas of Socialism and Feminism (which embodied a strong belief in the equality of the sexes), he claimed that God had given him "a mission to call the poor and women to a new destiny".

The S.S. were attracted to the Orient with the idea to discover the "female Messiah". During their travels, which included the Ottoman Empire and Egypt, several S.S. became interested in Ethiopia. Two of them, Edmond ↗Combes and Maurice ↗Tamisier, the first 19th-cent. French travellers to the country, went there, virtually penniless, as missionaries. Apparently embarrassed by the sect's eccentricity, they underplayed their ideology in the published account of their travels. Nevertheless, this account briefly reports on their preaching to the ↗Oromo, whom they regarded as "the most beautiful and most interesting people of Africa". They also believed that Šäwa, under *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase, was destined to unify Ethiopia (Combes – Tamisier 1838: 163, 242f.). A third ardent S.S. active in Ethiopia was Théophile ↗Lefebvre.

Src.: EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Gallas, de Choa et d'Ifat*, vol. 3, Paris 1838, 163, 242f.; EDMOND COMBES, *Voyage en Egypte*, Paris 1846; THÉOPHILE LEFEBVRE, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris 1845–49; MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Arabie*, 2 vols., Paris 1840–45.

Lit.: MARCEL EMERIT, "Les explorateurs saint-simoniens en Afrique Orientale et sur la route des Indes", *Revue Africaine* 394–95, 1941, 93–116; ID., "Diplomates et explorateurs saint-simoniens", *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 22, 1971, 397–415; GEORGES MALÉCOT, *Les voyageurs français et les relation entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1972, 10–13; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Saint Simonians and Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 3, 169–223; ID., "A Saint Simonian Letter from Maurice Tamisier (1834)", *QSE* 8–9, 1987–88, 172–80; JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Le mariage éthiopien d'Arnauld d'Abbadie" in: *SegBodLes* 442–48, here 447.

Richard Pankhurst

Saints, Christian

S. (Eth. **ቅዱሳን**, *qəddusan*; sg. *qəddus*) in Ethiopian Orthodox ↗Christianity are holy persons who are recognized as such by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) and enjoy posthumous liturgical veneration. Their individual sanctity emanates from the immanent holy quality possessed by God alone. As in other Christian traditions, the image of S. as human beings who have achieved the fullest realization of Christ's commandments and therewith a high degree of grace is pivotal for Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity. Besides, the veneration of S. in Ethiopia generated a number of cultural phenomena important for the study and understanding of the local civilization.

The EOTC today distinguishes the following formal categories of S.: ↗Angels, Old Testament ↗Prophets, Apostles, saint martyrs (cp. ↗Martyrdom), and the wide group of the "righteous ones" (*ṣadəqan* [not to be confused with the 5th–6th cent. anonymous group, s. ↗*Ṣadəqan*], the latter group including indigenous Ethiopian S.; EOTC 1996: 53–59). The Church refers to the S. as those distinguished by the spiritual power of miracle working, granted to them by God, and by the power of intercession (Amh. **አማላጅነት**, *ammalağənnät*). Anyone who calls upon the name of a S. in ↗prayers, celebrates his/her commemoration (↗*täzkar*, ↗*zəkr*), and believes in his/her intercession, can hope for salvation thanks to the ↗*kidan* given to this S. Honouring (Amh. **ማክበር**, *makbär*) is considered appropriate for S.'s ↗relics, which are recognized as transmitting divine power. ↗Pilgrimage to a S.'s veneration centre is considered a highly pious deed.

The "calendars of S.' days" of the EOTC are the ↗*Sənkəssar* and *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gəṣṣawe* (cp. ↗Calendar). Traditionally, the veneration of a S. is considered fully established if:

1) there is at least one ↗*tabot* consecrated in his/her name, in a church or in a monastery, which entails the regular liturgical celebration (cp. ↗*Qəddase*) of the S.'s ↗feast(s) at this church;
2) a Vita (↗*Gädl*) exists, keeping the memory of S.'s deeds (sometimes extended by a collection of miracles, ↗*Täᵓammər*), as well as ↗*mälkəᵓ* (cp. ↗Hagiography; Fritsch 2001: 65ff.).

Veneration of saints in history

In Ethiopia, the veneration of S. dates back to the time when Christianity was adopted as the official religion of the state of ↗Aksum. One can assume that at least some early Christian S. and martyrs (esp. those whose Vitae are translated from Greek) were known and venerated in Ethiopia in Aksumite time. The forms the veneration of S. had then can only be surmised from the shape taken by this phenomenon in the later period (13th–16th cent. and Gondärine times).

Not unlike other Christian areas on the margins of the Mediterranean world, the first S. venerated in Ethiopia were non-Ethiopians, those who today are known as universal S. On the whole, many Oriental S. (whose deeds are described in such works as, e.g., ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*) became known in Ethiopia. Whilst their names are found in Church books and many of them enjoy wide fame in Ethiopia, most of them are honoured rather than properly venerated, since usually no *tabots* are consecrated in their honour (cp. *abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan). The veneration of only a few of them, such as ↗George of Lydda (patron S. of Ethiopia), Stephen Protomartyr, Cyriacus and Julitta (↗Qirqos) that might hark back to the early (Aksumite) period, appears as properly established. Today one can find at least one or two *tabots* consecrated in the name of such S. as, e.g., Basilides, Arsima, St. ↗Anthony, and New Testament S., such as ↗Mary Magdalene, John the Evangelist (Yoḥannəs Wäldä Nägʷädgʷad, 'John Son of Thunder'), and ↗John the Baptist. From the categories of Angels, Prophets, Patriarchs and Apostles, significance is accorded to the veneration of Archangels Michael and Raguel (and to a lesser extent Rufael and Uriel).

Another group of S. is composed of those pious monks of foreign origin who acted in Ethiopia during the Aksumite time (↗Nine Saints; groups of *Ṣadəqan;* cp. ↗Azqir; ↗Nağrān). They brought to Ethiopia examples of the spiritual struggle and pious behaviour; though believed to be ancient, their veneration (in most of the cases geographically limited and linked with single religious centres) can be traced back to the 13th cent. at the earliest.

A large plethora of indigenous S., i.e. those who were born and who lived in Ethiopia ("foreign origin" being retained in the hagiography as *topos*), appeared on the scene and started dominating it later, with the surge of Ethiopian spirituality, ↗monasticism and ↗holy men in the 14th–15th cent. The development of veneration of Ethiopian S. (*ṣadəqan*, following the contemporary EOTC terminology) was a complex phenomenon encompassing developments in religious, political, social and cultural life.

The distibution of the local veneration traditions and the size of their respective geographical areas have been changing. Some S. were known and venerated in large historical districts (↗Täklä Haymanot, "the Apostle of ↗Šäwa" [and ↗Damot]; ↗Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi, "the Apostle of ↗Mänz", etc.). Some are linked specifically to one or more monasteries as founders (cp. ↗Samuᵓel of Däbrä Wägäg, ↗Tadewos of Däbrä Bartarwa, ↗Aron of Däbrä Daret, etc.). Most of the "local S." are linked to only one small locality. Some appear to have a special relation to an ethnic group (e.g., ↗Zena Marqos, the evangelizer of the ↗Gurage; or ↗Mäbaᵓa Ṣəyon, of the ↗Gafat).

No "independent" evidence documenting the beginning of any veneration tradition in Ethiopia seems to exist apart from the hagiographic traditions; in some cases reports concerning relics – *inventio*- and *translatio*-accounts – provide additional landmarks for its chronology.

In the context of Ethiopia, the veneration of S. strengthened Christianity as the dominant religion, but also stressed the country's cultural (and political) heterogeneity rather than worked for religious "uniformity" (there is no evidence that *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob promoted the veneration of local S., contrary to Heyer 1998:10). On the other side, at least from the 16th cent. onward, veneration of a few S. developed beyond regional boundaries, e.g., Täklä Haymanot, ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, ↗Samuᵓel of Waldəbba, ↗Ewosṭatewos, ↗Zämikaᵓel Arägawi, ↗Zärᵓa Buruk. Today, they are sometimes referred to as the "national S." of Ethiopia. Nowadays, the proliferation of hagiography and religious painting through prints and mass media plays an active role in promoting the veneration of different local S., whose fame easily extends beyond the former limits.

In the course of history, a number of veneration traditions was discontinued (in many cases, after the respective ecclesiastical centres ceased to exist), their only witnesses remaining chiefly hagiographic works.

The available data concerning Ethiopian S. are incomplete, collected with more attention to the literary aspect of veneration (hagiography) and mostly based on this latter (cp. KinBibl; EncSan; Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos 1950/51:72–82; EMML no. 1601; AmhChurchD), and with less concern about the proper "hagiographic dossiers" and "hagiographic coordinates" of S. (such studies being still in fact difficult in Ethiopia).

In the 20th cent., the EOTC attempted to regulate and unify the liturgical veneration of S. (this policy may be exemplified through the Church edition of the *Sənkəssar* and Acts of different S.), but in reality local veneration traditions have not been affected. Today, the EOTC celebrates annual commemorations of a few of the most venerated S. as solemnities, and, in addition, "commemorates" them on the respective days of each month, not all feasts being of equal popularity (cp. Fritsch 2001:70ff.):

The Ethiopian S. of the monthly cycle of the Sanctoral: on the 2nd of each month, ↗Guba (main commemoration on 29 *Gənbot*); 5th, Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus (*Ṭəqəmt* and *Mäggabit*); 13th, Zärʾa Buruk (*Ṭərr* and *Ḫədar*); 14th Zämikaʾel Arägawi (*Ṭəqəmt*); 17th, ↗Gärima (*Säne*), and ↗Ǝsṭifanos (*Ṭəqəmt*); 18th, Ewosṭatewos (*Mäskäräm*); 24th, Täklä Haymanot (*Näḥase*, also *Taḫśaś*, *Ṭərr*, as well as 12 *Gənbot*); 26th, *abunä* Sälama Käśate Bərhan (*Ḥamle*).

The non-Ethiopian S.: on the 2nd, Thaddeus (2 *Ḥamle*); 4th, John the Evangelist (*Ṭərr*); 5th, Peter and Paul (*Ḥamle*); 8th, ↗Kiros (*Ḥamle*); 9th, Thomas (*Ṭəqəmt*); 11th, Hanna the mother of Mary (*Ḫədar*), and ↗Gälawdewos [Claudius] (*Säne*); 12th, St. Michael (*Ḫədar* and *Säne*); 14th, ↗Gäbrä Krəstos [Alexis] (*Ṭəqəmt*); 15th, Qirqos [Cyriacus] (*Ṭərr*, s. also 19 *Ḥamle*); 18th, Gabriel (*Taḫśaś*); 23rd, George of Lydda (*Miyazya*); 25th, Mercurius (*Ḫədar*); 28th, the three Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (*Näḥase*); 30th, Mark (*Miyazya*).

Commemorations of other S. are not festive celebrations but simply consist in reading the respective notice in the *Sənkəssar* (containing more than one commemoration a day) and, should Mass be celebrated, in reading the N.T. readings of the day as selected in the *Mäṣḥafä gəṣṣawe*, in relation with the S. listed in the notice for the day. Locally, a celebration as annual feast takes place only for a S. in whose name the main *tabot* is consecrated. In a monastery, the feast of its founder is celebrated as annual feast even if there is no *tabot* consecrated in his name.

Sanctity

From the hagiographic works, ethical conditions of "sanctity" typical for the Ethiopian tradition can be deduced (only partly overlapping with the qualities of holy men), having been realized in the idealized characters of Ethiopian S. Over the centuries, they deeply influenced religiosity and personal piety, as well as the mentality of the faithful.

Most Ethiopian S. come from the monastic ambience, and are depicted as reaching their high status through a lifelong monastic career. Probably with the only exception of *abba* Sälama Käśate Bərhan, no metropolitans or other officials of the EOTC were venerated as S. ("saintly bishops"), though the names of many of them are included in the *Sənkəssar*. There are some indications that within a few well-established communities (↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, ↗Gundä Gunde, ↗Däbrä Bizän) each head was posthumously venerated as a S., within the premises of the monastery. However, they were mostly distinguished for their charisma, personal piety and spiritual merits, and thus their sainthood was not conditioned by their administrative positions.

Based on hagiography, one can assume that in Ethiopia – as elsewhere – the noble origin (and relationship to the political elite) were frequently, though not always (cp. ↗Aristocracy), linked with the sainthood. The notion of S. as pre-elected by God is very strong (that sainthood is reserved for those elected only). A S.'s great future is recognized at least from birth, and foretold by signs and prophecies. S. are directed by divine power throughout their entire lives. This power gives them the ability to work miracles including levitation and control over nature.

In the images of Ethiopian S., *vita activa* clearly dominates over *vita contemplativa*. The historical conditions of Ethiopia shaped the picture of a S. as a dynamic personality, actively engaged in evangelizing or establishing monastic life. Some S. are shown as close allies of the royal power but many appear independent or even boldly confront the supreme lay (or ecclesiastical) authorities. The topic of conflict with worldly powers is a recurrent theme in Ethiopian hagiography and alludes to the ideal image of martyrdom. Equally, S. are supposed to suffer during the continuing universal battle with the ↗devil and ↗demons (↗*Däsk*), in which S. always emerge victorious.

The images of such non-Ethiopian leaders of eremitic monasticism as St. Anthony, Kiros, Paul "the first hermit", Abib, and Latṣun exercized less influence on the local (Ethiopian) "type of sanctity". Historically, eremetic monasticism has always been prominent in Ethiopia; nevertheless, though revered as holy men *par excellence*, ↗hermits (cp. ↗*Səwwuran*) occupy a special position within the EOTC and only a few are venerated as S. (cp. Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus; ↗Ṗänṭälewon). Instead, an ascetic component is accommodated in images of most Ethiopian S., with a lengthy period of time spent in wandering in the "desert" and a notion that the "angelic nature" of S. excells in fighting temptations and in abstinence: ↗fasting, praying and overcoming of the carnal nature. Typically, ascetic exercises are shown as developing into extreme self-mortification, hardly thinkable in real life (also despite of the facts described in Bushell – Baidemarian Desta – Bushell in PICES 11, vol. 2).

The mystic component is also strong in cases of most S., since nearly all of them had visionary experiences and saw "heavenly mysteries"; but only in exceptional cases (cp. ↗Habtä Maryam, but also ↗Krəstos Sämra) "mysticism" dominates the image of a S. However, a S.' very close, nearly "intimate" relations with God (such as speaking to Christ in person, or even arguing with him) are strongly emphasized.

Saintly kings are present, but are not central in the Ethiopian tradition. These are the brother-kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa, who introduced Christianity into Ethiopia; King ↗Kaleb, the conqueror of South ↗Arabia; as well as the kings of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty: ↗Lalibäla (cp. ↗Mäsqäl Kəbra), ↗Ḥarbay, ↗Yəmräḥannä Krəstos, ↗Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab (contrary to the present situation, the veneration of the Zagʷe kings appears to have been formerly limited to ↗Lasta). ↗Gälawdewos and ↗Iyasu I, the martyred kings, provide further examples of saintly monarchs. There are indications that some other Solomonic emperors were considered S. (e.g. ↗Yəkunno Amlak), but their veneration never reached a noticeable scale.

A few Ethiopian S. appear as repented sinners (Krəstos Sämra; ↗Bäggəʿu). With the exception of Krəstos Sämra, the type of Ethiopian holy woman seems to have emerged from the context of the struggle against ↗Catholicism and subsequent religious controversies (cp. ↗Fəqərtä Krəstos; ↗Wälättä Ṗeṭros).

Most of the Ethiopian S. suit the broadest frame of the Ethiopian "sanctity type". Noticeable deviations are relatively rare (cp., e.g., ↗Yared), though individual stories of S. show great diversity in realization of the hagiographic *topoi*.

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Saints and their believers

The underlying principle of the veneration of S., as in other traditions, appears to be the relation of patronage established between a S. – an intercessor having a special relation to God – and his/her devotees (cp. Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 7). Patronage is based on an explicit or implicit "contract", according to which believers are expected to duly perform services in the context of S.'s veneration. The main duty is regular participation in the S.'s annual feast which is a symbolic "renewal" of the relationship. It is supposed to take place first of all in the local ecclesiastical centres of veneration, especially where the S. is buried. These places are considered best for communication with a patron S., the local clergy bearing full responsibility for that.

In addition to liturgical veneration reserved for ecclesiastical centres, there are a few popular forms rooted in the laity, which aim to establish and strengthen patronage relations between members of a community and its patron S. (cp. ↗*maḫbär*; ↗*səlät*). Popular religiosity links legends of S. to different sacred places – places of veneration and sources of miraculous power (springs, rocks, ↗trees etc., cp. ↗*Ṣäbäl*).

The requirements of veneration are flexible and encompass a range of options (formulated in the *kidan*) which make it accessible to a person of any social status and means. He who commissions a copy of a S.'s Vita or donates land to a church or monastery, and he who can only afford to give a cup of water to the thirsty, both are equal in their position as "clients" of their S., and both can hope for the S.'s intercession and help.

The relationship between S. and their adherents is reciprocal. S. are expected to protect the faithful in their earthly life and guarantee the salvation of their souls. Vitae and Miracles aim to prove and illustrate the power of a S., who is really "present" for his community and whose help and intercession are decisive for achieving a secure supply of food, success in war, health or recovery from illness, the successful procreation of progeny etc.

The scale of veneration of a S. was linked to the prestige of his or her centre (monastery, church) enjoyed in the country. Historical landmarks for the status of specific S. appear to have been episodes recounted in the hagiographical literature showing how at crucial moments the supplications of the faithful were responded to and their expectations were met. One recalls such events as the campaign of Kaleb against Finḥas (↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾaṛ) in South Arabia, which was won thanks to the miraculous help of *abba* P̣änṭälewon (the episode is reinterpreted in the Vita of Zämikaʾel Arägawi), or the campaign of *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam against ↗Dobaʾa won thanks to Täklä Haymanot through the supplication of *abunä* ↗Märḥa Krəstos, Täklä Haymanot's "representative" on earth (cp. also PerrZarY 58). The Ethiopian emperors' custom of taking *tabots* on campaign might have had a similar function. Among recent events, the Battle of ↗ʿAdwa must be mentioned, which coincided with the feast of St. George, whose role in the outcome of the battle was never doubted (cp. ↗Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis).

On the other hand, Vitae and Miracles teach the faithful that disrespect to a patron S., or lack of loyalty to him and interruption of the "contract" may cause the S.'s rage and lead to harsh punishment (death and perdition of the soul). If a misdeed was forgiven, bodily death but salvation of the soul was still considered a favourable outcome. "Inactivity" of a S. in decisive situations would in the first place hint to moral deficiency of his servants, especially ecclesiastics, and their inability to fulfil their part of the "contract".

Canonization

It is commonly thought that canonization is a feature assumed by the EOTC in recent times, with the establishing of the Holy Synod (Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Joachim Motovu 1970: 86). Formerly, canonization did not exist as a process consisting of checking the identity of a S. and his/her hagiography, conducted in accordance with specific criteria. Quite the opposite, as in other Eastern Christian traditions, veneration started as a consequence of a spontaneous decision of the faithful wishing to honour a pious miracle-maker; popular veneration was *de facto* the main (and apparently strict) criterion for a person to be considered a S. It seems that consecration of the first *tabot* in honour of a S., which could be done only by the metropolitan (↗*P̣appas*), marked the formal acceptance of his/her sanctity and approval of the veneration. As the tradition has it today, there is no S. for whom no *tabot* is dedicated (Fritsch 2001: 67). Another kind of formal recognition of a S. might have been his/her acceptance into the *Sənkəssar*, yet it is also commonly stated that the book encompasses only stories of S. "who are known", whereas there are many holy persons who (still) remain unknown. In any case, in the 20th cent. the EOTC canonized only a few personalities: the late Ethiopian Patriarchs (↗Basəlyos, ↗Tewoflos, ↗Täklä Haymanot); *abunä* ↗P̣eṭros (killed by the Italians; a church in his name was built in ↗Fəčče, his birth place); the victims of "↗Graziani's massacre" who were proclaimed martyrs.

Src.: Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos, **መርሐ፡ ልቡና** (*Märḥä ləbbuna*, 'The Guide of the Intellect'), Addis Abäba 1943 A.M. [1951 A.D.], 72–82; EMML V, 81–87, no. 1601; Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (ed.), **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነት፡ ሥርዓት፡ አምልኮትና፡ የውጭ፡ ግንኙነት**, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.], 53–59 (Amh.) = 56–62 (Engl.); *qäsis* Käffyaläw Märaḥi, **ክብረ፡ ቅዱሳን** (*Kəbrä qəddusan*, 'Honour of the Saints'), Addis Abäba 1995 A. D. [2002/03 A.D.].

Lit.: AmhChurchD; Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Joachim Motovu, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Abäba 1970, 82–91; William Bushell – Baidemariam Desta – Kim Bushell, "From Hagiography to Ethnography via Psychophysiology: Towards an Understanding of Advanced Ethiopian Christian Ascetics", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 41–60; Christine Chaillot, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition,* Paris 2002, 132–39; EncSan; Emmanuel Fritsch, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures. Special Issue 9–10), 56ff., 63–72, 360f.; Friedrich Heyer, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 98–101; Steven Kaplan, "The Ethiopian Cult of the Saints", *Paideuma* 32, 1986, 1–13; KapMon; KinBibl; Paolo Marrassini, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes L'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di Semitistica 10), xxxv–cix; Id., "A Note on Zāgʷē Kingship", in: Herrmann Jungraithmayr – Andreas Kronenberg – Karl Heinz Striedter (eds.), *Afrika Studien*: *Eike Haberland zum 65. Geburtstag*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1989 (= *Paideuma* 35–36), vol. 1, 185–88; Id., "The 'Egyptian Saints' of the Abyssinian Hagiography", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 112–29; Taddesse Tamrat, "Feudalism in Heaven and on Earth: Ideology and Political Structure in Medieval Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 7, 195–200.

Denis Nosnitsin

Saints, Muslim ↗Walī; ↗Holy men, Islamic

Šakačo

Šakačo language

The Š. language (self-name: *Šekki noono*, lit. 'Šekka language'; the name Moča is seen as derogatory; not to be confused with ↗Šeko, a ↗Dizoid language) is spoken by the Š. people (also known as Šekačo or Šekičo) in the forested highlands of south-west Ethiopia (the Šekka zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region). The two major towns in the Š.-speaking area are Maša and Geča (for location s. map for Šeko). According to the 1998 Census, there are ca. 54,900 mother tongue speakers of Š. (cf. Gordon 2005: 118).

As a South ↗Gonga language (Fleming in BendNonSLang), Š. is a member of the ↗Afro-Asiatic, North ↗Omotic language family. It is closely related to ↗Käfa with which it exhibits a lexical similarity of 69.5 % (ibid.). Although these two groups share a common history and culture, there is a definite feeling of separate identity among the Š. people.

Š. has 21 consonant phonemes (cf. Leslau 1959; Fleming in BendNonSLang): plosives *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, ʾ, ejectives *p̣*, *ṭ*, *č̣*, *q*, affricates *č*, *ǧ*, fricatives *s*, *š*, *h*, nasals *m*, *n*, a trill *r* and approximants *w*, *y*. The sounds *f* (allophone of *p*), *w*, *r*, *š*, *y*, ʾ, *h* are never geminated; *p*, *l*, *ǧ* only occur intervocalically and geminated; *s*, *č*, when intervocalic, are geminated. Š. has a five-vowel system with contrastive short and long vowels: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*. The area of tone and stress in Š. needs further research.

Most nouns end in -*o*, e.g. '*aš-o* 'man'. The normal plural marker is -*noši*, e.g. '*aš-o-noši* 'men'. A small number of nouns denoting female beings end in -*e*, e.g. '*mečč-e* 'wife'. Most proper names and a few nouns end in -*i*, e.g. '*miim-i* 'cow'. In a discourse a noun can be made definite by adding a demonstrative and/or the suffix -*yo*, e.g. '*are* '*aš-o-noši-yo* 'those people'. The adjective marker is -*a*, e.g., '*oog-a* '*kero* 'a big house'. The direct object is marked by the suffix -*n*. The genitive marker is mostly -*i*, e.g. '*aš-i* '*ker-o* 'the man's house'.

The independent personal pronouns are: 1st pers. sg. '*ta*, 2nd pers. sg. '*nɛ*, 2nd pers. sg. polite '*itti*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. '*aro*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. '*are*, 3rd pers. sg. polite '*booši*, 1st pers. pl. '*no*, 2nd pers. pl. *i*'*ttoši*, 3rd pers. pl. '*boonoši*.

Several verb classes are distinguished according to the changes that occur between the basic and the imperative stems. In the following examples, 1 has the imperative marker -*b*- (preceded by a connecting vowel), whereas in 2 and 3, the imperative is marked by the changed stem and the suffix set: 1. '*ter-i-ye* 'he went', '*ter-i-b-e* 'go!' (no change in stem). 2. '*deebb-i-ye* 'he brought', '*deeb-e* 'bring!' (final geminated consonant becomes single). 3. '*uss-i-ye* 'he drank', '*uw-e* 'drink!' (final consonant changes into a "softer sound"). The negation maker is -*aa*: *te*'*r-aa-no-ne* 'he did not go'. The continuative aspect is marked by -*bee*: *ter-i-*'*bee-to-ne* 'he is going'.

The suffix set for the perfective aspect is: 1st pers. sg. -*owe,* 2nd pers. sg. -*ine*, 2nd pers. sg. polite -*ite*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. -*e*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. -*ane*, 3rd pers. sg. polite -*oone*, 1st pers. pl. -*one*, 2nd pers. pl. -*ote*, 3rd pers. pl. -*eete*. For the imperfective aspect it is: 1st pers. sg. -*taane*, 2nd pers. sg. -*neene*, 2nd pers. sg. polite -*ittine*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. -*ne*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. -*ine*, 3rd pers. sg. polite -*none*, 1st pers. pl. -*noone*, 2nd pers. pl. -*ittošine*, 3rd pers. pl. -*nošine*. For the imperfective negative the language sometimes employs special short forms. Of particular interest here is that the expected imperfective suffix set is replaced by the perfective suffix set for these short forms: *di*'*h-aa-čč-eyo-nošine* 'they will not fall' (standard), *di*'*h-aa-čč-eete* 'they will not fall' (short form).

The basic word order of the language is Subject–Object–Verb: '*uro*$_1$ '*baaro-n*$_2$ '*šookki-y-e*$_3$ 'The man$_1$ sowed$_3$ maize$_2$'.

The basic ten word list for Š. is: 'one' '*ikko*, 'two' '*gutto*, 'three' '*keeǧǧo*, 'fire' '*qaaqqo*, 'water' '*aač̣o*, 'sun' '*aabe*, 'moon' *a*'*gano*, 'blood' '*damo*, 'tongue' '*hɛč̣awo* and 'tooth' '*gašo*ʾ.

A Latin alphabet of the Š. language was established in 2007 and work on literacy and literature has started.

Src.: author's field research in the Šekka zone (2000–2002); Raymond G. Gordon (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 118.

Lit.: M. Lionel Bender, *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19); Id., *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Carbondale, IL 2003; Harold Fleming, "Kefa (Gonga) Languages", in: *BendNonSLang* 351–76; Wolf Leslau, *A Dictionary of Moča* (*Southwestern Ethiopia*), Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1959 (University of California Publications in Linguistics 18).

Jacob Haasnoot

Šakačo ethnography

The Š. (also Šekka) people, who speak an Omotic language, live in south-western Ethiopia, in the former Moča district, were until 2007 part of the new "Käfiččo-Šäkičo" Zone in the Southern Ethiopian regional state, but are now in the "Käfa zone". While not mentioned as such in the 1994 Ethiopian census, the Š. were listed there under the name "Mocha" (CSA 1998: 66). In 2007 the Š. numbered 77,678 people and the entire Käfa zone had 880,251 inhabitants (CSA 2008:78), most of them Käfiččo people (↗Käfa). The main towns are Geša and Maša. The Š. are often confused with the ↗Šeko. Together with the Käfiččo, the Š. form part of the ancient ↗Gonga people and share many socio-cultural characteristics with them, including a royal tradition (although the Š. cannot be said to have had "divine" ↗kingship), cosmology, spirit medium cults, and social organization in status groups and patrilineal clans. As in Käfa, the Š. royal elite was from the Bušašo clan from ↗Anfillo, established in the late 16th cent. Nevertheless, armed conflicts occurred between the two peoples.

Orthodox Christianity has also been present in Š. since the 16th cent. Oral traditions emphasize the arrival of northern immigrants at this stage (e.g., from ↗Wällo, both Christians and Muslims). After shaking off their tributary status to the ↗Ǝnnarya kingdom in the early 17th cent., the Š. fought a major but unsuccessful war with the Oromo around 1650 and lost their statehood; this was followed by a migration of many Š. to Käfa. They regained their statehood after ca. 1750, but this was ended in 1898 with the conquest by *aṣe* Mənilək II's forces under *däğğazmač* ↗Täsämma Nadäw, who, after stiff local resistance, deposed the last Š. king, Tečči Goečči. Severe socio-economic decline set in after the conquest, and Š. remained an impoverished country. The Š. were known for their resisting external conquest and oppression, and did not hesitate to take up arms when threatened, e.g., in the time of villagization during the *Därg* period.

Historically a strongly hierarchical and stratified society (Lange in PICES 5), the Š. are now a sedentary agricultural people with few significant wealth and power differences between them. They live in small dispersed settlements in a forested area of the Ethiopian south-west and cultivate ↗*ənsät* and other root crops, cereals, coffee and lentils; they keep small livestock, they hunt and practise apiculture, selling the honey. Work in the fields is often done in collective work parties called *dafo*. The forest ("Šeko Forest"), extends into the Benç̌ and Šeko areas; the Š. have lived in and looked after this forest over a long period of time and it is one of the few remaining primal forests of any significance, in recent years under threat from illegal logging and new plantations.

A Šakačo woman punding *ənsät*-pulp in a pit; photo 2005, courtesy of Art Pabst

Most of the Š. people are Christian, but they also adhere to traditional practices and cults (↗Religion, traditional). The role of spirit mediums or *eqos* (↗*Eqo*), giving treatment in cases of illness or misfortune, is still significant. These specialists had their own plots of farmland (*maddo*), cultivated by followers. The main local spirit cults are the Bullafo and Addamočči. The ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus has, however, been gaining adherents since ca. 1986.

The Š. are traditionally divided into six status groups (*gumbo*), each with a different social and historical background. They are the *donğo* (the highest group), *čabäro* ('serfs'), *manno* (potters and tanners), ↗*manğo* (*manğa*, hunters), *qeğo* (blacksmiths) and the *guğği*. The last two were predominantly of Käfa origin. They were marked by certain socio-economic specializations and were largely endogamous units. Clans exist within these six groupings. Authority is traditionally carried by the 'clan leaders' (*gepi* ↗*tato)* and the 'elders of the land' (*šawo geno).* Each of the six status groups has a dual structure of *ṭasso*s, which are apparently marriage classes. Polygamous marriage is known but limited (ca. 16 % of households); when men marry they provide bride-wealth to the family of the bride, previously one head of cattle, nowadays an equivalent sum of money.

As among many neighbouring societies, the craftsman group are the *manğo*, who used to be of lower status, followed different dietary rules and rarely intermarrying with the rest of the Š. The large majority of Š. are still peasant cultivators, with a growing proportion receiving education in the school system and entering administrative jobs or trading. Serious tensions about borders between ethnic zones and *wärädas* have regularly caused violent conflict in the post-1991 period, e.g., in March 2002, when the town of

Tepi was attacked and several hundred people were killed in the ensuing clashes. Unresolved problems between Š. and *manğo* sub-groups have also caused abuse and violence.

A new university was founded in the town of Tepi some years ago, but the general economic situation of the area remains dire.

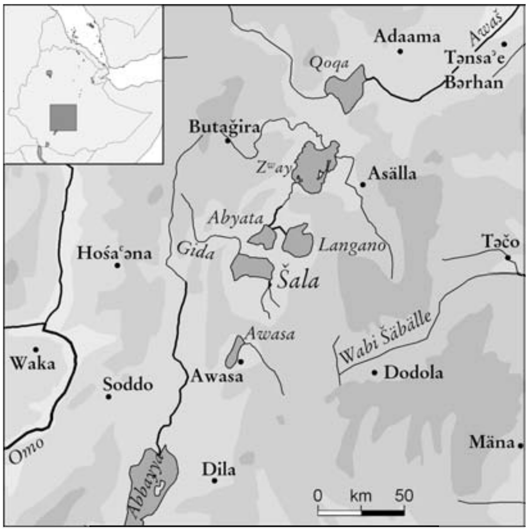
Src.: CSA 1998, 66; CSA 2008, 78, 85; KIRSTIN HENNINGER – ASHLEY TINDALL, *Report on Sheka Forest*, *www.sacredland.org/world_sites_pages/Sheka_Forest.html* (10–09–2008).

Lit.: WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga* (*Southwestern Ethiopia*), Wiesbaden 1982, 93–179; ID., "Relations of Production in Feudal Kafa and Sheka", in: *PICES* 5, 195–206; ID., "Geburts- und Totenfeiern bei den Cheka in Äthiopien", *Kleine Beiträge aus dem Staatlichen Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden* 6, 1984, 29–35; MENGISTU SEYOUM, *Social Organisation of Production among the Shekatcho of South-Western Ethiopia,* Addis Ababa 1995; ID., "Shekacho", in: DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Peripheral People*: *the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003, 97–104.

Jon G. Abbink

Šala

The crater lake of Š. (**ሻላ**, also Lamina; area: 250–409 km²; basin area, 3,920 km²; 1,567 m A. S.L.; max. depth 250 m), is the deepest lake of the Ethiopian ↗Rift Valley. It belongs to the lakes of the Arsi group (s. also ↗Langano). The major inflowing river is the Gida or Diğğo River which drains the highlands of Aliččo-Wuriro, parts of ↗Səlṭi and ↗Wəlbaräg. The lake is separated to the North from Lake ↗Abyata (or Abğata) by a narrow strip of land which is part of the caldera rim that surrounds the lake. There is a periodical overflow from Abyata, while Š. itself has no outflow. In its vicinity are several geothermal wells and its waters are fed by sulphur springs on the lake bed. While the alkaline water is not potable for humans, the ↗Arsi Oromo cattle breeders living in the area use the lake to water their herds. The nine small volcanic rock islands in the lake are uninhabited. There is no fishing activity. Lake Š. is part of the Šala-Abyata ↗National Park and famous for its rich bird life (pelicans, flamingos, cormorants).



Src.: GUSTAVO BRUNELLI et al., *Esplorazione dei laghi della fossa Galla*, vol. 1, Roma 1941 (Collezione scientifica e documentazione italiana 3); *Guida* 556; ARNOLD HODSON, "Southern Abyssinia", *The Geographical Journal* 53, 2, February 1919, 65–75.

Lit.: WOLFGANG KULS, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeographie der südäthiopischen Seenregion*, Frankfurt am Main 1958 (Frankfurter Geographische Hefte 32), 14; VSAe II,407f.

Dirk Bustorf

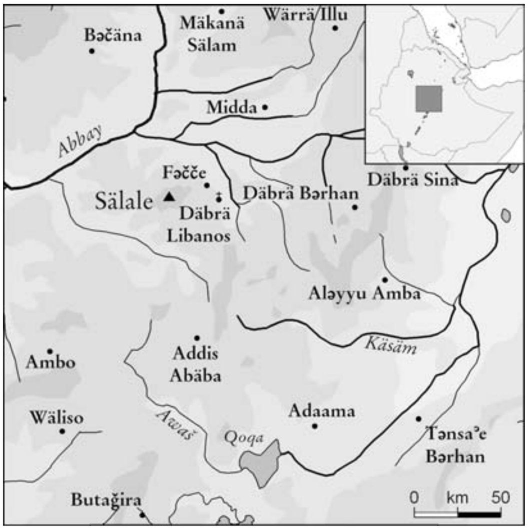
Sälale

S. (**ሰላሌ**, Orom: Salaale) is a mountain in ↗Šäwa (3,111 m A.S.L., 09° 42' N, 38° 38' E), to the west of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos. The name was also used for the vast surrounding region, stretching between the ↗Abbay and its two tributaries ↗Ğämma and ↗Mugär.

In the 14th–16th cent., the area of S. was a part of the so-called old province of Šäwa. During the migrations of the ↗Oromo, the region was inhabited by an Oromo clan with the same name, which, together with Oborra, Gombečču, Yakaa, Gulaale, Badi and Mulla belonged to the Torban Obbo ('Seven Obbo') confederation of the ↗Tuulama Oromo. By the beginning of the 19th cent. the S. Oromo were agriculturists, growing crops in the fertile *wäynä däga* zone stretching from the S. mountain slope to the Ğämma valley. They were also well known for their ↗weaving products.

Šäwan influence reached S. during the rule of *märᶜəd azmač* ↗Asfa Wäsän and increased under ↗Wäsän Sägäd. S. was ultimately annexed by ↗Śahlä Śəllase in 1839. The victory was achieved with the help of the neighbouring ↗Abbičuu Oromo who had sided with the *nəguś*.

During the reign of ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot, S. was governed by ↗Säyfu Śahlä Śəllase. A campaign in S. was undertaken by *nəguś* Mənilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) as part of an initiation rite. Since then, S. was under constant control, and further military marches southwards passed through the area. On 20 March 1878, an agreement on spheres of influence was reached between Mənilək and



aṣe ↗Yoḥannəs IV at S., the former receiving the title of ↗*nəguś*.

When Mənilək became emperor, he gave S. to *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase as ↗*rəst*. It was later inherited by Darge's son Täsämma.

Upon ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel's death in 1906, the 13-year-old Täfäri (the future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) was appointed governor of S.

In the 20th-cent. imperial administrative division, the region formed an extensive and important *awraǧǧa* with the administrative centre in ↗Fəčče, its historical capital.

Src.: AWTarik 105; BTafA s. index; PAUL SOLLEILLET, *Voyages en Éthiopie*, Rouen 1886, 274–305; JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Ethiopie, 1901–1903*, vol. 1, Paris 1908, 73–76; GueCopMen 43 n. 4, 145 n. 6, 165 n. 4, 332 n. 2, 485 n. 9, 522, 612 n. 2; IsKrapf 160; MahZekr 23, 78, 83, 108.
Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Some Aspects of Land-Tenure and Taxation in Sälalé under Ras Dargé, 1871–1900", *JES* 12, 2, 1974, 1–9 (Lit.); EgeClass s. index; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 97, 149, 229, 238f., 300, 382; HuntGeogr 69, 79; PankHist II, 164; VOLKER STITZ, "Distribution and Foundation of Churches in Ethiopia", *JES* 13, 1, 11–36; StStud; VSAe II, 525; TSEGAYE ZELEKE, *The Oromo of Salaalee: a History (c. 1840-1936)*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2002.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Sälam

S. (**ሰላም**, lit. 'peace', but here meaning 'salutation, greeting', cp. the derived verb *täsalämä*, 'to greet') is a type of short ↗hymn in ↗Gəᶜəz, which is akin or almost identical to ↗*arke*. The difference is only that S., beginning with the words **ሰላም፡ ለ/ሰላም፡ እብል፡ ለ** *sälam lä/sälam əbəl lä*+[name of the saint], 'Hail to …/I say hail to …', is always found in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, while the term *arke* refers to a hymn outside of the *Sənkəssar* (even if it is the same S. rearranged in another collection, or another hymn on its basis). In the *Sənkəssar*, a S. follows the commemorative notice devoted to the saint. It summarizes the account and exposes, in poetic mode, the essence of the saint's spiritual deeds, stressing the most peculiar episodes of the saint's life. The object of a S. may be also an event (feast) remembered in the *Sənkəssar*.

The S. is always composed of five verses rhymed in the same way, in one stanza. Despite identical beginning, S. should not be confused with ↗*mälkəᵓ*-hymns which have completely different structure and function (though some define S. as "generic term", ChRep 183ff.).

The origin of the S. must be Ethiopian; the time of creation of the first S. is unknown, but hymns very similar to S. appear already in one of the ↗*Ǝgziᵓabəḥer nägśä* collections which is ascribed to *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, e.g., in the 15th-cent. ms. EMML no. 3128 (Getatchew Haile 1983: 42a, 43, 45, 47, cp. also 32, 35). The S.-hymns appear in the second version of the *Sənkəssar* from the second half of the 16th-cent. (though not in every manuscript), attached to most of the notices, even if these recall only the name of the saint and contain no account about him or her. In the recent Church edition of the *Sənkəssar* a S. is attached to almost every notice, but has got the subtitle *arke*.

↗Gəᶜəz literature; ↗Hagiography

Src.: ColSyn VI–XIX; DillmLex 322; GuiSyn I–III; GréSyn IV–V; **መጽሐፈ፡ ስንክሳር፡ በግዕዝና፡ በአማርኛ** (*Mäṣḥafä sənkəssar bägəᶜəzənna bäᵓamarəñña*, 'The Book of the *Sənkəssar* in Gəᶜəz and Amharic'), vol. 1, Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2001/02 A.D.] [*Mäskäräm – Yäkkatit*]; vol 2, Addis Abäba 1993 A.M. [2000/01 A.D.] [*Mäggabit – Pagʷəmen*].
Lit.: ChRep; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Different Collections of Nägś Hymns in Ethiopic Literature and Their Contributions*, Erlangen 1983 (Oikonomia. Quellen und Studien zur orthodoxen Theologie 19), 32, 35, 42a, 43, 45, 47; GuiSLett 81.

Denis Nosnitsin

Sälama (Käśate Bərhan)

S. (**ሰላማ፡ ከሣቴ፡ ብርሃን**; or Abba S., 'Father S.', [I], b. Tyre, fl. 330/40, d. Aksum [?] after 356 A.D.) is the name by which Frumentius (Gr. Φρουμέντιος, *Phrouméntios*, Eth. **ፍሬምናጦስ**, *Fərem[ə]naṭos*, also *Fəremonaṭos*, *Fəre Mənaṭəyos* and *Fəre Mänṭəyos*), the apostle and first bishop of Ethiopia, become better known in local tradition. S. is itself a proper name, but *Abba Sälama* was sometimes erroneously translated as 'Father of Peace' (cp. Getatchew Hayle 1979: 311

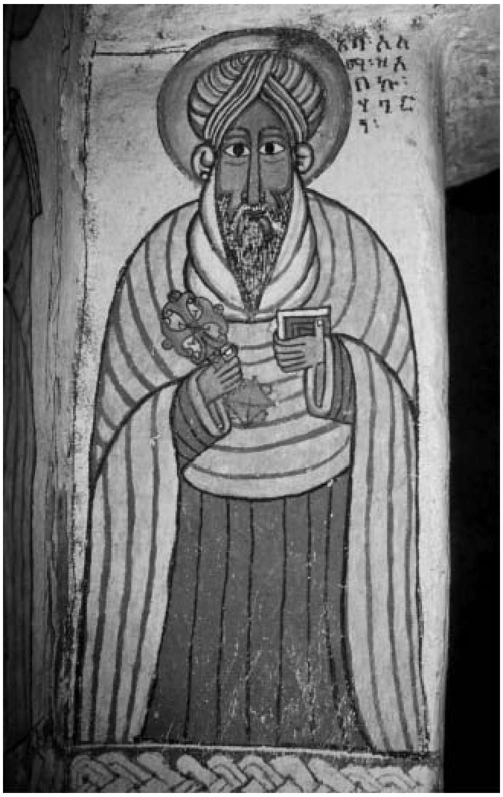
and n. 3). Responsible for the introduction of ↗Christianity to ↗Aksum, he was also called Käśate Bərhan (‘Revealer of Light’, ‘Illuminator’). He is considered a ↗saint not only in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, where he is still revered as a founder of the faith, and feasted on 26 *Ḫamle*, but also in the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches, commemorating him on October 27 (arbitrarily) and November 30 resp. (s. Sauget 1964: 1292f.).

The main source about S.’s personal circumstances is the account on the Christianization of *India ulterior*, i.e. Ethiopia (s. ↗“India” as name of Ethiopia), followed by the story of the conversion of “Caucasian Iberians” in the *Ecclesiastical History* by Rufinus of Aquilea (I, 9 and 10), which was completed in 402/03 A.D. Rufinus heard about those events from S.’s brother and, up to a certain time, companion of adventures, Aedesius, known in Ethiopia as Adəsyos (**አድስዮስ**; s., e.g., DillmChr 33) or Sidrakos (**ሲድራኮስ**). On Rufinus’s account such later chronicles as those by Socrates Scholasticus (*Hist. eccl.* I, 19), Sozomen (*Hist. eccl.* II, 24), Theodoretus (*Hist. eccl.* I, 23) and Nicephorus Callistus (*Hist. eccl.* VIII, 35), as well as ↗John of Nikiou (*Chron.* LXXVII, 111f., *Afrudiṭ* being here a deformation, via Arabic, of Frumentius’ name), depend more or less directly, while making no significant additions to it (s. Thelamon 1981: 41f.; ↗Historiography: Ancient Greek and Roman historiography). The received version of the story can be compared and integrated, on the Ethiopian side, not so much with the rather fantastic *Acts of Abunä Sälama* (summarized in Schneider 1987) as with the *Homily* (*in Honour*) *of Frumentius* preserved in the 14th-cent. mss. EMML nos. 1763 and 8508 (s. Fiaccadori 1989: 150 [and n. 3], 161f., ill.), which possibly draws on Greek sources (depending in turn on Rufinus), its text harking thereby back to Aksumite times: among other things, the author claims to have seen that the name of Frumentius – commemorated here, however, on *Taḫśaś* 18, day of his deposition (cp. Getatchew Haile 1979: 318 n. 3) – “was the first on the diptychs [*wəsṭa dəbdiqon*]” (Getatchew Haile 1979: 315f.), i.e. on the lists of “living and dead” proclaimed by the deacon during the consecration of the ↗Eucharist (s. Bausi 2008: 553 n. 151; ↗*Qəddase*). His name ranks first, accordingly, in the traditional lists of metropolitans (Chaîne 1925: 266).

In the same “ancient” line are the much later account of ↗Giyorgis of Sägla (YaqBeyGiy I, 116–25; cp. Conti Rossini 1948: 18), who had still access to Aksumite sources (Bausi in PICES 15, 536); and, indirectly though, the text rendered by Pedro ↗Páez after an “ancient book” of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon (BecRASO II, 351f., cp. 349), which passed then into the narrative of Manoel de ↗Almeida (ibid. V, 135f.), in turn abbreviated by Balthasar ↗Tellez (1660: 73ff.). Interestingly enough, the entry of the ↗*Sənkəssar* for 26 *Ḫamle* (GuiSyn II, 428), deemed to be the “classic form of indigenous tradition” (CRStor 151f.), is nowhere to be found in the Coptic Synaxarion (Sauget 1964: 1293), and rather derives from previous Ethiopian evidence, namely from the above *Homily* (Getatchew Haile 1979: 309ff.), onto which local elements were subsequently grafted – e.g., the joint-kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəha, paired with S. also in later Ethiopian legends on the Christian origins of Aksum (CRStor 258). A peculiar form of S.’s story is found in the 16th-cent. Däbrä Libanos redaction of the Vita of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot (Budge 1906, ch. 5; cp. CRStor 152f.).

As it can be reconstructed from the available sources in spite of their differences, the story has it that Meropius (Eth. *Mero[bo]p̣əyos*), a “philosopher” (or a trader) of Tyre, was returning from a voyage to ↗India with the two very young brothers, who were his relatives and pupils. For some material needs, the ship they were travelling on had to put in at an unknown port of another “India” (*India ulterior*), likely to be on the ↗Red Sea coast, but was attacked by the “barbarians” living there, informed by the neighbouring people that the *foedus* (‘agreement’) with the Romans had been violated: i.e. that, against it, a ship had reached a coastal point outside the only authorized calling-place and emporium of the kingdom – the “port of trade” of ↗Adulis. Rather than being a relation treaty with those barbarians, as more often understood, the *foedus* at issue was in fact an agreement in the matter of administered trade (cp. Fiaccadori 2004: 108, 112, 118ff., 136ff., 154). Meropius and the ship’s crew were killed, whereas the two youths, on account of their age, were spared and handed over to the local ruler. According to the homily, this was Ǝllä Aläda, i.e. ↗Ǝllä ^{c}Amida (I), father of ↗Ǝllä Azg^{w}ag^{w}a, i.e. ↗^{c}Ezana (Getatchew Haile 1979: 314; cp. the aforesaid *Sənkəssar* commemoration, with Ǝllä A^{ɔ}əda for Ǝllä Aläda).

The king was so impressed by Aedesius and Frumentius as to appoint the former “his cupbearer”, the latter “his treasurer and secretary”: so for Rufinus, whereas in the *Homily* – which



Abba Sälämа, 17th-cent. wall painting from Maryam Dəngəlat, ʿƎdaga Ḥamus, Təgray; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

might have exaggerated Frumentius' importance – they become resp. *mäggabe betä qäṭṭin*, 'steward of the palace', and *ʿaqqabe ḥəgg zawəʾətu ṣäḥafe Aksum*, 'guardian of the Law, that is secretary [lit. 'scribe'] of Aksum' (Getatchew Haile 1979: 314; cp. Bausi 2008: 553 n. 151). Frumentius was the only known figure "who approaches the position occupied by the freedmen of the Roman Imperial government" (MHayAksum 147). In this capacity, he availed himself the opportunity of organizing the Christian community formed by the merchants trading with(in) the Aksumite kingdom, most of them based in Adulis (likely to be the *meśyaṭ*, 'emporium', hinted at in the *Homily*, ed. Getatchew Haile 1979: 315; cp. Fiaccadori 2007: 75 and n. 12), and have some cult places arranged and/or constructed for them.

Upon the king's death, his consort was left with a small child, Ǝllä Azgʷagʷa, i.e. ʿEzana, who had been designated for succession (the probably short reign of ʿEzana's elder brother, ↗Ousanas I, being here symptomatically omitted), and Frumentius and Aedesius managed to obtain leave. Yet, the widower queen, regent for his young son, asked them, particularly the more gifted Frumentius, to share the cares of government with her, and to watch out for her son while he was a minor. When the new king attained maturity, Aedesius went to visit his parents and relative in Tyrus, where he became eventually a priest – to be later met by Rufinus in Palestine (Thelamon 1981: 44f.). Frumentius journeyed to Alexandria, informing there the patriarch, ↗Athanasius I (cp. ↗Coptic Church), on the progress of Christianity in Ethiopia, and asking him to appoint a bishop over the many Christians already congregated and the churches built in the country. Athanasius, who "had recently assumed the episcopate" after a fierce struggle with the Arians, consecrated Frumentius as bishop and sent him back "to (the land) whence he had come" – by which the Ethiopian custom was started of receiving a bishop from Alexandria that continued until the past century (↗*Ṗappas*). An interesting memory of S.'s Syrian origins is polemically kept, however, in the *Vita* of ↗ʿEzra of Gundä Gunde, while claiming priesthood in Jerusalem from the patriarch of Antioch (1486–89): "[…] I shall tell you the truth: this is our [patriarchal] see, as we are the children of Abba S. the Syrian" (ed. Caquot 1961: 79).

Frumentius' appointment took place, therefore, between 328, when Athanasius was elected to the See of St. Mark, and 335, when his first exile was enforced at the Council of Tyre (s. Desanges 1978: 353f, 356f., and Martin 502ff.). Likewise, the so called "short chronicles" mention that S. came to the country as a bishop 333 years after Christ's birth (BegCron 2; DombrChr 33; cp. the more developed lore in Conti Rossini 1918: 704), i.e. in 340/41 A.D., which is the traditional date for this event (TedEthPrel I, 999). Apart from other local computations (MHAlex [I], 140f. and nn. 423–24), Ethiopian chronological tables, sometimes, credit him with establishing Christianity at Aksum much earlier, in 252/53 A.D. (Grébaut 1918–19: 325; cp. TadTChurch 36 and n. 3).

As a matter of fact, when Frumentius returned to Aksum, king ʿEzana was reigning, whose "conversion" could be dated, accordingly, to ca. 330; and was since progressively officialized in his ↗inscriptions and coins (↗Coinage), from monotheism (a single all-powerful god as in DAE no. 11 = RIÉ no. 189) to a clearly Christian and trinitarian religious viewpoint, with an explicit profession of faith that echoes the contemporary anti-Arian (↗Arius) polemics in which S. was certainly involved (RIÉ nEo. 271; s. Black 2008).

In 356, the pro-Arian emperor Constantius II wrote a Greek letter to ᶜEzana and his brother ↗Śəᶜazana (who might well have been later confused with the mythical Abrəha and Aṣbəha), asking them to send S. to Egypt, so that he be confirmed in his see by the Arian Bishop George of Cappadocia (356–61), who was installed at Alexandria to replace Athanasius, deposed and exiled then for the third time. Copied by Athanasius within his own correspondence (Apol. ad *Constantium imp*. 31, ed. Szymusiak 1987: 158ff. = ed. Brennecke et al., 304ff.; cp. 29, ibid., 152f. = 302f.), the letter had very little or no response. It was an attempt at swaying the Aksumites towards the Byzantine Emperor's religious policy, but had apparently no effect either on S.'s own position or on the Aksumites' adherence to the orthodox Alexandrian creed as championed by Athanasius.

S. was thus still alive in 356, but nothing is known about his further activity in Aksum or in the kingdom's territories; he must have been on tenure, however, at the time of the (failed) Arian mission to Aksum by Theophilos the Indian (between 341 and 346; s. EAE vol. 5) – indeed not the bearer of Constantius II letter (s. Fiaccadori 1992: 7 and n. 11).

According to an isolated local tradition, S. was buried at the remote monastery of ↗Ǝnda Abba Sälama in ↗Tämben (cp. CRStor 258), which claims foundation from him – his ↗relics as well as his two ceremonial ↗crosses would be kept there – and is still the well-attended destination of annual pilgrimages.

The qualification *wäldä Däbrä Fərem*, '(spiritual) son of Däbrä Fərem', given to *ḥaśani* ↗Danəᵓel in the inscriptions he left at Aksum towards the end of the 10th cent. (DAE nos. 12–13 = RIÉ no. 193 I–II) could indicate the existence of an ancient monastery dedicated to Fəremənaṭos (to be only later S.) not too far from there: possibly, at the historical site of ↗Fəremona, six km north-east of ↗ᶜAdwa (Fiaccadori 1990: 329–33).

Historically, S. enjoyed a comparatively small veneration: his proper hagiography (the aforesaid *Acts*, still unpublished) seems to be known in very few exemplars (one from Ǝnda Abba Sälama, s. Schneider 1987: 155f.; cp. KinBibl no. 129: *Gädlä Abba Sälama*); nor is he frequently mentioned in liturgical books (but s., e.g., the ↗*Zəmmare* to his name, *Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawočč* 1972/73: 441*c*–42*a*; cp. also KinBibl 87f.). He is today, however, one of the most important saintly figures of the Ethiopian Church.

Src.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily in Honour of St. Frumentius, Bishop of Axum (EMML 1763, ff. 84^{v}–86^{r})", *ABoll* 97, 1979, 309–18, here 314ff. (text) = 316ff. (tr.), cp. 311 n. 3, 318 n. 3; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Les actes d'Abouna Salama", *AE* 14, 1987, 153–64; ATHANASE D'ALEXANDRIE, *Deux apologies*, ed. JAN M. SZYMUSIAK, Paris ^{2}1987 (Sources chrétiennes 56b), 86–175 [*Apol. ad Const. imp.*], here 152f., 158ff.; HERMANN ZOTENBERG (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, Paris 1883, 209 [89] (text) = 436 [316] (tr.); HANNS CHRISTOF BRENNECKE et. al., *Athanasius Werke* 2, 8, Berlin 2006, 302–06; YaqBeyGiy vol. 1, 116–25 (text) = 70–75 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell'ecciaghé Filpòs", *RANLmor* ser. 5^{a}, 26, 1917 [1918], 699–718, here 704; "Due capitoli del Libro del Mistero di Giyorgis da Sagla", *RSE* 7, 1948, 13–53, here 18 (text) = 31f. (tr.); DillmChr 33f.; GuiSyn II, 428; BudSaint vol. 3, 1164f.; RIÉ nos. 189, 193 I–II [= DAE nos. 11, 12–13] and 271, cp. RIÉ IIIA, 15–21; BecRASO II, 349, 351f. [cp. 349], and V, 135f.; BegCron 2; DombrChr 33 (text) = 147 (tr.), cp. n. 11; BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *Historia geral de Ethiopia a alta*, Coimbra 1660, 73ff.; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *The Life and Miracles of Tâklâ Hâymânôt in the version of Dabra Lîbânôs …*, London 1906, ch. 5; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Les Actes d'Ezra de Gunda-Gunde", *AE* 4, 1961, 69–121, here 79 (text) = 103 (trans.); SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Tables de comput et de chronologie", *ROC* 21, 3^{e} sér. 1, 1918–19, 323–28, here 325 (text) = 327 (tr.); MARIUS CHAÎNE, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1925, 266; KinBibl 87f., no. 129; **አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትው፡ ዜማዎች** (*Ammәstu ṣäwatәwä zemawočč*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.], 441*c*–42*a*.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, [review of BrakKirche], *Orientalia* nova ser., 65, 1996, 51–56, here 52f.; ID., "The Aksumite Background of the Ethiopic 'Corpus Canonum'", in: *PICES* 15, 532–41, here 536; ID., "La tradizione scrittoria etiopica", *Segno e testo* 6, 2008, 507–57, here 553 n. 151; STEPHANIE L. BLACK, "'In the Power of God Christ': Greek inscriptional Evidence for the anti-Arian Theology of Ethiopia's first King", *BSOAS* 71, 2008, 93–110; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "A propos des textes éthiopiens concernant Salāmā (Frumentius)", *Aethiops* 1, 1922, 2–4 and 17–18; CRStor 146–54; JEHAN DESANGES, *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique (VI^{e} siècle avant J.-C.–IV^{e} siècle après J.-C.)*, Rome 1978 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 38), 353f., 356; FRANZ AMADAEUS DOMBROWSKI, "Frumentius/Abba Salama – Zu den Nachrichten über die Anfänge des Christentums in Äthiopien", *OrChr* 68, 1984, 114–69; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 7 and n. 11; ID., "Epigraphica Aethiopica", *Quaderni utinensi* 8 [15/16], 1990 [1996], 325–33, here 329–33 [II. "Dabra Ferēm"]; ID., "Un'epigrafe greca aksumita (*RIÉth* 274)", in: VINCENZO RUGGIERI – LUCA PIERALLI (eds.), *Εὐκοσμία. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli 2003, 243–55; ID., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 108, 112, 118ff., 136ff. (154); ID., "Nuova iscrizione greca da Aksum", *ibid.* 62, 2007 [2008], 70–76, here 75 and n. 12;

ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "Frumentius", in: *DicEthBio* 64f.; MHAksum 205f.; MHAlex [I], 58–66, 140f. and nn. 423–24; BrakKirche 58ff. and n. 300 (77); ANNICK MARTIN, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypte au IVᵉ s. (328–373)*, Rome 1996 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 216), 502ff.; JOSEPH-MARIE SAUGET, "Frumenzio, vescovo in Etiopia", in: *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, vol. 5, Città del Vaticano 1964, 1292–94; JEAN SIMON, "Notes bibliographiques sur les textes de la «Chrestomathia Aethiopica» de A. Dillmann", *Orientalia* nova ser., 10, 1941, 285–311, here 292ff.; TadTChurch 36 and n. 3; TedEthPrel I, 999f. (Lit.); DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Ethiopia. Aksum: its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998, 112f., 157; SerHist 82–119; FRANÇOISE THELAMON, *Païens et chrétiens au IVᵉ siècle. L'apport de l'«Histoire ecclésiastique» de Rufin d'Aquilée*, Paris 1981 (Études augustiniennes), 41f., 44f., 75–83 esp.; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Note on the Introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia", *Africa* (London) 19, 1949, 61–62; UGO ZANETTI, "Les chrétientés du Nil: Basse et Haute Égypte, Nubie, Éthiopie", in: ROBERT F. TAFT (ed.), *The Christian East: Its Institutions & Its Thought. A Critical Reflection. Papers of the International Scholarly Congress for the 75th Anniversary of the Pontifical Oriental Institute (30 May–5 June 1993)*, Roma 1996 (OrChrA 251), 181–216, here 206 and nn. 64–65.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Sälama

Abba S. (**ሰላማ**, also known as **ሰላማ፡ መተርጕም**, *S. Mätärgʷəm*, 'S. the Translator', sometimes **ብርሃነ፡ አዜብ**, *Bərhanä Azeb*, lit. 'the light of the South', or S. II) was Metropolitan (↗*Pạppas*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church from 1350 (Conti Rossini) or 1348 (Chaîne), under *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arᶜad, to 1388 or 1390, respectively (for a date before 13 August 1388, s. Fiaccadori 1989:151, 163). He succeded *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob, who had been expelled in 1344, and was followed by *abunä* ↗Bärtalomewos.

At the very beginning of his career, S. was involved in protecting *abunä* ↗Filəppos of Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa from the exile to which he had been condemned by Säyfä Arᶜad; this fact, in turn, must be viewed in the framework of the tie established between Däbrä Libanos and the ↗Coptic Church, in an anti-Ewosṭatean (anti-↗Sabbath) function (cp. ↗Ewosṭateans). S.'s predominantly "Egyptian" activity, amply demonstrated by his restless activity as translator or promoter of translations of texts from Egyptian Arabic into ↗Gəᶜəz (which brought him his nickname *Mätärgʷəm*), should be considered in the same perspective.

We possess very little information about S. According to ms. EMML no. 1942 (between fols. 76r and 77v; 20th cent.), his birth name was Fiqṭor. There are some scattered notices on S. in EMML 2514 (EMML VII, 13: S. honours Däbrä Hamlo; a manuscript copied under him); a note on him in EMML no. 2580 (VII, 35); perhaps a prayer for him in EMML no. 2358 (VI, 424); a note on him, quoted but later erased, in ms. VatLib Etiop. 21, fol. 15v (prayers of the 15th cent.); S. is considered a contemporary of St. Śämrä Krəstos (s. EAE vol. 5) in ms. ANLin no. 88.II (StrANL 231).

Apart from a great number of translations from Arabic into Gəᶜəz, S. is credited with one original writing, the "Homily on the deceased" (*incipit* in Conti Rossini 1904: […] **ድርሳን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ወብፁዕ፡ አባ፡ ሰላማ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ዘብሔረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ። ዝንቱ፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ ላዕለ፡ ምውታን፡ እምድኅረ፡ ጸሎት፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ በሰላመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አሜን** '[…] The Homily of the holy and blessed *abba* Sälama, Archbishop of the country of Ethiopia. This is read over the dead, after the prayer upon them, with the peace of God. Amen'). It was first published by Conti Rossini (1904:248–52, no. 18). This work is inserted in all copies of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät*. Ca. 125 manuscripts of the homily are known, most of them fairly recent (18th–20th cent.), except for a few from the 17th–18th cent. (EMML nos. 3838 and 3898) or 17th cent. (EMML nos. 3815, 4602, 4666, 4668; VatLib Etiop. 151; Ṭānāsee 20); only one seems to be fairly old (Paris, BN Éth. 80 [ZotBNat 86f.], 16th cent.).

The translations ascribed to S. are the following:

I. Hagiography (mostly Lives included in the ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*, [here *GS*], or in the *Gädlä qəddusan*, [here *GQ*], cp. also Bausi 2002:10ff. for a complete list):

- Acts of Abäkäräzun (van Lantschoot in PICES 1 [hereafter vL] 399): BN d'Abbadie 179 (CRAbb no. 163) (*GS*) with note fol. 199r, 16th cent.; BN d'Abbadie 183 (CRAbb no. 171, *Gädlä Heroda* and *Gädlä Abäkäräzun*) with note fol. 9r, 15th–16th cent.;
- Abuqer, Yoḥannəs and the three virgins (vL 399): BN d'Abbadie 179 (CRAbb no. 163) (*GS*), note fol. 31v, 16th cent.; EMML no. 1826 (*GS*), note fol. 49v, 14th–15th cent.;
- Arsänyos (not in vL) EMML no. 1834 (*GQ*) with note fol. 11r, 16th cent., and 1844 (*GS*) fol. 193r;
- ↗Gälawdewos (Claudius; vL 400 "Panégyrique par Constantin de Siout"): EMML no. 1827 (*GS*) with note fol. 84r, 15th cent.; BN d'Abbadie 179 (CRAbb 163) (*GS*), note fol. 139r, 16th cent.; BritLib Orient 686 (*GS*), with note fol. 233vb, 18th cent.;
- Isaac of Tiphre (vL 400): BN d'Abbadie 179 (CRAbb no. 163) with note fol. 107v (?); EMML no. 1827 (*GS*), note fol. 10r, 15th cent.;
- perhaps Miracles of ↗Minas (not in vL): EMML no. 1827 with prayer to S. on fol. 111r–v;
- Nob (vL 400): BN d'Abbadie 179 (CRAbb no. 163); BN d'Abbadie 54 (CRAbb no. 169) with note fol. 25r, 15th cent.; EMML no. 1826 with note fol. 184r; 17th cent.(?);
- Yəsṭos, Aboli and Tawəkləya (vL 400): BN d'Abbadie 179 (CRAbb no. 163), note fol. 229v (?).

II. Homilies (↗*Dərsan*)

- of ↗Jacob of Serug on the sacrifice of Abrəham (vL 400f.): BritLib Add 16,250 (DillmLond no. 22), with note fol. 222r (DillmLond 31, n. *d*), undated but copied for Krapf; BritLib Orient. 597 (WrBriMus no. 207), with note fol. 190v (?), 15th cent.; EMML no. 1765 with note fol. 139v, 15th cent.; tr. from a text belonging to S. in EMML no. 2868 fol. 197r, 17th/18th cent.;
- of Cyriacus of Behnesa on the Assumption (↗*Laḥa Maryam*; vL 400): BritLib Orient. 604 (WrBriMus no. 216) with note fol. 127v (?), 18th cent.; BritLib Orient. 775 (WrBriMus no. 341) with note fol. 207r, 18th cent.; BN d'Abbadie 91 (CRAbb no. 57) with note fol. 29v, 15th cent.; Ṭānāsee 10 with note fols. 187v–189r, 15th cent., EMML no. 1765 with note fol. 169v, 15th cent.; EMML no. 1939 with note fol. 83r, 14th/15th cent.; EMML no. 1956 with note fol. 52r–v, ca. 1400;
- of ↗Cyril of Jerusalem on the Assumption (vL 400) BN d'Abbadie 158 (CRAbb no. 56) with note fol. 154v, 18th cent.;
- of Athanasius on ↗Pachomius (not in vL) EMML no. 1844 with note fol. 203v, 16th cent.

III. Other works

- *Mäṣḥafä ↗gəbrä ḥəmamat* (vL 401), according to BritLib Orient. 597 (WrBriMus no. 207) with note fol. 259v, 15th cent.; and BritLib Orient. 601 (WrBriMus no. 211) with note fol. 259v, 18th cent.;
- ↗*Filkəsyus* (vL 400; here S. is frequently called *liqä eppisqopposat zäᵓazeb*) BN d'Abbadie 37 (CRAbb no. 121) with note fol. 66r (rhymed prose in *-qo*); BN d'Abbadie 172 (CRAbb no. 122) with note fol. 193v, 18th–19th cent.; BN d'Abbadie 132 (CRAbb no. 232) with note fol. 12r, 18th–19th cent.; BritLib Orient. 761 (WrBriMus no. 268), 18th cent.; EMML no. 1387 with note fol. 81r, 18th cent.; EMML no. 2157 with note fol. 100r, 19th cent.;
- *Letters of Bädran*, the son of Simon the Armenian (a theological work; vL 401) BN d'Abbadie 77 (CRAbb no. 208) with note fol. 75, 18th cent.

According to van Lantschoot, the translation of the *Testaments of the Three Patriarchs* (*Gädlä ↗Abrəham, Gädlä ↗Yəsḥaq, Gädlä ↗Yaᶜəqob*; vL 401) should be attributed to S., on the basis of a fragment in ms. VatLib Etiop. 270, fol. 5r.

Among the most important activities of S. is the revised translation of the Gəᶜəz ↗Old Testament. This revision, called since Dillmann the "Vulgar recension", was made during the 14th cent. on the basis of an Arabic text, which itself was revised after the Syriac version (*Pšīttā*) and therefore gives a false impression of original "Syriac" readings (cp. ↗Bible translation; ↗Syrian influences).

Src.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "I manoscritti etiopici della Missione Cattolica di Cheren", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 13, 1904, 233–55, 261–81, here 248–52; CRAbb; CRAxum 67 (text) = 81 (tr.); DillmLond; EMML VI, VII, VIII; GréTisVat I; HamTana; StrANL; WrBriMus; ZotBNat.

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, *La versione etiopica degli* Acta Phileae *nel* Gadla samāʿtat, Napoli 2002 (Annali IUO. Supplemento 92), 10ff.; Marius Chaîne, "Le date de la morte du metropolite Abbā Salāmā", *Aethiops* 1, 1922, 33–36; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Sulla versione e sulla revisione delle Sacre Scritture in etiopico", *ZA* 10, 1895, 236–41; Id., "Piccoli studi etiopici", *ibid.* 27, 1911, 358–72; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 151 [163: v. "Quando morì Abbā Salamā"]; Arnold van Lantschoot, "Abbā Salamā, métropolite d'Ethiopie (1348–1388), et son rôle de traducteur", in: *PICES* 1, 397–401; TadTChurch 213, 225; Taddese Tamrat, "The Abbots of Däbrä Hayq, 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 102f.; TedEthPrel II, 1011f.

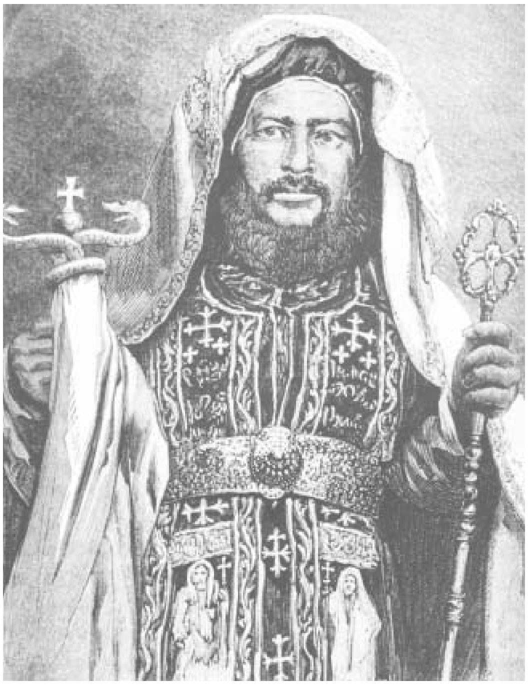
Paolo Marrassini

Sälama

Abunä S. (**ሰላማ**; d. 25 October 1867) was the 107th metropolitan of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (also known as S. III), from 1841 to 1868 (Guidi 1899: 14). His birth date is not known, but since he was consecrated by Buṭrus VII, Patriarch of Alexandria, at the exceptionally young age of 21, he must have been born ca. 1820 (CrumMis 85f.).

The first 14 years of S.'s episcopacy occurred during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, a period of disunity and conflict, in which doctrinally-inspired sectarianism internal to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church played an important role. S. became deeply embroiled in the theological controversies between the advocates of ↗*Qəbat*, *Yäṣägga ləğ (↗Ṣägga*) and *Wäld qəbᶜ* (known to its opponents as ↗*Karra*), which brought him suffering and abuse. However, with the rise of *däğğazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu (the future Emperor ↗Tewodros II), his fortunes improved, if only temporarily. He ended his life a captive on ↗Mäqdäla.

S.'s arrival in Ethiopia was the result of a diplomatic mission sent by *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, then the dominant political figure in northern Ethiopia, who, immediately thereafter, went to war against *ras* ↗Ali Alula, using S. in a propaganda campaign against Ali, whom he depicted as a Muslim. Wəbe's defeat at the Battle of ↗Däbrä Tabor in February 1842 brought S. under the patronage of Ali. He took up residence in ↗Gondär, but soon found himself locked in doctrinal conflict with *Yäṣägga ləğ* partisans, led by *əč̣č̣äge* Maḥṣ́äntu, who was backed by *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa. S.'s efforts to refute the teaching of this school and to re-establish strict Alexandrian doctrine (*Karra*) proved unsuccessful and, in a move initiated in Šäwa, but acquiesced in by the authorities in Däbrä Tabor, he was expelled from Gondär in June 1846 (Crummey – Getatchew Haile 2004).



Abunä Sälama; from Pankhurst – Ingrams 1988: 81

He spent the next eight years in Təgray in an uneasy relationship with *däǧǧazmač* Wəbe, who resisted S.'s attempts to undermine Wəbe's protection for Roman Catholic ↗Lazarist missionaries, whom Wəbe valued as a link to France. The death of Śahlä Śəllase in 1849 brought a rapprochement between S., *ras* Ali and the new ruler of Šäwa. However, S. did not return to Gondär until June 1854, when he was brought back by *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa, who restored his authority and organized a council at ↗Amba Č̣ara, near Gondär. This council condemned the *Ṣägga* doctrine, re-affirming the Alexandrian teaching of *Karra*. Kaśa then re-asserted the precedence of the metropolitan over the *əč̣č̣äge* and gave him control of the office of ↗*liqä kahənat*, with broad authority over the clergy (Crummey in PICES 4, vol. 1, 427–42), took the title of *nəguś* for himself and married his wife in a binding church ceremony. This was part of a policy of restoring what Kaśa saw as the Solomonic model of kingship, which entailed a close relationship between church and state to which the unity of the church was an essential ingredient. The culmination of this process was the crowning of Kaśa by S. as *nəguśä nägäśt* Tewodros on 11 February 1855.

A close alliance between church and state proved, in the short run, elusive. Tewodros and S. came into conflict over episcopal authority and church lands as early as September, 1856 (CRNuov 412; ZanLitTheod 29f.; MonVidTheod 25–28), and, thereafter, their relations steadily worsened. This, however, had the consequence of enhancing the metropolitan's authority over the Ethiopian clergy, whose principal champion he had now become. In 1864 relations broke down completely, with S.'s internal exile to Mäqdäla, where he died (CrumMis 141). However, the pattern of relations established between S. and Tewodros at the beginning of Tewodros's reign proved normative for succeeding rulers of Ethiopia.

Src.: CRNuov 385ff., 408f., 412; DONALD CRUMMEY – GETATCHEW HAILE, "*Abunä* Sälama: Metropolitan of Ethiopia, 1841–1868. A New Ge'ez Biography", *JES* 37, 1, 2004, 5–40; MANFRED KROPP, "Les premières querelles théologiques d'Abuna Salama III en Ethiopie", *AE* 14, 1987, 101–16; MonVidTheod 25–28; RubActa I, nos. 65, 67, 74, 83, 95, 97, 103, 119, 125, 149–52, 161–63, 181; RubActa II, nos. 11, 26, 41; ZanLitTheod 29f.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, "Doctrine and Authority: Abunä Sälama, 1841–1854", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 567–78; CrumMis 52ff., 57, 85–91, 95, 96ff., 118–21, 123ff., 129, 131, 135–38, 141; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* ser 1^{a}, 4, 1899, 1–16; RICHARD PANKHURST – LEILA INGRAMS, *Ethiopia Engraved*, London 1988, 81 (ill.); SAMUEL RUBENSON, "The Interaction between the Missionaries and the Orthodox: The Case of Abune Selama", in: *GetLRubMis* 71–84.

Donald Crummey

Sälamä qəddusan

The S.q. (**ሰላመ፡ ቅዱሳን**, 'Salutation to the Saints') is a hymnological composition in ↗Gə^{c}əz by the 16th-cent. monk *abba* ↗Baḥrəy (Getaččäw Ḫayle 2002: 49ff.). It is known from the only copy in ms. BritLib Orient. 534, fols. 153r–84v (WrBriMus 84). The full title as provided by this manuscript is "Salutation to the Saints and Martyrs, for each day of the year, from 1 *Mäskäräm* to 6 *P̣äg^{w}əmen*". It was composed between 1583/84 and sometime after 1597.

The S.q. is a collection of ↗hymns in the tradition of ↗*Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä* (Getatchew Haile 1983: 1ff.).

The author's identity is embedded in the concluding hymn for the month of *Yäkkatit* (fol. 168v). It contains two puns (cp. ↗*Sämənnä wärq*): line 2: **አርክነ** (*arkənä*) which can be understood as 'our friend' on the one hand and as ^{c}Arke or ↗^{c}Arkä Śəllus, the famous author of hymns, on the other hand; and line 4: **ባሕርይነ** (*baḥrəyənä*) which can be understood as 'our nature' on the one hand and as 'our Baḥrəy' on the other. Baḥrəy indicates by his words that he would like the

↗ saints to call him “our nature”, i.e. “our kind”, just as they would call ^{c}Arke “our friend”.

^{c}Arke’s *Mäzmurä fəśśuhan wäṣälotä təkkuzan* is indeed much larger than the S.q., which often only contains one ↗ *sälam* for a given saint, to rhyme with the line dedicated to the next saint of the same day (cp. 5 *Mäskäräm*, fol. 153v: one line for Mamas, one, surprisingly, for *aṣe* ↗ Ləbnä Dəngəl, three for Sophia).

Toward the end of his collection (30 *Näḥase*, fol. 184r), Baḥrəy gives the year in which he started the work (1583/84) and indicates that for the order of saints he referred to the ↗ *Sənkəssar*. The expression used in the last line, *zämän iśəhəlt* ‘unforgiven time’, is only rarely testified in ↗ Gə^{c}əz literature (DillmLex 229) and is a testimony to the author’s excellent command of the language and tradition. The year he gave for the composition of the *Sənkəssar* (960 “year of Martyrs” [1243/44 A.D.]) differs slightly from what is preserved in the known *Sənkəssar* manuscripts (963; s. ColSyn VI, 326). On the other hand, the data in the hymn in honour of *aṣe* ↗ Gälawdewos for 27 *Mäggabit* (fol. 170v) shows that Baḥrəy must have used sources other than the *Sənkəssar* and even the Emperor’s chronicles (cp. ConzGal), unless his copy of the *Sənkəssar* was much larger than those used for Colin’s edition.

Baḥrəy took over 14 years to write the S.q. (cp. the explanation of his slowness in the introductory hymn for *Yäkkatit*, fol. 166r), as he dedicates a posthumous hymn to *aṣe* ↗ Śärṣä Dəngəl (d. 1597), for 24 *Mäggabit* (fol. 170v).

Apart from their literary value and the historical information some of the hymns provide, they are valuable witnesses of the theology of the ↗ Ethiopian Orthodox [Täwaḥədo] Church during the time of the author, as can be exemplified by such hymns as for 15 *Yäkkatit* (fol. 167r), speaking of the ↗ *Kidanä məḥrät*; 13 *Näḥase* (fol. 182rv), on relationship between a Christian and God; 29 *Mäggabit* (fol. 171r), on the manner of Incarnation of the Word (↗ *Karra*); 28 *Säne* (fol. 178v), on why Oriental Christians are called ↗ Jacobites (an unusual explanation, as Baḥrəy claims the name comes from Dioscorus whose original name was Jacob); beginning of *Yäkkatit* (fol. 166v), the celibacy. In the concluding hymn for Ḥamle (fol. 181r), the author explains the purpose of his toil in the composition: to glorify the Church so that it may forgive his sins.

Src.: ConzGal; ColSyn VI, 326; XI; DillmLex 229; GETAČČÄW ḪAYLE, **የአባ፡ ባሕርይ፡ ድርሰቶች፡ ኦሮሞችን፡ ከሚመለከቱ፡ ሌሎች፡ ሰነዶች፡ ጋራ** (*Yäʾabba Baḥrəy dərsätočč Oromoččən kämmimmäläkkätu leločč sänädočč gara*, ‘The Works of *abba* Baḥrəy with Other Documents Concerning the Oromo’), Collegeville, MN 2002; ID. [GETATCHEW HAILE], *The Different Collections of Nagś Hymns in Ethiopic Literature and their Contributions*, Erlangen 1983 (Oikonomia. Quellen und Studien zur orthodoxen Theologie 19); WrBriMus 82ff., no. 128 [ms. Orient. 534].

Getatchew Haile

Šaläqa

Š. (**ሻለቃ**) is a traditional Ethiopian military title. The term is derived from the Amharic words *ši* (‘thousand’) and ↗ *aläqa* (‘chief, leader’) and is to be literally translated as a “commander of a thousand”. There is also another title **ሻምበል** (*šambäl*) with the same meaning.

Originally a Š. was a head of a royal regiment. This was the main distinction between a Š. and other commanders, who usually fought alongside their own warriors. Despite the name, the regiments commanded by a Š. did not always consist exactly of one thousand soldiers and usually contained only a few hundred soldiers.

The title Š. dates back to Gondärine times and is mentioned already in the first extant royal chronicle of this period, namely that of *aṣe* ↗ Yoḥannəs (e.g. GuiIohan 45 [tr.]). The title persisted into ↗ Mənilək II’s times, though by then it had decreased in importance. The Russian K. Arnoldi, author of a detailed description of the Ethiopian military system at the beginning of the 20th cent., mentions Š. as one of three junior military titles, alongside *amsa aläqa* and *mäto aläqa* (commanders of 50 and 100, respectively). He writes that the holders of all three ranks were appointed from the ordinary ranks by their superiors. According to Arnoldi (1907: 21f.), Š. is “a commander of a little bit more than three hundred people, which does not correspond to his name”. In the modern Ethiopian army the title Š. came to mean a “commanding officer of a battalion”, or a “major” in the army, or a “commander” in the navy.

Some Š., however, succeeded in rising further to prominent military positions. Among them were Adanäw, Gäbäyyähu and Täkle, all of whom started their military careers as Š. during Mənilək’s reign. The first one became *liqä mäk^{w}as*, and the others *fitawrari*.

Src.: GueCopMen 5 n. 1, 216 n. 8; GuiIohan 45 [tr.]; KaneDic 605, 613; GuiVoc 203.

Lit.: KONSTANTIN ARNOLDI, *Voennye očerki Abissinii* (‘Military Essays on Abyssinia’), St. Petersburg 1907, 21f.; SEVIR ČERNETSOV, *Efiopskie hroniki XVII–XVIII vv.* (‘Ethiopian Chronicles 17–18th cent.’), Moskwa 1989.

Maxim Zabolotskikh

Säläśt ↗Psalter

Säläwa

S. (**ሰለዋ**; in Portuguese sources Çalaoâ or Salaoa) was a historical province in northern Ethiopia, and until the 1970s a *wäräda*, south of ↗Tämben and of ↗Säḥart, west of ↗Wäğğärat, at the southern borders of central ↗Təgray (for location s. map for Šädäho). In Ethiopian chronicles it appears as a territory under its own governors, the *šum säläwa*. In 1964 its main town was Samre. Today S. is situated in the Dəbub (South) Təgray zone, Ǝmba Alaǧe *wäräda*.

The "short chronicles" inform of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl fighting at S. in 1539, during his war against ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (BegCron 23). During a campaign in Zobəl Ləbnä Dəngəl left in custody a number of objects from Aksum to his chiefs, among whom one S. *šum* Fares (CRAxum 85). Later, S. was one of a number of areas that *aṣe* ↗Susənyos placed under the rule of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Yolyos (PerChron 117, 130, 250). In the 18th cent., S. was one of several localities whose rulers *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I interrogated in 1698 about the taxes levied in Təgray (GuiIohan 206ff.), while *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II is reported to have visited the district in 1749 (GuiIyas 262).

S. was repeatedly associated with the leaders of Təgray; at times, it was part of the realm of the ↗*təgre mäkʷännən*, such as in the time of ↗Robel in the early 16th cent. It featured by Manoel de ↗Almeida in the early 17th cent. as one of the Təgrayan regions (BeckHuntAlm 11, 13, 15f.) it is also listed in Ludolf's subsequent account of Təgray (Ludolf 1682: 17). In the late 18th cent., S. *šaläqa* Wäldä Mikaʾel was associated with *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase(CRAxum II, 64). In the 19th and 20th cent. S. was governed by the descendants of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, *ras* ↗Gugsa Arʾaya and his son ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa. In the 1930s it was a sub-district of Tämben province.

There are several ↗rock-hewn churches in S. Not all have been well documented, such as one in Gawi. In oral tradition, S. is remembered as the original homeland of the ↗Adkämä Məlgaʾ, an important ↗Təgrəñña-speaking subgroup of Agäw origin.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 11, 13, 15f.; BecRASO V, 9, 13; BegCron 23; CRAxum 53, 71 (text) = 64, 85 (tr.) [nos. 70, 4]; GuiIohan 206ff. (tr.); GuiIyas 262 (tr.); Hiob Ludolf, *A New History of Ethiopia*, London 1682, 17, 23; PerChron 117, 130, 250 (tr.); ZerÉth 393.

Lit.: HuntGeogr 61n., 96, 99, 134, 166, 234, 236f.

Wolbert Smidt – Richard Pankhurst

Sälḥen

S. (**ሰልሔን** [RIÉ nos. 188.3–4, 189.3]; SLḤ, SLḤN in Gəʿəz unvocalized ↗inscriptions; SLḤ-m, SLḤN-m, SLḤN in Gəʿəz "pseudo-Sabaic" inscriptions; Σιλεῆ, Σ[ιλ]εῆλ in Greek inscriptions; SLḤ-m in Old Sabaic, SLḤN in Middle Sabaic; Arab. Salḥīn, Silḥīn) is the name of the palace of the Sabaean kings in Mārib included in the titulary of the Aksumite kings ↗ʿEzana and ↗Kaleb. S. is usually enumerated directly after Sabaʾ (in RIÉ no. 185bis I.2 – before it) with the exception of RIÉ no. 185 II.2 where the names of the royal residences of ↗Ḥimyar and Sabaʾ, RYDN (↗Raydān) and SLḤ resp., are attested separately from the names of the corresponding states. Until the twenties of the 6th cent. A.D., neither S. nor the Sabaean capital as a whole had ever been subjugated by Aksum, although at the turn of the 2nd and/or in the first half and in the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D. this kingdom participated in the struggle for hegemony in South Arabia (↗Monumentum Adulitanum). The occurrence of S. among ʿEzana's titles demonstrates that Aksumite claims to Sabaʾ were still being made in the mid-4th cent., with no relation to real politics of the time, but as mere ideological labels. On the contrary, in the titulary of ↗Kaleb, S. reflected his victory over Ḥimyar, since by that time the Ḥimyarite rulers had annexed the Sabaean kingdom and S. became one of their official residences.

The first mention of S. in Sabaic epigraphic documents goes back to the great *mukarrib* and king (*malik*) of Sabaʾ Karibʾil Watar, son of Ḏamarʿalī (early 7th cent. B.C.) who "built the upper part of his house Salḥ^{um}" (RES 3946.5: …*w-bny/tfrʿ/byt-hw/SLḤ-m/…*). In the texts of the so-called Middle period (1st–3rd cent. A.D.), this palace is frequently attested as the main symbol of the Sabaean royalty: e.g., in the treaty between ʿAlhān Nahfān, king of Sabaʾ, and ↗GDRT (cf. CIH 308.11–14, ca. 200 A.D., where ZRRN seems to be the royal palace of Aksum). In all probability the ceremony of the official entry (*ʾtwt*, *ʾtyt*) of a king into S. marked his formal accession to the throne of Sabaʾ.

In the Arab tradition, S. is celebrated as a masterpiece of the architecture of ancient Yemen, reportedly built by the legendary Queen Bilqīs (cp. ↗Makədda). According to the Arabic Islamic sources, when the Aksumites defeated the Ḥimyarite king Ḏū Nuwās (↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar) and occupied South Arabia in the early 6th cent., they completely destroyed S. This information might be corroborated by the absence of the name of this palace in the titulary of ↗WᶜZB, son of Kaleb (RIÉ no. 192a.5–7) as well as by the reference to the burning of the palace of Sabaᵓ (*täᶜkā Sabāᵓ*) in the Gəᶜəz fragmentary inscription from Mārib (RIÉ no. 195 II.18). The remains of S. have not yet been found.

↗Arabia

Src.: RIÉ nos. 185 I.2, 185 II.2, 185bis I.2, 185bis IIb.2, 186.3, 187.[2], 188.3–4, 189.3, 191.9, 192a.5–7, 195 II.18, 270.3, 270bis.3, 271.8; CIH 308; Iryani 7, 9 (= Nami NAG 15), 14, 18 (MUṬAHHAR ᶜALĪ AL-IRYĀNĪ, *Fī taᵓrīḫ al-Yaman …* ['In Yemen History…'], Cairo 1973, 48ff., 54–58, 88–92, 109–13); Ja 562, 564 (ALBERT JAMME, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs* [*Mârib*], Baltimore 1962 [Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man 3], 39–42, 44–47); RES 3946 (= *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*, vol. 6, Paris 1935, 405–10); Sharafaddin 18 (AḤMAD ḤUSAYN ŠARAFADDĪN, *Taᵓrīḫ al-Yaman aṯ-ṯaqāfī* ['Cultural History of Yemen'], vol. 3, Cairo 1967, 69f.).
Lit.: MUḤAMMAD ABD AL-QĀDIR BĀFAQĪH, *L'unification du Yémen antique. La lutte entre Sabaᵓ, Ḥimyar et le Ḥaḍramawt du I*^{er} *au III*^{ème} *siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, Paris 1990 (Bibliothèque de Raydān 1), 81–98; AVRAAM G. LOUNDINE, "Deux inscriptions sabéennes de Mārib", *Le Muséon* 86, 1973, 179–92, here 180f., 185f., 190f.; WALTER W. MÜLLER, "Zwei weitere Bruchstücke der äthiopischen Inschrift aus Marib", *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* 1, 1972, 59–74; ID., "Salḥīn", in: *EI*^{2} vol. 8, 979–80; RIÉ III, 7; CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN, "Sheba dans les inscriptions d'Arabie du Sud", in: *Supplement au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 12, Paris 1996, cols. 1047–1254, here 1123, 1224f.; JACQUES RYCKMANS, "Himyaritica (3)", *Le Muséon* 87, 1974, 237–63, here 242f.; ID., "L'inscription Iryani 18", *Raydān* 3, 1980, 183–85.

Serguei A. Frantsouzoff

Ṣāliḥ

Ṣ. (صالح, d. 1332) was a Muslim judge (*qāḍī*) who waged a holy war (↗*Ǧihād*) against Christian Ethiopia.

In 1332 *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I defeated the ruler of ↗Ifat, ↗Ṣabraddīn I Muḥammad b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr, deposed him and installed Ṣabraddīn's brother ↗Ǧamāladdīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr. ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon then devastated Ifat and other Muslim principalities.

In this time of tumult, a holy man, *qāḍī* Ṣ., stood up in Muslim Ethiopia and preached holy war against the Christians. He received much support. The Chronicle of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (which explains his title "*qazi*" as *liqä pappasat*; ↗*Liq*) gives a long list of the rulers and governors who sent troops, among them those from ↗ᶜAdal, ↗Däwaro, ↗Zaylaᶜ, ↗Harär, ↗Ḥarla and ↗Mora. The king of ᶜAdal took over the leadership of the troops. Ǧamāladdīn also offered to join the *ǧihād* but the other princes did not want to share the expected booty with him, so they marched off before Ǧamāladdīn arrived. Again, the war ended in a defeat for the Muslims. Ṣ. was killed. The Emperor ordered his body to be hung on a tree at the entrance of his royal camp (*təᶜəyyənt*, cp. ↗*Kätäma*).

About 300 years later, in 1621, two *šarīfs* from ↗Mecca, Aḥmad b. al-Hādī al-Ḥusaynī and Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥusaynī, arrived in Harär and miraculously discovered the tomb of a certain *šayḫ* Ṣāliḥ at the head of the tomb of ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid. If *šayḫ* Ṣāliḥ is to be identified with *qāḍī* Ṣ. (but s. CerIslam 203 n. 1), the veneration of this tomb – continued even today – indicates the deep impression which the uprising of Ṣ. must have made on the Muslims.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6^{a}, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 92ff. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 201–04]; KrAmdS 27, 31ff., 52 (text) = 31, 37ff., 55 (tr.); MarAmdS 98f., 108–13, 150f.
Lit.: CerStud I, 23f. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 300f.]; EMILE FOUCHER, "Names of Musulmans Venerated in Harrar and its Surroundings: a List", *ZDMG* 138, 1988, 263–82, here 278; TrIslam 72.

Ewald Wagner

Sāliḥīya ↗Islamic brotherhoods

Sälik

S. (ሰሊክ, fl. late 16th cent.) was a monk of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, of possible Arabian origin. He translated, from Arabic into ↗Gəᶜəz, the theological encyclopaedia *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ḥawi* (as indicated in ms. Paris, BN Éth. 110, ZotBNat 106). S. apparently collaborated with ↗ᶜƎnbaqom (Cerulli [CerLett 170] maintained, probably due to a misunderstanding, that the latter's original name was S.).

Ricci (RicEnbYoh IV, 166ff.; cp. also *Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat* 1927/28:7) attributes to S. also the translation of the ↗*Abušakər*, which is usually credited to ᶜƎnbaqom. As stated in mss. BritLib Orient. 809 (WrBriMus 290, no. 383) and 812 (ibid. 291, no. 384), this translation was made during the reign of ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl. BritLib Orient. 809, fol. 128v, states: **፺ወ፯፡ አባ፡ ገብርኤል። ዘሀሎ፡ ይእዜ፡ በዘመነ፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ሠርፀ፡ ድንግል**, *90wä7 abba Gäbrəᵓel. zähallo yəᵓəze bäzämänä nəguśənä Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl*, '97 *abba* Gäbrəᵓel who is [ruling] now, in the time of our *nəguś* Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl', "97" referring to the last patriarch of the list). According to the colophon of BritLib Orient. 812 (a later ms. adding three more patriarchs after *abba* Gäbrəᵓel), fol. 3r top, ᶜƎnbaqom was ordered by S. to undertake the translation:

ዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘአዘዞ፡ ዘአዕለዎ፡ ሰሊክ፡ ዘደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ በእደ፡ ዕጨጌ፡ ዕንባቆም [...], *zəntu mäṣḥaf zäᵓazzäzo zäᵓaᶜläwo Sälik zädäbrä Libanos bäᵓədä ᶜəč̣č̣äge ᶜƎnbaqom* [...], 'this is the book which Sälik of Däbrä Libanos ordered, which he translated through the hand of *əč̣č̣äge* ᶜƎnbaqom'). Ricci claimed that the translation was made by S. with the material cooperation of ᶜƎnbaqom. This interpretation is based on the possibility that **አዘዞ** is not a verb ('he ordered'), but the well-known place of ↗Azäzo (cp. ↗Azäzo Täklä Haymanot), in which the clergy of Däbrä Libanos dwelled at that time (s. RicEnbYoh IV, 165f.).

The *Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat* (1927/28:5; cp. RicEnbYoh IV, 166) also maintains S. as the translator of the *Mar Yəsḥaq* (↗Isaac of Nineveh).

Src.: WrBriMus 290, no. 383 [ms. BritLib Orient. 809]; 291, no. 384 [ms. BritLib Orient. 812]; ZotBNat 106, ms. Éth 110.

Lit.: CerLett 170; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1899, 197–220, 263–85, here 274 [repr. Roma 1900, 48–79]; DonEnbAnq 30; **መጻሕፍተ፡ መነኮሳት** (*Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat*, 'The Books of the Monks'), Addis Abäba 1920 A.M. [1927/28 A.D.], 5, 7; RicEnbYoh IV, 162–76.

Paolo Marrassini

Salimbeni expedition

The S.e. to Goǧǧam was an initiative supported by the Italian government as part of its expansion to the Eritrean hinterland. The expedition was headed by engineer Count Augusto Salimbeni, who conceived it during his previous stay in the region. In 1883 – as a member of the expedition led by Gustavo ↗Bianchi – Salimbeni had stayed at the court of *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot for whom he helped erect a bridge over the Tämč̣a River. Following the success of the project, upon his return to Italy, Salimbeni made a commitment to return with more workers and build a larger bridge over the Abbay River.

On 25 September 1886, in the company of Major Federico Piano, lieutenant Count Tancredi Broscorens di Savoiroux, the latter's son Emanuele, and a number of workers, Salimbeni left Italy. The party, which concealed its military intentions (the officers wore civilian clothing), reached Massawa on 9 October 1886 and Asmära on 7 January 1887. There, *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda initially approved the party's journey to Goǧǧam but upon discovering their real identity changed his mind.

Thereafter, the situation escalated. General Carlo Genè sent reinforcements to Wiᵓa and on 6 January Alula demanded evacuation. Genè then sent troops equipped with artillery to Säḥaṭi and Alula jailed the members of the S.e., who were taken to Gindaᶜ. At knowing of the Italian occupation of Säḥaṭi, on 16 January, Alula threatened to execute the Italian prisoners and pass to the offensive. Nine days later he marched on Säḥaṭi where he was confronted by Italian forces and forced to withdraw (Erlich 1996:103f.). After this setback, according to Italian sources, Alula would have killed the members of the S.e. had it not been for the intervention of ↗Lazarist missionaries.

The members of the S.e. were then forced to go with Alula's army to ↗Dogᶜali, where they witnessed the Italian defeat. After the battle the whole party was employed in the care of the wounded Ethiopian troops. In the following weeks Salimbeni, Piano and Savoiroux negotiated their own release by travelling between Asmära and Massawa and taking Alula's requests to General Genè. The party was finally released on 17 March in exchange for a long list of goods, among which were 1,000 rifles – a concession that seems to have cost General Genè his post at Massawa. Savoiroux was freed in August of the same year after the payment of the final reparations.

After spending the following two years in Rome, in 1889 Salimbeni was designated to replace Carlo Antonelli as Italian resident at *aṣe* ↗Mənilək's court. He travelled to Ethiopia in late 1889, accompanying *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel's returning delegation. Once in Ǝnṭoṭṭo, Salimbeni, who knew Amharic well, was questioned by Mənilək in regard to the Treaty of Wəč̣ale (↗Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce) and found himself in the embarrassing situation of justifying the inconsistencies of Article XVII to the Emperor (Salimbeni 1956:xxiii). He was soon joined by Antonelli, dispatched by the Italian government to find a resolution to the dispute. Throughout the remainder of his stay in Ethiopia S. found himself as a mediator between an increasingly wary Mənilək and an uncompromising Antonelli and recording his frustration in his personal diary. Incapable of finding a common agreement with the Emperor, they both left Ethiopia on 12 February.

Src.: *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 2ª, vol. 12, 24, 1887, 100–12, 173–92, 290–97; *ibid.* ser. 2ª vol. 11, 23, 1886, 279–97; *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia* 14, 1890, 143–44; CAMILLO ANTONA-TRAVERSI, *Sahati e Dogali: 25 e 26 gennaio 1887*, Roma 1887; ATTILIO BRUNIALTI, *Le Colonie degli Italiani*, Roma 1897; LUIGI CHIALA, *La spedizione di Massaua*, Torino 1888; BENIAMINO MELLI, *La Colonia Eritrea dalle sue origini*

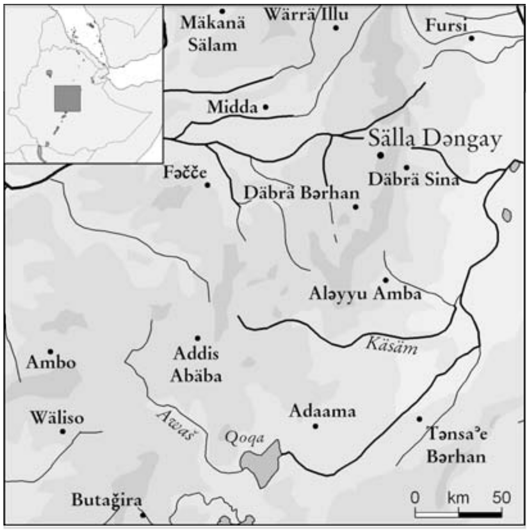
fino a 1 marzo 1899, Parma 1899; Augusto Salimbeni, *Crispi e Menelich nel diario inedito del conte Augusto Salimbeni*, ed. by Carlo Zaghi, Torino 1956, xxiii.
Lit.: Gino Benvenuti – Augusto Valli, *Vita africana di Augusto Salimbeni*, Modena 1942; Angelo del Boca, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale*, vol. 1: *Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma 1976; ErlAlula[2] 103f., 110f., 154f., 162; Robert L. Hess, "Italian Imperialism in its Ethiopian Context", *IJAHS* 6, 1, 1973, 94–109; Harold G. Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia, 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 85f., 124–34.

Matteo Salvadore

Sälla Dəngay

S.D. (**ሰላ፡ ድንጋይ**, 9° 57' N, 39° 37' E) is a small town in northern ↗Šäwa, some 35 km north-north-east of ↗Däbrä Bərhan. S.D. is the principal town on the rather extensive mountain ridge between the Mofär and the Gado rivers. S.D. is the northernmost part of ↗Tägulät but is often treated as a separate territory.

S.D. was very closely attached to the Šäwan court. The mothers of both *märəd azmač* ↗Wäsän Sägäd and of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II lived in S.D., but the town is particularly associated with Zännäbä Wärq, the mother of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase. Zännäbä Wärq was a daughter of a notable from ↗Afqära in southern ↗Mänz. She came to court to appeal for justice after her husband had been killed. Wäsän Sägäd was taken by her beauty, and she became pregnant (AWTarik 98). She was probably a concubine rather than his legal wife, and her son succeeded to the throne only by chance. Śahlä Śəllase was brought up at Quro Gädäl, some three kilometres north of S.D., while his older half brother and main heir to the throne lived in ↗Märḥabete. After Wäsän Sägäd was killed, the Oromo revolted and closed the main road to Märḥabete. The Šäwan notables therefore brought the young Śahlä Śəllase and installed him as successor.



↗Krapf passed by S.D. when he left Šäwa in 1842, and gave a quite detailed description of the court of Zännäbä Wärq. He estimated that the town was about one third the size of ↗Ankobär and describes it as "arranged according to the model of the King, only on a smaller scale" (IsKrapf 295). It was, however, a considerable exaggeration that she "governs nearly the half of Šäwa in a very independent manner" (ibid. 292), although she controlled large territories in Mänz and Tägulät.

Src.: AWTarik 87ff., 98, 114; BTafA 533, 966f.; IsKrapf 290–97; Paul Soleillet, *Voyages en Éthiopie*, Rouen 1886, 86.
Lit.: EgeClass 175f.

Svein Ege

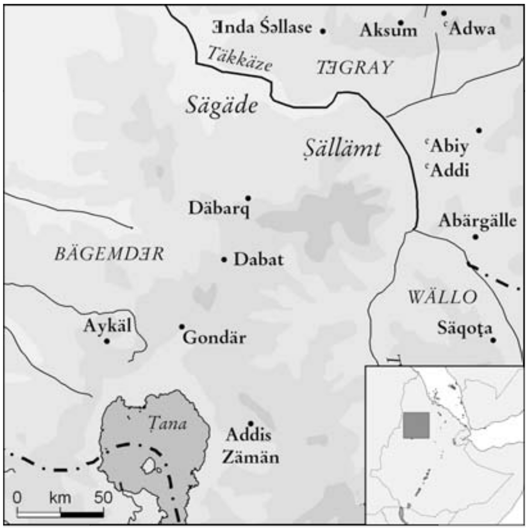
Ṣällämt

Ṣ. (**ጸለምት**) is an ancient geographic region between the ↗Səmen highlands and the southern bank of the ↗Täkkäze River in north-west Ethiopia.

By the 14th cent., Ṣ., along with Səmen, ↗Wägära and ↗Sägäde was inhabited by the people referred to as ↗*Ayhud* (and usually identified as ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel) who rebelled against *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon in 1332 (MarAmdS 68f.). In the late 1300s, the people of Ṣ. supported the renegade monk ↗Qozmos when he led an attack against Christian churches in the area east of Lake ↗Ṭana. *Aṣe* ↗Dawit II sent the governor of Təgray called ↗Akḥadom to suppress this revolt (Wajnberg 1936: 56, 58; Quirin 1992: 51f.).

In the mid-15th cent., ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat carried out evangelization efforts in Ṣ. and Səmen. Sometime after that, the rulers of Ṣ. (esp. Amba Näḥad), Səmen and ↗Dämbəya revolted against *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. This revolt was put down by his successor ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam (PerrZarY 96f., 142f., 172f.; Quirin 1992: 58–61). Nevertheless, the Betä Ǝsraᵓel of Ṣ., along with those of Səmen, remained somewhat independent of the Christian state. During the 16th-cent. wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, the inhabitants of Ṣ., referred to as ↗Agäw, supported *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos against the Muslim attacks (BassEt I, 332 [text]).

The regions of Səmen and Ṣ. were again the site of uprisings against the Christian state during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, who tried to incorporate



Ṣ. into his realm by appointing Wäldä Ḥawaryat as ↗*šum*. The revolts (cp. ↗Gideon) were finally suppressed in the 1620s (PerChron vol. 1, 150, 283 [text]; Quirin 1992: 83ff.). The major north-south trade route went through Ṣ., and *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I attempted to revise and regulate the collection of taxes that were imposed along this route, including some in Ṣ., thus incorporating the area further into the state structure (GuiIohan 194f. [text]; Quirin 1992: 114; PankIntro 190f.). Ṣ. may also have been a source of silver (BeckHuntAlm 43; PankIntro 228; Barradas ed. 1996: 25).

Though no longer politically independent, Ṣ. remained a significant Betä Ǝsraʾel area into the 20th cent., as did its better known neighbour Səmen. In the crisis of famine and the Mahdist invasions (↗Mahdists) of the late 19th cent., many refugees fled from Qʷara, Dämbəya and Säqqält toward the more northern regions such as Ṣ. (Quirin 1992: 169; Kaplan 1992: 148).

Src.: Manoel Barradas, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici* (*1634*): *a Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by Elizabet Filleul, ed. by Richard Pankhurst, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 25; BeckHuntAlm 43; CRAxum 22, 24 (text) = 25, 26 (tr.) [nos. 9, 12]; GuiIohan 195 (text) = 206f. (tr.); MarAmdS 68f., index; PerrZarY 96f., 142f., 172f.; BassEt I, 332 (text) = II, 104 (tr.); PerChron vol. 1, 150, 283 (text) = vol. 2, 116, 218 (tr.); Isaac Wajnberg (ed., tr.), *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana 'Egzī'*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 56, 58.

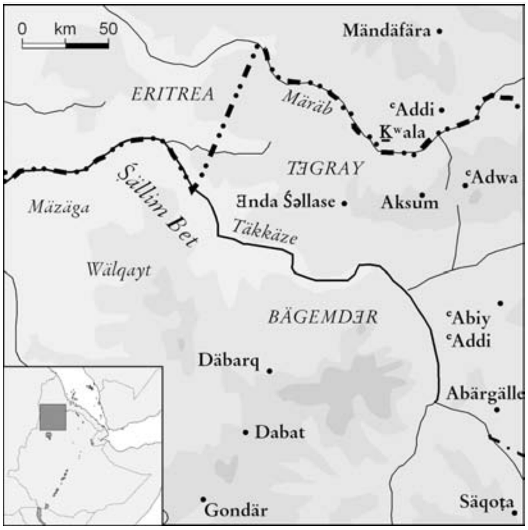
Lit.: HuntGeogr, s. index; Steven Kaplan, *The Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *in Ethiopia from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992, 148; PankIntro 190f., 228; James Quirin, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*: *a History of the Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1992, 49–52, 58, 61, 83ff., 114, 169; SerHist 231, 280.

James Quirin

Ṣällim Bet

The term Ṣ.B. (**ፀሊም፡ ቤት**, 'House of the Blacks') designates a Təgrəñña-speaking *bəherä säb* (Tgn. 'ethnic [sub]group') living in the fertile lowlands (*bäräk̠a*) of ↗Mäzäga *wäräda* and, north of it, in Ṣäbri *wäräda*, east of the ↗Wälqayt highlands (within the originally much larger Mäzäga kingdom). The Ṣ.B. usually define themselves as *bəher* ('ethnic group'), due to their origin different from the Ḥabäša (↗Təgrəñña-speakers), and to their different physical shape, which is expressed by their name.

In the strict sense the term Ṣ.B. is today only applied to the local indigenous population, composed of two subgroups, the Č̣are and the Širo. The Širo are named after their apic ancestor, the Č̣are after their spear (*č̣are*). Ṣ.B. is the designation used by themselves in differentiation from the Tägaru ('Təgrayans') or Ḥabäša. Research on their history and culture started only recently (Smidt 2005). In the wider sense the term Ṣ.B. is used by Təgrəñña-speakers in Mäzäga for all "blacks" living in this region, which includes descendants of slaves brought to the area during the last one or two hundred years (among them ↗Mao, ↗Komo, ↗Berta, ↗Nuer, etc.). Occasionally the Ṣ.B. are called Täk̠ʷarir (sg. Tək̠ʷərir; ↗Tuk̠rir). This designation is regarded as pejorative and never used by themselves. As an ethnonym for the Č̣are and Širo, Ṣ.B. seems to be entirely new, replacing the older local term "Bet [↗]Barya" which was still used in the 1980s (Kiflu Tadesse 1998: 434f.). The classical, but very general und fluctuating term Ṣ.B. occasionally also appears in other contexts in

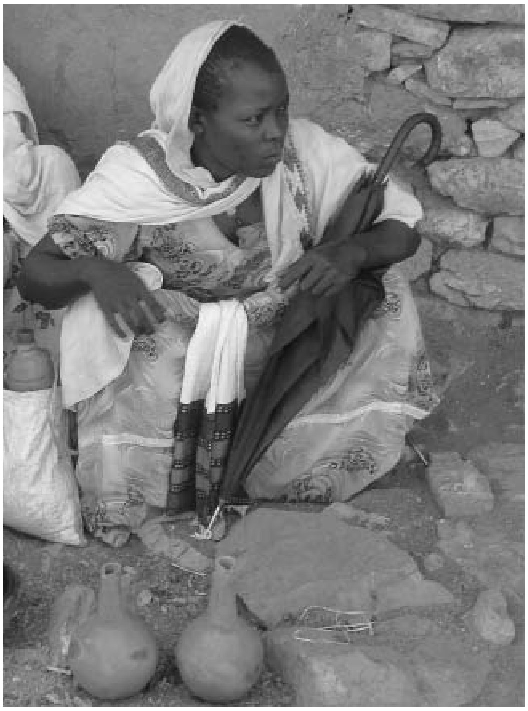


Təgrəñña and in other regions, with no apparent – but possible – connection with the ethnic group Ṣ́.B. For example, the usage of this term (with the spellings "Ṣällim Bet" and "Ṣällim Bayta") is attested quite early in the *Liber Axumae* in the ᶜAdwa and Aksum area (CRAxum 13, 23 [tr.]).

The exact number of Ṣ́.B. (in this article meaning only the Č̣are and the Širo) is unknown, as they do not appear in official statistics, but is probably amounting to over 5,000 families (an estimate of 1979/80 speaks of 1,500 to 2,000 families; Kiflu Tadesse 1998: 434). Different from the Ṣ́.B., most other settlers are newcomers of the last one to two generations. According to their own oral tradition, corroborated by local Ḥabäša tradition, the Ṣ́.B. have settled there long before the arrival of "Ḥabäša migrants", which is attributed to the time of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, who came to the area in hunting expeditions. The Wälqayte hunter Ayanazgi was then appointed governor over Mäzäga in May Gaba, with the effect that the previous local Muslim ↗Balaw rulers submitted and the Č̣are and Širo were reduced to serfdom (↗Slavery). Ayanazgi's ruined castle is a revered place still today. Serfdom has deeply marked the Ṣ́.B. society, even if not all were submitted to "masters" (Tgn. *goyta*, pl. *goytat*). Still well into the 1970s the Ṣ́.B. were tenants of lowland fields of Ḥabäša landlords mainly residing in the highlands.

From these masters the Č̣are and Širo adapted the Təgrəñña language. A few elders still remember, however, words in the Č̣arəñña and Širo languages, which are, according to them, closely related. Until today only a short word list of Č̣arəñña could be collected, which shows a close relation with ↗Gumuz (Smidt, forthcoming). One may conclude therefore, that the Ṣ́.B. belong to an old, once much bigger Gumuz population cluster in the Ethio–Sudanese border regions, which had been separated from each other by slave raids and migration; however, the Ṣ́.B. do not have any knowledge of the existence of the Gumuz, but instead claim a connection to ancient Aksum. Some basic words in Č̣arəñña are: *əmband* ('one'), *wäkäk* ('two'), *sənakʷ* ('three'), *aya* ('water'), *qusəma* ('tooth'), *luquma* ('head'), *pʰēma* ('arm'), *mugʷa* ('house'), *qäläma* ('goat'), *iba* ('father'), *yädäy* ('mother'), *məgəḵma* ('good').

Traditionally, the Ṣ́.B. were strictly endogamic. Since the abolishment of the serfdom in the 1970s, marriage relations with their Ḥabäša neighbours are becoming more frequent. Their religion is Christian, even if in some practices differing from Orthodox dogma; tradition claims that they did not practice Christianity before the 20th cent. Baptism is carried out on holy places at rivers, e.g., at May Ṭəmqät. They settle in several villages close to the Täkkäze in the surroundings of May Gaba, the capital of Mäzäga, up to one hour distance from the river, on its western bank. Some are also living in scattered houses within their farming land. Their main settlements are, among others, May Č̣äᶜa, Taḥtay May Ḥumär, and the town of Mäguᶜ in Ṣ́äbri *wäräda*, where they are a minority; about five percent of the population of May Gaba are Ṣ́.B. Economically, the Ṣ́.B. are depending today on farming and fishing. As farmers they mainly produce sorghum (Tgn. *mäšälla*, Č̣arəñña *kwāč̣a*) and sesame (Wälqayt-Tgn. *säliṭ*, Č̣arəñña *gizuqʷa*), from which oil is extracted with a wooden mill, driven by camels. This high quality oil, sold in local markets, is a basis for their relative wealth. Additionally, men are fishers in the Täkkäze and its tributaries such as the Täwlämbä, Mənmənä and the Qalema. Fishing is done with fishing-hook or sometimes with the help of poisonous liane leaves, which kill fishes. Sesame seeds, sesame oil, butter, dried fish, and sorghum, are brought to the May Gaba market. Sometimes hunting is performed, e.g., on rhinozeros (perceived as "wild pigs", which are forbidden by the church) and elephants. According to local tradition, only a few generations ago they were mainly hunters and gatherers. From



A Ṣ́ällim Bet merchant in traditional Təgrayan garb, offering coffee pots for sale, May Gaba, Təgray; photo 2008, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt cotton, grown by them, women produce clothes. Houses are built of timber and long grass.

Locally the Ṣ.B. are reputed for their elaborated knowledge of the medical capacities of plants, already reported on "Tukrir" in the lands below Wälqayt (= Ṣ.B.?) by Parkyns (1853: 350), their knowledge possibly having been developed as a response to high infant and mother mortality (e.g., due to malaria). Neighbouring Təgrəñña groups search for their help. Also medicine against the evil eye and the "*buda*" is traded by them to their neighbours.

Src.: interview with Tägäññä, May Gaba (Mäzäga), ca. 70 years, 2004; *qäšši* Alämayyähu, Däğäna, ca. 70 years old; Märäsa Gäbrämaryam, May Gaba, 2008; Räṭäbe Rəsqäy, May Gaba, 2008; Bərhane Galagay, Mäguᶜ, 85 years, 2008; Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*: *Being Notes Collected During Three Years' Residence and Travels in That Country*, London 1853, 349ff.; CRAxum 3, 23 [tr.].
Lit.: Kiflu Tadesse, *The Generation, the History of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party*, vol. 2: *Ethiopia*: *Conflict and Transformation*, Silver Spring, MD – Trenton, NJ 1998, 434f.; Wolbert Smidt, "Selbstbezeichnungen von Təgrəñña-Sprechern (Ḥabäša, Tägaru, Təgrəñña u.a.)", in: Bogdan Burtea – Josef Tropper – Helen Younan-Sardaroud (eds.), *Studia Semitica et Semitohamitica*: *Festschrift für Rainer Voigt anläßlich seines 60. Geburtstages am 17. Januar 2004*, Münster 2005 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 117), 385–404; Id., "The Ch'aré of the Tsellim Bet – an Unknown Ethnic Splinter Group in the Western Lowlands of Tigray", Paper presented at the *17th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Abäba 2009.

Wolbert Smidt – Habtom Ghebremedhin

Sälomon I

Aṣe S. I (**ሰሎሞን**, sometimes referred to as "II" when either King ↗Solomon of Israel, putative founder of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, or the 13th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Yagbəʾa Ṣəyon, also known as Sälomon, is counted; r. 1777–79) was one of the rulers during the early ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

Like many other rulers who were to follow, S. was a puppet king, brought from ↗Wähni Amba to replace *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot II in 1777. He was the puppet of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq of Goğğam, of *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Ǝšäte (both first-generation descendants of members of the *Qʷäräñña* faction, who had controlled the throne during the reigns of ↗Iyasu II and ↗Iyoʾas I) as well as of *däğğazmač* ↗Kənfu Addam of Mäčča and ↗Wänd Bäwäsän of Bägemdər (BlunChr 88 [text]).

From the beginning S.'s rule was challenged by his eventual successor, ↗Täklä Giyorgis. The latter was exiled to Təgray, but returned in June/July 1778, when he was captured and, apparently, confined to Wähni Amba.

S. spent Easter of 1779 at ↗Qaroda with *ras* Ḫaylu Yosedeq and *däğğazmač* Ḫaylu Ǝšäte, following which tension built between the two Ḫaylus and Kənfu Addam. Kənfu turned against S., fetched Täklä Giyorgis from Wähni and proclaimed the latter Emperor on 17 July 1779, at Yəbaba (BlunChr 20, 90f. [text]). In the same proclamation he informed the country that S. had become a monk. Early in 1780, Täklä Giyorgis had S. returned to Wähni Amba. From then on, S. disappears from the records.

Although his reign was brief, and, presumably, dominated by the nobles, S. appears in a number of land grants. For example, he granted lands to various individuals in support of the Gondär churches of ↗Ḥamärä Noḫ (BritLib Orient. 508, fol. 286v), ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam (BritLib Orient. 776, fols. 9v and 272r) and ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase (BritLib Orient. 777, fol. 285r). Some of these grants were made jointly with *ras* Ḫaylu Yosedeq, others, according to the record, on his own. The church which appears most frequently in his grants was Aṭṭäṭami Qəddus Mikaʾel, on behalf of which he granted land to various individuals (BritLib Orient. 508, fol. 286v, Orient. 778, fols. 1v, 2v, 5v, 6v, and 9r).

S. was the father of *abeto* Goššu and the brother of *aṣe* Yonas (BlunChr 176 [text]).

Src.: BlunChr 19ff., 35, 88–91, 176 (text) = 231f., 251, 330–34, 454 (tr.); ms. BritLib Orient. 508, 776, 777, 778.
Lit.: CrumLand 148, 150, 195.

Donald Crummey

Sälomon II

Aṣe S. II (or III, if the Biblical King Solomon is counted, regnal name **ሰሎሞን**, birth name Gäbrä Mädḫən; r. 1796–97, 1799) was one of the puppet rulers of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

S. was the son of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot II and father of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu IV. As a young man, he had been entrusted by *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul to the father of *däğğazmač* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel. Early in 1783 he was brought by Wäldä Gäbrəʾel to *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis, then in his first period of reign (BlunChr 53). Täklä Giyorgis sent him to ↗Wähni Amba, whence in June 1796, under the aegis of *ras* ↗Märəd Ḫaylu of Goğğam, he was brought to ↗Gondär. On 19 June 1796 S. was crowned by *abunä* Yosab and *əččäge* Wäldä Iyäsus (BlunChr 166).

S. spent *kərämt* of 1796 in Gondär. During the same year, he is noted to have given land to the church of ↗Moṭa Giyorgis; his protector Märəd (now *bitwäddäd*) is also mentioned in the land grant and was, undoubtedly, the real power behind the donation (BritLib Orient. 776, fol. 269r).

S. apparently married a certain Alṭaš, daughter of "his brother" *ras* ↗Ali Gʷangul of Yäǧǧu and formerly a concubine of *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis, who had allegedly abused her (BlunChr 170).

In *kərämt* of 1797, S. was chased from the throne by *balambaras* Aśrat, who sacked Gondär. Early in 1798 he was brought back to Gondär by *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis, who was on the throne once again. The ruler received S. with great ceremony and made him a member of the royal court. In June 1799, with the court out of Gondär, S. slipped away and returned to Gondär, where, on 15 June, he was again placed on throne by Märəd and his ally, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gäbre Täsfa of Səmen, a kingmaker in his own right (BlunChr 180). S.'s second period on the throne was even shorter than the first, as he was deposed only one month later, in July 1799.

Some three years later S. was reported to be in chains in Təgray. Another chronicler lamented that, in September/October 1801, S. was in Təgray, while three other ex-rulers were elsewhere in the country, "dispersed like dust before the wind" (CRReal 870).

Src.: BlunChr 53, 166f., 170f., 181f., 188f. (text) = 277, 439ff., 445f., 460ff., 471 (tr.); CRReal 870 (text) = 797 (tr.); ms. BritLib Orient. 776.

Donald Crummey

Sälomon Täsfa Ṣəyon

Baḥri nägaśi S. (**ሰሎሞን፡ ተስፋ፡ ጽዮን**, also *baḥər nägaš* Sälämon; d. 30 July 1743, Ṣäᶜazzäga), was a governor of the ↗Märäb Məllaš under *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, and a member of the ↗Däqqi Täššəm lineage. He was a grandson of ↗Gäbrä Krəstos Habsəllus, the ruler of ↗Ḥamasen. His seat was ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga.

S. is mentioned as governor in the Chronicle of Iyasu II for the year 1742/43 (KolTrad III, A19; GuiIyas 118; BruNile II, 643). Tradition claims that he ruled for twelve years (KolTrad I–II, no. 94; III, A19). S. united all the dispersed highland territories north of the Märäb under his rule, apparently as the deputy of his uncle *däǧǧazmač* ↗ᶜAndä Haymanot, the governor of all the territories from southern Təgray to the coast (the ↗Bambolo Məllaš; cp. KolTrad III, A19). It is, however, possible that his uncle rose to power only after S.'s death. Some oral traditions even claim that S. governed only after the death of his uncle (which is chronologically impossible, as S. died before the latter according to the written chronicle of ᶜAddi Nəᶜammən; cp. KolTrad I–II, no. 94, KolTrad II, 217, 229; KolTrad III, A46).

S. was known for his sense of justice. He respected the existing legal plurality, but established control over tributes, taxes and local offices. Oral tradition claims, that one of his officers was ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul (cp. KilHDic 411), who took control over all of Təgray and later usurped the imperial throne itself. S., however, also claimed Təgray. Therefore, he fought a battle with the latter nearby ᶜƎdaga Räbuᶜ, which did not bring any decision. Following their reconciliation, S. was confirmed in his control over the Märäb Məllaš, while Təgray was taken by Mikaʾel Səḥul, later *ras*. S. was succeeded by his son ↗Bok̲ru Sälomon (under *ras* Mikaʾel, s. KolTrad III, A48), son of S.'s legitimate wife Wälättä Kidan (Perini 1905: 253; KolTrad III, A80), also known as *əmməbet* Goytän, the daughter of Qälit *wäddi* Fäto of Qaqəbda (KolTrad I–II, no. 96).

Src.: interview with Bärhe Gäbrä Mikaʾel Gäbrä Ab, 72 years, Ṣäᶜazzäga, March 2000; BruNile II, 643; KilHDic 411; KolTrad I–II, index; KolTrad III, A14, A18ff., A46, A48, A72, A80, A85.

Lit.: RUFFILO PERINI – GABRÈ NEGÙS, *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàse*), Firenze 1905, 34, 253; YƎSḤAQ̱ YOSEF, **ንግስነት፡ ሃገረ፡ ምድሪ፡ ባሕሪ፡ (ኤርትራ፡), ታሪኽ፡ ደጊያት፡ ሃይሉ "አባ፡ ጋላ"** (*Nəgəsənnät hagärä mədri baḥəri* (*Erətra*), *tarik̲ däggiyat Haylu 'abba Galla'*, 'The Royalty of the Coastal Region [Eritrea], the History of *däggiyat* Haylu 'Abba Galla"), Asmära 2000.

Wolbert Smidt

Sälomon Yəsḥaq

S.Y. (**ሰሎሞን፡ ይስሐቅ**, also Solomon Isaac, b. ca. 1890, Säkält province, d. 1921, Marob, Egypt) was a ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel student. He was one of the pupils of Fälaša priests at Guraba. When Jacques ↗Faitlovitch arrived on his second expedition to Ethiopia in 1908–09, he was accompanied by Gete Erməyas, whom he had taken to Palestine and Italy in 1906. Gete introduced his cousin S.Y. to Faitlovitch.

The three arrived in ↗Jerusalem in 1909, where S.Y. joined Gete at the Lemel school. He learned Hebrew, Torah and secular subjects, and pursued an Orthodox Jewish way of life. S.Y. kept a diary, written in excellent Hebrew, in which he provided an eye-witness account of General Allenby's entry into Jerusalem in 1917 and the termination of Turkish rule in Palestine. By 1918, the entries in S.Y.'s diary were becoming increasingly melancholic. He wrote desperate letters to

Sälomon Yəsḥaq (left) and Gete Erməyas (right) with the teacher Asher ben Natan (middle) in Jerusalem; photo 1909, Faitlovitch Collection, Sourasky Central Library, Tel Aviv University

world Jewish leaders asking for help. Finally, in 1920, Faitlovitch managed to return to Jerusalem, accompanied by ↗Täʾammərat Amanuʾel and agreed to take S.Y. back to Ethiopia. However, on the way back S.Y. died in the fortress of Marob in Egypt, probably from hepatitis.

Src.: JACQUES FAITLOVITCH, *Quer durch Abessinien: Meine zweite Reise zu den Falaschas*, Berlin 1910.

Lit.: SHALVA WEIL, "The Life and Death of Solomon Isaac", in: TUDOR PARFITT – EMANUELA TREVISAN SEMI (eds.), *The Beta Israel in Ethiopia and Israel: Studies on the Ethiopian Jews*, London 1999, 40–49.

Shalva Weil

Ṣälot ↗Prayers

Ṣälotä haymanot ↗Nicaea, Council of

Salt

S. (Amh./Tgn. ጨው, *čäw*, Orom. *sooda*) is one of the major products for internal as well as external ↗trade, and in addition has played an important role as a ↗currency or quasi-money, as well as in local legends and cultural contexts. The term ↗*amole* designates a S. bar (stone S.), while the term አሻቦ (*ašabo*) means S. powder.

Salt currency

Already ancient Aksum traded S. against ↗gold, ↗ivory and even slaves (↗Slavery) in inner Ethiopia. Thus apparently it was at an early stage already that S. became quasi-money and a universal equivalent of exchange (↗Currencies). All of it then originated in the ↗ᶜAfar Depression (Tgn. Ṭəlṭal, Ṭənṭal). Alvares in the 16th cent. praises S. as the best product of Ethiopia and also d'Almeida mentions it, the size of the bars being "nearly a span long" (O'Mahoney 1970: 148). In most of Ethiopia it seized to be used as equivalent of exchange in the mid-20th cent., but still in the 1970s it is reported that S. bars were used further south in North-east-Africa (Gerster 1972: 57). In ↗Mäq̱älä S. is traded in the traditional form of the salt bars even today (Tgn. *gela*, or more generally *amole*, from ↗ᶜAfar *amo*, 'head', s. MorDicAfar), in the traditional form of the ancient S. money (Smidt in preparation). It was used as "small money" all over Ethiopia until the 19th cent. (in Təgray itself silver dollars were preferred, s. Rohlfs 1883: 161), and in some southern regions still in the 20th cent. Oral tradition of ↗Sāho shows that it was used as currency also by them, i.e. close to its origins.

A report from the ↗Gonga market in ↗Käfa of the late 19th cent. shows that the main equivalents of exchange used there were S. bars, bullet casings and ↗Maria Theresa thalers (the latter, however, being less valued by them than by Amhara or even not accepted, different from S. bars). S. bars could be exchanged against thalers by a *nagado* (i.e. a trader) specialized in the S. trade, in Gonga twelve S. bars corresponding to four thalers, in ↗Andärača four S. bars to one thaler (Recking 1936: 304f.). Around the same time, S. bars and bullet casings were the current "small money" in Addis Abäba (Recking 1936: 438).

The East-Təgrayan–ᶜAfar salt route

The ᶜAfar Depression S. deposits are among the largest in the world. Due to seismological activities it was separated from the ocean, an arm of the Red Sea dried out and left enormous quantities of S. The northern ᶜAfar and eastern Təgrayans made a considerable income from the S. trade over the centuries. From Mäq̱älä in ↗Ǝndärta the S. route went via the ᶜAfar settlements Beraḫle, and Ab ᶜAle (in Tgn. Šäḵ̱ät) in the lowlands to the S. plains. Mäq̱älä, long before becoming a city in the 19th cent., was a trading post for S. and still today is the main S. market in the north. Ac-

Production of *amole* in the ᶜAfar salt plain; photo 2008, courtesy of Mitiku Gebrehiwot

cording to ᶜAfar tradition it was originally an ᶜAfar grazing area, and thus an ᶜAfar outpost in the highlands. Wägər Ḥariba on the plateau adjacent to Mäq̱älä (close to today's ↗Kʷiḥa) was a traditional halt for S. traders, who had to pay a tax here to the tax station traditionally held by Muslims (until approximately the early 19th cent.). Beraḥle, situated between the high- and the lowlands, is another traditional caravan post and tax station.

The tax records of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II show that S. from "Ṭəlṭal" was a major source of income for Təgray (Pankhurst 1978: 71). In Mäq̱älä, the tax on S. was 10 % of the market price. Seemingly, in the 1930s these taxes reached roughly 100,000 thalers per year, which shows that the yearly sales of S. at Mäq̱älä amounted to approximately one million thalers (Recking 1936: 305). The traditional system of tax acquisition through tax stations along the road was still in use here until the 1970s, one camel being charged 3 *Bərr*, a mule 1.50 *Bərr*. It was recorded that at that period about 5,000 men were producing the S. bars or trading them, travelling from the lowlands to the highlands about nine times per year; this led to the estimate of ca. 17,000 tons of S. produced per year in the ᶜAfar Depression. About 500 ᶜAfar workers were engaged in breaking the bigger S. bars. 60 bars cost 3 *Bərr* plus food and drink, which should be provided by the traders; in the market of Mäq̱älä the price was already about 20–30 times higher (Gerster 1972). In Beraḥle each camel loaded with S. was taxed 3 thaler, each mule 1.50, each donkey 0.50; one trail could consist of 3,000 camels, 6,000 mules and numerous donkeys (O'Mahoney 1970: 148).

The S. plains of the ᶜAfar Depression attracted foreign political interest starting from the Egyptian expansion (↗Egypt). In 1874 the plains were annexed by the Egyptian governor ↗Arakel *bey* Dabroyan. After Italian colonization, most of it fell, however, to Ethiopia, with the border just north of Dallol.

Salt traders and salt workers in Təgray

Christian ↗Təgrəñña S. traders and leaders of S. caravans are called *arhotay*, after Arho, the main location of S. production in the ᶜAfar Depression near a S. lake (cp. Schimper 1877). The *amole* workers are mainly Muslim ᶜAfar. Today, increasingly also the *arhotay* themselves do this work. The S. layers are excavated with wooden sticks, used like a hoe. The *arhotay* form a Təgrayan socio-cultural subgroup within which the profession is normally inherited. A special group of traditional S. traders lives separately from them, as they trade in "magic S." or "red S." (Tgn. *ašaᶜale*) used for healing purposes.

It is recorded that there was an ᶜAfar subgroup (clan) called Amole (AbbGeogr 446). This is confirmed by Ab ᶜAle (Dahimēla) oral tradition, according to which the Amole merged with other groups a few generations ago. The Amole lived between Dallol and Beraḥle, and gave their name also to a part of the S. region. The mountain ᶜAsale near Dallol is a major source for S. production.

Salt trade in the colonies of Djibouti and Eritrea

The markets of ↗Šäwa seem to have received S. from the ᶜAsal S. lake in the arid Djibouti–Ethiopian borderlands already in the 19th cent. The first border treaty between Ethiopia and France therefore provided access for Ethiopians to the ᶜAsal S. lake (↗Boundaries: Djibouti). After the establishment of the ↗Chemin de fer franco-éthiopien S. from Djibouti started to dominate

The volcano salt lake of Boqee, Boorana; photo 2005, courtesy of Chikage Oba-Smidt

the markets in central Ethiopia. S. became the most important export article from Djibouti to Ethiopia (with 13 million kg S. exported to Ethiopia in 1934), modern S. works at the coast producing S. from sea water (Recking 1936: 305).

Starting from the Italian colonization of the coast, ↗Massawa was developed into a centre of S. trade for ↗Eritrea. Large S. works were established. Eritrea therefore, became virtually independent from S. imports from Ethiopia, even if trade with the ^{c}Afar also continued, mainly carried out by the Sāho. Today, S. is a major export product of Eritrea.

The Sudanese salt route

Another source for white S., especially for western Ethiopia, was Šendi in the Sudan, where S. – personally owned by the king (*al-makk*) of Šendi (↗Nimrab) – was produced from soil near the Nile (Burckhardt 1819: 276; Douin 1944: 44). From Šendi S. was transported by merchants from ↗Sinnār to the market of ↗Ras al-Fil for further transport to Ethiopia, and exchanged against slaves and ↗gold. A great number of slaves originated in the ↗Bärta border region (s. Triulzi 1981).

In the first half of the 20th cent. S. exports from British colonies such as the Sudan and Kenya to southern Ethiopia, including Käfa, increased, which changed the previous price balance (Recking 1936: 305). In the 1930s 300 kg of S. bars corresponded to one Maria Theresa thaler (ibid.).

The Oromo salt route

The ↗Boorana crater lake Boqee (Amh. Ç̣äw Bet, 'house of salt') below the market town of El-Sod or Sooda, near Dubluq, is an important source for distant S. trade and production of S. for local consumption. In the times of *aṣe* Tewodros II S. started to be exported to central Ethiopia. When Ethiopian highlanders raided ↗Guǧǧi and Boorana in the 1860s, they asked for tribute, and according to local tradition it was decided that Boorana would pay in the form of butter and S. from Boqee. According to local tradition, after the incorporation of the Boorana in the late 19th cent., the Ethiopian government introduced taxation on the S. of Boqee, but with the permission that 100 donkey-loads of S. would remain free for the Sabbo and likewise for the Gona. This privilege was probably abolished in the 1960s (Leus – Salvadori 2006: 597). There are two other, less important, crater lakes of the same kind: Magaadoo (lit.: 'soda') south-west of Mega, whose soda was traded widely in the past, and is traditionally mixed with tobacco for chewing. Nowadays, Boorana have to pay taxes for soda from Magaadoo to the Ethiopian government (ibid. 436). Another saline crater lake, producing S. mainly for cattle, is Dilloo in western Boorana (ibid. 149).

After the settler Sava Karagiorgis built a small track into the Boqee crater in the 1940s, S. started to be traded over larger distances due to increasing S. production, and the S. market town of Sooda emerged. At the beginning of the track into the crater people pray to ↗*Waaqa* and leave small pieces of salty mud in order to protect them from danger during the difficult descent. In the rainy season the lake is bigger, and only black S. mud, which is used for cattle, can be produced. During the dry season white S., for human consumption, is produced from deeper layers. The workers are often descendants of immigrants (mainly Konso and Burǧi), but consider themselves as Boorana.

Src.:. Interview with elders at Sooda, Boorana, August 2005; communication by Ôba Chikage, Gayyo, Boorana, August 2005, and Abdullahi Šongolo, Moyale, September 2006; communication by ᶜAbdulqadir Salih, Asmära, May 2008; AbbGeogr 446; John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia and in the Interior of North-Eastern Africa*, London 1819, 276; Théophile Lefebvre, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris 1845–51, vol. 1, 279, vol. 2, part I, 4, 15, 21, 26f., 29; Ton Leus – Cynthia Salvadori, *Aadaa Boraanaa*: *a Dictionary of Borana Culture*, Addis Ababa 2006, 149, 436, 597; Werner Munzinger, "Narrative of a Journey through the Afar Country", *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 39, 1869, 188–232; Richard Pankhurst [with Germa-Selassie Asfaw], *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Tēwodros of Ethiopia* (*1855–1868*), London 1978, 71; Gerhard Rohlfs, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien*, Leipzig 1883, 161; Wilhelm Schimper, "Berichte aus und über Abyssinien", *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* [Wien] 8, 3, March 1852, 227–39; Id., "Die geologischen und physikalischen Verhältnisse des Districtes Arrho und der Salzhandel in Abyssinien", *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 12, 1877, 109–16.

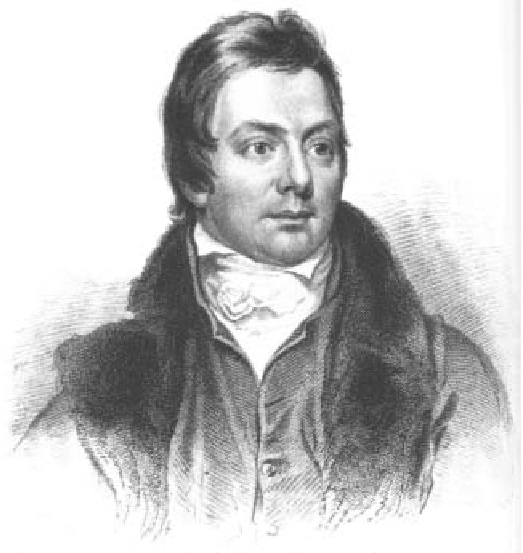
Lit.: Georges Douin, *Histoire du Soudan égyptien*, vol. 1: *La pénétration 1820–1822*, Le Caire 1944 (Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, Publications Spéciales), 44; Georg Gerster, "Auf Aethiopiens Salzstraße", *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 2000, 30 April 1972, 55–58; MorDicAfar; Kevin O'Mahoney, "The Salt Trail", *JES* 8, 1970, 147–54; Ruppert Recking, *Ein Journalist erzählt*, vol. 2: *Ein Kaiserreich auf Aktien*, Berlin 1936, 304f., 438; Wolbert Smidt, "Der spanische Säulenpiaster als Vorläufer des Maria-Theresien-Thalers", *Money trend* 41, 4, April 2009, 152–58; Id., "Salz und Amole in Tigray – zur Geschichte und sozialen Funktion einer traditionellen Währung", in: *WenDAE* II, in preparation; Alessandro Triulzi, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy*: *Prelude to the History of a No Man's Land, Bela Shangul, Wallagga, Ethiopia* (*ca. 1800–1898*), Napoli 1981.

Wolbert Smidt

Salt, Henry

S. (b. 14 June 1780, Lichfield, Staffordshire, Great Britain, d. 30 October 1827, Dessouke, near Alexandria, Egypt) was a British artist, collector of antiquities, Egyptologist, government official, and traveller. He was educated in Lichfield and later at a boarding school in Market Bosworth, Leicestershire. While there, he damaged his spleen, an injury which probably contributed to the many illnesses he suffered during his lifetime. In 1794, he went to Birmingham to study classics but returned to Lichfield a year later to finish his education. S. then went to London to become an artist and to attend the Royal Academy Antique School.

On 4 June 1799, S. met George ↗Annesley. The two became colleagues. In 1802, Annesley appointed him as his secretary and draftsman for the trip to the east. S. accompanied Viscount Valentia on two journeys (1802–06) to the Indies, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Ethiopia, and Egypt.



The envoy Henry Salt; from Halls 1834, frontispiece

S.'s 1805 visit to Ethiopia included a trip to the ↗Dahlak islands which proved that James ↗Bruce's account of his visit had contained so many factual errors that it was quite likely that he had never been to the archipelago. S. then called on *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase, ruler of Təgray, who approved his request to visit ↗Aksum and ↗ᶜAdwa. During his travels, S. learned that the Christian Highlands, which historically had been ruled by a single sovereign, had devolved into three independent states. *Ras* Wäldä Śəllase governed Təgray while *ras* ↗Goššu administered ↗Amhara. ↗Wäsän Sägäd controlled ↗Ifat and ↗Šäwa. S. also appreciated the fact that Amhara and Təgray were constantly battling one another. Šäwa avoided conflict with its two neighbours because of its remoteness. As S. prepared to leave Ethiopia, Wäldä Śəllase produced letters for George III, purportedly from the ↗Ǝgʷalä Ṣəyon but actually written by himself.

On 26 October 1806, S. landed at Portsmouth and for the next two years, he organized his journals and sketches. On 26 December 1808, he attended a meeting of the African Association (also known as the Society for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa) and convinced its committee to place £ 500 at his disposal to finance another journey to Ethiopia to procure "useful and curious information".

On 2 March 1809, he left Britain and arrived in ↗Massawa on 10 February 1810, with a letter and presents from George III for the Emperor. Nataniel ↗Pearce, who had helped arrange S.'s first visit to Ethiopia, again rendered service to his mission. Political unrest prevented S. from visiting Gondär but he, along with Pearce, spent time with *ras* Wäldä Śəllase again who complained that the "Mahometans" controlled all trade in the region and urged S. to facilitate "intercourse with Great Britain". The two visitors also toured the ↗Täkkäze River. S. copied several important ↗inscriptions in Aksum (including the Greek inscription of ↗ᶜEzana, RIÉ no. 270, with excerpts from the Gəᶜəz version, RIÉ no. 185 I, II) and in ↗Yəḥa, where he "discovered" ↗Epigraphic South Arabian inscriptions, until then unknown in Europe.

During his Ethiopian travels, S. had an illegitimate son by an Ethiopian woman named "Mahbubeh" (Arab. Maḥbūba).

On 11 January 1811, S. arrived back in Britain and, in 1814, published his *A Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels into the Interior of That Country* (SalTrav), which contains important information on the contemporary Ethiopia, as well as some discussion of ancient history (S. was the first one to draw a distinction between two inscriptions on ↗Monumentum Adulitanum). The book remains an essential study for understanding the early British presence in Ethiopia.

After his Ethiopian travels, S. served in the diplomatic service as Consul-General to Egypt. He subsequently sold many of his antiquities to the British Museum.

Src.: George Annesley, *Voyages and Travels in India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*, 3 vols., London 1909; Nathaniel Pearce, *Life and Adventures in Abyssinia*, 2 vols., London 1831, iv, et passim; RIÉ vol. 1, 22–25, nos. 185 I, II, 270; SalTrav 3f., 265–69, 404–19, 431ff., 453f.

Lit.: John James Halls, *The Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt, Esq, FRS etc.*, 2 vols., London 1834, frontispiece (ill.); Deborah Manley – Peta Rée, *Henry Salt: Artist, Traveller, Diplomat, Egyptologist*, London 2001, 1ff., 10, 24, 26, 40ff., 57, 182f., 268ff.; Id., "Salt, Henry", in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 48, 2004.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Salvemini, Gaetano

S. (b. 8 November 1873, Molfetta, d. 6 September 1957, Sorrento) was an Italian anti-fascist, socialist historian and columnist who opposed – and wrote academically about – ↗Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia.

After graduating in literature in Florence in 1896, S. taught history in Messina, Sicily (where he alone of his family survived the earthquake of 1908), and subsequently at Pisa and Florence. In 1911 he launched the magazine *L'Unità*. Born to the great tradition of liberal "meridionalists", he introduced economic and social analysis into Italian scholarship. An advocate of universal suffrage, he fought for the moral and economic rebirth of southern Italy, and against corruption in politics. He sat in the Italian Parliament from 1919 to 1921, but was arrested in 1925 for opposing the Fascist regime, after which he went into exile in France, Britain and, in 1934, the United States.

Denouncing the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in the following year, S. taught for over a decade at Harvard University, before returning to his old Chair at Florence in 1949. His writings included *Prelude to World War II* (1953), an extensive, and unusually detailed, exposé of international diplomacy relating to the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 in Ethiopia.

Src.: Gaetano Salvemini, *Prelude to World War II*, London 1953.

Lit.: Gaspare De Caro, *Gaetano Salvemini*, Torino 1970; Charles L. Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini: a Biography*, Westport, CT 2002.

Richard Pankhurst

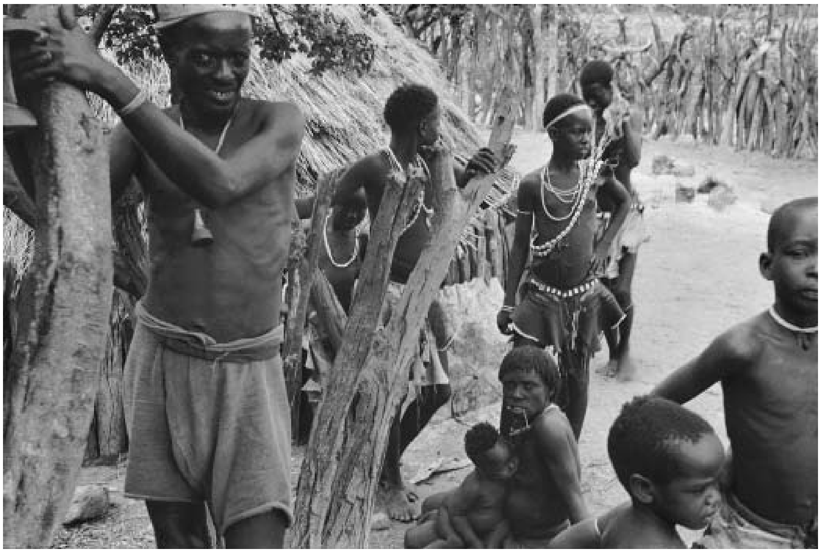
Ṣamakko ↗Dullay, ↗Ṣamay

Samarroon ↗Gadabuursi

Ṣamay

The Ṣ. (self-name: Ṣamakko) are one of the smaller ethnic groups in southern Ethiopia (for location s. Dullay, EAE vol. 2). They speak a language of the ↗Dullay cluster and, additionally, use the languages of the larger neighbouring groups. They live as agro-pastoralists near the Wäyṭo River north of Č̣äw Baḥər and number some 20,000 people (CSA 2008: 67). Their society is cohesive and conscious of its own identity vis-à-vis others, e.g., the neighbouring ↗Hamär, ↗Banna, ↗Arbore, ↗Gawwada, and ↗Ongota peoples, with whom inter-marriage occurs and bond friendships are traditionally maintained. In the recent past the Ṣ. had inimical relations with the ↗Maale, and with ↗Konso and ↗Boorana, across the Wäyṭo River to the east, who used to raid them.

The Ṣ. economy is based on animal husbandry and the cultivation of cereals, lentils and some vegetables and spices. Their physical environment, notably the lowland area (*dawle*) where most of them live, is well-suited to cattle herding but prone to unpredictable rainfall and food scarcity (in times of drought). Trading is limited and done mainly in regional market villages (e.g.,



In a Ṣamay village: the man wears a typical small box for tobacco, made of gazelle horn, around his neck and trousers imported from Konso; the young girls wear cowrie jewellery and leather skirt; photo by Elisabeth Pauli, 1950/52; courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23-Pa038-18)

Qäyy Afär). Next to what they see as their main and most valued activity, cattle-keeping, the Ṣ. practise river-bank flood cultivation as well as field rotation in higher areas, with sorghum, corn, some millet, and beans as the main crops. They also collect honey for sale and do hunting and gathering (forest products) on a limited scale. However, some traditional productive areas, e.g., prime dry-season grazing land and cultivation sites, are gradually threatened by outside interference under the auspices of the government, e.g., via a commercial agricultural scheme: a 4,000 ha cotton farm is located in the Wäyṭo valley but few if any Ṣ. work there. Although the local people profited a little from its presence, via a new clinic and partial irrigation of a few hundred local families, this does not offset the undermining of their pastoral economy and bush areas for apiculture. Also, indiscriminate logging took place in the vicinity (Melesse Getu in PICES 13, 751), leading to the depletion of the savannah ↗woodland until then preserved by the Ṣ. A conflict with the farm in 1995 led to the killing of 16 local people, and tensions are still felt.

Ṣ. social organization is characterized by a patrilineal clan structure (seven clans) and age-grades (with six grades), in which all Ṣ. must be members (adults only belong in an age-set after initiation). The entry into the adulthood grade is reached via a ritual called *gore*. Only after this, can a Ṣ. marry. Non-Ṣ. can also participate in the ritual (Melesse Getu 1995:26), as Ṣ. society allows the incorporation of "outsiders". Polygynous marriage exists and bride wealth (*šabe*) is paid, mainly in the form of cattle. Although Ṣ. is a patriarchal society with less sexual and social rights accorded to women than to men, Ṣ. women have crucial economic and social roles and are highly regarded. The woman's voice in choosing a marriage partner is becoming more important. Ṣ. society has a relatively low population growth rate due to rampant health problems, malnutrition and reported regulatory practices of abortion and infanticide in the recent past (cf. Melesse Getu 1995:26, 112), the latter partly related to certain cultural taboos.

Ṣ. political structure is marked by ritual chiefs and councils of (clan) elders, as well as age-grades (↗Age goup systems). They also have local (village) chiefs.

In Ṣ. religion, a sky god or spirit, *Waqo*, is recognized, the term also found among other Cushitic-speaking groups. Spirit mediums called *bogolko* are active as mediators with the supernatural sphere. They also used a black stone oracle for divination. The Ṣ. are traditionally known among neighbouring groups as powerful rain-makers (↗Rainmaking) and ↗healers. Their harmful "↗magic" was feared by groups such as the Hamär (Strecker 1979:23). In general, perhaps due to their smaller number, Ṣ. relations with other groups are cautious.

Socio-political change in Ṣ. during the past 15 years or so has meant a strengthening of government influence and a decline of indigenous social organization, which was egalitarian and non-centralized, and has led to disturbances in their previously well-adapted ecological-environmental management and internal authority structure.

Tourists have come to the area in growing numbers, as the Ṣ. are one of the well-advertised "tribes" of the Ethiopian South, depicted in tourist guides and travel agency brochures. As a result they are much photographed and somewhat over-exposed to foreign visitors. Some of the 16 villages in the Ṣ. country are Enčete, Luqa, Šalla and Gisma, while Wäyṭo is a more recent village mostly populated by newcomers.

Src.: CSA 2008.

Lit.: Adolf Ellegard Jensen, "Die Tsamako", in: *VSAe* I, 359-84; Elisabeth Pauli, "Die materielle Kultur der Tsamako", in: *VSAe* I, 389–98; Melesse Getu, *Tsemako Women's Roles and Status in Agro-Pastoral Production*, Addis Ababa 1995; Id., "Local versus Outsider Forms of Natural Resources Use and Management: the Tsamako Experience in South West Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 748–67; Yukio Miyawaki, "Demographic Composition and Kinship Structure of the Village of the Tsamai Chief, Southwestern Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 11, 1994, vol. 2, 227–44; Ivo Strecker, *The Hamar of Southern Ethiopia,* vol. 2: *Baldambe Explains*, Hohenschäftlarn 1979, 23f.

Jon G. Abbink

Sämbäl

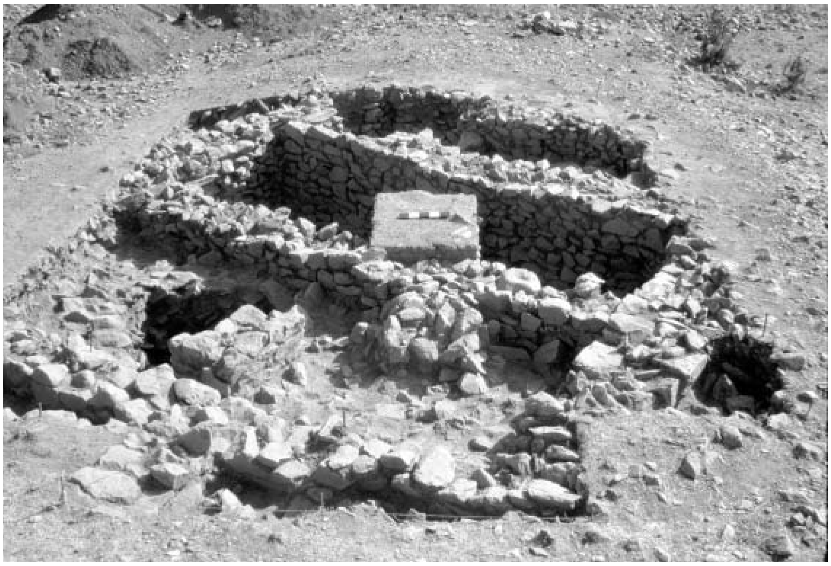
S. (**ሰምበል**) is an archaeological site located two km north-west of ↗Asmära international airport. Archaeological surveys and excavations in 1998–99 and in 2001–02 by the University of Asmära and the University of Florida revealed that the S. archaeological site is approximately 20 ha in size and comprises an ancient village made of stone built structures.

Six calibrated radiocarbon dates obtained from excavated charcoal and bone material collected in domestic contexts indicate that the ancient village at S. was occupied during the early and mid 1st millennium B.C. Excavations revealed artifacts representative of the 1st millennium B.C. ↗ᶜOna culture of Eritrea, such as bulls' heads lithic figurines, small red ware ceramic cups, burnished and red slipped ceramic vessels, large coarse brown and coarse red ware ceramic vessels and upper and lower grindstones. Rectangular room structures made of fieldstones fitted closely with mud mortar and containing substantial hearth and ash deposits are characteristic of the ancient Ona culture period settlement at S. Analyses of architectural and ceramic data suggest a period of abandonment between 600 B.C. and 500 B.C. in a series of rooms in one ancient house structure.

A number of excavated deposits in domestic contexts, particularly in hearth and ashy soil areas, produced abundant carbonized remains of barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and a lesser number of carbonized wheat (both *Triticum dicoccum* and *Triticum durum/aestivum*), linseed (*Linum usitatissimum*), and lentil (*Lens culinaris*) remains. These domesticated plant remains, along with significant amounts of cattle and goat/sheep faunal remains, indicate that the ancient Ona culture community at S. practised a mixed subsistence economy of grain and legume agriculture and pastoralism.

Lit.: Stuart Munro-Hay – Giuseppe Tringali, "The Ona Sites of Asmara and Hamasien", *RSE* 35, 1991 [1993], 135–68; Peter Ridgway Schmidt – Matthew Chad Curtis, "Urban Precursors in the Horn: Early 1st Millennium BC Communities in Eritrea", *Antiquity* 75, 290, 2001, 849–59; Peter Ridgway Schmidt, "The 'Ona' Culture of Greater Asmara: Archaeology's Liberation of Eritrea's Ancient History from Colonial Paradigms", *Journal of Eritrean Studies* 1, 1, 2002, 29–58; Id. – Matthew Chad Curtis – Zelalem Teka (eds.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 2008, 109–61, 163–77, 207–33; Giuseppe Tringali, "Cenni sulle 'Ona' di Asmara e dintorni", *AE* 6, 1965, 143–52.

Matthew C. Curtis



Excavated ᶜOna stone walls at Sämbäl, Asmära; from Schmidt – Curtis – Zelalem Teka 2008: 123

Sämənna wärq

S.w. (Amh. **ሰምና፡ ወርቅ**, ‘wax and gold’) is the term for the specific rhetoric used in ↗*qəne*, the traditional Ethiopian poetry in ↗Gəᶜəz. It is commonly described as the art of creating verses with apparent and “hidden” meanings. Indeed, S.w. rhetoric is characterized by the co-existence of two semantic levels within a unit of poetic speech (verse): one level has the literal meaning (“gold”); the other has figurative meaning (“wax”). The words constituting both levels are syntactically interwoven. Both parts of a verse constitute a (hidden) analogy, metaphor or simile, through which the entire meaning of a verse becomes clear. S.w. is commonly compared to the work of a silversmith who pours molten gold into a clay mould; the wax melts away and the gold takes the shape of the wax (cp. Moreno 1935: XII; ᶜAlämayyähu Mogäs 1957/58: 54f.; Schall 1961: 6). In a way, S.w. is the art of “concealing” what one wants to say with what one really says (Mondon-Vidailhet 1907:310f.). Almost any idea can be presented as “gold” and “wax” by means of S.w.-techniques, e.g. (s. Schall 1961: 31, 164f., no. 39):

Yəbe ḥalib bəʾəse bəzuḫ təkkaze
Ṣom ṣälaʾe ziʾayä yəmäwwət maʾəze
Amṭanä gədufä konku wäʾitäradʾanni gize

‘Milk/the man spoke with great sorrow:
When will the fast/my enemy die?
In as much I was left/lost, and the time
did not help me.’

Meaning: one is happy about his enemy’s death like milk is glad when the fasting time is over (when consumption of milk products is not allowed).

Mastering S.w.-techniques is a subject of traditional ↗education in the ↗*qəne bet,* and is possible only after years of exhaustive studies. Many *qəne* do not contain S.w., though they perfectly conform with the *qəne*-metric. The proper S.w. rhetoric is understandable, in fact, only to the masters of *qəne* (for whom *qəne*-verses have, in fact, no “ambiguity”, cp. Alemayyehu Mogäs in PICES 3, vol. 2, 100f.).

The time when S.w. techniques took shape is not known, but they are based on the categories of traditional Ethiopian grammar teaching, ↗*säwasəw*, of which S.w. appears to be a part. The first Europeans describing S.w. rhetoric were Antoine d’↗Abbadie (cp. Mondon-Vidailhet 1907: 307) and Fr. Giusto da ↗Urbino (s. CRAbb 239). The principles of S.w. were first briefly exposed in the *Säwasəw* published in Mənkullu [↗Ǝmkullu] in 1889 A.M. (1897/89 A.D.; s. Guidi 1906: 922), which was used by Mondon-Vidailhet (1907: 306). The chapter on S.w. from another *Säwasəw* edition, by *abba* ↗Yaᶜəqob Gäbrä Iyäsus, was partly translated by Moreno (1941: XV–XXIV). Other expositions followed (cp. KWKDic 159–71 and a bibliography in Alemayyehu Moges in PICES 3, vol. 2, 111f.); today it seems that the limits of S.w., presented more widely than described by Mondon-Vidailhet (1907) and Moreno (1935), are not quite clear (cp. ᶜƎnbaqom Qalä Wäld in PICES 3, vol. 2, 120f.). Still, it is possible (following mostly Mondon-Vidailhet 1907 and Moreno 1935) to systematically present at least some S.w. techniques. The most characteristic are:

1) Some deviations from standard Gəᶜəz grammar (omission of accusative marker in some cases, Moreno 1941: XIX, nos. 1, 2)
2) Occasional usage of single ↗Amharic words and calques.
3) Twofold interpretation of some verbal forms, due to the formal conflation of, e.g., 1st pers. sg. and 3rd pers. pl., like *säbäk(k)u wängelä aḥzab* meaning (depending on the reduplication of *k*), both ‘I preached the Gospel to the gentiles’ and ‘they preached the Gospel to the gentiles’; or of some forms of verbs containing laryngeals. The twofold possibility of verb agreement for collectives and some other nouns, e.g., *śəllase* (‘Trinity’), which may take the verb in both 3rd pers. sg. masc. and 3rd pers. pl. masc., can also give rise to double meanings. Double meaning can be brought about by verbs which can be both transitive and intransitive, like *zäräwä dämmäna*, both ‘he dispersed a cloud’ and ‘a cloud dispersed’, etc.
4) Omission of particles, prepositions, copulas etc.: *mäṣʾa säyṭan* [*bäʾamsalä*] *mänäkos*, ‘Satan, the monk, came...’ meaning, however, ‘Satan came in the appearance of monk …’
5) One of the most important devices of S.w. are juxtapositions and inversions of a headword [noun] and its complement [noun or adjective] (called *baläbet* and *zärf,* resp.) in nominal phrases. Usually, the first member is a figurative word (*säm*), and it is followed by a literal one (*wärq*). Additionally, there are seven types of combinations (Moreno 1935: XX; cp. ᶜƎnbaqom Qalä Wäld in PICES 3, vol. 2, 120). E.g., in the verse *nädayan romawəyan bälᶜu ḫəbəstä Ṗeṭros*, ‘Poor Romans ate the bread of Peter’ (Moreno 1935: XXI), the figurative

headword, *ḫəbəst*, ‘bread’, and its complement Ṗeṭros, ‘(Apostle) Peter’, imply the literal headword *haymanot*, ‘faith’, which does not appear (this figure is called *wəsṭä wayra*, ‘the inside of *wäyra*-tree’, which, if split, changes colour). In the verse (*täbälᶜa*) *haymanot ḫəbəstä Ṗeṭros*, lit. ‘the faith, bread of Peter (was eaten)’, the sequence of two headwords, the literal and figurative ones, the last having a complement, a word with literal meaning, is called *zəmd* (lit. ‘correspondence’). If it is extended by a complement having figurative sense (e.g., … *Ṗeṭros baᶜəl*, ‘Peter, the rich’), it is called *dərrəb* (‘double’) *zəmd*, etc.

6) Passive and active participles, adjectives (primarily of the forms *qətul, qätali, ḥaddis*) can be understood as relative constructions (the figure is called *baläbetənna qäṣl*, ‘headword and attribute’). E.g., *Maryam nəgəśtä amlak* seems to mean ‘Mary, the Queen of God’, but in fact means ‘Mary, over whom God reigns [*zäʾnägśä latti amlak*]’. The participle *aqrabi*, ‘the one who offers’, may be interpreted as *zäʾaqräbä lottu*, ‘the one who offered him’; *zäʾaqräbu lottu*, ‘those who offered him’ etc. Consequently, *ḥewan aqrabit śəllase məḥrät*, seems to mean ‘Eve, who offered clemency to the Trinity’, but in fact means ‘the Trinity who offers [*zäʾaqräbu latti*] clemency to Eve’, etc.

7) Possessive constructions can also be understood as phrases with prepositions or the relative particle *zä-*. E.g., *Krəstos məwwutä Addam* does not mean ‘Christ the dead of Adam’, but ‘Christ dead [for the sake of] Adam’ (the figure is called *mušazär*); the same can be done with infinitives and derived nouns (*sabizär*). Usage of such forms with a direct complement (*täsabi*) is extensive in *qəne*-poetry: ‘eating of bread’ may be expressed as *bəlᶜat ḫəbəstä*, *bəlᶜatä ḫəbəst*, also *bälᶜa ḫəbəstä*, *bəlᶜatu läḫəbəst* etc.

8) In nominal phrases (usually similes), the members are opposed in such a way as to make obscure logical connections between them (the figure called *täzäwari* or *särräz*): *Maryam mäzgäbä Amänuʾel wärq. Wäʾamänuʾel wärqä Maryam mäzgäb*, ‘Mary (is) the golden treasury of Emmanuel; and Emmanuel is the gold of Mary’s treasury’.

9) The rhetoric figure called *anṣar* (lit. ‘oppositions’), which may be a kind of synecdoche; or a kind of antiphrasis, when the sense of the phrase is contrary to what it seems: *əsfəntä ṭəbäbä ᶜoqä Sälomon mäsbaᶜtä abdä*, meaning seemingly ‘How much wisdom Solomon learned, seven times (more than) he became folly’, but in fact it should be translated as: ‘How much wisdom Solomon learned, [yet it turned out to be] seven times as much folly’ (allusion to the story in Kg 11).

Using S.w., the masters of *qəne* can skilfully hide irony and jokes directed eventually against another person or praise him/her, make political remarks etc. Such hints are not rare, though most *qəne*, elaborating topics from the Bible and church literature, connect them with those from everyday (“low”) reality and nature (Moreno 1941:25, no. 44; Schall 1961:34f., no. 46):

Mäwaᶜəlä kərämt wäld läʾardaʾihu azrəʾt əmdəḫrä
tänśəʾa yəbelomu

Ǝskä ḫəlqätä näṭb ᶜaläm əhellu məslekkəmu
Wäʾənzä taṭämməqu bälu basəmä śəllase awraḫ
bärəʾəsä mədr qädimu

‘The rainy season/the Son, after rising [having resurrected], said to his disciples/seeds:
Until the end of dripping/the world
I will be with you;
And while baptizing, initially say: “In the name of the
Trinity/three months [of the rainy season]”, over the
head, the earth.’

Meaning: after the resurrection, Christ promised his disciples to be with them until the end of the world (cp. Acts 1:8), likewise the rainy season will exist for seeds until the end of water dripping. Christ taught the disciples to baptize the people in the name of Trinity pronounced over their heads, likewise the rainy season “instructs” the rain to moisten the earth for three months.

In the 20th cent., the term *qəne* was transferred to ↗Amharic poetry, obviously in the wake of systematizing *säwasəw*-teaching and developing Amharic; attempts were made to create and popularize “Amharic *qəne*” and adapt them to S.w. techniques (e.g., Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos 1955/56:215–20). As a result, the term S.w. acquired a very liberal use also and came to be applied to Amharic folklore poetry (cp. ↗*Gəṭəm*), especially to the songs of ↗*azmari* (cp. LevWax 5–13 [and sharp criticism in Gedamu Abraha 1967:229ff.]; Mattausch 2006:91–102). Even though a few similarities between some S.w. techniques in *qəne* and figures of speech occuring in Amharic folklore poetry do exist, a wide equivalence is hardly possible, due to the different natures and languages of *qəne* and Amharic folklore poetry (as underscored by Alemayyehu Mogäs in PICES 3, vol. 2, 100ff.). However, today S.w. is frequently applied to Amharic oral poetry, specifically to numerous cases where the rhetorical effect of "ambiguity" or double meanings (one of them, the "hidden", possibly ironic or insulting) is achieved by extensively exploiting homophony and/or polysemy of words (pun, paronomasia): cases like ↗*mäsqäl* meaning 'the feast of *Mäsqäl*' and being the infinitive from the verb 'to hang, crucify'; *dəffən yäšäwa säw* meaning both 'all Šäwan people' and 'reckless Šäwan people' (Molvaer 2006: 152f.); *bäre salay*/*bäresa lay*, 'having seen no oxen'/ 'on dead bodies' (Guidi 1891: 61); *šəf(fə)ta* 'outlaw, ↗*šəfta*-rebel' and 'first butter (which appears on the surface of milk)', *ras* 'head' and the title of ↗*ras* (Guidi 1892: 27; the literary technique is designated there, however, as *ᶜaynä wəha* and opposed to that of S.w., though cp. no. 3 above).

Lit.: ᶜAlämayyähu Mogäs, **ሰዋስወ፡ ግዕዝ** (*Säwasəwä Gəᶜəz*, 'Gəᶜəz Grammar'), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1957/58 A.D.], 120–31; Id., **የአማርኛ፡ ግጥምና፡ ቅኔ፡ ማስተማሪያ** (*Yäʾamarəñña gəṭəmənna qəne mastämariya*, 'Teaching Material for Amharic *Gəṭəm* and *Qəne*'), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1957/58 A.D.]; Id. [Alemayyehu Moges], "Geez and Amharic Study without Qene is Incomplete", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 99–116; CRAbb 239f.; ᶜƎnbaqom Qalä Wäld, "**ስለ፡ ቅኔ፡ ትምህርትና፡ ጥቅሙ** (*Səlä qəne təmhərtənna ṭəqmu*, 'On *Qəne*-Learning and its Usefulness')", in: *PICES* 2, vol. 2, 117–32; Ignazio Guidi, "Proverbi, strofe e favole abissine", *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 5, 1891, 27–82, here 66, no. 105; Id., "Nuovi proverbi, strofe e racconti abissini", *ibid.* 6, 1892, 3–36, here 27ff.; Id., "Il Sawasew", in: Carl Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag* …, Gieszen 1906, vol. 2, 913–23; Gedamu Abraha, "Wax and Gold", *EthObs* 11, 3, 1967, 226–43; KWKDic 159–71; Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos, **ያማርኛ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Yamarəñña säwasəw*, 'Amharic Grammar'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.], 215–20; Birgit Mattausch, *Die Kunst der Ambiguität*, Wiesbaden 2006 (AeF 67), esp. 91–102, s. index; Reidulf K. Molvaer, "Some Ethiopian Historical Poems", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006,147–63; Martino Mario Moreno, *Raccolta di qəne*, Roma 1935, xiiff.; François Marie Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet, "La rhétorique éthiopienne. *Le sämenna wärq*", *JA* ser. 10, 10, 1907, 305–29; Walter W. Müller, "Qenē", in: Hubert Kaufhold (ed.), *Kleines Lexikon des Christlichen Orients*, Wiesbaden ²2007, 419f.; Renate Richter, "Wenn das Wax schmilzt …", in: Werner Arnold – Hartmut Bobzin (eds.), "*Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten Aramäisch, wir verstehen es!*". *60 Beiträge zur Semitistik*: *Festschrift für Otto Jastrow*, Wiesbaden 2002, 569–82; Anton Schall, *Zur äthiopischen Verskunst*, Wiesbaden 1961.

Denis Nosnitsin

Sämhar

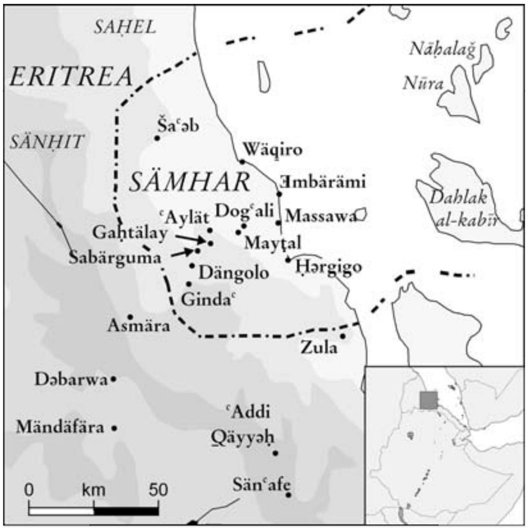
S. (**ሰምሃር**) is the name of an area in the central Eritrean ↗Red Sea coastlands, located today in the southern part of the Northern Red Sea administrative zone of ↗Eritrea. S. extends roughly from the mouth of the River Läbqa in the north to slightly north of ↗Zula in the south, and the edge of the highland escarpment in the west. The port of ↗Massawa is the dominant urban centre of the region, in many ways shaping the region's historical role and evolution. S. was also the name of an administrative unit until the 1995 administrative reform (s. Eritrea: administrative division).

According to popular etymology the name S. derives from a variant of the Arabic words *šams* ('sun') and *ḥar* ('heat'). In ↗Təgre, the word *šamhar*, which is the jussive form of the verb *šamhara*, has also the meaning of 'tranquil, calm and peaceful' (oral informant). In contemporary Eritrea many girls and some boys – including highlander ↗Təgrəñña-speakers – are named S.

Mostly a plain, S. is characterized by a great diversity in landforms within a very limited space, ranging from arid quasi desert areas, through plains and fields covered by seasonal and sparse vegetation and enjoying relatively good precipitation during the rainy months (especially November–January), to fertile valleys where some cultivation is practiced.

Aptly referred to in the literature as a "mosaic of tribes" (TrIslam 169), the population of S. is characterized by its diversity. S. is a linguistic and cultural contact zone, shaped by its particular geographic situation between the highland plateau and the Red Sea. The formation of the today entirely Muslim and Təgre-speaking population of S. is the result of the mixing between groups and individuals whose mother tongue was Təgre, ↗Beğa, ↗Sāho and ↗Arabic. In addition some ↗ᶜAfar, ↗Somali and descendants of liberated slaves – from the Oromo areas and the Nilotic Sudan (↗Slavery) – and West African Takrūrī (↗Tukrir) also inhabit S. The main direction of the trend has been assimilation into Təgre, socially, culturally and linguistically (from Sāho, Beğa and Arabic to Təgre), though some groups are bi-lingual to varying degrees (e.g., among the ↗Iddäfer: from Təgre to Sāho). In terms of political organization, most groups have councils of elders who elect a ↗*šayḫ* or chief.

The inhabitants of S. may be divided into urban and village dwellers on the one hand, and agro-pastoralist groups (*qabāʾil*, 'tribes'), on the other. The settled areas are notably Massawa, ↗Ḥərgigo, ↗Ḥəṭumlo, ↗Ǝmkullu, ↗Ǝmbärämi, ᶜAylät, Gumhot, Asus, Damas and ↗Gindaᶜ. The



groups characterized by seasonal mobility are the ᶜAd Ha, ᶜAd Šuma, ᶜAd Askär, Nabarra, Aflända, Warya, Mäsḥalit, Iddäfer, Gädäm Sikta, Ṭəroᶜa Bet Muše and the ↗Rašāʾida. In the dry season the *qabāʾil* migrate with flocks and cattle herds in search of grazing land, especially to the highland escarpment, beyond the boundaries of S. After the rains they return to the lowlands for grazing and small-scale cultivation along the rivers. They are joined by groups from the Saḥəl who descend to the S. pastures in the winter months.

In some cases one ethno-linguistic element constitutes a more prominent nucleus in the formation of a specific group. For example, the Warya and Aflända originate in Beǧa (↗Hadándowa) and the ᶜAd Ha, ᶜAd Askär and Iddäfer trace their ancestry back to Saho. Some villages are inhabited by individuals and groups whose major tribal grouping lies elsewhere, beyond S. This is the case of the ↗ᶜAd Mäᶜalləm in Zaga, the ↗ᶜAd Təmaryam in Asus and Gumhod, and the ↗ᶜAd Šek in Ǝmbärämi.

Interestingly, in the mid-19th cent. some inland pastoralists referred to S. simply as *mədūn* or *mudūn* ('settled urban area', 'land or urban settlements'; MunSt 106). At that period observers also noted conspicuous social, cultural and religious differences between the agro-pastoralist communities of the interior and the urban dwellers of Massawa (MunSt 114-28).

From a historical perspective the role of the ↗Balaw ↗*nāʾibs* in controlling and consolidating politics, ↗Islam, and the formation of villages in S. is significant. Based in Ḥərgigo and appointed by the ↗Ottomans as their representatives (↗Ḥabeš *eyaleti*), the *nāʾibs* practically controlled the area and the various groups inhabiting it from at least the 17th to the 19th cent. At the height of their power, between ca. 1750 and 1850, the *nāʾibs* effectively spread their hegemony over S. and its various communities. They dominated tribal politics, appointed chiefs, collected tribute, fostered commercial operations and had a considerable influence on the dramatic religious dynamics operating in S. in the 19th cent. Their role in the region resulted in the formation of several villages (e.g., Zaga) and "tribes" such as the ᶜAd Askär. Since the mid-19th cent., S. came under Egyptian (1865–85; cp. ↗Egypt, relations with; ↗Massawa Governorate), Italian (1885–1941), British (1941–52) and Ethiopian (1952/62–91) control.

In the first years of the 20th cent., Salvadei (1913) estimated the population of S. at 17,000. In 1910 the figure rose to 25,452, including Europeans (Odorizzi 1911:221), and in 1931 the population of S. was put at 33,895 inhabitants of whom 64 % were Təgre-speakers, 14 % Sāho, 10 % Arabic, 5 % Təgrəñña, 5 % ᶜAfar and 2% various other languages (PollEr 216). In 1993 the region had 77,000 inhabitants (KilHDic 373).

Since the independence of Eritrea the government has engaged in various construction and reconstruction efforts aimed at developing the area economically (agriculture, fishing and tourism).

Src.: communication with Saleh Idris Mahmud from 15 March 2008; *Guida* 175–97; KilHDic 372f.; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1º gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911, 105–221.

Lit.: TEOBALDO FOLCHI, *Commissariato Regionale di Massaua. Brevi cenni storico amministrativi sulle popolazioni dal suddetto Commissariato Regionale dipendenti, con una nota introduttiva di* MASSIMO ZACCARIA, Milano 2009; STEPHEN H. LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, Oxford 1945, 155f.; MuhTarih 279–353; MunSt 105–44; PollEr 216–24; GIOVANNI SALVADEI, "Massaua, Allegato N. 110", in: *Atti Parlamentari, Legislazione XXIII-sessione 1909–13, Camera dei Deputati, Allegati alla Relazione sulla Colonia Eritrea, Dal R. Commissario Ferdinando Martini per gli esercizi 1902–1907*, Roma 1913, 1813–1843; TrIslam 169; JONATHAN MIRAN, *Red Sea Citizens*: *Cosmopolitan Society and Cultural Change in Massawa*, Bloomington, IN 2009, s. index.

Jonathan Miran

Šämma ↗Clothing

Sammānīya ↗Islamic brotherhood

Sämon

S. (**ሰሞን**) is derived from the same Amharic root as *sämmənt* ('week'), and refers to the weekly rota of duties performed in service of the church (GuiVoc 151f.). The individuals performing these duties were given grants of land to support them and a ሰሞነኛ (*sämonäñña*) was the holder of such land. Therefore S. can be seen as a type of church ↗land tenure (cp. ↗*mädäriya*; ↗*rəst*; ↗*rim*).

This terminology was particularly associated with Šäwa and the expansion of the Ethiopian state during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II (Mantel-Niećko 1980: 111f.) and it does not appear with reference to church land in Goǧǧam, Bägemdər or Təgray. In those territories, where Gondärine traditions of land grants were in play, the corresponding term was የደብተራ፡ መሬት (*yädäbtära märet*; CrumLand 89).

In both traditions the land was held on an individual basis in return for liturgical services. Mantel-Niećko (1980) notes how the ↗measurement (s. EAE vol. 5) of land was introduced in the areas conquered by the Šäwan state, following which state appointees founded ↗*däbr* churches, fixed the size of their clerical staffs, and provided land to support the staff. Such foundations could have as few as five and as many as 500 *sämonäñña*.

Berhanou Abbebe (1971), who like Mantel-Niećko draws heavily on Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl (MahZekr) and on Gäbrä Wäld Ǝngəda Wärq (1955) claims that S. land, strictly speaking, was in the domain of the state and that its primary holders were ↗*gäbbar* farmers, who paid the royal tithe. In this account the *sämonäñña* held over-rights and collected tribute (Berhanou Abbebe 1970: 64, 66f., and ch. 2). S. lands were typically administered by a ↗*gäbäz*.

The extent to which S. resembled, or deviated from, Gondärine *yädäbtära märet* awaits detailed studies of *däbr* foundations to which S. lands had been attached.

Src.: GÄBRÄ WÄLD ƎNGƎDA WÄRQ, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ መሬትና፡ ግብር፡ ስም** (*Yäʾityopya märetənna gəbər səm*, 'Designations of the Ethiopian Land Tenure System and [Land] Taxation'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]; GuiVoc 151f.; MahZekr.

Lit.: BERHANOU ABBEBE, *Évolution de la propriété foncière au Choa (Éthiopie), du règne de Ménélik à la constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971, 64, 66f., ch. 2; CrumLand 89; JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*, Warszawa 1980, 111f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, *State and Land in Ethiopian History*, Addis Ababa 1966, 29ff., 64–72, 120–34.

Donald Crummey

Śämrä Ab ↗Saints, Christian

Samuʾel

Abunä S. (**ሳሙኤል**, whose name before his ordination as bishop was Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer; b. 1931/32, Gondär, d. 3 June 1975, Zʷay) was a bishop of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC), one of the few to have studied abroad.

S. was born to *mämhər* Däggu and *wäyzäro* Ṭəru Wärq. He completed his traditional ↗education in Gondär and went on to receive a modern education in Addis Abäba where he attended Täfäri Mäkʷännən Secondary School (later Ḫaylä Śəllase Secondary School; today Kotäbe Teachers Training College). After graduating with honours, S. was awarded a scholarship to Leningrad (today St. Petersburg), where he studied theology and earned a degree in Divinity. He later obtained a Master of Divinity degree from the University of Hamburg.

S. was sent by the Patriarchate of the EOTC for pastoral service to the ↗United States of America; his diocese included North America and the Caribbean. He was called back in 1968, and served in different positions in the Patriarchate until he was ordained bishop and appointed to the ↗Kämbata province, with the diocesan seat in ↗Zʷay, in 1971.

After the ↗Revolution of 1974, S. was elected representative of the EOTC in the Ethiopian ↗parliament, a difficult task since the parliament wished to limit the influence of the Church, an example of which was its cancellation of three ↗feasts previously celebrated nationally (e.g., 16 *Näḥase*; ↗*Fəlsäta*). As a sign of his opposition, S. walked out, earning the displeasure of the *Därg* officials.

In May 1975, S. withdrew to the monastery of Zʷay, where he continued to boycott the parliament. Several days later, he was found shot in his residence. The official conclusion was that he committed suicide. S. was buried at the monastic church of Zʷay Kidanä Məḥrät.

Lit.: MÄRŠA ALLÄḴÄÑÑ, **ዜና፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን** (*Zena p̣ap̣p̣asat ityop̣yawyan*, 'History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 223ff.

Mersha Alehegne

Samuʾel Giyorgis

Baldäräba S.G. (**ሳሙኤል፡ ጊዮርጊስ**, also Samuʾel Šoho, Samūʾīl b. ᶜAlī, birth name: Ḥusayn ᶜAlī; b. ca. 1820/22, Sänᶜafä, Akkälä Guzay, d. ca. 1888/89) was a diplomatic envoy of Šäwa, high official at the court of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, and at times governor of ↗Akkälä Guzay.

S.G. was the son of a ↗Sāho notable ᶜAlī ᶜUmar (↗Ali Umar). His father, a Təgrayan envoy to Egypt, helped Protestant missionaries to establish themselves in the region in the 1830s. Ḥusayn lived with them in ᶜAdwa, converted to Christianity and was baptized by ↗Isenberg as S.G., after Samuel ↗Gobat. S.G.'s relations with the missionaries allowed him to travel widely after 1838, e.g., to Egypt and probably Jerusalem. Around 1840 he became a favourite of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase and was sent as his envoy to Aden. S.G. escorted ↗Harris to Šäwa and was sent as a Šäwan envoy to India in 1841.

In 1862 *aṣe* Tewodros II appointed him envoy to Great Britain, accompanying Consul ↗Cameron to deliver a royal letter to Queen Victoria; but after their arrival in the border region of ↗Bilin, Cameron sent S.G. back. The act was received with suspicion by S.G. and strongly influenced Tewodros's future dealings with Europeans. S.G. then was a confidant of Tewodros, his secretary and interpreter (Moorehead 1962: 223 calls him the "chamberlain"), and, as *baldäräba*, in charge of relations with foreigners. European sources mention S.G. as an intelligent and influential man, whose relations with the Europeans were decisive for their standing at the court. S.G. secretly monitored Europeans' correspondence and translated remarks that were critical of Tewodros. This contributed to the incarceration of most Europeans (Smidt 2005: 15–20). When ↗Napier's army arrived at ↗Mäqdäla in 1868, S.G. was in charge of the negotiations and tried to achieve peace; he also secretly helped several captives to send letters.

Shortly after Tewodros's downfall S.G. acquired a key position in the north, as the appointed governor of Akkälä Guzay, based in his home town ↗Sänᶜafe, and married a former wife of Tewodros. *Däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Mərç̣a (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV) called him *rəᵓəsä mäkʷannənt* ('head of the princes'). But he soon quarrelled with *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa and fled to ↗Massawa. In 1871 S.G. joined a group of notables in a plot to prevent the coronation of Kaśa. The former puppet ruler *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs III in Aksum, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kaśa Golǧa, a refugee in Kärän (claiming to lead the "government of Ethiopia"), and S.G. in Massawa, wrote letters to the French President inviting France to establish a protectorate over Ethiopia, and send arms and soldiers in order to defeat Kaśa. However, these efforts bore no fruit. British documents of the 1870s show that S.G. remained actively in contact with Europeans, trying to defend Sāho interests in the face of an expanding Egypt, but no longer attained any position of influence.

According to a report of the missionary ↗Flad, who believed S.G. to be the main person responsible for the persecution of Europeans under Tewodros, he was arrested by the Italians after their occupation of Massawa. After years in captivity he was extradited to Yoḥannəs IV and received the death penalty (Flad 1922: 380ff.).

Src.: Paris, Lazarist Mission, archives, letters of S.G., 1871; Kew, British Foreign Office, Public Record Office, file of the vice-consulate Massawa, 1870s; HENRY M. HOZIER, *The British Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1869, 29, 36, 38; MARTIN FLAD, *60 Jahre in der Mission unter den Falaschas in Abessinien*, Gießen – Basel 1922, 380ff.; RubActa I, nos. 34, 41; II, no. 3, s. index; III, no. 77, s. index.

Lit.: ALAN MOOREHEAD, *The Blue Nile*, London 1962, 221f.; RubInd, s. index; WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "Before Eritrea, Before the Diaspora: *Habesha* in Exile and on Missions Abroad in the 19th Century", *Eritrean Studies Review* 4, 2, 2005, 1–36, here 15–20 (Lit.).

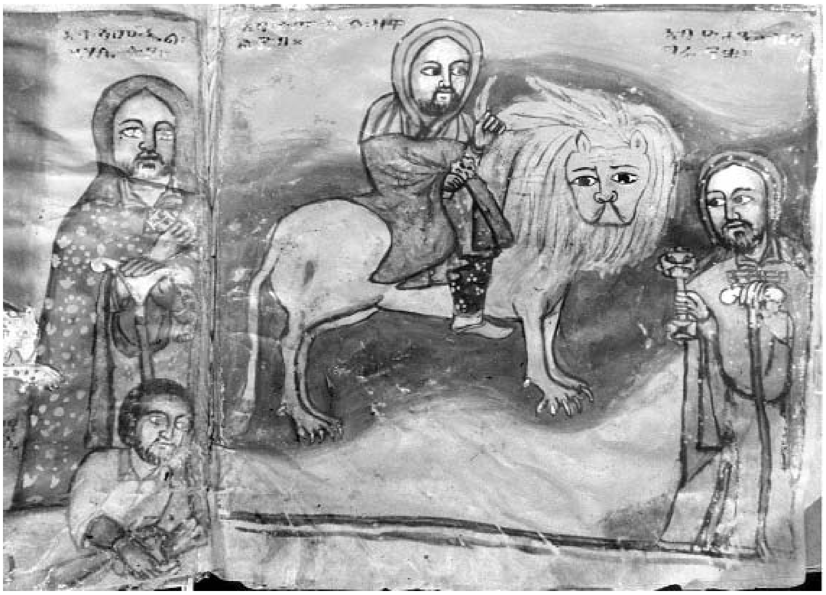
Wolbert Smidt

Samuᵓel of Däbrä Halleluya

Abunä S. (**ሳሙኤል**, d. 20 July 1375 [20 *Ḥamle*, 35th year of Mercy] or 1347) was a holy monk from ↗Təgray who lived in Märäta and Torat during the reigns of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I and *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arᶜad. His name and his activities are traditionally linked with the foundation of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Halleluya, where his ↗*täzkar* is still annually celebrated.

The main source for S.'s life is his hagiography (ed. Colin 1990). Four manuscripts of the Acts of S. are reported to exist (KinBibl 88), but the existence of only one is certain (20th-cent. paper ms. ANLin Conti Rossini 2 [fols. 1–49], used for the edition Colin 1990, s. "Introduction" [text]).

According to this text, S. was born in Märäta, to Yəftaḥ Länä Ǝgziᵓ, from a family of priests, and Təqäddəsännä Maryam, the sister of the famous monk ↗ᶜAbiyä Ǝgziᵓ, and he was baptized as Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab. As a child, S. followed the order of his uncle, before becoming a monk in the community of ↗Ǝnṭonəs at Däbrä Tänbuk. Ǝnṭonəs gave S. the monastic habit and his monastic name. There, S. excelled in self-mortification and ascetic lifestyle. Ǝnṭonəs eventually sent S. to the desert on mount Halleluya. Here Christ appeared to S. and told him to found a community. The first to join S. on Halleluya was a little boy Ǝnṭonəs (the future ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl of Gutämala). The new monastery followed the



19th-cent. manuscript illumination showing several Ethiopian saints, Samuʾel of Däbrä Halleluya (left) with a suppliant, ms. *Gädlä Abba Gärima*, fol. 13v, monastery of Abba Gärima, Təgray; photo 2006, courtesy of Michael Gervers

rules of ↗Pachomius and attracted many followers (Colin 1990: 18 [text]). When Ǝnṭonəs of Däbrä Tänbuk died, he chose S. as his successor and asked to be buried at Halleluya. As a result, S. became the head of several monasteries in the region and an important spiritual leader in Təgray. His Acts mention S. meeting such venerated saints of the region as ↗Filmona (ibid. 51) and ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba (ibid. 76). S. was succeeded by the monk Zäʾiyäsus, who in turn was succeeded by Täṭämqä Mädḫən. His two successors preserved S.'s ↗relics (hair), which were responsible for many posthumous miracles. The relic was later taken by the monks of Däbrä Halleluya on a pilgrimage to ↗Jerusalem and ended up in the hands of a Coptic metropolitan, who placed it in a "silver box" (ibid. 59).

The Vita contains several episodes common with other Ethiopian works of this type (cp. ↗*Gädl*): visions, stories about "heavenly bread", submission of wild animals, and miracles.

Src.: Gérard Colin, *Vie de Sāmu'ēl de Dabra Hāllēluyā*, Lovanii 1990 (CSCO 519, 520 [SAe 93, 94]); CrawItin 18f., 122, s. index; CRAxum nos. 41, 42, 44; Riccardo de Santis, "Il gadla Tādēwos di Dabra Bārtārwā", *Annali Lateranensi* 6, 1942, 9–116, here 89f.; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali dell'ordine di Ēwosṭātēwos di Dabra Ṣarābi", in: Enzo Lucchesi – Ugo Zanetti (eds.), *Mémorial Paul Devos*, Genève 2005 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 249–72; StrANL 33–36, ms. Conti Rossini 2.

Lit.: KinBibl 88, no. 133; Carlo Conti-Rossini, "Note di agiografia etiopica. ᶜAbiya Egziʾ, Arkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52; Getatchew Haile "From Strict Observance to Royal Endowment: the Case of the Monastery of Däbrä Halle Luya. *EMML* 6343, fols. 117r–118v", *Le Muséon* 93, 1980, 163–72; Marc-Antoine van den Oudenrijn, "L'évêque dominicain fr. Barthélemy, fondateur supposé d'un couvent dans Tigré au 14e siecle", *RSE* 5, 1946 [1947], 7–16, here 10f.; Osvaldo Raineri, "Samuele di Dabra Hāllēluya", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 930–32.

François Le Cadre

Samuʾel of Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa

Abba S. (ሳሙኤል, fl. 14th–15th cent.) was an Ethiopian saint known particularly as a disciple of *abunä* ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziʾ and the spiritual father of *abunä* ↗Ǝsṭifanos.

The main source on S.'s life is his unpublished Vita, preserved in a recent (19th-cent.?) manuscript kept in Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa (*Gädlä Samuʾel*, inventory no. CI–IV–161; the information on other mss. recorded by KinBibl 89 is uncertain). According to this text, S. was born in the vicinity of Mäqälä, Təgray. His grandfather, Tomas, was of royal descent, but left the worldly life to become a monk. S.'s father Zämikaʾel was the eldest of the five children Tomas had conceived before retreating into a monastery.

S. started a traditional ↗education in his home parish and was ordained deacon by the metropolitan (of unknown name, probably *abunä* ↗Säläma "the Translator"). His parents tried to get him to marry, but S. refused and went to the monastery of Däbrä Bänkʷäl, near Aksum, where he received the *qobᶜ* and the ↗*askema* from Mädḫaninä Ǝgziʾ.

S. travelled to many monasteries in ↗Šire and to Däbrä Bartarwa until he reached Qʷäyäṣa (Qoyäṣa). After a prophetic dream (EllLusAnt 9), S. established a monastery there – Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa, also called Hanbar Godäbo (Hanbärgʷədəb in the Vita of Ǝsṭifanos). According to some traditions, S. built it alone, without the help of the authorities (Beylot 1990: 7; ms. CI–IV–161). It was only later that, according to his Acts, S. met *aṣe* ↗Dawit II and his son Yǝsḥaq in Aksum, and Dawit granted lands to S.'s monastic foundation (s. CRAxum 22f. [text]).

S.'s Vita features such other venerated saints of Tǝgray as ↗Samuʾel of Waldǝbba and ↗Tadewos of Däbrä Bartarwa, also disciples of Mädḫaninä Ǝgziʾ. It contains many *topoi* and episodes common in Ethiopian ↗hagiography such as visions and submission of wild animals, the saint's distrust of women etc.

S. is still venerated as a saint in Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa where his ↗*täzkär* is celebrated on 12 *Miyazya*, the day of St. Michael.

Src.: *Gädlä Samuʾel*, ms. CI–IV–161 (ARCCH), Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa, Tǝgray; BassÉt 10 (text) = 99 (tr.); ROBERT BEYLOT, "Actes des Pères et Frères de Dabra Garzen: introduction et instructions spirituelles et théologiques d'Estifanos", *AE* 15, 1990, 7–43; CRAxum no. 10, 22f. (text) = 25f. (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta sancti Abakerazun*, II. *Acta sancti Takla Hawāryāt*, Louvain 1910 (CSCO 56, 57 [SAe 24, 25]), 6f. (text) = 6f. (tr.); ID., "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1901, 61–170, here 156; RICCARDO DE SANTIS, "Il Gadla Tādēwos di Dabra Bārtārwā", *Annali Lateranensi* 6, 1942, 9–116.

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "Sur quelques hétérodoxes éthiopiens. Estifanos, Abakerazun, Gabra Masih, Ezra", *Revue d'histoire des religions* 201, 1, 1984, 25–36; GIOVANNI ELLERO, "I conventi dello Scirè e le loro leggende", *Bolletino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 7ª, 4 [76], 1939, 835–52, here 838f. [repr. in: *EllLusAnt* 5–26, here 8f.]; KinBibl 89, no. 134; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Samuele di Qoyaṣā", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 932 (Lit.); TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Some Notes of the Fifteenth Century Stephanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE* 22, 1966 [1968], 103–15; TadTChurch 226.

François Le Cadre

Samuʾel of Däbrä Wägäg

Abba S. (**ሳሙኤል**; fl. 14th cent.) was a monastic leader and the founder of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Asäbot, venerated as a ↗saint of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥǝdo Church.

According to his Acts (ed. Kur 1968), S. was a native of Zǝm in the region of Ṣǝlalǝš (cp. ↗Ǝtissa; in ↗Šäwa). He was born to his father Ǝndreyas and his mother Arsonwa, and educated by *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot. The latter assumption appears to be part of a broader tendency to associate S. and his monastery with ↗Däbrä Libanos. He is said to have been consecrated as a deacon and later as a priest by *abunä* ↗Qerǝllos. His Vita links S. to Däbrä Libanos and the "house" of Täklä Haymanot associating S. with the persecution of monks by *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣǝyon I through his father Ǝndrǝyas, who is said to have received the monastic habit from Täklä Haymanot, persecuted together with the Metropolitan *abunä* Yaʿǝqob, *abunä* ↗Anorewos (a son of Ǝndrǝyas's sister) and others, and died in Ǝnsǝdǝstǝy.

S. enjoyed an excellent relationship with *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, who is said to have given him permission to construct a church upon the site of the remains of his father and provided him with vessels, garments and books for the church. S. is claimed to have been an active missionary in South Ethiopia (↗Damot, ↗Ǝndägäbṭän) and was particularly ardent in his battle against such pagan warlocks as ↗*däsk*.

S. is credited with the foundation of Däbrä Wägäg (↗Däbrä Asäbot), on the south-east fringes of Šäwa. He died in Yäzärzär on 29 *Ṭǝqǝmt*, on which day he is commemorated. His remains were translated to Däbrä Asäbot on 27 *Gǝnbot* by his disciple Śämrä Krǝstos.

Although S. does not appear in the monastic genealogy in the Acts of ↗Filǝppos of Däbrä Libanos (Turaiev 1908: 198f.) he does in the monastic genealogy of the 17th cent. (Getatchew Haile 1982: 28ff.), where he replaces Yoḥannǝs of Kǝlʾat. Similarly the 15th-cent. versions of the *translatio*-reports of Täklä Haymanot do not include S. as one of those present (Budge 1906: 258f.), but a 16th-cent. version does. The Acts of S. date from the 16th cent. and stress his place as spiritual descendent of Täkla Haymanot. Derat (DerDom 124ff.) suggests that these differences reflect the changing status of Däbrä Wägäg.

The Vita of S. has been dated into the first half of the 16th cent., but is known from two recent manuscripts. S.'s hagiography includes also a collection of Miracles (↗*Täʾammǝr*) and ↗*mälkǝʾ*.

Src.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Aperçu préliminaire sur le Maṣḥafa Ṭēfut de Gechen Amba", *AE* 1, 1955, 89–108, here 101; ID., "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Raguel (Dersāna Rāgu'ēl)", *ibid.* 2, 1957, 91–122, here 118; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Life and Miracles of Tâklâ Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Lîbânôs* …, London 1906, 258f.; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38, here 7f.; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Samuel de Dabra Wagag*, Louvain 1968 (CSCO 287, 288 [SAe 57, 58]); BORIS TURAIEV (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*. II. *Acta s. Aaronis et Philippi*, Louvain 1908 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 198f. (text) = 178f. (tr.).

Lit.: DerDom 124–27; KapMon 60f., 98f., 114ff., 120f.; KinBibl 89, no. 137; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Samuele di Wagag", in: *EncSan* 932–33.

Steven Kaplan

Samuʾel of Qalamūn

S. (**ሳሙኤል [፡ ዘቀልሞን**, Qalamon], Arab.: Samūʾīl, b. 597/98, Tkello [Dakluba] near Pelhip, d. ca. 695, Qalamūn) is one of the most remarkable and venerated monastic leaders and saints of the ↗Coptic Church; he is also well-known and venerated in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church.

The main source for S.'s life is his Vita, known in Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic versions. Born to the family of an ecclesiastic, at the age of 22 he went to Scetis, where he became a disciple of the monk Agathou. Later, he became the abbot of Wādī n-Naṭrūn. When messengers of the Melkite Patriarch Cyros (al-Muqawqas) came to Scetis to convince the monks to accept the doctrine formulated at the Council of ↗Chalcedon, S. fiercely opposed them, was brutally tortured, lost his right eye (this feature being reflected in his iconographic tradition) and was banned from Scetis to Naqlūn, in the Fayyum oasis. After spectacular events and miracles, S. settled at Qalamūn and stayed there 57 years; he died at the age of 98, on 8 *Kīhak* (8 *Taḫsas*). The monastery of Qalamūn flourished until the 15th cent. and was revived in the 19th cent.

S. does not appear in ↗genealogies of Ethiopian monks, like some other Egyptian monastic fathers (e.g., St. ↗Anthony, Macarius, ↗Pachomius who belong to earlier monastic generations). However, he is well-known in Ethiopia as a fighter against the doctrine of Chalcedon; he, his monastery and disciples feature in quite a number of different Ethiopic texts.

The Coptic Vita of S., attributed to "Isaac the Presbyter", emerged in ca. 8th/9th cent. and is represented in three versions (in Sahidic with traces of Fayyumic [the only complete version to survive, s. Alcock 1983], pure Sahidic, and Bohairic dialects). The Arabic is attested in at least three mss. and is represented probably in more than one recension (the text was edited after a recent manuscript, s. Alcock 1996, 1998; cp. Zanetti 1997: 148ff.). The edited Arabic Vita has some deviations from the Ethiopic but is closer to it than to the Coptic one, and confirms that an Arabic text was the *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic Vita (Alcock 1996: 321f.). The Ethiopic version might have been created in the 14th cent. and is found in a few mss. as part of the ↗*Gädlä sämaʿətat* (cp. 15th-cent. BritLib Orient. 689, fols. 138v–49v; Orient. 687–88, fol. 150ra–57rc; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Or. fol. 117, fols. 64v–114v, apparently used by ↗Ludolf; cp. Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Yb 4°7, fols. 11ra–17ra).

The commemorative note in the Ethiopic ↗*Sənkəssar* (8 *Taḫśaś* [cp. 14 *Ḫədar*]) was derived directly from its Arabic *Vorlage* and appears in the first recension of the *Sənkəssar* (ca. 1400; cp. Pereira 1894: 171–89; GréSyn IV, 655–67).

The ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* contains a number of accounts about S., his monastery and its monks (the "cycle of Qalamūn", s. CerMaria 157–78; cp. ms. EMML no. 1606 with four accounts; nos. 2058, fols. 27r–29v; 2337, fol. 243r; 2802, fols. 22v, 115v; 3133, fol. 106r, etc.; Budge 1900: 42–46). Translated most probably from Arabic, these accounts are of different origins. One of them – a miracle about the fallen angel (cp. CerMaria 158–63) – has a corresponding story (in two types) in the Ethiopic Vita of St. ↗George (cp. ibid. 163–66, and Arras 1953: 23–27; cp. also EMML no. 2802, fol. 26v). Some manuscripts of the *Täʾammərä Maryam* include miracles which are extracts from the Vita of S. At least two are known: concerning how St. Mary appeared to S. to raise his disciple (the first episode identified in CerMaria 159 n. 2; cp. EMML no. 2058, fol. 164v) and about the death of S. In the manuscripts that have recently come to light some of the accounts related to S. are still to be properly identified: "the captivity of S." – 18th-cent. EMML no. 2058, fol. 163v; 2337, fol. 246v; 2952, fol. 236r; and "the teaching of S.", EMML nos. 2058 – fol. 165r; 2337, fol. 248r.

A few stories about Isaac of Qalamūn (S.'s disciple and the purported author of his Vita) appear in the *Gännätä mänäkosat* (CerMaria 168–72; cp. Arras 1988; cp. ↗Monastic literature). A hypothesis concerning the attribution to S. of "blessings" contained in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät* (GuiSLett 29) has not yet been proved.

The so-called *Prophecy* or *Apocalypse of S.*, written probably in the 10th–early 11th cent. and preserved only in Arabic, refers, among other things, to the kings of "Rūm" (*malik ar-Rūm*) and Abyssinia/Abyssinians (*malik al-Ḥabaša/ al-Ḥubuš*) as ideal Christian heroic rulers together "striking the Ishmaelite" (topics reminiscent of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, cp. Martinez

1990). The account relates how the Abyssinian king would thereafter marry a daughter of the king of "Rūm" (Ziadeh 1915–17:390, 403; cp. Zaborowski 2003:111, 114; cp. ↗"Rom", EAE vol. 5).

↗Pseudo-Methodius, Apocalypse of

Src.: ANTHONY ALCOCK (ed., tr.), *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun by Isaac the Presbyter*, Warminster 1983; ID., "The Arabic Life of Anbā Samaw'īl of Qalamūn", [I], *Le Muséon* 109, 1996, 321–46; [II], *ibid.* 111, 1998, 377–404; VICTOR ARRAS, *Miraculorum s. Georgii Megalomartyris collectio altera*, Lovanii 1953 (CSCO 138, 139 [SAe 31, 32]), 23–27 (text) = 13–15 (tr.); ID. (ed., tr.), *Quadraginta historiae monachorum*, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 505, 506 [SAe 85, 86]), 204–09 (text) = 134–37 (tr.); ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Life of Ḥannâ (Saint Anne) …*, London 1900, 42–46 [text]; BudSaint 339–44; DillmBerl 56f., no. 66 [ms. Or. fol. 117]; EMML; FRANCISCO M. ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Vida do Abba Samuel do mosteiro do Kalamon. Versão Ethiopica*, Lisboa 1894; GréSyn IV, 655ff.; GuiSLett 29, 34; KLAUDIOS IOANNES LABIB, *Jahres-Psalmodie*, Kairo 1908, 404ff.; HIOB LUDOLF, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius …*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 429, 463; SixDeu 483–90, no. 249 [ms. Yb 4°7]; WrBriMus 159ff., no. 253 [ms. Orient. 689]; 169f., no. 258 [ms. Orient. 687, 688]; J. ZIADEH, "L'Apocalypse de Samuel, supérieur de Deir-el-Qalamoun", *ROC* 20, 1915–17, 374–407.

Lit.: ANTHONY ALCOCK, "Samūᵓīl of Qalamūn, Saint", in: *CE* 7, 2092f. (Lit.); CerMaria 75, 157–78; FRANCISCO JAVIER MARTINEZ, "The King of Rūm and the King of Ethiopia in Medieval Apocalyptic Texts from Egypt", in: WŁODZIMIERZ GODLEWSKI, *Coptic Studies: Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies …*, Warszawa 1990, 247–59; OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*, Cairo 1961, 309–36; JEAN SIMON, "Saint Samuel de Kalmon et son monastère dans la littérature éthiopienne", *Aethiopica* 1, 2, 1933 [juillet], 36–40 (Lit.); JASON R. ZABOROWSKI, "Egyptian Christians Implicating Chalcedonians in the Arab Takeover of Egypt: the Arabic Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamun", *OrChr* 87, 2003, 100–15; UGO ZANETTI, "Notes sur la vie de S. Samuel de Kalamon. Les versions arabe et éthiopienne. Deux citations de la prière de la fraction", *ABoll* 115, 1997, 147–58 (Lit.); FABRIZIO VECOLI, "Samuel de Qalamoun et la fin de la Parrhèsia dans l'hagiographie égyptienne", *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 57, 2007, 7–23.

Lothar Störk – Denis Nosnitsin

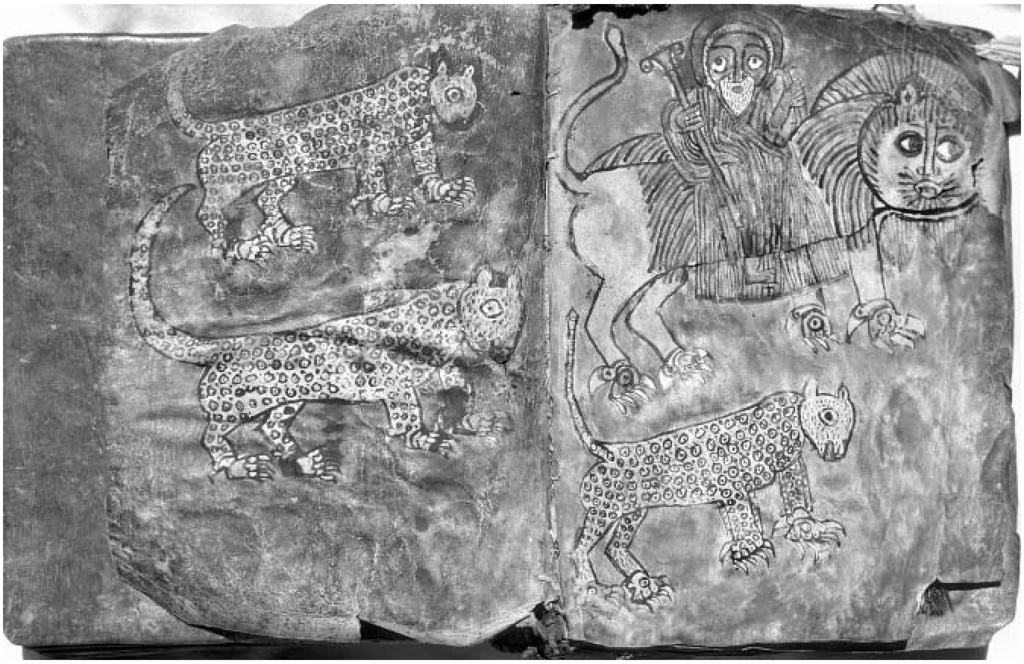
Samuᵓel of Waldəbba

Abba S. (**ሳሙኤል**, fl. 14th–early 15th cent.) is one of the most celebrated Ethiopian ↗saints. His name is traditionally linked with the foundation of the ↗Waldəbba monastic complex.

The main source on S.'s life is his Vita (↗*Gädl*). According to this short 15th-cent. hagiographic work (Turaiev 1902), S. was born in Aksum; his father was Ǝsṭifanos and his mother ᶜAmätä Maryam; he had a brother Gäbrä Krəstos. Having found for her husband "another wife", ᶜAmätä Maryam became a nun. In his turn, S. rejected the woman whom his father and step mother had found for him. He went to Däbrä Bänkʷal, the monastery of *abunä* ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ, and received from him the monastic habit (this relationship was recorded in many monastic ↗genealogies, s., e.g., Lusini 2004:263, 265f., 268; cp. S. as one of the "seven desert stars", a tradition coming probably from the Vita of Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ, BassÉt I, 324). Later, S.'s father joined him, and they both went to the monastery of Wäyna, where S. stayed until his father died. Then he "went into the desert". Later on, the Vita narrates separate episodes common for ↗hagiography: miracles with wild beasts (S. healing, "measuring", taming, feeding, or "chastising" lions, elephants, leopards etc.); extreme reverence for ↗Eucharist; illustrious ascetic deeds (e.g., several months of standing in a pit); miraculous crossing of a river; separating of the waters of the ↗Täkkäze whilst fishing; "heavenly liturgy"; "heavenly bread"; ascension to "the heavenly chamber"; S. miraculously learning that an Ethiopian monk (on pilgrimage?) sinned "with a pagan woman in the land of Rom"; journey "on a cloud" to Egypt, to Patriarch Matthew (1378–1408).

Some historical elements in the Vita are helpful for delimiting the region where S. was active: ↗Wägära, Saf, Bäräka (↗Barka?), Däbrä Lägaso of *abunä* Gäbrä Mäsqäl (whom S. met in Bärzäla), ↗Däbrä Halleluya of *abunä* Zäᵓiyäsus, ↗Ṣäᶜada Ǝmba of *abba* Märᶜawe Krəstos, Talazag, Sire (↗Šire). The Vita relates that he moved to Wali (usually thought to be the same as Waldəbba; cp. Bärrihun Käbbädä 1990/91:41) at the beginning of his monastic life. Historically interesting episodes are: S. visiting *aṣe* Dawit II who thereafter defeated and killed an unnamed "Ishmaelite" (probably *sulṭān* ↗Saᶜdaddīn Abu l-Barakāt, though this would disagree with the traditional chronology of S.'s life); later S. prevented the visit of the Emperor and his troops to Wali. Other episodes are accounts of a meeting between S. and the "pagan black warriors" (↗Kunama-people?) who revered him, and of "a lady worthy of the Heavenly kingdom, in the land of dogs [i.e. cynocephali]", who was brought to S. and became a nun. S. died in the age of 100, on 12 *Taḫśaś* (the local tradition places his death in 1389 A.M.; s. Bärrihun Käbbädä 1990/91:43, 182).

Though not unknown in Ethiopia, the Vita of S. is preserved in a small number of manuscripts,



Samuʾel of Waldəbba, 18th/19th cent. manuscript illumination, ms. *Gädlä Giyorgis*, fols. 1v–2r, church of Gubarǧa Giyorgis, Təgray; photo 2005, courtesy of Michael Gervers

somewhat disproportionate to S.'s popularity. The edition (Turaiev 1902, text only) was prepared on the basis of the 15th cent. ms. Paris, BN Éth. 136 (ZotBNat 204). Containing also a rare version of the Vita of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, the manuscript is of complex provenance, with a link to ↗Jerusalem, and was written probably outside Ethiopia (for the commissioner of the manuscript *abba* Täklä Iyäsus, cp. CerPal vol. 2, 409, 419, 421 and CerDLib I, 229 n. 1).

Somewhat contrary to the popular image of S., in the published Vita he appears as a hermit (↗*Baḥtawi*) revered even by the ↗*səwwuran*, rather than as a leader of the coenobitic community. He is shown as excelling in his asceticism: that is why he was visited by monks from ↗Gälila (on Ṭana), or invited by Mädḫaninä Ǝgziʾ to celebrate the liturgy in Däbrä Bänkʷal. The Vita mentions Zärufaʾel as S.'s only disciple; it does not refer to Bäkimos whom the Waldəbban tradition describes as the second head of Waldəbba and S.'s main disciple (Bärrihun Käbbädä 1990/91: 186; cp. Girma Elyas 1977: 99).

The Vita of S. is also contained in mss. BN d'Abbadie 32 (dated 1700) and 61 (15th cent.). Turaev (1906: 300–07) studied these and established that both contain a version of S.'s Vita different from the one that he published earlier. It is much longer, with many panegyric inclusions; a few episodes of S.'s life are treated somewhat differently (e.g., it is said that he received the habit in Däbrä Bänkʷal, but from *abba* Adḫani).

Another testimony of a version of the Vita different from the published one is in ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz orient. oct. 1303 (containing also a series of 70 miracles). A very concise story of S. is transmitted in the ↗*Sənkəssar* (mostly coinciding with the Vita, though devoid of all the details locating S. in time and space).

A few episodes from the Vita of S. linked to St. ↗Mary made their way into the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* (already by the middle 16th cent., cp., e.g., mss. EMML no. 4618, fols. 117v–20r; no. 1606, fol. 29r; 2999, fols. 243r–44r; VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 267, fols. 175r–78; 288, fols. 93v–94v). A number of other hagiographic works mention S., most importantly the Vita of ↗Giyorgis of Sägla (Colin 1987: 23f.; on this cp. TadTChurch 226; cp. Marrassini 2003: LVI).

By the beginning of the 16th cent. S. seems to have become very popular. His popularity increased further during the ↗Gondärine kingdom, due to the growing importance of Waldəbba, and was particularly promoted by numerous painted images of S. (for an image executed allegedly by ↗Brancaleone, s. Mercier 2001: 115; s. also Chojnacki – Cossage 2000, index).

It seems that the local monastic tradition played a strong role in the development of the popular narrative about S., going far beyond the written hagiographic accounts. Here, S. appears as re-founder and re-vitalizer of the monastic life of the region (cp. Bärrihun Käbbädä 1990/91: 53f.; Girma Elias 1977: 99); he is credited with the re-establishing of ↗Däbrä Abräntant and founding of ↗Däbrä Abbay. Reportedly, he was buried first in Waldəbba, at a place called Atena, but later his relics were transferred to Däbrä Abbay, from here the story of S. underwent further diffusion (cp. EllLusAnt 19f.; Heyer 1998: 143f., esp. n. 216; BerTarik 251f.) and contributed to S.'s popularity; indeed, sometimes (esp. in monastic genealogies) S. is called "*abba* S. of Däbrä Abbay". Waldəbba Däbrä Dəlšəha (Dalšəh) is said to have been founded by *abba* Gäbrä Mäsqäl, who, together with four others monks, came from ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa (Girma Elyas 1977: 101; for a different explanation of this foundation, as the result of the internal transformation of the eremitic life, s. Bärrihun Käbbädä 1990/91: 73f.). Säq^{w}ar, the third monastery of Waldəbba, was founded later and without S. (ibid. 74). However, all these communities as well as the hermitic movement of Waldəbba invariably venerate *abunä* S. as their saint and main ascetic example.

The reason for the traditional (most probably apocryphal) attribution of a portion of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät* to S. is not known.

Src.: Bärrihun Käbbädä, **የዋልድባ፡ ገዳም፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäwaldəbba gädam tarik*, 'The History of the Monastery of Waldəbba'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.], 53f.; BerTarik 208–37, 251f.; BudSaint 365ff., s. index; BassÉt I, 324 (text), 413 (tr.); Stanislaw Chojnacki – Carolyn Gossage, *Ethiopian Icons*: *Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, s. index; ChojPaint 180; Gérard Colin, *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Louvain 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]), 23f. (text) = 17f.; CRAbb nos. 188 [ms. Abbadie 61], 189 [ms. Abbadie 32]; EMML nos. 1606, 2999, 4618; GuiSyn I, 737–41; Girma Elyas, "The Monastery of Abrentant in Waldibba", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 93–121; Giovanni Ellero, "I conventi dello Scirè e le loro leggende", *Bolletino della R. Società Geografica Italiana* ser. vii, 4, 1939, 835–52 [= EllLusAnt 5–26]; HamSixBerl 152–59, no. 75 [ms. orient. oct. 1303]; Friedrich Heyer, *Die Heiligen der Äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37), 140–44; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali dell'ordine di Ēwosṭātēwos di Dabra Ṣarābi", in: Enzo Lucchesi – Ugo Zanetti (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 249–72; Paolo Marrassini, *"Vita", "Omelia","Miracoli" del Santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus*, Louvain 2003 (CSCO 598 [SAe 108]), lvi, index; RaiCer 162, ms. Cerulli Etiop. 198, fols. 3–49; 209, ms. Cerulli Etiop. 267; 218, ms. Cerulli Etiop. 288; TadTChurch 226; Borissus Turaiev, *Vita Samuelis Valdebani*, Petropoli 1902 (Monumenta Aethiopiae Hagiologica 2); ZotBNat 204, ms. Éth. 136.

Lit.: CerPal vol. 2, 409, 419, 421; CerDLib I, 229 n. 1; GuiLett 59f.; KapMon, s. index; KinBibl 89f., no. 138; Jacques Mercier (ed.), *L'Arche Éthiopienne. Art chrétien d'Éthiopie,* Paris 2001, 115; Osvaldo Raineri, "Samuele di Wāldebbā", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 934ff.; Boris Turaev, "Nekotorye žitija abissinskih svjatyh po rukopisjam byvshey kollektsii d'Abbadi" ('Some Vitae of Abyssinian Saints after the Manuscripts of the Former d'Abbadie Collection'), *Vizantijskij vremennik* 13, 2, 1906, 257–333, here 300–07; TurIz 182–95.

Denis Nosnitsin

San Marzano, Alessandro Asinari di

S.M. (b. 1830, Turin, d. 1906, Rome) was a General in the Italian army. He had taken part in the Risorgimento wars and was chosen to become the head of the expedition to restore Italy's prestige in Eastern Africa after the catastrophe of ↗Dog^{c}ali. S.M. lacked previous experience in Africa and his military decisions in Ethiopia prove that he did not join the inner circle of the "African" generals, with their adventurism and colonial rhetoric (Battaglia 1958: 339).

The expedition led by S.M. left on 27 October 1887 and landed in Massawa in November-December. The British, through the special envoy Sir Gerald H. Portal, tried to prevent it but failed (Del Boca 1976: 270). The directives delivered to S.M. by the Ministry of War stated that the aim of the expedition was to show the flag and reoccupy the forts of Säḥaṭi and Wiʾa, which were considered part of the Empire, ruling out a "conquest of Abyssinia" and even more modest targets such as ↗Kärän and ↗Asmära. The construction of a railroad from Massawa to Säḥaṭi would facilitate the advance of the Italian troops and reinforce their control of the territory. The expedition marched about 30 km into the interior and, without meeting any resistance (Chiesi – Norsa 1888: 174), on 1 February 1888, took Säḥaṭi. At that time, the strategy of the Italian General Staff in the Red Sea region was to compensate for their numerical inferiority (20,000 better armed Italians faced 80,000 to 100,000 Ethiopians) by attracting the enemy towards strongly fortified positions.

On 26 March *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV arrived in the mountains of Sabarguma, six km away from the fort in which the Italian troops were entrenched.

There ensued a final exchange of letters with proposals for a compromise, Yoḥannəs wishing to obtain the support of Italy in his fight against the Sudanese ↗Mahdists. However, the dispute could not be settled mainly due to Italian claims on Ethiopian territory.

When the Mahdist sack of ↗Gondär and Mənilək's (↗Mənilək II) threat forced the Ethiopian army to retreat between 3 and 4 April, S.M. decided not to chase the enemy. This and the low profile of the expedition was criticized by ↗Baratieri (1888), a champion of "offensivism" who was subordinate to S.M. in the expedition (Scarfoglio 1936, vol. 1, 39–43). S.M.'s strategy, however, was fully endorsed by the Minister of War Ettore Bertolè-Viale. Once the expedition had achieved its main objectives it returned to Italy. The only casualties in the Italian camp were victims of the poor health conditions. The initial budget of the enterprise was 5 million Italian lire and later increased to 20 million (Crispi 1914: 24f.), but altogether the costs have been estimated up to 42 million (Labanca 1993: 144).

The expedition led by S.M. was the first mass operation carried out by the Italian army in Africa and it paved the way for a more aggressive chapter of Italian colonialism along the lines of ↗Crispi's neo-imperialist ideology (↗Italian war 1895–96). Moreover, the withdrawal of Yoḥannəs's army opened a vacuum in Təgray while his way of tackling the Italian expedition had undermined the image of a fierce and invincible warrior he had so far enjoyed (Del Boca 1976: 304; BZHist 59). The illness of some animals transported to Eritrea to feed the troops of S.M. caused an epidemic which devastated the entire Horn (Labanca 1993: 96, 2002: 271). S.M. concluded his career as a member of the Senate (1894) and Minister of War (1897–99).

Src.: FRANCESCO CRISPI, *La Prima Guerra d'Africa*, Milano 1914, 24f., 41–52; MINISTERO DEGLI ESTERI, *Comitato per la documentazione delle attività italiane in Africa, L'Italia in Africa, serie storica*, vol. I: *Etiopia-Mar Rosso*, t. VI, *Documenti* (*1887–1888*), ed. by CARLO GIGLIO, Roma 1972, 213–38; ALESSANDRO SAN MARZANO, "Relazione a S. E. il Ministro della guerra sulla operazione militare eseguita nell'inverno del 1887-88 per la rioccupazione di Saati", *Rivista Militare italiana*, ser. 3, 33, 3, settembre 1888, 367–619.

Lit.: ORESTE BARATIERI, "Di fronte agli abissini", *Nuova Antologia* 23, 15, 1 June 1888, 404–33; *ibid.* 16, 1 July 1888, 37–69; *ibid.* 1 August 1888, 407–44; ROBERTO BATTAGLIA, *La prima guerra d'Africa*, Torino 1958, 296–322; BZHist 59; GUSTAVO CHIESI – GIULIO NORSA, *Otto mesi d'Africa*, Milano 1888, 174; RAFFAELE CIASCA, *Storia coloniale dell'Italia contemporanea*, Milano 1940, 158–75; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli italiani in Africa orientale*, vol. 1: *Dall'Unità d'Italia alla marcia su Roma*, Roma – Bari 1976, 239–309; NICOLA LABANCA, *In marcia verso Adua*, Torino 1993, 96, 144; ID., *Oltremare. Storia dell'espansione coloniale italiana*, Bologna 2002, 271; EDOARDO SCARFOGLIO, *Abissinia* (*1888–1896*), 2 vols., Roma 1936, vol. 1, 39–43.

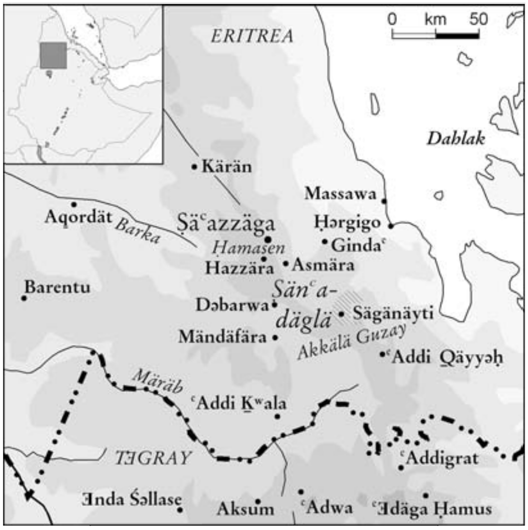
Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Ṣänᶜadäglä

The Ṣ. (**ጸንዓደግለ**, variant Ṣənᶜa Dägle, Sāho: Ṣanᶜadagle) are a Təgrəñña-speaking descent group, based in and around Sägänäyti in the ↗Akkälä Guzay highlands, adjacent to the lowlands on the Red Sea coast.

They are first mentioned in a document from the period of *aṣe* ↗Dawit of 1400 A.D. mentions them (CRAxum 26, doc. 12). Starting from at least the 17th cent., the Akkälä Guzay districts, autonomous to a large extent, tended not to pay any tribute to Ethiopian rulers. The Ṣ., according to their oral tradition, originally dominating the lowlands as far as Ḥərgigo, even accepted the overlordship of the Ottomans in 1650, and from then on received an annual rent. The rent was paid to the Ṣ. until shortly after 1842 (AbbGéogr 330).

Historical records, including oral traditions, report on several conflicts between Ṣ. and lowlanders, based on claims on lowland territories at the coast. During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs the Ṣ. elected Gilay Filəppos (nicknamed Gilay Aziz) as their leader, and, in revenge for raids, fought victoriously against the lowlanders (Sāho). After this he was appointed ↗*käntiba* by



the ruler (ErDizBio 147). The 19th cent. warrior *baḥri nägaśi* Fəq̱rä Iyäsus Assäč̣äq̱ of a Ṣ. sub-group went even further. Grown up in the time of ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, he was first promoted chief of ↗Aḵrur by the peasants, then subdued all Ṣ. and subsequently all the lowlands up to ↗Ḥərgigo (ErDizBio 124).

The Ṣ. were among the most important Akkälä Guzay descent groups to embrace Catholicism. When De ↗Jacobis had to flee from *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, the Ṣ. leader *baḥri nägaśi* Fəq̱re Iyäsus accorded him asylum in Aḵrur for several years. In 1869 Kaśa Mərč̣a (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV) raided Catholic properties to stop the mission. During that period, the Ṣ. were considered French protégés by the French vice-consul stationed at ↗Massawa. However, the Egyptian authorities, in competition with Ethiopia, also considered them as their subjects.

Disputes between Təgrəñña and Sāho descent groups, mostly over land rights, have marked the history of many areas in Akkälä Guzay. Especially a local conflict between the Sāho Tarūᶜa and the Təgrəñña Ṣ. rose to some prominence in the 20th cent. (cp. KilHDic 408f.). Tarūᶜa pastoralists refused to pay taxes to the Ṣ. for the use of land in the mountainous areas near the sea. But the Tarūᶜa were ordered by a colonial court in 1914 to do so. The conflict, starting again in the 1940s, was only resolved in the 1990s through the introduction of a new "rotational" system of land use.

Src.: AbbGéogr 330; CRAxum 26, doc. 10.

Lit.: ErDizBio 124, 147; KilHDic 408f.; NadEr; OMahPh; Rufillo Perini, *Di qua dal Marèb (Marèb-mellàsc')*, Firenze 1905; Kjetil Tronvoll, *Mai Weini, a Highland Village in Eritrea: a Study of the People, their Livelihood, and Land Tenure during Times of Turbulence*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 1998.

Wolbert Smidt

Sänᶜafe

S. (**ሰንዓፌ**, Sāho: Ḥakír; 2,245 m A.S.L; 14°42' N, 39°25' E) is an important Eritrean trade town in the *zoba* Dəbub ('Southern Zone'). It is located 25 km south of ↗ᶜAddi Q̱äyyəḥ and is surrounded by fertile agricultural land (for location s. map for Šäwᶜattä ᶜAnsäba). S. consists of three villages, Awliᶜ, Ḥaḥayle and ↗Mäṭära, and is the administrative centre of S. sub-region, which comprises 1,139 km^2 and 90 villages (of which 22 are administrative centres) with a population over 88,718. At the time of the Napier expedition, the village had about a dozen houses and some 240 inhabitants (Markham 1968: 21). In 1891 its population had increased to 1,500 and in 1938 to 2,000 (Guida 293). With 12,000 inhabitants in 1998, the town's population has increased with the displacements provoked by the Ethiopian-Eritrean war (Muluberhan Tadese 1998: 11).

The original population of S. were the ↗Sāho. Dominant sub-groups are the Đasamo and Gaᶜasó, branches of the ↗Minifire tribal confederation. S. is located in a region marked by a string of pre-Aksumite settlements (Mäṭära, ↗Käskäse), and an ancient trade route from Adulis to Aksum must have passed nearby or through the present S. Pollera suggests that when the first Arab migration took place in the 15th cent., the immigrants intermingled with the local Sāho people in the areas of Ḥakír and Ḥaḥayle and gave rise to a new sub-tribe, the S. Locals claim that their founder originated from Ṣanaᶜāᵓ (as shown by the name, explained as Sāho *Ṣanᶜá ifé* 'descended from Ṣanaᶜāᵓ; MorDicAfar 184; s. Pollera 1996: 163), while the original name of S. is supposed to have been Ḥakír or Ḥakír Daga ('hill of Ḥakír'). One tradition claims that the Arabs settled at the foot of the mountain known as ᶜAyn S. (Ḥakír Daga), mixed with the Sāho, especially with the Đasamo. Later, a branch of this sub-tribe, the Kundes clan, adopted the name S., which then would have been given to the town.

S. was an important trade centre on the northern edge of the plateau on the caravan-route from ↗Massawa south to ↗Mäq̱älä, but also south-west to ↗ᶜAdwa and ↗Aksum. An early record on S. is on the ↗*Egyptus novelo* map (PankBord 92). In the 17th cent. the Jesuit missionary ↗Barradas informed of the existence of sulfur mines in S. (BecRASO IV: 101). In the late 18th cent., *nəguś* ↗Täklä Giyorgis gave the entire province of S. to his ally *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase (CRAxum II, 61). In the 19th cent. *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu extended his authority over parts of the Sāho areas, including S., in order to control the salt trade to Təgray (cf. CRAxum II, 70). Being situated between two cultural spheres, S. was the scene of potential conflicts, mostly between Təgrayans rulers and Sāho speakers. In the second half of the 19th cent. Egyptian expansion and the rise of European interests had an impact on the growth of S. (PankHist I, 231; TrIslam 36; Miran 2004: 76f.).

In 1867–68 S. served as a station for the British ↗Napier expedition against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II and a road from Zula to S. was constructed for the transport of military equipment (Moorehad

1962: 270). During the Egyptian expansion, S. linked itself with highland Ethiopian princes, but tried to conserve some autonomy (its leader, *ato* ↗Samuʾel Giyorgis "man of S.", was at times involved in a plot against Yoḥannəs IV). Later, S. was an important station of the Italian colonial army before the battle of ↗ʿAdwa in 1895, and a permanent garrison was established in S. in 1902. In the 1930s, when the main Asmära-Addis Abäba highway was built, S. was developed as an administrative centre (KilHDic 373).

Src.: interview with *qäññazmač* Sunabara Dammäna, Asmära, May 2006; BecRASO IV, 101; CRAxum II, 61, 70; Clements Robert Markham, "Geographical Results of the Abyssinian Expedition", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 38, 1868, 12–49, here 21.

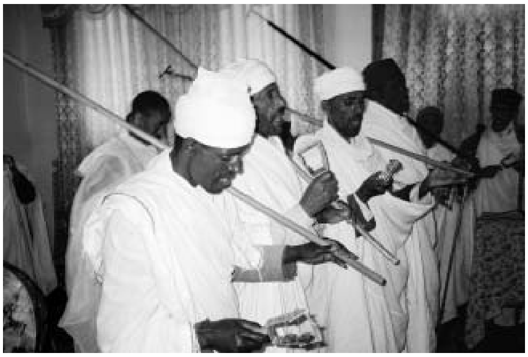
Lit.: *Guida* 293; KilHDic 373; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995, 32; Jonathan Miran, *Facing the Land, Facing the Sea. Commercial Transformation and the Urban Dynamic in the Red Sea Port of Massawa*, *1840's–1900's*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 2004, 76f.; MorDicAfar 184; Alan Moorehead, *The Blue Nile*, London 1962, 270; Muluberhan Tadese, *Growth of Urban Centers in Eritrea and Associated Social Change* (*A Case Study of Senafe*), Senior Essay, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Asmara 1998, 11; NadEr; PankHist I, 231; PankBord 92; Alberto Pollera, *The Native Peoples of Eritrea*, tr. by Linda Lappin, Asmara 1996 [= PollEr], 163;TrIslam 36.

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammed

Ṣänaṣəl

The Ṣ. (**ጸናጽል**; the word is used already in the Ethiopian Bible to render either Gr. κώδωνες, 'bells', or κύμβαλα, 'cymbal'; probably related to Hebrew *ṣelṣəlīm*, Syr. *ṣiṣlā*, 'cymbals', which may be further connected to Gr. σεῖστρον 'sistrum', cf. Cohen 1928–29, LesCDic 561) is a sistrum used for the liturgical music of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (↗*Zema*). It is not clear whether there is a genetic relationship between Ṣ. and the Egyptian systrum called *sekhem* (cp. MonVidMus 3184); a certain similarity can also be established with the one known from pre-Christian Pompei (Buchner 1980: 52).

The Ṣ. has a wooden, horn or metal handle topped by a trapezoidal frame made of ornately worked iron, copper, silver or gold. Two thin metal bars horizontally connect the two lateral uprights; they each support metal loops or squares which strike each other and bump against the sides of the trapezoid when the cantors shake the Ṣ. There are usually five small metal loops or squares representing the five mysteries of the Ethiopian Orthodox religion: the Holy Trinity, the Holy Incarnation, the Holy Baptism, the Holy Eucharist and the Holy Resurrection. Ṣ. is also seen as a symbol of the apostles, its music representing their speech (Griaule 1932: 4 = 8; Schneider 1988: 81 = 84).



Cantors holding sistrum and prayer sticks, Addis Abäba, Iyäsus church, celebration of the Ascension; photo 2004, courtesy of the author

Each cantor holds a Ṣ. in his right hand and moves it up and down in ↗*aqqʷaqʷam*. Three instruments are used in *aqqʷaqʷam*: the Ṣ., the ↗*käbäro* and the ↗*mäqqʷamiya*. *Aqqʷaqʷam* includes eight modes of performance: ↗*zəmmame*, *qum ṣänaṣəl*, *märägd*, *ṣəfat*, *əngʷərgʷərro*, *wäräb*, *ammälaläs* and *č̣äbč̣äbbo*. The Ṣ. is used in all modes of performance of *aqqʷaqʷam*, except *zəmmame* and *č̣äbč̣äbbo*. In the mode of performance *əngʷərgʷərro*, it is not moved up and down but shaken quickly while the cantors are singing. The usage of Ṣ. is similar for all *aqqʷaqʷam* schools.

The sistrum is played in regular cycles in the mode of performance "*qum ṣänaṣəl*": it is moved four times (down-up-down-up); after each four-part cycle, the sistrum stops. In the other modes of performance, the sistrum is played in irregular cycles but the position of the instrument is important: e.g., at the end of each cycle, the sistrum is moved up in *märägd*, down in *ṣəfat*.

The play of the drum follows the play of the Ṣ. The sistrum is a marker: it indicates when the cycles are finished; the lead cantor (↗*märigeta*) moves his own Ṣ. in a demonstrative manner in order to guide the other cantors; it is shaken quickly by the master at the end of a piece, so that the cantors understand that they have to return to their place.

For the faithful, Ṣ. has a deep meaning as they see the instrument as a symbol for Jacob's ladder (Gen 28:10–17), which in Ethiopian tradition also associated with Virgin ↗Mary. The loops are symbols for the Angels, the horizontal thin metal bars are for the Old and New Testament respectively, and the connecting bow stands for the rainbow God sent to Noah. In the middle of the metal bow, a cross symbolizes ↗Crucifixion as the accomplishment of Adam's hope. The sound of Ṣ. symbolizes the wings of the angels.

Src.: DillmLex 1293; MARCEL GRIAULE, "Règles de l'Église (Documents éthiopiens)", *JA* 221, 1932, 1–42; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Nouveaux témoins du texte éthiopien des *Règles de l'Église*", *ibid.* 276, 1988, 71–96.

Lit.: MARCEL COHEN, "Quelques voyages de mots", *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris* 29, 1928–29, 132–37, here 132–35; ANNE DAMON, *Église chrétienne orthodoxe d'Éthiopie. ʾAqwaqwam, la musique et la danse des cieux*, Maison des Cultures du Monde, Collection Terrains, Inédit, W 260121, Paris 2005; EAD., "ʾAqwaqwam ou la danse des cieux", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 46, 2, 182, 2006, 261–90; EAD., *La liturgie en mouvements*: *aqwaqwam réalisation chantée, gestuelle et instrumentale du texte liturgique dans l'Église chrétienne orthodoxe unifiée d'Éthiopie*, Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols., Université Jean Monnet, Saint-Etienne 2007 (Lit.); ḤADIS TIKUNEH, *The Works of Saint Yared in the Light of the Holy Bible*, Addis-Abeba 1999; LesCDic 561; MonVidMus [repr. in: *AE* 19, 2003, 149–88, here 161]; MICHAEL POWNE, *Ethiopian Music*: *an Introduction*: *a Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968, 23f.

Anne Damon-Guillot

Sänbätä Ayhud ↗Sabbath

Sänbätä Krəstiyan ↗Sabbath

Sänbäte

S. (**ሰንበቴ**, Amh. lit. 'my weekend', i.e. Saturday and Sunday, from *sänbät*) is a ritualized banquet celebrated among Ethiopian Orthodox Christians. It takes place after Sunday mass in a house within the church compound called **ሰንበቴ፡ ቤት፡ ደጀ፡ ሰላም** (*Sänbäte bet däǧǧä sälam*, lit. 'weekend house, doorway to peace'). While in some urban centres there is a S. every weekend, in rural areas S. is celebrated only monthly. The banquet is prepared by the local S. association, which consists exclusively of laymen. A S. association may comprise up to some hundred mostly male members of a church parish. Similar associations exist all over the highlands. It corresponds to the Təgrayan village organization *ṣəwa*^{c} *sänbät*, which, however, usually takes place outside the church compound, but follows the same patterns and fulfils the same functions.

The banquet is opened by a prayer and the blessing of ↗food and ↗drink by at least one priest of the parish. In some places, the priests sit inside the *däǧǧä sälam,* while the laymen sit in the church compound; in others, they eat all together. After blessing, prayer and, seldom, a sermon by the priest the banquet is opened. Food and drink, which have been prepared by the families of the members, is distributed to each and every member by plates and jars being handed round in rotation, beginning at the table of the most notable members of the association. The food consists of ↗*ənǧära* with sauce and meat, assuming it is not ↗fasting season, as well as different kinds of bread (Amh., *qiṭa*, *dabbo, annäbabäro* and *gure*). The drink consists mainly of home-brewed ↗*ṭälla*. After the priest's blessing, food and drink are consistently regarded as ↗*ṣäbäl*. The banquet lasts for about one to two hours and is closed by a prayer.

The leader of the laymen is elected for about two years or longer and bears the title *muse* (**ሙሴ**, 'Moses'). Furthermore, the S. association provides for positions like that of a secretary, a money collector, an administrator of finances and an accountant.

In its religious context S. is designed to fulfil Christ's order to take care of the needy like Jesus himself and to give to the poor to be rewarded (Mt. 10:40–42). For its members S. offers through the giving of ↗alms and the blessing of food and drink an access to the state of grace and spiritual satisfaction. Moreover, it enables them to hear the Gospel before the meal and discuss spiritual matters with other faithful laymen while eating.

In the social field S. affords an opportunity for its members to create a corporate feeling among the wider community of the parish and to discuss common social problems with each other. In a quite similar way as in the ↗*maḫbär* associations, it offers security through a mutual help system, which promises financial and technical help, provided especially in the case of death by the arrangement of funerals. Furthermore, S. gives the opportunity to improve one's social position through making contact with higher ranked people. Hence S. even played an important role in politics.

↗Aṭbiya; ↗Əqqub

Lit.: STÉPHANE ANCEL, "Mahbär et sänbäte: associations religieuses en Ethiopie", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 95–111; HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge*, Wiesbaden 2001, 101f.; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens*: *Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, Berlin 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 24–27; CRAVEN HOWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933, 123; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Die traditionelle Dorfgesellschaft im modernen Tigray", in: ABDULKADER SALEH et al., *Friedensräume in Eritrea und Tigray unter Druck*: *Identitätskonstruktion, soziale Kohäsion und politische Stabilität*, Berlin 2008, 227–68.

Angela Müller

Sändäq Alamaččən ↗Banderaččən

Sandford, Christine

S. (née Lush, b. 1893, d. 1975 Addis Abäba) was the founder and first headmistress of what was in her day Ethiopia's leading private secondary school. The daughter of Herbert Stanley Lush, a British solicitor, she was a keen gardener and farmer. In 1918, she married Brigadier Daniel ↗Sandford, who was to be her partner for 54 years. Living with him in Ethiopia from 1920 until the Italian invasion, she ran a farm at Mulu, north of Addis Abäba.

On returning to Ethiopia after its Liberation from Italian rule, S. began teaching her children at home, but soon opened her doors to a small number of young Ethiopians. She subsequently obtained buildings from the British Council and the Ethiopian Ministry of Education, after which school enrolment rapidly expanded with students working for the Cambridge School Certificate. She was an active supporter of St. Matthew's English Church, in Addis Abäba and also organized, and played the piano at her school, for much appreciated performances of Gilbert and Sullivan light opera.

A keen supporter of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, S. wrote sympathetically of his government. She also produced two popular works on Ethiopian history: *Ethiopia under Hailé Selasse*, which contains an interesting personal account of her husband's involvement with the Ethiopian Patriots (106–13) and *The Lion of Judah Hath Prevailed …*, which is also valuable for its author's autobiographical memories.

Src.: CHRISTINE SANDFORD, "Reforms from within versus Foreign Control", *International Affairs* 15, 1936, 183–201; EAD., "Back to Abyssinia: the Emperor's Tasks", *Geographical Magazine* 13, 1941, 308–17; EAD., *Ethiopia under Hailé Selassie*, London 1946; EAD., *The Lion of Judah hath Prevailed, being a Biography of H.I.M. Hailé Selassie I*, London 1955; EAD., "The Church in Ethiopia", *Geographical Magazine* 23, 1951, 565–68; EAD., "The Anglican Chaplaincy in Addis Ababa," in: *St. Matthew's Church Fortieth Anniversary*, Addis Ababa 1968, unpaged.
Lit.: ELEANOR CASBON, *The Incurable Optimists: Chris and Dan Sandford*, London 1993; SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ethiopia: a Cultural History*, Woodford, Essex 1955, 627f.

Richard Pankhurst

Sandford, Daniel Arthur

Colonel S. (b. 18 June 1882, Landkey, South Devon, d. 22 January 1972, Mulu Farm, Ethiopia) was a British army officer and adviser to Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. The son of a vicar, he attended St. Paul's School and the Woolwich Military Academy. After serving in India, and Aden, he sailed to ↗British Somaliland, and rode mule-back across Ethiopia to Sudan. In 1910 he was attached to the British Legation in ↗Addis Abäba. Rejoining the army in 1913, he served in France and was wounded. In 1919, he became manager of a private British company, the Abyssinian Corporation, which he served until its liquidation in 1921. Retiring from the army in 1922, he leased land formerly held by ↗Mənilək II's adviser Alfred ↗Ilg at Mulu, north of Addis Abäba, and grew strawberries and exported coffee and hides and skins.

Colonel Sandford and Ayyälu Mäkʷännən with patriots during the War of Liberation, 1941; from Seltene Seyoum 1999:326

After Ḫaylä Śəllase I's coronation in 1930 S. was appointed adviser to the governor of Maği, then a centre of the ↗slave trade, which the Emperor was attempting to suppress. However, the Italian invasion soon intervened. S., learning of Ethiopia's defeat, travelled via Kenya to England, becoming appeals officer for Guildford Cathedral.

At the outbreak of ↗World War II S. was attached to the British Middle East intelligence centre in Cairo. After ↗Mussolini's entry into the European war in June 1940, he entered Goğğam, on 12 August, with the rank of Colonel, as head of the British "Mission 101", established to encourage the Ethiopian patriots (↗Resistance), and immobilize Italian forces. S.'s mission, though sometimes ignored by the British high command, prepared the way for Colonel Orde ↗Wingate's subsequent arrival.

After Ḫaylä Śəllase I's return to Addis Abäba, S. became one of his unofficial foreign advisers. This was a difficult position, for British and Ethiopian interests often diverged. Moreover, S.'s brother-in-law, Brigadier Maurice Lush, was then deputy British political officer for British-occupied Ethiopia, and S.'s loyalties were inevitably divided. His position was, however, formalized in May 1942 when, following the signing of the Anglo–Ethiopian treaty of 31 January, he was officially appointed adviser to the Ethiopian Ministry of the Interior. In 1945, he became Director-General of the Addis Abäba municipality, but retired from Ethiopian government service in 1948. He was married to Christine ↗Sandford.

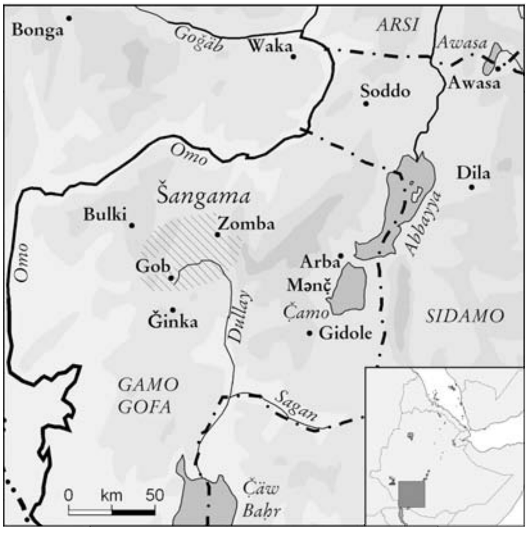
Lit.: ELEANOR CASBON, *The Incurable Optimists*: *Chris and Dan Sandford*, London 1993; MAURICE LUSH, *A Life of Service, The Memoirs of Maurice Lush*, London 1993, 331 (index); MockWar 451 (index); LEONARD MOSLEY, *Haile Selassie*: *the Conquering Lion*, London 1964, 305, (index); SELTENE SEYOUM, *A History of Resistance in Gojjam* (*Ethiopia*), *1936–1941*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1999, 326 (ill.); DAVID SHIRREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers: Wingate, Sandford, the Patriots and the Part they Played in the Liberation of Ethiopia*, London 1995; CHRISTOPHER SYKES, *Orde Wingate*, London 1959, 568 (index); GEORGE LOWTHER STEER, *Sealed and Delivered: a Book on the Abyssinian Campaign*, London 1942, 256, s. index; WILFRED THESIGER, *The Life of My Choice*, London 1987, 487 (index); DENIS WRIGHT, "Daniel Arthur Sandford", *EthObs* 15, 1972, 202–03.

Richard Pankhurst

Säne ↗Calendar

Šangama

The Š. (or locally Šangma) are a small ↗Aari sub-group in Southern Ethiopia. There is no significant information on this Omotic language-speaking sub-group, apart from the brief mention by members of the 1950–60s Frobenius Institute expeditions and one descriptive report by Schulz-Weidner (1959), which is unclear and of doubtful quality. The Š. are related to other Aari sub-groups, such as the Argänne and the ↗Ubamär, previously separate chiefdoms, and not defined as a separate ethnic group or "nationality" under the post-1991 regime or before. Š. do not figure in any population statistics, but their number is estimated at some 25,000 from the total of ca. 160,000 Aari people (1998). The main towns are Gob, Zomba and Šangma.



A Šangama man with his water-pipe; photo 1950–52 by Willy Schulz-Weidner, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23-Wd090-09)

The Š. are sedentary cultivators of the *ənsät* complex and live in a cool highland zone, with altitudes ranging from 1,400 to 2,200 m A.S.L. Next to root crops, including taro, they cultivate cereals such as millet, ↗*ṭef*, ↗barley, ↗sorghum and wheat, cabbage, beans, as well as ↗coffee for sale. Until recently they used digging sticks and sickles in cultivation, but ox-drawn ploughs are now predominant. Cattle are kept but not widespread; sheep are more common.

The Š. live in small villages with homestead gardens. Like the other Aari groups, they have a patrilineal clan structure and, according to Schulz-Weidner (in VSAe 126f.), had two marriage classes (*indi* and *ašand*), existing across the clans. Clan names of the Š. are also found among other Aari groups.

The Š. people as a whole were led by a paramount chief or *babi*, with several local sub-chiefs, or *góda*, under him. The seven traditional political sub-groups of Š. are: Gaiča, Derdera, Kaskantamas, Zomba, Gazər, Geza, and one also called Š. After the imperial conquest in the late 1890s the country went into a serious economic crisis and was ruled mostly by Amhara settlers from the north.

The socio-cultural profile of the Š. is similar to that of the other Aari. The clans (*mata*) are exogamous, a marriage is concluded with bride wealth in the form of 4–5 sheep and/or money, and newly-weds take up patrilocal residence. Š. society has occupational castes (*manna*) of tanners, blacksmiths, potters and hunters; these are held in low esteem.

The Š. traditional religious structure has a sky-god called Bäri, and *godimi* ritual specialists or "priests", who, have the functions of, e.g., blessing crops, cattle and people via public prayers and sacrifices, preventing or banishing illness, inaugurating the agricultural cycle, and officiating in life-cycle events, which are complex and highly ritualized. There are also diviners (*zabi bab*), who, as among many other southern Ethiopian peoples, practise livestock-intestine reading, e.g., to estimate chances of recovery of sick people and solving family problems. At present, Orthodox and Evangelical Christianity are well-established among the Š., as among the Aari in general.

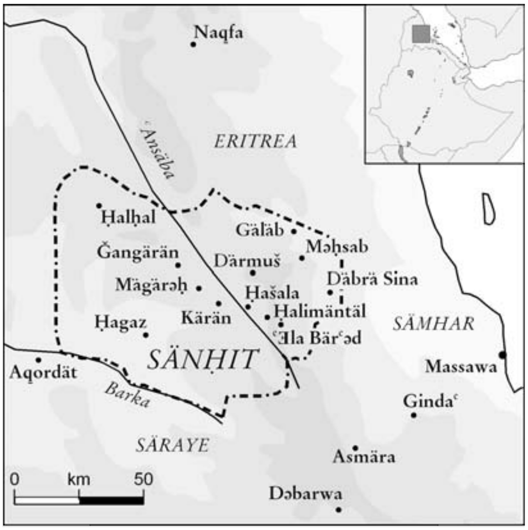
Src.: WILLY SCHULZ-WEIDNER, *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica, Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, Northeast Africa. Mourning Celebrations and Burial of a Woman* (*Southern Ethiopia, Shangama*), documentary film, Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, Göttingen 1951; ID., *Shangama* (*Northeast Africa, South Ethiopia*). *Cultivation of the Land*, documentary film, Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, Göttingen 1951.
Lit.: WILLY SCHULZ-WEIDNER, "Die Shangama. Anhang: Die Sido und Bio", in: *VSAe* I, 107–65.

Jon G. Abbink

Sänḥit

S. (**ሰንሒት**) is a former province (*awrağğa*) in ↗Eritrea, which was incorporated into the new province (*zoba*) of ↗ᶜAnsäba after the 1995 administrative reform (↗Eritrea: Administrative division of Eritrea). Its capital city was ↗Kärän and its inhabitants were mainly ↗Bilin and ↗Təgre. Its core was the middle ᶜAnsäba valley and the adjacent ↗Mänsaᶜ and ↗Marya highlands, including ↗Ḥalḥal, ↗ᶜƎla Bärᶜəd, Ǧangärän and Gäläb.

Originally, the toponym S. meant only the dominating hill above Kärän and, in extension, Kärän itself. In the Təgre language, the term S. is used to designate the whole area inhabited by the Bilin. When Kärän was included into the Egyptian Red Sea Governorate in 1872 (↗Ottoman Empire) under ↗Munzinger *pasha*, a fort was built on that hill, which appears as as-Sanaḥīt in Egyptian documents. Normally the region was called Bogos, and the Kärän plain Mägarəḥ (Mogaräḥ). It seems, however, that the term S. was also alternatively used for the Kärän region around that time.



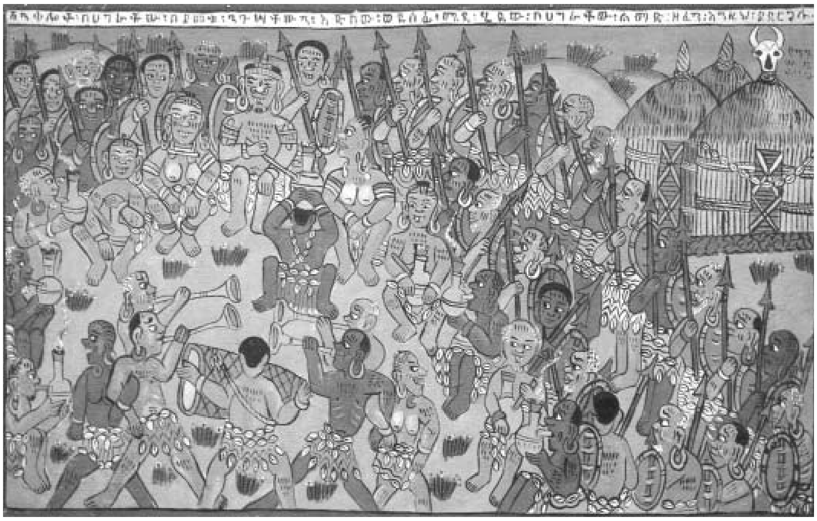
During Italian colonialism in Eritrea, S. did not exist as a separate province; it belonged to the province (*commissariato*) of "Sahel" (↗Saḥəl), which was renamed "Cheren" in 1931 (called "Kärän" under the ↗Eritrean–Ethiopian Federation), separate from Massawa. In 1964 that province was split into two, and the new provinces of Saḥəl and S. were established. In 1995 it counted 275,000 people (Hanevik – Kvåle 2000: 1189).

Src.: THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (ed.), **መሪ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ለኢትዮጵያ** *Guide Book of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1954, 390–406; *Guida* 213f.; MunSt 182; DENIS DE RIVOYRE, *Aux pays du Soudan. Bogos, Mensah, Souakim*, Paris 1885.
Lit.: ḪAYLU TÄSFAY, **የከረን፡ አውራጃ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäkärän awrağğa aç̣ç̣ər tarik*, 'A Short History of Kärän Sub-Province'), Asmära 1980; KilHDic 373f.; MIKAEL GHABER, *The Bilin of Bogos*, Baghdad 1993; KURT HANEVIK – GUNNAR KVÅLE, "Landmine Injuries in Eritrea", *BMJ* [*British Medical Journal*] 321, 11 November 2000, 1189.

Wolbert Smidt

Šanqəlla

The term Š. (**ሻንቅላ**, Amh. variants *Šənqəlla, Šanqilla*, Orom. *Šanqalla*) is a derogatory, imprecise and very general term which has widely fallen out of use. It mainly designated "black"



Ethiopian painting showing "Šanqəlla"; the Amharic caption reads: "Once a year the Šanqəlla gather on the field, show restraint to their king, and sing together with him their traditional songs in this way"; paint on cloth, 82 x 53 cm, ca. 1935, by Bäläččäw Yəmär; courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (Reg.-No. 647)

lowland populations at the margins of the Ethiopian kingdom, who were regularly victims of slave raids and other predations from highlanders (↗Slavery). The term Š. bore mainly the connotation of 'black slave', in contrast to the likewise derogatory and imprecise term "↗Galla", which also sometimes bore the connotation of 'slave' (GueCopMen 604), but primarily referred to Oromo and occasionally other Cushitic-speaking populations such as ᶜAfar or Sidaama and sometimes also had the connotation of an enemy in war.

In contrast, the term Š. is exclusively applied to ethnically different peoples, living west or southwest of the Ethiopian highlands, and connotes a "different" physical shape and not only colour (hence the translation 'negro' in KaneDic 642, KaneTDic 847). Descendants from unions between highlanders and "Š." were stigmatized (Donham – James 1986: 12f.; cp. GueCopMen 607). The term Š. is to be differentiated from ↗*barya*, 'slave' (e.g., in the names Barya Ǝgziʾabəher, Baryaʾu/Baryaw/Bayru or Barya Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, 'slave of …'), which generally has no ethnic connotation (except in the northern highlands; ↗Nara), and has the wider meaning of anyone who is rather "black", which can also include "typical" highlanders who are only of darker complexion.

It is possible that there is an etymological connection with ↗Beni Šangul/Banī Šanqūl (↗Berta), one of the regions where slave raiding was practiced over a long period. The Sudanese Arabic Šanqūl (pl. Šanāqilah) might have been borrowed from Amharic, or vice-versa (Cerulli 1947: 69).

An Oromo folk etymology explains it with *šan qalla* ('we slaughtered five'). Two related Amharic adjectives mean 'dark skinned' (*šänqalla*, *šənqäla*). The connotation is not always negative, which is shown by the derived term of endearment *šanqo* ('black one'), which can also be a personal name (↗Names and naming systems).

In derivation, the term Š. is also used as a designation for several languages, called "Šanqəlləñña" (cp. ↗Aari, Đáasanač, ↗Gumuz, ↗Komo, ↗Mağaŋgir etc.), but it is never a self-designation. In Oromo, the term is also applied to the Somali Bantu. In Kenya, the ↗Đáasanač are called Šangílla.

The Š. already appear in a 15th cent. praise-song for *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq (Littmann 1914: 13). The Š. are listed at the very beginning of the song when the regions and tribes of the kingdom are evoked; they praise the ruler and refer to their richness in goats (this connotes that pastoralists were meant). Historiography reports of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I that he led campaigns against "the Š." on the north-western borders of his kingdom (in this case ↗Kunama, or ↗Ṣällim Bet; KolTrad III, A37). In the 1840s *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase included the Š. in his titulature (RubActa I, 81).

The southwards expansion of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, directed against Oromo and Käfa, and peoples further south, was also perceived as a campaign of submission of the "Š.". They were regarded as mere savages, without any socio-political order, who were only good for economic and physical exploitation. Consequently, folk paintings show them with drastically exaggerated features as brutish blacks following "pagan" and unholy rituals. A side-effect of this perception was that later governments did not establish a direct administration over much of their regions until the 1960s, but made them subject only to raiding. In the wake of the destructive effects of slave raiding, the establishment of new administrative structures inaugurated a second phase of forced cultural change, but also a new role within the state and the final disappearance of the term "Š." from official discourse.

Src.: BecRASO XI, 132; GueCopMen 604, 606f.; GuiIohan; KaneDic 642; KaneTDic 847; KolTrad III, A37; ENNO LITTMANN, *Die Altamharischen Kaiserlieder*, Straßburg 1914, 13; RubActa I, 81, III, 157.

Lit.: ABDUSSAMAD H. AHMAD, "Trading in Slaves in Bela-Shangul and Gumuz, Ethiopia: Border Enclaves in History, 1897–1938", *JAH* 40, 1999, 433–46; ENRICO CERULLI, "Three Berta Dialects in Western Ethiopia", *Africa* 17, 3, 1947, 157–69; DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1986, 12f.; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 112, 115, 191; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy*, Napoli 1981; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of the Bareya, Shanqella and Other Ethiopian Slaves from the Borderlands of the Sudan", *SNR* 59, 1977, 1–43; PerGov 220, 324ff.; TSEGA ENDALEW, *Conflict Resolution through Cultural Tolerance*: *an Analysis of the Michu Institution in Metekkel Region, Ethiopia,* Addis Ababa 2002 (SSRR Series 25).

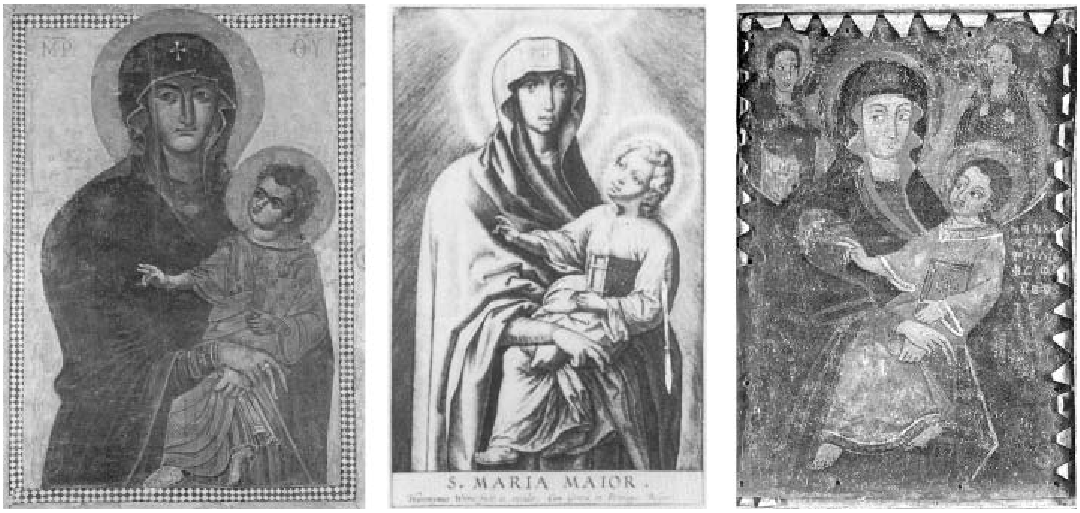
Wolbert Smidt

Santa Maria Maggiore, Madonna of

Known as "Salus populi Romani" (and previously also as "Regina Coeli" [up to the 13th cent.] and "Madonna della neve"), the famous icon of St. ↗Mary in the Cappella Borghese of the Roman basilica of S.M.M. is one of the few miracle-working Marian images possibly dating to the late 6th or early 7th cent. that are associated with a local church. By the year 1200, this icon – mostly surviving in a 12th/13th-cent. over-painting – was considered to have been painted by St. Luke (Amato 1988: 52–60; Wolf 2005: 31–37). Its cult expanded in 1569, when the Jesuit general Francesco Borgia obtained permission from the Pope to have copies – i.e. engravings – of the icon for Jesuit missions (Belting 1994: 320, 485f; D'Elia 1954; Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982:141f. and ill. 797). The most distinctive element of this Madonna is the gesture of crossed hands with which she holds her son; other specific elements include the extended first two fingers of her right hand, the white *mappa* in her left hand, the book (rather than the more usual scroll) held by the infant, and his sandals.

It is not known when precisely the icon engravings reached Ethiopia, most probably with the Portuguese ↗Jesuits led by Pedro ↗Páez in 1603. Local pictorial copies started being produced soon, and even after ↗Catholicism had been banned by ↗Fasilädäs the iconographic type of this Madonna kept enjoying continuous fortune – possibly not being perceived as a symbol of the Roman faith.

The first documented reference to an Ethiopian copy of the S.M.M. is the 1619 annual letter of



Left to right: 1) Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore, icon "Salus populi Romani", possibly 6th/7th cent. (restyled in the 12th/13th-cent.); photo c; courtesy of Gianfranco Fiaccadori; 2) The Virgin of "S. Maria Maior", engraving by Jerôme Wierix, ca. 1580; from Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1982, vol. 1, ill. 797; 3) Ethiopian icon of "Mary and his beloved Son", left wing of a repainted western diptych, 16th–18th cent., Mäqälä, Cultural Association for Təgray, gift no. 157; from Mercier 2001: 119

the Jesuit province of Goa (D'Elia 1954: 309f.). The earliest known example of an Ethiopian icon that follows the S.M.M. composition is the central panel of a rather large triptych (60 x 82 cm) that may have been painted in the early years of the 17th cent. (Mercier 2000: 118). The pairs of apostles on the wing panels follow an iconographic scheme introduced by the mid-15th-cent. ↗Fəre Ṣəyon (Heldman 1994: 28–31, 172–75); the portrait of the Virgin and Child of the central panel of this triptych is, however, a careful quotation of the S.M.M., quite probably in the form of an engraving, perhaps similar to the engraving of the Madonna of S.M.M. presented by the Jesuit Matteo Ricci to the Chinese court (D'Elia 1954: 305; Bailey 1999: 95, 97f.).

The composition became very wide-spread, virtually replacing earlier iconographic types. However, it does not seem to have been recognized as a faithful copy of the miracle-working St. Luke icon, although by the 16th cent. Ethiopia had been introduced to other iconographic types of miraculous Marian icons ascribed to St. Luke, e.g., a group of Italo-Cretan Marian icons brought to Ethiopia during the reign of ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (Heldman 2006).

Devotional images of the Virgin in the type of S.M.M. also appear as frontispiece miniatures of illuminated manuscripts, including manuscripts of the Miracles of Mary (Monneret de Villard 1947), and are included within mural schemes upon the exterior wall of the ↗*mäqdäs* of Ethiopian churches.

Later, the S.M.M. type came to be more freely rendered, sometimes only the gesture of Mary's crossed hands remaining. Other iconographic elements were added or replaced: e.g., a bird for the book in Christ's hands (as in Fəre Ṣəyon's icons, s. Heldman 1974: 178f.). A more Byzantinizing version of the same Madonna, with a star and gold fringe on Mary's shoulder, seems to have been introduced in the 18th cent. by means of another engraved copy, which also circulated in Latin America (D'Elia 1954: fig. 6; Bailey 1999: fig. 1).

Lit.: Pietro Amato, *De vera effigie Mariae. Antiche icone romane*, Rome 1988; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, tr. by Edmund Jephcott, Chicago, IL – London 1994; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America*, Toronto, 1999; ChojPaint 217–89; Pasquale D'Elia, "La prima diffusione nel mondo dell'imagine di Maria Salus Populi Romani", *Fede e arte. Rivista internazionale di arte sacra* 2, 1954, 301–11; Marilyn Heldman, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Śəyon: a Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6); Ead., "Saint Luke as Painter: Post-Byzantine Icons in Early Sixteenth-Century Ethiopia", *Gesta* 44, 2, 2005, 125–48; Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix conservées au Cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier*, vol. 1, Bruxelles 1982, 141f. and ill. 797; Jacques Mercier (ed.), *L'Arche éthiopienne, art chrétien d'Éthiopie*, Paris 2001, 119 (ill.); Ugo Monneret De Villard, "La Madonna di S. Maria Maggiore e l'illustrazione dei Miracoli di Maria in Abissinia", *Annali Lateranensi* 11, 1947, 9-90; Kirstin Noreen, "The Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome: an Image and its Afterlife", *Renaissance Studies* 19, 2005, 660-72; Gerhard Wolf, "Icons and Sites. Cult Images of the Virgin in Mediaeval Rome", in: Maria Vassilaki (ed.), *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, Aldershot 2005, 23–49.

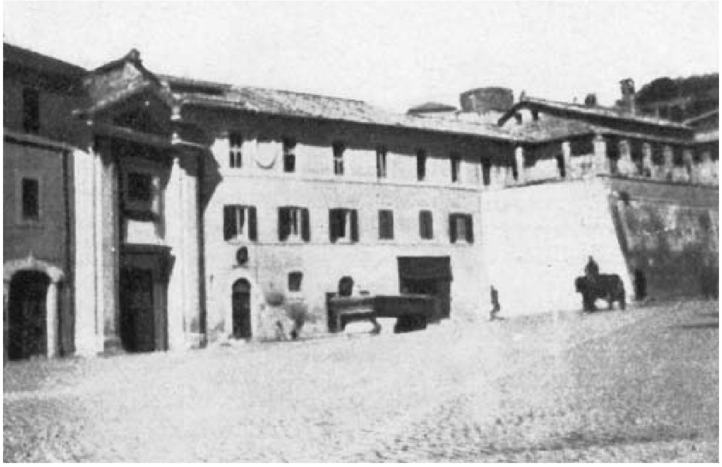
Marilyn E. Heldman

Santo Stefano dei Mori

S. ('St. Stephen of the Moors', with "Moors" meaning "Oriental" or "coloured people", here "Ethiopians", cp. Moors in EAE vol. 5) is the traditional name of a church located behind the apse of St. Peter's basilica in the ↗Vatican – formerly, with the outlying premises of the famous monastery or "hospice" tied to the dwelling of the Ethiopian pilgrims in Rome. Hence its synonymous designations of "Santo Stefano degli Abissini" or "degli Indiani", the latter by virtue of the notorious pre-modern confusion between India(ns) and Ethiopia(ns) (↗"India" as name of Ethiopia). The other designation also found in the sources, but no longer in use, "Santo Stefano in Egitto", alludes not to Coptic monks in residence, but to Egyptian antiquities located there (Proverbio in preparation).

The proper, if not original, title of the church, once much larger (as can be seen by its disaffected apse), is "Santo Stefano Maggiore", i.e. "St. Stephen the Great(er)", as opposed to the smaller vanished church of Santo Stefano degli Ungari, also in the Vatican. Of late antique, albeit disputed, origin, the major church was rebuilt in the 9th cent. and possibly restyled in the 12th (the doorway from this time is still in place). Repaired again under Pope Pius II (d. 1464), it underwent major restorations under Sixtus IV (d. 1484). Other maintenance works can be dated to the pontificates of Innocent VIII (d. 1492), Pius III (d. 1503), and Pius V (in 1568?). The medieval building, severely altered by massive renovations under Clemens XI (1706), was poorly retrieved in 1927–28 and 1931–33 by the architect Gustavo Giovannoni, to whose "purist" taste we owe the present shape of the church, isolated from the surrounding buildings –

completely demolished by him, with the historical hospice, in 1931–32.



The church and the ancient "hospice" of Santo Stefano dei Mori, in the Vatican, as they appeared before the demolitions and reconstructions of 1931–33; from CRStor, pl. I, fig. 1

There are no official documents as to when the church and its premises were turned into a place for Ethiopian pilgrims, who are attested in Rome as early as 1404, if not already 1310 (Lefevre 1967–68: 7–18; 1988; cp. Fiaccadori 2009: 37f.), and usually came from ↗Jerusalem via Cyprus and Venice. In 1404, three Ethiopians introducing themselves as envoys of the ↗Prester John made their appearance in Rome and were hosted by Cardinal Caetani on the Tiber Island. Charged with ascertaining whether the pope had ever received the lavish gifts of their master, they had possibly come with the 1402 embassy to Venice of *nəguś* ↗Dawit II (Lefevre 1988; Fiaccadori 2009: 36f.).

The first actual occasion for establishing an Ethiopian community in Rome is definitely to be sought in the 1481 embassy of *nəguś* ↗Ǝskəndər to Pope Sixtus IV, led by Giambattista ↗Brocchi da Imola (s. EAE vol. 5). Its members may have been accomodated in the monastery located next to the church and attached, although not permanently, to the latter. This was indeed an ancient possession (and residence) of the chapter of St. Peter's, and formally remained such until the end of the 16th cent. In 1497 it was in fact "violated", i.e. occupied against the rights of the chapter, by "Indians", that is Ethiopians, to whom therefore it did not belong yet (Lefevre 1967: 23 and n. 14).

In 1495, a letter of recommendation written by the ↗Franciscans of Jerusalem for two Ethiopian monks who had journeyed to the Holy Land and were then eager to see Rome and the tombs of the Apostles was inserted into an Ethiopic manuscript that was found by ↗Petraeus, in 1656, at S. (now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Aeth. 73; s. Mittwoch 1926). It was probably at Santo Stefano, then already "dei Mori", that ↗Potken heard the Ethiopians celebrating mass and studied Gəᶜəz with one of them, Tomas, the "(spiritual) son of Samuʾel the Hermit" (i.e. ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba). In 1513, thanks to the help of Tomas (not necessarily one and the same as ↗Zorzi's homonymous informant), he was able to issue the first ever printed book in Gəᶜəz, a ↗Psalter (↗Incunabula).

By the pontificate of Leo X (1513–21), the number of Ethiopians in Rome had definitely increased (Lefevre 1964). No one ever questioned those venerable pilgrims to the holy places (and relics) in town about their non-Chalcedonian Christology (↗Monophysitysm; cp. Samuel Asghedom 1974: 393). Regarded as subjects of the most powerful Prester John, they often presented themselves, aptly, as ↗Dominicans or Franciscans (or even Augustinians), claiming affiliations to the great monastic orders they had met and/or resorted to in Palestine (where the Ethiopians, however, enjoyed an undisputed reputation of holiness, cp. ↗*Rədätäbərhan*), for support and recommendation letters before their journey to Rome. A certain "Fra Antonio Abissino", identified by an Ethiopic ↗inscription, was portrayed as "a Domenican friar" kneeling in front of the Holy ↗Trinity on the lost screen of S., frescoed by the Tuscan painter called Schizzone, a companion of Vincenzo Tamagni (d. 1527; s. Proverbio 2009: 388). "Fra Antonio" might be the namesake brother "of the city of Urvuar [Wärwär] in ↗Bugna", also described as a Dominican monk, whose information was recorded by Alessandro ↗Zorzi in 1523 (Crawford 1958: 172f., cp. 95–99).

Since then, the "Abyssinians", mostly monks, were to stay at S. on a less provisional basis, thanks to the attentions of such popes as Clement VII (1523–34) and esp. Paul III (1534–49) who, like his successors, considered them as a part of the pontifical household and provided them with food and clothes. In the church of S., a series of funerary inscriptions for Ethiopian pilgrims who died there are still extant: written in Gəᶜəz, Arabic and Latin, they range from the 16th to the 19th cent. (Gallina 1888; Chaîne 1911: 26–36). In 1539 a house "at the back of St. Peter's" was bought at the order of the Pope "to be used by the Indian Moor friars" (Conti Rossini 1923: 460; cp. Lefevre 1946, nos. XLVIII–IL). A formal recognition, if ever any, of the properly Ethiopian status of the church and the nearby hospice was only granted, however, after 1545: at that time, Paul III was still planning to build a monastery for the Ethiopians in Rome (Lefevre 1946: 33f., no. LIII [cp. n. 1]; CerPal vol. 1, 437 and n. 1; Fiaccadori 2009:35). Such recognition might well have come either in 1551, when the Latin version of S.'s monastic "Rules" (Grébaut 1929–30), drafted in Gəᶜəz (Chaîne 1911: 19–26), was approved by Pope Julius III (and issued in four official exemplars, one of them dedicated to Pietro Paolo Gualtieri, s. ZanBibl 103, no. 185), or three years later, when he inaugurated ↗Barreto as Patriarch of Ethiopia (Davis 1969).

Whatever the juridical status of the complex may have been, S. had then a well-structured if not large monastic community, attested in several documents that shed light on its inner life by hinting at quarrels and controversies among its members or between them and the *rays* ('superior'). In keeping with the provenance of the monks, this community was modelled on that of Jerusalem as to both its charter and its ruling figure; its members were called, likewise, *näggadəyan* ('pilgrims'). The first *rays*, Tomas (not to be confused with either Potken's aid or Zorzi's informant), rather familiar with the Portuguese ambassador who introduced him to the Pope, was elected in 1515, as soon as he had arrived there. He died in 1518 and was buried in S. (Lefevre 1965: 22f.). He was succeeded that same year by ᶜƎnqʷä Maryam (during whose tenure the "pilgrims" numbered 38), later replaced by Täklä Maryam (with only 8 "pilgrims"), who was in turn succeeded by Təwkəltä Maryam, attested in 1527, and then by Yoḥannəs, mentioned in documents from 1531, 1540 and 1551. Later, Ṣəge Dəngəl was appointed, and after him Yoḥannəs "of Cyprus", the "(spiritual) son of Abimos of Qänṭorare", a monastery in ↗Angot. This Yoḥannəs appears as scribe and owner of several ↗manuscripts from S. as early as 1536, and is perhaps identifiable with Giovan Battista Abissino, bishop of the Ethiopians in Cyprus since 1565 (Fiaccadori 1989: 148f. nn. 13–25, 160f.).

With its ancient important manuscripts, chiefly brought from or via Egypt and/or the Holy Land, and with a few cultivated monks and more or less skilled copyists, S. became soon the place in which ↗Ethiopian studies as we know them today were first incubated and fostered. Little more than a generation after the German Potken, the Italian Mariano ↗Vittori (s. EAE vol. 5), there learnt Gəᶜəz from an Ethiopian cleric, the famous ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon (s. EAE vol. 5), and published the first ever Gəᶜəz grammar in 1548. For his part, Täsfa Ṣəyon (whose unique Ethiopic and Latin epitaph is still visible in the church: Euringer 1926), a protégé of Paul III and Cardinal Marcello Cervini, both friends of S., issued the earliest printed edition of the Ethiopic ↗New Testament in 1548–49 – an endeavour to be understood within the framework of the Biblical studies promoted by the so-called Catholic Reformation, in which the community of S. played a peculiar rôle (Fiaccadori 2009: 34; s. ↗Research, historical; ↗Bible: Gəᶜəz editions).

Other scholars were soon to profit of the learned monks of S.: among them Marc'Antonio Marsilio Colonna, whose *Hydragiologia* (Rome 1586) includes some Ethiopic prayers for the blessing of water (↗*Ṭəmqät*: *Mäṣḥafä ṭəmqät*), and Joseph Justus Scaliger, whose universal chronology, the *Opus novum de emendatione temporum* (Paris 1583), drew inspiration from the Ethiopian calendar (↗Research: Historical research). During the early decades of the 17th cent., possibly as a reflection of the situation unfavourable to Catholicism that ensued from the ↗Jesuit mission in Ethiopia, almost no more "pilgrims" arrived at S. In 1628, by order of Pope Urban VIII, the 65 books gathered there were thus transferred to the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, into which several Ethiopic manuscripts had already found their way in the late 15th cent.: both "series", with a few losses, form the kernel of today's "Vaticani etiopici" fund (GréTisVat II, 9–20).

At the initiative of Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, before 1628, five manuscripts from S. had already reached the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, where they are still kept (Galbiati 1963:196f.). A Greek manuscript, now Vienna, ÖNB, Hist. Gr. 123, acquired in Rome by Johannes Sambucus (d. 1584), might also have belonged, interestingly enough, to S. (s. Hunger 1961: 125f.).

In 1630, the first apostolic visitation to S. took place (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Misc. Arm. VII, no. 113, part III, fol. 873 = fol. 55). After 1634, however, the monastery was repopulated by Ethiopian “pilgrims”, who brought other books and entertained fruitful relationships with a number of important contemporary scholars such as the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher and his friend, the French Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (s. EAE vol. 5), both deeply interested in the language and culture of Ethiopia, and the Belgian Carmelitan Jakob Wemmers, who there found help for the compilation of his Ethiopic-Latin dictionary (1638). The monks of S., among them *abba* Maḥḍäntä Maryam and *abba* Asfa Maryam, composed brief poems in Gəʿəz for Wemmers (Raineri 1981:437, 440), Asfa Maryam also for Peiresc (Chaîne 1933–34).

The monks of S. were also consulted for linguistic, theological and historical matters by the Dominican ↗Wansleben, the aforementioned Petraeus, and above all by ↗Ludolf, who in Rome met the most learned *abba* ↗Gorgoryos of Mäkanä Śəllase. A monk at S., the latter became Ludolf’s teacher of Gəʿəz and main informant.

Over time, though, the number of Ethiopian monks in Rome dwindled to almost none, and the church and monastery of S. closed for some periods. In 1705, they were assigned as a benefit to a familiar of Pope Clement XI, Abbot Silverio Campana, indeed a diligent keeper of the books of the “Moors” gathered there (GréTisVat II, 21). Upon his death, in 1729, these books passed on to St. Peter’s chapter, then to the library of the Collegio Urbano di Propaganda (cp. ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide), and eventually, in 1759, to the Museo Borgiano (also attached to Propaganda Fide), whence a few of them were stolen and found their way into the antiquarian market (Rahlfs 1918; Tisserant 1925; cp. Fiaccadori in preparation). The remaining pieces entered the Vatican Library in 1902, along with the Borgian manuscripts (GréTisVat II, 21). A significant number of manuscripts formerly belonging to S. are now in Milan, but also in Florence, London, Oxford, Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg (Samuel Asghedom 1974:404f.). Their history, however, has still to be satisfactorily traced.

In 1731, at the suggestion of the Maronite Orientalist Giuseppe Luigi Assemani, Pope Clement XII, granted anew to Coptic monks the perpetual possession and use of the church and hospice of S. with its gardens. Yet, it proved to be extremely difficult to obtain monks or novices from Egypt. In 1782, therefore, the administration of the monastery was again entrusted to priests of the Roman clergy. In 1782, the future bishop of ↗Adulis, ↗Ṭobiya Giyorgis Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer, was still received at S., where he became a Catholic. In 1806, the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, resuming the idea of an Ethiopian mission, invited to Rome, as a student of the Collegio Urbano, a young Ethiopian monk, *abba* Gäbrä Giyorgis from Gäläbbäda (↗Tämben). He had been to Jerusalem and Egypt (where he had met the bishop of Adulis), and later joined the Basilian Greek Melkite order in Lebanon, embracing there Catholicism. For 39 years, until his death in 1845, he stayed on as rector at S. (Chaîne 1911:18; Mauro da Leonessa 1929:336; Raineri 1979). One of the last guests of the house was *däbtära* ↗Kəflä Giyorgis, who revived the learned tradition of the place, becoming an informant and consultant to Ignazio ↗Guidi, Major Ludovico De Vito and other scholars.

In the meantime, the church and the hospice had been transferred to the Barefoot Trinitarian order, which held them until 1919, when the Pontifical Ethiopian College was erected within their premises by Pope Benedict XV (the founder, in 1917, of the ↗Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus, from which the College has since depended), at the suggestion of the Jesuit ↗Beccari. This project, one of the several Roman starting points for establishing a Catholic Hierarchy in the East, was gladly backed by the ↗Capuchins of Eritrea, in particular by the then Apostolic Vicar Camillo Carrara, but the College was not definitely settled until Pope Pius XI decided to build a new and more comfortable seat for it within the Vatican gardens in 1929 (which was canonically founded with the 1930 bull *Curis et laboribus*); and assigned to the College a summer-house at Trevi (Umbria) in 1933. The chapel of the College witnessed the episcopal consecration of ↗Kidanä Maryam Kaśa in 1930.

Originally conceived as a seminary, during the first 50 years of its history, the College was the place of formation of a large number of priests of the Ethiopian rite, quite a few of them attending classes and earning degrees at the Pontifical Urbanian University (former Collegio Urbano di Propaganda).

The College celebrated its golden jubilee in 1969, its 75th anniversary in 2005, and was visited several times by the popes, who always accorded it special attention: so John XXIII (1962), Paul VI (1970) and Benedict XVI (2005). It was also visited twice by the Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase (1924, while still prince regent, and 1970). Five of its manuscripts (cp. already ZanBibl no. 194), amounting now to 26, have been recently integrated into the Ethiopic collection of the Vatican Library (2008).

Src.: Francesco Gallina, “Iscrizioni etiopiche ed arabe di S. Stefano dei Mori”, *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 11, 1888, 281–95; Marius Chaîne, “Un monastère éthiopien à Rome au XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècle”, *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* 5, 1911, 1–36, here 19–36; Id., “Une composition oubliée du père Kircher en l’honneur de Peiresc”, *ROC* 29, 3^e^ sér. 9, 1933–34, 196–208; Sylvain Grébaut, “Contribution à l’histoire du couvent éthiopien San-Stefano-de-Mori”, *ibid.* 26, 3^e^ sér. 6, 1927–28, 211–18; Id., “La règle de Santo Stefano dei Mori”, *ibid.* 27, 3^e^ sér., 7, 1929–30, 214–19; CerPal I, 437 and n. 1; Mauro da Leonessa, *Santo Stefano Maggiore degli Abissini e le relazioni romano-etiopiche*, Città del Vaticano 1929; Renato Lefevre, “Documenti pontifici sui rapporti con l’Etiopia nei secoli XV e XVI”, *RSE* 5, 1946 [1947], 17–41, here 32ff., nos. XLVIII–IL, LIII; Eugen Mittwoch, “Italienischer Brief eines Franziskaners aus dem Jahre 1495 in einer äthiopischen Handschrift”, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 39, 1926, 1907–10; Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Misc. Arm. VII, no. 113, part III, fol. 873 = fol. 55; GréTisVat II, 9–21; Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford (ed., tr.), *Ethiopian Itineraries*, ca. *1400–1524* …, Cambridge 1958 (The Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series 109), 172f., cp. 95–99.

Lit.: Samuel Asghedom, “Contributo dell’Ospizio di Santo Stefano degli Abissini agli studi etiopici in Europa”, in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 389–404; Carlo Conti Rossini, “Aethiopica”, *RSO* 9, 1923, 449–68, here 460f., §19; CRStor, pl. I, fig. 1 (ill.); Asa J. David, “Pope Julius III’s Bull of 1554: its Political Significance in Ethiopia”, *Ibadan* 26, 1969, 63–68; Sebastian Euringer, “Das Epitaphium des Tesfa Sejon (Petrus Aethiops) und seine Chronologie”, *OrChr* 23, 3. ser., 1, 1926, 49–66; Id., “San Stefano dei Mori (Vatikanstadt) in seiner Bedeutung für die abessinische Sprachwissenschaft und Missionsgeschichte”, *ibid.* 32, 3. ser., 10, 1935, 38–59; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, “Aethiopica minima”, *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 148f. nn. 13–25 (160f.); Id., “Venezia, l’Etiopia e l’Europa”, in: Giuseppe Barbieri – Gianfranco Fiaccadori (eds.), *“Nigra sum sed formosa”. Sacro e bellezza dell’Etiopia cristiana* (*13 marzo–10 maggio 2009*), Crocetta del Montello (TV) 2009, 27–48, here 34–38; Id.,“Alle origini del *Kebra nagaśt*”, in preparation; Enrico Galbiati, “I fondi orientali minori (siriaco, etiopico, armeno) dell’Ambrosiana”, in: *Atti del convegno “La Lombardia e l’Oriente”. Milano, 11–15 giugno 1962*, Milano 1963, 190–99, here 196f.; *Giubileo d’oro. Pontificio Collegio Etiopico in Vaticano*, Città del Vaticano 1969 (= *Debre K. Estifanos* [8] 16); Herbert Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 1, 1, Wien 1961, 125f.; Renato Lefevre, “Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento” [III], *Annali lateranensi* 11, 1947, 225–342, here 255–77; Id., “Note su alcuni pellegrini etiopi in Roma al tempo di Leone X”, *RSE* 21, 1965 [1966], 16–26; Id., “Appunti sull’ospizio di S. Stefano degli «Indiani» nel Cinquecento”, *Studi romani* 15, 1967, 15–33; Id., “Presenze etiopiche in Italia prima del Concilio di Firenze del 1439”, *RSE* 23, 1967–68 [1969], 5–26; Id., “Tre «Ethiopes nigri de India» a Roma nel 1404”, *Strenna dei romanisti* 49, 1988, 237–44; Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche sul più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano 1939 (Studi e Testi 92), s. index, 491 [“Vaticani etiopici”]; Oscar Löfgren, “San Stefano dei Mori och de första etiopiska bibeltrycken”, in: *Corona amicorum. Studier tillägnade Tönnes Kleberg*, Uppsala 1968 (Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis 15), 153–80; Delio V. Proverbio, “Altre strutture”, in: Barbara Jatta (ed.), *1929–2009*: *Ottanta anni dello Stato della Città del Vaticano*, Città del Vaticano 2009, 387–90, nos. 1 and 3; Id., “Santo Stefano degli Abissini: una breve rivisitazione”, in preparation; Alfred Rahlfs, *Über einige alttestamentliche Handschriften des Abessinierklosters S. Stefano zu Rom*, Berlin 1918 (Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Königl. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 3, 1); Osvaldo Raineri, “Il monaco etiope Giorgio Galabbada, Rettore di S. Stefano dei Mori dal 1806 al 1845”, *Nicolaus* 7, 1979, 153–64; Id., “Il carmelitano Giacomo Wemmers, autore del primo lessico etiopico”, *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* 32, 1981, 431–42; *The Pontifical Ethiopian College in the Vatican City*, Rome n.d.; Eugène Tisserant, [review of Rahlfs 1918], *Revue biblique* 34, 1925, 292–96; ZanBibl 110, 112–16, nos. 194, 196–200.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Säpänhi

S. (sp. varieties: Šipinihi, Shipenao, Scipinao) was an important mid-16th cent. (ca. 1530–70?) king or governor of the prosperous pre-Oromo, ↗ Gonga-speaking Hinnaryo (s. ↗ Ǝnnarya) state during the time of *aṣe* ↗ Gälawdewos and *aṣe* ↗ Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl, but there is uncertainty about his origin and the events of his reign. He may have been of northern descent, or appointed by the Ethiopian emperor. S. paid tribute to the emperor, mainly in the form of gold, and an important transfer was reported in 1568 at a meeting with Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl at Däbänawi (in Damot), cementing an alliance between the two. Owing to the substantial tribute paid by him, S. succeeded in warding off imperial slave-raiding (↗ Slavery) in his domain and proved to be a steadfast ally of the emperor (MHasOr 32). Some speculate that S. was an astute and sensible leader who saved his reputed kingdom from the depredations of the imperial army (ibid.), because both he himself and the emperor had an interest in warding off the expanding Oromo. In 1567 S. joined the emperor in his campaign against the neighbouring Boša kingdom. Contrary to the oral tradition cited in Cerulli (CerEt 196; cf. also BeckHuntAlm lxi), other local traditions assert that S. did not convert to Christianity, but remained an adherent of the traditional local religion. His successor, however, converted and made Hinnaryo an ally of the Ethiopian empire. S.’s capital was reported to be at Čerikko, near Mount Čada (CerEt; BeckHuntAlm).

Not much is known about the exact dates and deeds of S.’s rule, despite some references in the chronicles (e.g., of Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl, cf. CRHist) and in recorded ↗Šeka oral traditions, which relate (cf. Lange 1982) that he was considered a very abusive ruler, "hated" by the people, an enemy of the Ethiopian Orthodox faith, and seen as being "like a foreigner" (likely reflecting misrule and past Šeka subservience to Ǝnnarya). On the basis of these ambiguous oral sources and on information cited in Guidi (1907) and Cecchi (CecZeila) it was suggested that S. might have been of Portuguese descent. Cecchi (CecZeila vol. 1, 164) reported that two Portuguese soldiers, "Sigaro" and "Sapera", who had fought in the campaigns of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, had moved to the south and became important local leaders. The sources, however, are too scant and unclear to confirm this, and none speaks about S.'s skin colour.

S. may also have been the Hinnaryo king who, after having supported the campaign of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Gāzī against the Ethiopian Christian empire in the 1530s–early 1540s to ward off his country's destruction, switched sides and paid allegiance to *aṣe* Gälawdewos, who had sent an army to Hinnaryo in 1544 or 1545 (and also later, in 1552) to exert pressure on him. S. died around 1570, allegedly in a (mythical) drowning accident (Lange 1982: 33), and no grave or memorial was made for him. He was succeeded by ↗Läᵓasonhi, who was not his son, but a king allegedly also of northern Ethiopian descent, who became an adherent of Orthodox Christianity.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm lix, lxi; CecZeila vol. 1, 164; CerEt vol. 1, 196; CRHist 44.

Lit.: IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Strofe e brevi testi amarici", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 10, 1907, 167–84; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 32f.; MHasOr 32; PankBord 252.

Jon G. Abbink

Sapeto, Giuseppe

S. (b. 27 April 1811, Carcare, Savona, d. 25 August 1895, Genoa) was a ↗Lazarist missionary and explorer. On 21 February 1832 he took vows in order to join the Lazarist order and in 1834 he left for the college of Antura in Syria. In March 1838 S. arrived in Ethiopia, together with the brothers Antoine and Arnaud d'↗Abbadie, with the intention of carrying out missionary activities. This action met with the opposition of the ↗Sacra Congretatio de Propaganda Fide and Roman authorities, who accused him of having contracted syphilis after sexual intercourse with locals. He was thus called back to Europe in 1844 but was sent again to Ethiopia in 1849. In July 1851, together with his comrade Giovanni ↗Stella, he began a two-month journey through the lands of Mänsaᶜ, Bogos and Ḥabab. In 1855, he carried out further explorations after which he returned to Europe and tried to convince Napoleon III to act in Ethiopia in support of ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaᵓel against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II (Sapeto 1971). As a consequence, he was engaged as an interpreter in Stanislas Russel's mission to Nəguśe.

In 1862, S. abandoned the priesthood and settled in Genoa, where with several interruptions he was to teach Arabic language and civilization for nearly 30 years in a technical college. During this time he became a supporter of Italian expansionism. In 1863, he was sent to Egypt to meet the British governor of Aden with the intention of purchasing a strip of land on the African side of the Red Sea believed to have coal reserves. Between 1869 and 1870 he played a leading role in the discussions that led to the purchase of the bay of ↗ᶜAsäb by the Rubattino Shipping Company. Between 1879 and 1881, he also mediated in the definitive purchase and settlement of the Bay by the Italian government (↗Colonia di Assab).

During his last years, S. went back to teaching and doing historical research on the cultures and languages of the Middle East and Eastern Africa. Most of the documents he produced remain unpublished and are kept in the manuscript section of the Oriental Collections of the National Library of Rome.

Src.: GIUSEPPE FUMAGALLI, *Bibliografia Etiopica*, Milano 1893 (Lit.); GIUSEPPE SAPETO, *Viaggio e missione cattolica fra i Mensa, i Bogos, e gli Habab con un cenno geografico e storico dell'Abissinia*, Roma 1857; ID., *L'Italia e il canale di Suez. Operetta popolare*, Genova 1865; ID., *Grammatica araba volgare ad uso delle scuole tecniche*, Genova 1866; ID., "Della storia de' Cussiti …", in: *Atti del Reale Istituto Tecnico industriale-professionale e di marina mercantile della provincia di Genova*, Genova 1868–69, 27–156; ID., *Osservazioni sulla spedizione inglese in Abissinia*, Messina 1868; ID., *Ambasciata mandata nel 1859 dal governo francese a Negussié, Dégiazmatch del Tigré e del Samién in Abissinia*, Firenze – Roma 1871; ID., *Assab e i suoi critici*, Genova 1879; ID., *L'Etiopia. Notizie raccolte dal Prof. Giuseppe Sapeto ordinate e riassunte dal Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore*, Roma 1880.

Lit.: GASPARE AMBROSINI, "Giuseppe Sapeto e l'origine della Colonia Eritrea", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 8, vol. 3, 2–3, 1950, 104–18; MICHELE CASTELNOVI, "In margine ad un anniversario 'dimenticato': il centenario della morte di Giuseppe Sapeto (25 agosto 1895)", *Miscellanea di Storia delle esplorazioni* 21, 1996, 295–321; M.E. FERRARI, "L'azione e gli studi di Giuseppe Sapeto sull'Etiopia del secolo XIX e la sua monografia sulle 'Arti liberali e manuali o servili degli Abissini", in: UGO MARAZZI (ed.), *La conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, Napoli 1985, vol. 2, tomo 2, 697–720; L. GALLIANI, *Giuseppe Sapeto*, Genova 1951; GIULIO GIACCHERO – GIUSEPPE BISOGNI, *Vita di Giuseppe Sapeto. L'ignota storia degli esordi coloniali rivelata da documenti inediti*, Firenze 1942; D. LUPI, "L'acquisto della baia di Assab e l'opera di Giuseppe Sapeto", *L'Universo* 30, 1955, 271–82; V. LAZZARINI, "P. Giuseppe Sapeto e la ripresa cattolica in Abissinia", *QSE* 2, 1981, 65–80; GASPARE NOVELLA, "Giuseppe Sapeto africanista, missionario, esploratore", in: ID.: *Carcaresi illustri del passato. Per mantenere vivo il ricordo*, Savona 1994, 29–45; L. OLIVERI, "Un carcarese poco noto. Giuseppe Sapeto, esploratore in Abissinia", in: COMUNITÀ MONTANA "ALTA VAL BORMIDA" (ed.), *Miscellanea Duemila*, Millesimo 2000, 139–53; FRANCESCO SURDICH, *L'attività missionaria, politico-diplomatica e scientifica di Giuseppe Sapeto. Dall'evangelizzazione dell'Abissinia all'acquisto della baia di Assab*, Millesimo 2005.

Francesco Surdich

Sapricean, Timoteos Vardapet

S. (Dimotheos Sapritchian) was an Armenian priest from Constantinople who visited Ethiopia in 1867, as a member of a religious-diplomatic mission led by the Armenian Archbishop Sehak (Isaac) of ↗Jerusalem. At the request of the British government they were entrusted with letters of the Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople and Jerusalem appealing to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II to pardon his European captives at the fortress of ↗Mäqdäla.

In April, the mission travelled from Jerusalem via Alexandria, Cairo, Suez, Jeddah, ↗Sawākin, ↗Kassala and entered Ethiopia at ↗Mätämma in July. Although they managed to send the letters to Tewodros, it was too late to intercede in the conflict.

Back in Jerusalem, S. wrote a detailed travel account, in which he claimed that during their stay in ↗Aksum, they had been allowed to inspect the true "↗Ark of Covenant", reputed to have been brought from Jerusalem. S. described it as a quadrangular, 24 cm long, 22 cm wide, 3 cm thick stone of pinkish marble with a ↗Gəʿəz inscription which, according to him, might go back to the 13th cent. at the earliest. At the edges it was surrounded by engraved flowers about half an inch wide; in the centre there was a second quadrangular line in the form of a fine chain, the interior space being empty, while the space between the two frames contained the Ten Commandments, five on each side.

In his discussion of the Ethiopian culture and religious customs, S. described the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as utterly debased and profoundly corrupt both in its practice and beliefs. Discounting the centuries-old tradition shared by Armenian (↗Armenians) and Ethiopian Orthodoxy he thus followed the pattern of European Protestant criticism.

Src.: R.P. DIMOTHEOS [TIMOTEOS SAPRICEAN], *Deux Ans de Séjour en Abyssinie*, 2 vols., Jerusalem 1871; TIMOTHEUS SAPRITSCHIAN, *Zwei Jahre in Abyssinien*, 2 Teile, Leipzig 1888.

Lit.: JAMES DE LORENZI, "Caught in Storm of Progress: Timoteos Saprichian, Ethiopia, and the Modernity of Christianity", *Journal of World History* 19, 1, 2008, 89–114; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *The Quest for the Ark of the Covenant*, London – New York 2005, 146ff.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Ethiopian–Armenian Relations", *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 13, 1978/79, 273–345, here 287ff.

Marie-Luise Kreuter

Säqoqawä dəngəl

The S.d. (**ሰቆቃወ፡ ድንግል**, 'Lament (Elegy) on the Virgin') is a Gəʿəz poem devoted to St. ↗Mary, which tells of her sorrow and distress caused by various tribulations the Holy Family experienced during the Flight to Egypt. According to the text, the exile lasted 42 months and ended with Herod's death.

The S.d. is attested in at least 15 manuscripts from European collections, the oldest of which seems to be VatLib Aeth. 18, of the 16th cent.

The poem is divided into 53–55 stanzas (the number and sequence varying between different copies) of five (rarely six) lines each. Some manuscripts include additions: three ↗*sälam* stanzas and one *səbḥat* ditto.

The S.d. is performed during the Sunday Matins (↗*Səbḥatä nägh*), during the Season of the Flower. It is chanted on seven days in the northern section of the church as a part of the Liturgy of the Hours (↗*Säʿatat*, s. EAE vol. 5), where it replaces the ↗*mälkəʾ*, and in the *qəne maḫlet*, as part of Sunday ↗*Maḫlet*, following the ↗*Maḫletä ṣəge*. On that occasion the *wäräb zema* is applied accompanied by ↗*käbäro*.

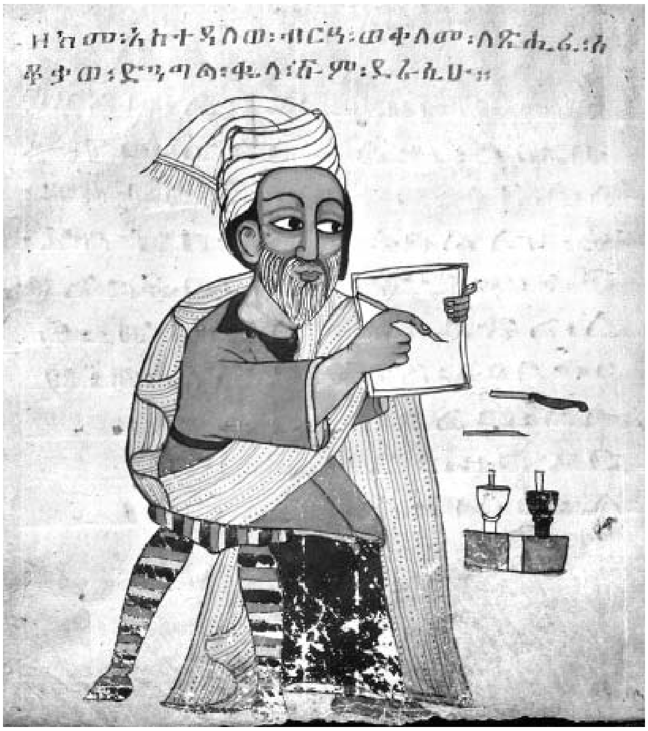
The S.d. evokes episodes of the Flight to Egypt rather than describes them. The author creates a dramatic atmosphere by recalling particularly traumatic events and circumstances which affected the Holy Family and in which he feels personally involved (e.g., hunger and thirst, the theft of Jesus's clothes by two thieves etc.). The lamentations, often presented in direct speech, contain impressions and reflections of the poet about Mary's sufferings and his wish to share them with her. There are many Biblical references to O.T. figures and events, e.g., the Flight is often compared to the Exodus. Some sections are based on such Biblical books as Song of Songs, Psalms and Lamentations.

The S.d. does not seem to have parallels in other Christian Oriental literatures. The most important source of the text is the *Vision of Theophilos*, a Coptic apocryphon ascribed to ↗Theophilos of Alexandria, which recounts the story of the Holy Family in Egypt. Hayoz (1956: 136–41) provides a concordance of the verses of the S.d. with parallel sections of the *Vision*. The S.d. also includes some details known from the other apocryphal texts dealing with the infancy of Jesus.

The S.d. frequently mentions the Monastery on Mount Koskam (↗Qʷəsqʷam) in Upper Egypt. This led Löfgren (LöfUpp 82) to suggest that it was the place of origin of the S.d. However, since Koskam is similarly recalled in the *Vision of Theophilos*, its mention in the S.d. simply confirms the dependence on the translation of this Coptic text.

According to Conti Rossini (1899: 269), the S.d. dates from the 15th cent.; Hayoz (1956: 135) suggests 14th–15th cent. These early dates, considering the age of the earliest witnesses, do not seem improbable.

The text of the S.d. does not provide the author's name. There is a tradition telling that it was composed by a ↗*mämhər* of ↗Däbrä Wärq, ↗ᶜArkä Śəllus, in the 15th cent. According to the 19th-cent. Amharic text known as the *List of Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns* (Getatchew Haile 1994: 371, 373), a certain *qʷälla šum* Yoḥannəs, a figure otherwise unknown in Ethiopian literary tradition, was the author. This information is confirmed by the 17th-cent. manuscript kept in the monastery of Ǝndäbba Ḥadara, Tämben, where the author is depicted several times. The manuscript (5 x 14.5 x 3.5 cm) is illustrated with 60 miniatures in the style of the first Gondärine school of ↗painting. About one third of the illuminations are displayed on two folios (v–r). Since the painter struggled with the difficulties of illustrating this non-narrative text, many miniatures simply show the Ethiopian version of the Flight to Egypt, i.e. St. Mary carrying the Child accompanied by Joseph and Salome. This basic formula with some additions is also used to depict the episodes recalled in the text (e.g., miracles worked by Mary and Jesus, conflicts between the Holy Family and others).


ዘከመ፡ አስተዳለወ፡ ብርዐ፡ ወቀለመ፡ ለጽሒፈ፡ ሰ
ቆቃወ፡ ድንግል፡ ቍላ፡ ሹም፡ ዮሐንስ።

Qʷälla šum Yoḥannəs, having prepared the ink, is writing the *Säqoqawä Dəngəl*, 17th-cent. ms., fol. 3v, Ǝndabba Hadärä *gädam*, Tämben, Təgray, 17th cent.; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The same cycle of miniatures appears in another illuminated manuscript of the S.d. (19 x 13.2 x 7.3 cm) which once belonged to the church of Qäbṣəya Giyorgis in ↗Ambalage. It was executed at the end of the 18th cent., and the miniatures represent the second Gondärine school of painting, being more varied and animated.

↗Mary: Marian literature

Src.: ms. *Säqoqawä dəngəl*, Ǝndäbba Ḥadara, Tämben; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il discorso su monte Coscam attribuito a Teofilo d'Alessandria nella versione etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 10, 1912, 395–471; *nəburä əd* DƎMEṬROS GÄBRÄ MARYAM – *məkəttəl afä nəguś* ṬƎBÄBU BÄYYÄNÄ (eds.), **ቅዳሴያተ፡ ማርያም፡ [ጐሥዓ – መዓዛ፡ ቅዳሴ]። ማኅሌተ፡ ጽጌ። ሰቆቃወ፡ ድንግል** … (*Qəddaseyatä Maryam* [*gʷäśᶜa – mäᶜaza qəddase*]. *Maḫletä ṣəge. Säqoqawä dəngəl* …, 'The Anaphoras of Mary [*eructavit* – the Pleasant of Consecration]. The Canticle of the Flower. The Lamentation of the Virgin …'), Asmära 1959 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; CHRYSOSTOME HAYOZ, *Portrait de Marie*: *Complainte de la Vierge. Deux poésies mariales éthiopiennes inédites*, Fribourg 1956, 127–235; LöfUpp 80ff. (ed. of the additional stanzas); TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **ማኅሌተ፡ ጽጌ፡ ወሰቆቃወ፡ ድንግል** (*Maḫletä ṣəge wäsäqoqawä dəngəl*, 'The Canticle of the Flower and the Lamentation of the Virgin'), Addis Abäba 1964 A.M. [1971/72 A.D.]; VelMe I, 40ff.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1899, 197–285, here 197–220, 263–72; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical*

Year of the Ethiopian Church, Addis Ababa 2001, 114-17; Getatchew Haile, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns: Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 369–75; Geneviève Nollet, "Le culte de Marie en Éthiopie", in: Hubert du Manoir (ed.), *Maria: études sur la Sainte Vierge*, vol. 1, Paris 1949, 363–413, here 404f.

Witold Witakowski – Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Säqoṭa

S. (**ሰቆጣ**; 12° 37' 50 N, 39° 2' 5 E; 2,250 m A.S.L.) is the capital city of ↗Wag *awraǧǧa* and the historical seat of the ↗*wag šums*. It is situated ca. 90 km west of ↗Koräm in the mostly lowland region (for location s. map for Šädäho).

The rock-hewn church of Wəqre Mäsqälä Krəstos (↗Wəqro Mäsqäl), the church Abba Yoḥannes Mikaᵓel and the cave church of Sayda Kidanä Məḥrät are located a few kilometres outside the town.

S. lies on the ancient main ↗salt trade route south-west of Mäqälä leading to Gondär in the west, and Lalibäla and Yäǧǧu in the south. In the 1690s, in an attempt to weaken local rebellion and to control the lucrative trade, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I decreed that salt traders should not pass through ↗Lasta. This affected the market place of S. In 1746 *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II marched to S. (the first time S. is mentioned in sources, as the capital of the *wag šum*; GuiIyas 129), dismissed local rulers and officially appointed others, strengthening imperial power over the region.

In the 1870s, the governor *wag šum* ↗Täfäri Wäsän had a royal church constructed at S. with the help of foreign craftsmen (in particular, the Swiss carpenter Dubois; Raffray 1876:184).

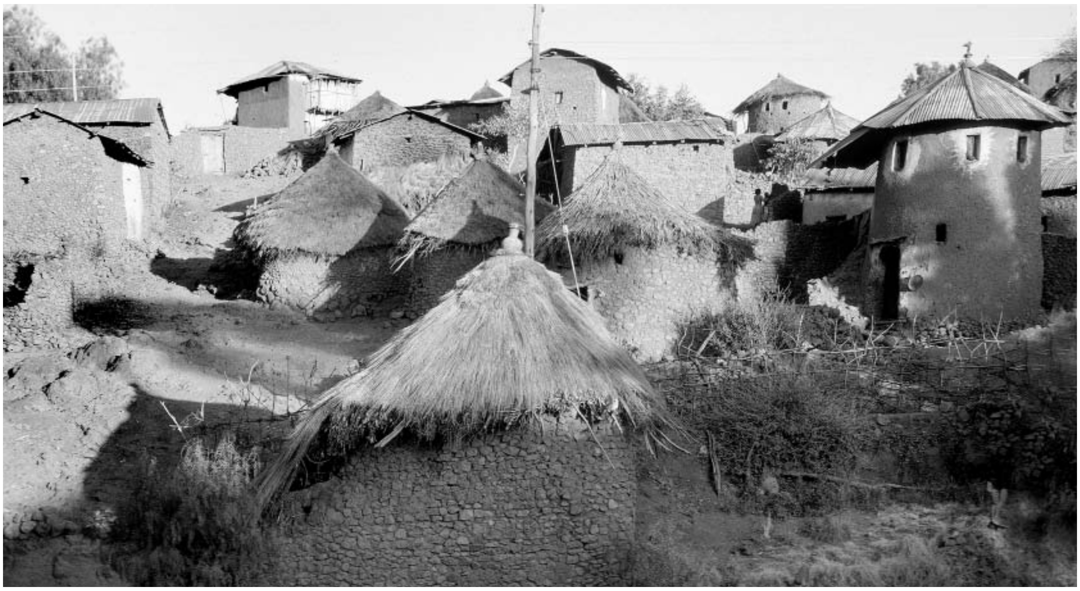
In the 1890s the town had ca. 3,000 residents (Alamanni 1891; Wylde 1901). The governor of the region (*wag šum* ↗Gʷangul Bərru at the time of Wylde's visit in 1896) lived in a three-storied building. The town had two weekly markets on Tuesday and Wednesday, which attracted traders from Təgray, Gondär, Lasta, Yäǧǧu, and ↗Wäfla. The main commodity was ↗*amole*.

Until very recently S. was off the main highway linking Addis Abäba and Mäqälä. It has now a dry-weather road linking it with Koräm in the east, Tämben and Mäqälä in the north, and Lasta in the south. It has a school, a hospital, and a telephone connection. Since 1991, S. has been the administrative centre of Wag-Həmra Zone, with population estimates reaching over 10,000 inhabitants.

Src.: Charles Tilstone Beke, "Abyssinia – Being a Continuation of Routes in That Country", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 14, 1844, 1–76, here 55–59; GuiIyas 129 (text) = 139 (tr.); Ennio Quirino Mario Alamanni, *La Colonia Eritrea e i suoi commerci*, Torino 1891, 775ff.; Achille Raffray, *Afrique orientale*, Paris 1876, 184; Augustus B. Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia,* London 1901, 57, 330–33, 337, 340f., 348.

Lit.: Richard Pankhurst, "Wag and Lasta: an Essay in the Regional History of Ethiopia from the 14th Century to 1800", in: *PICES* 7, 213–31; Wudu Tafete, *A Political History of Wag & Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 7, 65, 87f., 151.

Wudu Tafete Kassu



Round stone houses near the church of Däbrä Ṣähay in Säqoṭa, Wällo; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Śäräqä Bərhan

Ś.B. (**ሠረቀ፡ ብርሃን**; d. 1403) was ↗ᶜ*aqqabe säᶜat* of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II.

Ś.B. appears as the abbot of Däbrä Ḥayq in the Acts of ↗Giyorgis of Sägla, at the time when the latter came to study at the monastery as a child in the 1370–80s. His tenure must have therefore begun before that date.

In the ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam*, Ś.B. appears among the few ecclesiastics who supported Dawit when most clergy (above all ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa) were asking him to relinquish power. This support gave him a pre-eminent position at the court where he became one of the Emperor's advisers. His influence is particularly remembered in the context of the conflict between Dawit and the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Bärtälomewos on the one hand and the followers of *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos headed by ↗Filəppos of Däbrä Bizän on the other. Filəppos was imprisoned at Däbrä Ḥayq.

Manuscripts from the Däbrä Ḥayq monastic library contain few traces of Ś.B.'s tenure, possibly due to the fact that he spent more time at the court than in the monastery. Only two copies of the ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat* and a Homily for ↗Lent can be attributed to Ś.B.'s tenure.

Src.: EMML nos. 1766, 1840, 1956; CerMaria 79–86; Gérard Colin, *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Louvain 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]), 5 (text) = 4 (tr.); Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yohannəs di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1900 [1903], 61–170, here 111–19; KolTrad I, A23f., 30f.

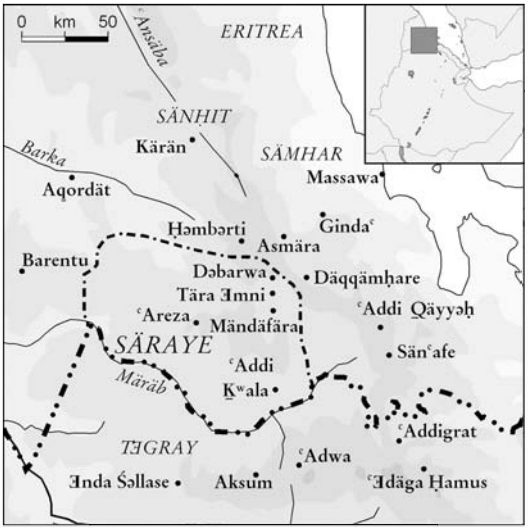
Lit.: CerMaria s. index; LusStud s. index; Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq (1248–1535)", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 103; TadTChurch s. index.

Marie-Laure Derat

Säraye

S. (**ሰራዬ**, also **ሰራየ**, Särayä, rarely **ሰራኤ**, Säraᵓe, in ancient sources **ሠራዌ**, Śärawe, **ሰራዌ**, Särawe), now incorporated into the large administrative region of Däbub, constitutes one of the three highland historical regions of Eritrea together with ↗Ḥamasen and ↗Akkälä Guzay. S. adjoins ↗Təgray, Ethiopia, along the course of the ↗Märäb, to the south of Ḥamasen and to the west of Akkälä Guzay.

The main centres of present-day S. are (1) ↗Mändäfära (ᶜAddi Wägri), the present chief town, with the sub-districts (1992) of Märaguz, Täḵäla, Təməzzäᵓa, ᶜAnagər, Harfä Gərotto, Gʷəḥçäᶜa, Däbub, Däqqi Dəgna, Tära Ǝmni; the provincial capitals of the homonymous districts



(*nəᵓus awrağğa*), i.e. (2) ↗ᶜAddi Ḵʷala, with the sub-districts of Qʷäḥayn, May Ṣaᶜəda, ᶜAyla Gundät, Ǝnda Azmač Oq̱bit, Däqqi Bäḵʷri; (3) ᶜArräza, with Mədrä Wadd Säbära, Zäyd Akkolom, Kʷəno Räddaᵓ, Qolla Särayä, Afälba, Dämbälas, Däqqi Yəṭaᶜəs; (4) and ↗Dəbarwa, with Ṣəlləma and Säffəᵓa (cp. also Eugenio di Savoia-Genova – Simonini 1940: 85). The ancient chief town of S. was probably ᶜAd Bärraḥ (cp. CRAxum 9f. [tr.], no. I.3).

Even though it has yielded fewer archaeological findings than the other two historical regions, S. is probably one of the oldest sites of Semitic settlement in the Ethio–Eritrean highlands. A possible indication is the similarity of its name to South-Arabian place names, probably due to Semitic immigrants (cp. CRStor 104: "Sarwàn, Saràt, monti dello Iemen"; ↗Topography, historical). Moreover, the rock inscription of ↗Ṣəḥuf Ǝmni, Qʷäḥayn, in ↗Epigraphic South Arabian writing and palaeographically comparable to ↗ᶜEzana's (pseudo-)trilingual ↗inscriptions (even if the text is very obscure), testifies to a role which the region played also in ↗Aksumite times. This is confirmed by the Aksumite foundations of the ancient church of Ǝnda Mikaᵓel, Dəbarwa, on the border with Ḥamasen (CRStor 227; DAE II, 162ff.), as well as by the supposed identification of Dämba Məčč, S., with MḌ⁽ᵐ⁾/Ματλια, a place of deportation of the ↗Beğa, in the same inscription of ᶜEzana (cp. Rodinson 1981; RIÉ nos. 185, 185bis, 270, 270bis). Yet, document no. 2 of the "Golden Gospel" of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana where ᶜAddi S.

is mentioned as *gʷəlt* afforded by king ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl is probably spurious (CRDLib 185).

Hagiographic traditions credit S. with being an important site during the "second Christianization", when Gʷəḥṣəya (now Gʷəḥčäᶜa) and other sites of S. were purportedly visited by saint ↗Libanos (cp. Bausi 2003: xxf. [tr.] and §§31, 155, 405, 488). According to written and oral traditions, in subsequent times, around the end of the 13th/early 14th cent., the former ↗Balaw (of Beğa origin) and ↗Kunama inhabitants of S. were replaced by the ↗Adkämä Məlgaᶜ, Agäw immigrants from Lasta, who assumed the ↗Təgrəñña language and played a hegemonic role in the area till the 18th cent., when they came into conflict with the ↗Däqqi Täššəm of Ḥamasen and their power and autonomy were substantially scaled down in the course of time.

In the second half of the 14th cent., after the establishment of ↗Däbrä Maryam monastery by Ewosṭatewos's disciple ↗Absadi, the S. became the cradle of the ↗Ewosṭatean movement (cp. LusStud 58–61, 69–122). The foundation of numerous other monasteries (↗Däbrä Dəḫuḫan, ↗Däbrä Ṣəge, ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ, ↗Däbrä Kol, etc.) and the consequent early establishment of a lasting written tradition, extremely rich both in documentary (feudal acts) and literary texts (esp. ↗hagiography; cp. LusStud 93ff.; Lusini 1996; Tedros Abraha 2007) and ↗genealogies (cp. Lusini 2004), has made S. one of the prosopographically best documented regions in the entire Ethio-Eritrean area (cp. Lusini 1999, 2005, in MiscAethKur; BauEr I, III; Bausi 2001). In particular, we are informed of several governors of S. starting from the 14th/15th cent. (Bägᶜa [or Bägädä] Ṣəyon, Wärasinä Ǝgziᵓ, Gäbrä Krəstos, ↗Bəlen Sägäd [cp. Schneider in EtRicci 253], Gänzay, Zärᵓa Mədr [cp. BauEr I, 29f., 41]), bearing the title of ↗ᶜ*aqaṣən* (cp., e.g., CRAxum 49 [tr.], doc. II, 46) or *śəyyum* of S. (cp. ↗*šum*; e.g., Aron, *ibid.* 30 [tr.], no. I.20), as well as a number of monastic and lay characters. Although S. lands are mentioned in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* (*ibid.* 24 [tr.], no. II.8, feudal act by *aṣe* Säyfä Arᶜad; 26 [tr.], no. 12, by Yəsḥaq; 30 [tr.], no. 20, by Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob; 49 [tr.], no. 46, by Ləbnä Dəngəl; for other historical records cp. *ibid.*, 88, 90, 93, 97f., nos. III.6, 7, 8, 12), yet the question of the effective degree of subordination of the S. region to governors of Təgray and even to the Ethiopian monarchy is still open. According to Conti Rossini (1940: 206f.), the region to the north of the Märäb was independent until ↗Mikaᵓel Ṣəḥul's conquest shortly after 1760 (cp. Id. 1947: 206f.). Moreover, Dəbarwa, the chief town of the ↗*baḥər nägaš*, is in present-day S. – in fact, on the border between historical S. and Ḥamasen, along the strategic route from ↗Massawa on the Red Sea coast to the hinterland, through S. and Təgray. The S. region is rich in oral traditions (cp. Conti Rossini 1942; Perini 1895; 1905: 252–82; Gäbrä Iyäsus 1961/62; Schneider in EtRicci) and ↗customary laws, which have been subjected to thorough study esp. concerning the ↗land tenure system (cp. Conti Rossini 1948ff.; Tronvoll 2000; Tronvoll – Tekeste Negash 2001; Bausi 2001).

Src.: Alessandro Bausi, "Documents Collected during Field Work in Eritrea (1992–94). Dabra Māryām, Dabra Bizan, Dabra Libānos, Dabra Abuna Beḍuᶜ Amlāk, Dabra Marqorēwos", in: Id. – Gianni Dore – Irma Taddia (eds.), *Materiale antropologico e storico sul «rim» in Etiopia ed Eritrea. Anthropological and Historical Documents on «Rim» in Ethiopia and Eritrea*, Torino 2001, 155–65 (Lit.); Id. (ed., tr.), *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]); BauEr I, III; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia. II. La seconda migrazione Agau dell'Eritrea", *RSO* 4, 1912, 599–651; Id., *Proverbi tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942; Id. (ed., tr.), *Consuetudini giuridiche del Seraé*, I–II, Roma 1948, 1953, 1971 (Supplements to RSE 7, 11, 24); CRAxum; CRDLib 185 (doc. no. 2); DAE II, 162–64; Gäbrä Krəstos ᶜAbbay, **መሠረት፡ ዓሌት፡ ሕዝበ፡ መረብ፡ ምላሽ** (*Mäśärät ᶜalet ḥəzbä Märäb Məllaš*, 'Foundation of the Tribes of the People of Märäb Məllaš'), Asmära 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.]; KaneTDic 684a; Gianfrancesco Lusini (ed., tr.), *Il «Gadla Absādi» (Dabra Māryām, Sarā'ē)*, Lovanii 1996 (CSCO 557, 558 [SAe 103, 104]); Id., "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarā'ē, Eritrea)", *RSE* 42, 1998 [1999], 5–55; Id., "Traditional Land Tenure in Ethiopia: New Documents from Dabra Deḫuḫān and Dabra Ṣegē (Sarā'ē, Eritrea)", in: *MiscAethKur* 141–48; Id., "Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali dell'ordine di Ēwosṭātēwos di Dabra Ṣarābi", in: Enzo Lucchesi – Ugo Zanetti (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 249–72; Id., "Una pagina di storia eritrea: *kabasā* tra linguistica e filologia", in: Bogdan Burtea – Josef Tropper – Helen Younan-Sardaroud (eds.), *Studia Semitica et Semitohamitica. Festschrift für Rainer Voigt*, Münster 2005 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 317), 243–52; RIÉ I, 242ff., 365, 368, 392f. (nos. 185, 185bis, 270, 270bis, 287); Roger Schneider, "Une page d'histoire des Adkama de la province du Seraé en Erythrée", in: *EtRicci* 245–54; Tedros Abraha (ed., tr.), *Il* Gädl *di Abuna Demyanos santo eritreo* (*XIV/XV sec.*), Turnhout 2007 (PO 50/2 [223]).

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi – Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36; Carlo Conti Rossini, [review of David Richard Buxton, *The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia*, Oxford 1947 (Archaeologia 92)], *RSE* 6, 1947, 203–08; CRStor 104; Eugenio di Sa-

VOIA-GENOVA (duca d'Ancona) – GIOVANNI SIMONINI, "La regione del Seraè", *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 3, 3, 1940, 81–134; LusStud (Lit.); Guida 232ff.; RUFFILLO PERINI, "Sulla proprietà fondiaria nel Seraè", *Nuova Antologia* ser. 3ª, 45 (129), 1893, 663–93; ID., *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàsc'*), Firenze 1905; PollEr; MAXIME RODINSON, "Les nouvelles inscriptions d'Axoum et le lieu de déportation des Bedjas", *Raydān* 4, 1981, 97–116; TEKESTE NEGASH – KJETIL TRONVOLL, "Rim: a Form of Land Holding or a Conceptual Framework of Local Governance? The Rise and Decline of Rim in Eritrea", in: BAUSI – DORE – TADDIA 2001, 93–114; KJETIL TRONVOLL, "*Meret Shehena*, 'Brothers' Land': S.F. Nadel's Land Tenure on the Eritrean Plateau Revisited", *Africa* (London) 70, 2000, 595–613.

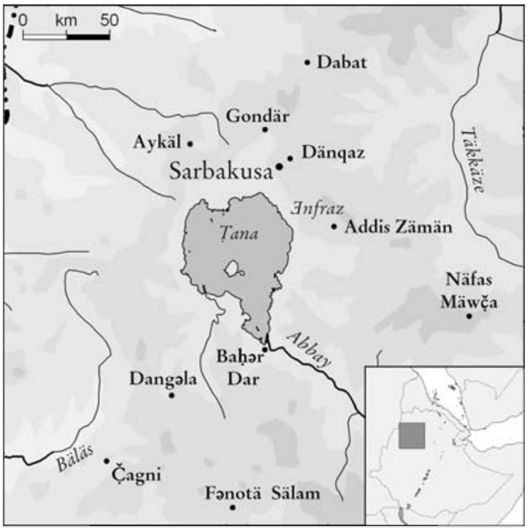
Alessandro Bausi

Sarbakusa

S. (**ሳርባኵሳ**, also Sarbakʷəsa, 12° 29' N, 37° 35' E) is a small locality in the district of ↗Ǝnfraz, Bägemdər, halfway between Ṣadda (where *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I is buried, BudHist 408), and ↗Dänqäz, south-east of ↗Gondär. It is prominent as the site of the 1771-battle, in which *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul was defeated. Many details of the battle are known thanks to the British traveller ↗Bruce who participated in the fight beside *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot II. The battle of S. marked the climax of quarrels and struggles between the parties of Təgrayan, Amhara and Oromo nobility during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

Täklä Haymanot II was installed on the throne in 1769 by *ras* Mikaʾel, who had killed *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas and *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs II. Mikaʾel and Täklä Haymanot spent the rainy season of 1770 together in Təgray. This gave a chance to the conspirators, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wänd Bäwäsan, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Goššu and the Oromo chief *däǧǧazmač* Fasil Wäräñña, to enter Gondär and to install *aṣe* ↗Susənyos II as "counter-Emperor". On his return to Gondär in December, Mikaʾel deposed Susənyos; this was followed by ruthless persecutions and violent repressions of his rivals (BruNile IV, 81). Among others, the ↗*ʿaqqabe säʿat* Sälama was openly executed (BlunChr 228).

The concentration of power in the hands of Mikaʾel Səḥul led to consolidation in the camps of his opponents. In May 1771, the two parties met at S. (BruNile IV, 138): *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot and Mikaʾel Səḥul on the one side, Wänd Bäwäsän, Goššu and *ras* Ayadar, who led Oromo forces, on the other. The army of Mikaʾel Səḥul numbered ca. 25,000 men, including 6,000 musketeers and 12,000 lancers, and another 6,000 from Gondär; a large proportion of these were horsemen (BruNile IV, 63). There was also a contingent of Sudanese soldiers from ↗Ras al-Fil.



The first encounter led to substantial losses for Wänd Bäwäsän costing him 900 men, whereas Mikaʾel Səḥul lost 300 men. Despite the ferocity of the battle, the outcome was not decisive. In the following days, Goššu, Wänd Bäwäsän and Ayadar tried to ally with Täklä Haymanot promising him support if he would sent Mikaʾel back to Təgray (BruNile IV, 151).

The second encounter took place in the early morning of 20 May. Due to a tactical mistake, Täklä Haymanot almost fell into the hands of Wänd Bäwäsän, but managed to escape owing to the military skills of Gäbrä Krəstos and Mikaʾel's nephew Gäbrä Mäsqäl. Wänd Bäwäsän was injured in the course of the fighting. Both sides registered huge losses, nearly 3,000 men perished on the Emperor's side, Goššu and Wänd Bäwäsän lost almost 9,000 men (BruNile IV, 176). The following day, Goššu, Ayadar and Wänd Bäwäsän sent messengers to the Emperor inquiring about his health and safety, paying their respects and asking him to refrain from personal participation in the fighting.

The army of Goššu and Wänd Bäwäsän received support from *ato* Tesfos, former governor of ↗Səmen under Iyoʾas, and his troops; they were encamped in the valley between the opposing camps. Tesfos started attacking the Emperor's army; this evoked a counterattack by Mikaʾel Səḥul's army.

Both armies were becoming exhausted; the Emperor's side suffered from lack of provisions and fresh water, the opposition was affected by fever (BruNile IV, 197).

The third and last clash resulted in tactical changes within both armies; ca. 300 musketeers from Lasta, most probably the troop of *wag šum* ↗Gigar, deserted the Emperor's army. This was another shock for the already weakened forces of Mikaʾel Səḥul.

Goššu and Wänd Bäwäsän managed to cut off the supplies of the Emperor coming from Gondär, leaving his army in great trouble. Thus Mikaʾel Səḥul and Täklä Haymanot decided to retreat to Gondär. Goššu and Wänd Bäwäsän sent a message, promising not to disturb their army on its way back to Gondär. They, however, surrounded Gondär and finally forced the Təgrayan troops of Mikaʾel Səḥul to surrender and to return to their provinces (BruNile IV, 232).

Goššu was made ↗*ras* by Täklä Haymanot. On 4 June Wänd Bäwäsän entered Gondär with 1,000 soldiers and captured Mikaʾel Səḥul. He imprisoned Mikaʾel for a year in Lasta but later set him free. The fall of Mikaʾel Səḥul was a landmark in the further fragmentation of the political fabric of the Gondärine kingdom.

Src.: BlunChr 18 (tr.) = 227–29 (text); BruNile IV, 63, 81, 138–248; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "La storia di Ḫāyla Mikāʾēl", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 11, 1902, 2–79, here 27–55.

Lit.: CrumLand 110–13; TEKLE-TSADIK MEKOURIA, "Histoire abregée de Haylou Esheté (Degiazmatche)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 189–213, here 205; TSTarik III, 381f.

Sophia Dege

Särgis Abərgawi

S.A. (**ሰርጊስ፡ አብርጋዊ**, 'Särgis of Aberga'), is the Ethiopic title of a polemical text otherwise known as Διδασκαλία Ἰακώβου Νεοβαπτίστου, *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati*, or the *Teaching of Jacob*. It was originally composed in the Byzantine Empire (Palestine, though the narrative is set in Carthage), in Greek, between 634 and 640. The Ethiopic version depends upon an Arabic translation, probably from Greek.

The text records an alleged dialogue between two Jewish converts to Christianity on 13 July 634. The title in Ethiopic, S.A., refers to the name of "Sergius the Governor [Eparch]", who had the Jews of Carthage brought before him to announce that Heraclius (Eth. **ሀራቃል**, Haraqal) wishes them all baptized, and whose office (ἔπαρχος) was misunderstood as a placename (Abərga). Moreover, "Sergius" in the Ethiopic replaces "Georgios [George]" of the Greek and is probably a reminiscence of Sergius Candidatus, Governor of Palestine, mentioned in V 12.

The book claims to have been written by a soldier Joseph, one of the converted Jews. Another convert, Jacob of Acre, demonstrates to him the truth of Christianity and challenges the beliefs of the Jews. Issues raised include the coming of Christ, his birth, the Passion, death, resurrection, ascension and genealogy of the Virgin ↗Mary. The explications contain numerous interpretations of O.T. passages which are claimed to prefigure Baptism, sacrifice of Isaac, Joseph, etc., with abundant use of Christian patristic as well as Jewish sources. Byzantium is compared with the fourth beast of the prophecy of Daniel and the forced baptism of the Jews is also interpreted in the same eschatological perspective. Within the genre of the refutations of Judaism (cp. Dagron 1991a, 1991c; Déroche 1991b, 1991c), the S.A. is considered by some authors a unique work, in so far as deep knowledge of both Christian and Jewish culture clearly emerges, which could also account for a Jewish convert author, or a Jewish-Christian public (cp. Olster 2001).

The Greek text is considered by some scholars to be one of the earliest sources on Islam as it mentions "Saracens" (probably Muslims) as well as a messianic prophet in Arabia, tentatively identified with Prophet ↗Muḥammad (Hoyland 1997). Yet, contrary to the traditional hypothesis (cp. Maas 1911:573, still maintained, e.g., by Dagron 1991b), a dating to the 9th cent. as well as the essentially fictitious character of the composition (cp. Ehrhard 1913:154; GCAL I, 373), based on older materials, but occasioned by the forced baptism of Jews in the time of Byzantine Emperor Basileios I (867–86) has also been proposed (cp. Speck 1997; Berger 2006:105f., 126f.).

The original Greek is preserved in a longer recension (BHG 1322^{m}) and in a shortened one (BHG 1322^{mb}), where less relevant passages are omitted (ed., tr. Déroche 1991a, with careful consideration of the versions; cp. also the good *editio princeps* of the Greek by Bonwetsch 1910, and the very bad partial one by Nau 1912, according to Maas 1911, 1912, and Ehrhard 1913). Yet, the whole Greek tradition is acephalous, whereas the original prologue can be reconstructed only from the versions. The *Chronicle* of ↗*Pseudo-Dyonisius of Tel-Maḥrē* attests to the existence of a Syriac version including the prologue *ante* 775 A.D., but it is rather uncertain whether a complete Syriac text ever existed.

The Slavonic version, probably originating in a Southern linguistic environment, was printed in 1907 on the basis of the ms. edition arranged by metropolitan of Moscow, Macarius (1482–1563) at the middle of the 16th cent. The version is very faithful and of noteworthy importance. Even though deriving from a Greek text which is younger than the *Vorlage* of the Arabic (and Ethiopic) branch (shared innovations consisting in glosses are inserted both in Greek and Slavonic), its textual form is older than the Greek direct tradition and preserves the original prologue. The Greek direct tradition, in turn, is characterised by additional glosses of its own. Some Greek mss. have also replaced the missing prologue with an expansion of the epilogue (cp. Déroche 1991b: 50–60).

An Arabic translation (probably based on a Greek, less likely on a Syriac *Vorlage*) was accomplished not later than the 10th cent. and is known from several manuscripts (GrafLit I, 372ff.; Déroche 1991a: 51ff.), to be classified in three recensions (the second and third recensions being but rearrangements of the first, with the introduction of subdivision into nine meeting sessions [Gəᶜəz *gubaᵓe*, ‘assembly’]), none of which has yet been published:

(1) the oldest recension, most faithful to the Greek text, attested by four, more or less mutilated mss. (cp. in particular ms. Sinai, Christian Ar. 627, of the 12th cent., acephalous, not mentioned by GCAL);
(2) a *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic version (ed., tr. Grébaut 1909, 1917), of which no Arabic witnesses survive, starts at I 2 (like recension [3]) and ends with a summary of V 17–20;
(3) a third recension, starting at I 2 and ending at V 15, is characterized by the title *Kitāb al-burhān*, ‘Book of the Proof’.

In any case, both the Arabic and the Ethiopian translators heavily modified the text, shortening its arguments and omitting passages and allusions his readers may fail to understand (e.g., the passage on the “Saracens” does not appear in Ethiopic version, which could also be due to censorship exerted on the Arabic intermediary). The Gəᶜəz version is a faithful translation from Arabic, dated by Guidi to the time of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (i.e. mid-15th cent.). The extensive occurrence of Biblical quotes does not betray the use of a different Biblical text than the usual one: the citations in the Ethiopic version were definitely adapted to the current textual forms of the Gəᶜəz Bible.

Grébaut (1909) published the Ethiopic text prior to the publication of the Greek and offered no serious discussion of the issues of *Vorlage* or transmission. The identity of the Ethiopic with the *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati* was first noted by Nau (1910). Moreover, the editor had only one manuscript at his disposal: BN d’Abbadie 51. Unlike other rare texts assembled in this late 15th–early 16th-cent. witness from Daga Ǝsṭifanos, such as the *Apocalypse of ↗Peter* or the treatise *On the Judgement of Sinners*, attested by at least one more manuscript (here: Ṭānāsee 35 = Kebrān 35), the S.A. remains attested by a *codex unicus*.

Src.: *BHG* (= FRANÇOIS HALKIN, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, Bruxelles 1957^3 [Subsidia hagiographica 8a]), nos. 1322^{m}, 1322^{mb}; BN d’Abbadie 51 (CRAbb no. 37); *CPG* III, no. 7793; GOTTLIEB NATHANAEL BONWETSCH (ed., tr.), *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati*, Berlin 1910 (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, Neue F. 13); VINCENT DÉROCHE (ed., tr.), “*Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati*, édition et traduction”, *Centre d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance. Travaux et mémoires* 11, 1991a, 47–229 (Lit.); GCAL vol. 1, 372ff.; ALBERT EHRHARD, [review of Bonwetsch 1910], *OrChr* 13, 1913, 152–54; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed., tr.), *Sargis d’Aberga (controverse judéo-chrétienne)*, Paris 1907, 1916 (PO 3/4 [14], 13/1 [62]); ID., “Histoire de l’apostasie du diacre Léonce et de la mort du Juif Isaac”, *ROC* 18, 1913, 101–04; Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of all Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden 1970, 35 (no. 441 = ms. Christian Ar. 627); PAUL MAAS, [review of Bonwetsch 1910], *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 20, 1911, 573–78; ID., [review of Nau 1912], *ibid.* 21, 1912, 608–09; MACARIUS [metropolitan of Moscow], *Velikija Minei Četii sobrannyja vserossijkim mitropolitom Makariem. Dekabr’*, Vypusk 12, Moskva 1907, 1483–1542 (19 December); FRANÇOIS NAU (ed., tr.), *La didascalie de Jacob. Texte grec original du Sargis d’Aberga (*PO*, III, 4). Première assemblée*. [*Littérature anti-judaïque* I], Paris 1912 (PO 8/5 [40]), 713–80 (part I).

Lit.: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin – New York 2006 (Millennium-Studien 7), 105f., 126f.; GOTTLIEB NATHANAEL BONWETSCH, “Zur *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati*”, *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse* 1921, 21–30; GILBERT DAGRON, “Introduction historique. Entre histoire et apocalypse”, *Centre d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance. Travaux et mémoires* 11, 1991a, 13–45; ID., “Le scénario et ses ancrages historiques”, *ibid.* [1991b], 231–47; ID., “Judaïser”, *ibid.* [1991c], 359–80; VINCENT DÉROCHE, “Les intentions de l’auteur”, *ibid.* [1991b], 248–73; ID., “La polémique anti-judaïque au VI^e et au VII^e siècle. Un mémento inédit, les Képhalaia”, *ibid.* [1991c], 275–312; GuiSLett 51f.; ROBERT G. HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw it*: *A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Princeton, NJ ^{3}2007 (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 13), 55–61; FRANÇOIS NAU, “Note sur le texte grec original du Sargis d’Aberga éthiopien”, *ROC* 15, 1910, 325–27; DAVID OLSTER, “Letteratura apocalittica ebraica e cristiana nel VII secolo: un raro caso di «dialogo» ebraico cristiano”, in: ARIEL LEWIN (ed.), *Gli ebrei nell’impero romano. Saggi vari*, Firenze 2001, 279–93; RicLett 835; PAUL SPECK, “Die *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati*”, in: ID., *Varia VI*: *Beiträge zum Thema Byzantinische Feindseligkeit gegen die Juden im frühen 7. Jahrhundert nebst einer Un-*

tersuchung zu Anastasios dem Perser, Bonn 1997 (Poikila Byzantina 15), 267–439; A. LUKYN WILLIAMS, *Adversus Judaeos*, Cambridge 1935, 151–53.

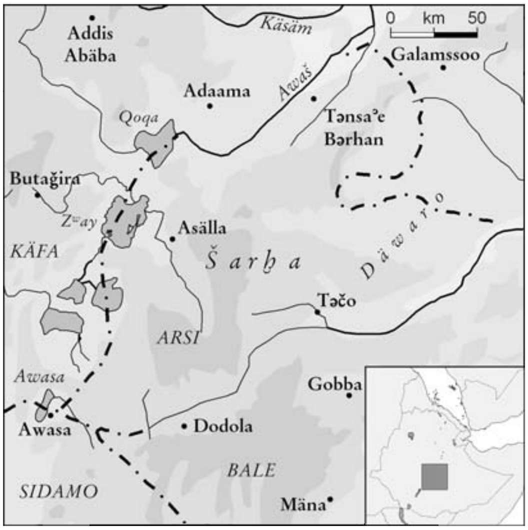
Alessandro Bausi

Šarẖa

Š. (Arab. شرخة, also Šarẖā, شرخا, Šarḥā, شرحا, Eth. **ሰርካ**, Särka, etc.), not to be confused with a region in ↗Goǧǧam bearing the same name, is a historical region situated west of ↗Däwaro and ↗Bale, and north-east of the ancient Sultanate of ↗Hadiyya. Š. was one of the seven Muslim city-states in the south-west of modern Ethiopia, assigned by the Arabian medieval historians, under the cover term “the Muslim fringe” (*aṭ-Ṭirāz al-islāmī*), to the Muslim kingdom of az-Zayla^{c}.

Š. must have come under Ethiopian rule in early Middle Ages. The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗^{c}Amdä Ṣəyon I mentions that a ruler of “Sarka” (for identification with Š., s. KrAmdS 72 n. 342 [tr.]), Yosef (which might correspond to Yūsuf, s. KrAmdS 72 n. 343) took part in the revolt of the population of Däwaro against the Solomonids ca. 1332. After the riot was suppressed, Yosef (Yūsuf) was imprisoned at Bāẖlā, whilst “Sarka” was totally destroyed by ^{c}Amdä Ṣəyon’s troops.

Ibn Faḍlallāh al-↗^{c}Umarī gives a description of Š.: its territory is three days’ journey in length by four days’ journey in width; the army has 3,000 horsemen and more than twice as many footmen; its rites and customs, agricultural production and means of payment are similar to those of Däwaro and ↗Arabäbni; its population belongs to the *Ḥanafī* school (↗Ḥanafism). Summaries of these data are reproduced by al-↗Qalqašandī and al-↗Maqrīzī.



In the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist), the Chronicle of the ↗*ǧihād* of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī’s (Grañ) in the first half of the 16th cent., Š. is described as a mostly Christian province. At that time, a conflict took place between two local rulers, *bitwäddäd* Badlafit and *azmač* Islāmū (possibly Islam Sägäd). In spring 1531 the troops of Š. were defeated by Grañ’s army led by ^{c}Addalī. The local elite were taken prisoners, and the Ethiopian governor named Līmū was replaced by an ^{c}Adalite *garād* Ṣiddīq b. ^{c}Alī.

Src.: Eth.: DillmZarY 1038; HuntAmdS 37f., 108; KrAmdS 68 (text) = 72 with n. 342 (tr.); MarAmdS 186f., 214; BegCron 37, 136b; BassÉt 24, 166, n. 219, 128, n. 86; Arab.: IBN FAḌLALLĀH AL-^{c}UMARĪ, *at-Ta^{c}rīf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ aš-šarīf* (‘The Instruction on the Conventions of the Royal [Court Service]’), Cairo 1312 H. [1894 A.D.], 30; *ibid*. ed. SAMĪR AD-DURŪBĪ, al-Karak 1413 H. [1992 A.D.], vol. 1, 39 = vol. 2, 113; UmMasSezg IV, 16, 23; UmMasGaud 15, 17; ABŪ L-^{c}ABBĀS AḤMAD AL-QALQAŠANDĪ, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-a^{c}šā* (‘The Book of the Dawn of the Blind’), 14 vols., Cairo 1331–38 H. [1913–19 A.D.], vol. 5, 324, 328, vol. 8, 11, 39; MaqIlmam 9, 13 (text) = 10, 15 (tr.); MaqIlmam 2, 6, 8; BassHist I, 40, 114–18, 280, index 358a = II, 92 with n. 2, 191–94, 377, index 474b.

Lit.: JOSEF MARQUART, *Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden, beschrieben und mit ausführlichen Prolegomena zur Geschichte der Handelswege und Völkerbewegungen in Nordafrika*, Leiden 1913 (Veröffentlichungen des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden Serie II 7), 279, 306f., 327, 329f.; ENRICO CERULLI, “Harar, centro Musulmano in Etiopia”, in: *CerStud* I, 1–55 (= *CerIslam* 281–327, here 285, 317); YŪSUF AḤMAD, *al-Islām fī l-Ḥabaša, waṯā᾿iq ṣaḥīḥa qayyima ^{c}an aḥwāl al-muslimīn fī mamlakat Īṯyūbiyā min šurūq al-Islām ilā hāḏihi l-ayyām* (‘The Islam in Abyssinia: the True Valuable Documents of the State of the Muslims in the Kingdom of Ethiopia from the Dawn of Islam till These Days’), Cairo 1354 H. [1935 A.D.], 24–28; TrIslam 67, 73 with n. 2; TadTChurch 140, n. 1, 142; MERID WOLDE-AREGAY, “Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century”, in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 613–31, here 625; RAĞAB MUḤAMMAD ^{c}ABD AL-ḤALĪM, *al-^{c}Alāqāt as-siyāsīya bayna muslimī az-Zayla^{c} wa-naṣāra l-Ḥabaša fī l-^{c}uṣūr al-wusṭā* (‘The Political Relations between the Muslims of Zayla^{c} and the Christians of Ethiopia in the Middle Ages’), Cairo 1405 H. [1985 A.D.], 26f. and index 277; EMAtlas 65, 69; HuntGeogr 126f., 130; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia: Collected Essays*, Münster 2002 (Göttinger Studien zur Ethnologie 9), 25, 68f., 73ff., 171 and maps, 104f.; PankBord 73, 98, 201f., 247; WagHar 725b (Lit.).

Franz-Christoph Muth

Šarī^{c}a

Š. (Arab.: شريعة, lit.: ‘path, way’; also *šar^{c}*) is the Islamic ↗Law, envisaged as a general and comprehensive system of juridical guidance of the society. Š. is not a code nor a once for all set of laws and rules. It is rather an ideal framework in which Muslims should be able to find a just and harmonious legal regulation of their public and private lives. Š. embodies a superior moral and ethical imperative, which is interpreted as the direct manifestation of the will of God, and aims at realizing the wellbeing of the whole society in this world and leading it to the "supreme victory" (*al-fawz al-aẓīm*, Qurᶜān 4:13) in the Hereafter. In a more recent and politically oriented usage, Š. tends to indicate a corpus of basic rules and laws that should govern the life and development of Islamic society.

The ultimate source of Š. is considered to be the will of God which He revealed to mankind through his messengers. In particular, Islamic Š. was conveyed to human beings in the ↗Qurᵓān and in the behavioural tradition (*Sunna*) of Prophet ↗Muḥammad. Š. is thus definitely a divine based law but at the same time, the study and interpretation of the sources of Š. and the subsequent definition of the rules that guide the life of the faithful in practice are a purely human activity (*fiqh*). As a fundamentally religious law, Islamic Š. is not bound to a specific territory or state but to the status of being a Muslim: it must be respected only by the faithful of ↗Islam and theoretically is exempted from the direct control of a political authority. The scholars of the four Law schools of Sunni Islam (↗Ḥanafism, ↗Mālikism, ↗Šāfiᶜism and Ḥanbalism) are the custodians of the Š. and its acknowledged expounders. Š. extends its field to all the spheres of human existence and deals with both the "forum internum" and the "forum externum" of the individual (for a general description of Š. s. Calder – Hooker in EI²).

In Ethiopia one may surmise that Š. came to be known since the very first spread of Islam. At the same time, Š. had obviously to compromise with the pre-existent local legal traditions: Š. is, generally speaking, quite flexible in accepting ↗customary law (*ᶜurf*; *ᶜāda*, cp. ↗*Aadaa*) as a constitutive part of its corpus of secondary sources. Practices and provisions of local pre-Islamic custom are normally tolerated, provided that they do not overtly contradict the fundamental tenets of Islam (s. also Shaham 2006). Recourse to traditional judges and judicial authorities is not formally interdicted by Š. especially in the case of disputes on family relationships or ownership (s. Layish 2005). Time and social change (especially urbanization and detribalization) normally favours the strengthening of Š. to the detriment of traditional Law (TrIslam 230f.; ↗Law: Traditional legal institutions).

Already in the Sultanate of ↗Šäwa *qāḍī al-quḍāt* Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan (d. in 1255; Cerulli 1941:20f., CerIslam 224) was in charge of the administration of justice. The presence in the country of experts of Islamic Law is also mentioned since the second half of the 13th cent. (Cerulli 1943:276–80, 288ff.; CerIslam 261ff., 274–77). Sources also indicate an early presence of a *qāḍī* in ↗Massawa. However, no detailed information is available in the written sources about the extent of the effectiveness of Š. in the Muslim regions of medieval Ethiopia. The affiliation of the seven Islamic sultanates to the Ḥanafī or Šāfiᶜī *madhab* (TrIslam 73) could be understood as referring only to a numerically limited cultivated élite (Cerulli 1961:323f.). The discussions which took place in Bale between *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn and some Ḥanafī law experts prove that Š. had to confront local deeply rooted usage and practices (in the specific case with regard to traditional alcoholic beverages and consumption of ↗*čat*). In an effort to find an accommodation, the interpreters of the Law proposed different possible solutions which were not accepted unanimously by all the scholars (CerStud II, 8–17; CerIslam 335–44). Divergences among Law experts about what in pre-Islamic local custom can be considered in harmony with principles of Š. were and are widespread in Ethiopia: the Ḥanafī school is almost universally indicated as the most tolerant in this respect. Difference of opinion among expounders of the Law on many topics is admitted by Š.: far from undermining its validity, plurality and contradiction in interpretation are considered to be a sign of the mercifulness of God. Moreover, despite this lack of a unanimous uniformity, Š. is commonly perceived as the most comprehensive and important manifestation of Muslim identity (*al-iḫtilāf raḥma*; s. Schacht in EI²).

In ↗Harär and in ↗Wällo it seems that political authorities were inclined to refrain from a scrupulous defence of the tenets of Š. The Muslim ruler who does not respect Š. and hinders its implementation is definitely the worst kind of ruler in Islam. He can no more be considered a believer but becomes an apostate and must repent. The ↗Walasmaᶜ sultans had to face strong internal religiously oriented opposition every time their attitudes were considered not to be in line with Š.

Also the beginning of the politico-military career of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī was an internal *ǧihād* against the deviant sultan of the town and his court (Wagner 1975; Vo Van 2001). In the following years, *amīr* ᶜUṯmān (r. 1568–69) violated some Qurᵓānic tenets in shaping his relationships with the surrounding peoples (basically the Oromo) and caused a revolt by Muslim scholars and the Harari *qāḍī* (Cerulli 1931: 53f. [text], 58ff. [tr.]). However, in Harär the *qāḍī* court apparently continued to function normally until the end of the emirate (for some cases debated in this court s. Garad 1990). In Wällo, the local Islamic learned men were often at odds with the ruling dynasties that showed scant interest in complying with the principles of Š. (HusIslam 115–38).

With the birth of the modern Ethiopian state, Š. slowly found partial recognition in the legal system of the country. After a timid first step under *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II (Kassa Beyene 1966: 15; Singer 1971: 135f.), in 1936 the Italian occupants in Ethiopia extended to the Muslims the legal system already existent for them in Eritrea: accordingly, disputes over civil status, family and personal matters and commercial topics were submitted to a *qāḍī* (Ordinamento Giudiziario per la Colonia Eritrea, Art. 42) whose decision could be appealed against in a newly created High Š. Court in Addis Ababa ("Tribunale o Collegio sciaraitico"; Ordinanza Graziani, 29 May 1936, Art. 5, §2). The High Court was made up of a *qāḍī* and four *ᶜulamāᵓ* (*Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 1940: 726f.).

With the restoration of the monarchy, a Š. court was first instituted in 1942 and then revised in 1944. It was a three level system (↗*nāᵓib*[*a*], *qāḍī* and Š. courts) to deal only with family and personal cases arising among Muslims who wished to have recourse to an Islamic legal authority (Singer 1971: 137ff.). The Ethiopian Š. system was drastically deprived of almost any autonomy in 1960 when the ↗Civil Code was promulgated (ibid.: 151–56) but somehow Š. courts continued to survive and function eventfully (Abdul Wasie Yusuf 1971, esp. 24) until the fall of the *Därg* regime (Hussein Ahmed in PICES 12, 787). In 1991 the issue of the real legal role and scope of the Š. courts in the country came once again into public debate (Hussein Ahmed in PICES 12; Ibrahim Idris in idem.). In 1999, the government issued a "Proclamation to consolidate federal courts of Sharia n. 188/1999" (*Nägarit gazeṭa*, 6, 10, Dec. 1999) which should provide the guidelines to revive the legal system of Š. courts in the country with a three level structure: Federal First Instance Court, a Federal High Court and Federal Supreme Court.

Src.: ABDURAHMAN GARAD, *Harar*: *Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Afrika* (*1825–1875*), Frankfurt am Main 1990; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 53f., 58ff. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 152ff. and 159ff.]; ID., "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42, here 20f. (*ibid.* 207–43, here 224) [repr. *CerIslam* 257–80, here 261ff., 274–77]; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 273–94, here 276–80; 288ff. [repr. partially in *CerIslam* 329–63, here 335–44]; *CerStud* II, 8–17; *Nägarit gazeṭa* 6, 10, December 1999.

Lit.: ABDUL WASIE YUSUF, *Shari'a Courts in Ethiopia*: *Their Status, Organization and Functions*, B.A. thesis, Faculty of Law, Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Ababa 1971; NORMAN CALDER – MICHAEL BARRY HOOKER, "Sharīᶜa", in: *EI*², vol. 9, 321–26; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Islam en Ethiopie: sa signification historique et ses méthodes", *Correspondence d'Orient* 5, 1961, 317–29 (= *Actes du Colloque sur la Sociologie Musulmane*); HUSSEIN AHMED, "Islam and Islamic Discourse in Ethiopia (1973–1993)", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 775–801; HusIslam; IBRAHIM IDRIS, "Freedom of Religion and Secularization of State: the Legal Status of Islamic Law and Shariat Courts in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 2, 151–56; KASSA BEYENE, *Muslim Law in Ethiopia*, B.A. thesis, Faculty of Law, Haile Selassie I University, Addis Ababa 1966; AHARON LAYISH (ed.) – ALEXANDER BORG, *Sharīᶜa and Custom in Libyan Tribal Society*: *an Annotated Translation of Decisions from the Sharīᶜa Courts of Adjabiya and Kufra*, Leiden – Boston, MA 2005 (Studies in Islamic Law and Societies 24); JOSEPH SCHACHT, "Ikhtilāf", in: *EI*², vol. 3, 1061; RON SHAHAM (ed.), *Law, Custom, and Statute in the Muslim World. Studies in Honor of Aharon Layish*, Leiden – Boston, MA 2006 (Studies in Islamic Law and Society 28); NORMAN SINGER, "Islamic Law and the Development of the Ethiopian Legal System", *Howard Law Journal* 17, 1971, 130–68; TrIslam 73, 230f.; DAVID VO VAN, "À propos du ǧihâd dans le Futuh al-Habasha. De la lecture d'Alfred Morabia à la relecture d'Arab-Faquih", *AE* 17, 2001, 89–103; EWALD WAGNER, "Imamat und Sultanat in Harar: Ein Beitrag zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen religiösem und weltlichem Herrschaftsanspruch in islamischen Randgebieten", *Saeculum* 26, 1975, 283–92; ID., "Hariner Richter", in: ALKE DOHRMANN – DIRK BUSTORF – NICOLE POISSONNIER (eds.), *Schweifgebiete*: *Festschrift für Ulrich Braukämper*, Münster 2010 (Ethnologie 37), 156–65.

Alessandro Gori

Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl

Ś.D. (**ሠርፀ፡ ድንግል**, with the regnal name Mäläk Sägäd; b. ca. 1550, d. 4 October 1597, r. 1563–97) was the son (by *ətege* ↗Admas Mogäsa) and successor of *aṣe* ↗Minas.

The following summary of events that took place during his reign is based on the extensive royal Chronicle of Ś.D., the main document of his time. Ś.D. was 13 years old at the time of his father's sudden death. Minas did not proclaim his heir, and the decision to put Ś.D. on the throne was taken by the members of the crown council, upon the instigation of the influential *ətege* ↗Säblä Wängel, Ś.D.'s grandmother. However, Ś.D.'s young age and lack of authority, as well as the exclusion of the most powerful dignitaries and ↗*č̣äwa*-commanders from the decision-making caused indignation and resulted in a large-scale revolt.

The powerful *ras* ↗Ḥamälmal, who wanted to enthrone a certain Täklä Maryam, allied with his brother *azzaž* Rom Sägäd and such notables as *azzaž* Täklo [↗Täklä Haymanot] and *azmač* ↗Ǝslamo. To protect Ś.D.'s life, Säblä Wängel brought him to her residence at Mängəśtä Sämayat (Goǧǧam). The rebels set up a camp not far away, in the vicinities of ↗Däbrä Wärq, and started attracting support of local lords, *č̣äwa*-soldiers, courtiers etc.

Baḥər nägaš ↗Yəsḥaq, who had his own candidate for the throne, Marqos, entered the struggle by sending his messenger, Ḫarbo, to Säblä Wängel in order to arrest Ś.D. Säblä Wängel arranged that Ś.D., his brother Fiqṭor and their mother Admas Mogäsa could escape to ↗Ṣəlalo (s. EAE vol. 5). The royal camp gradually started to consolidate power (the leading role being played by *azzaž* Täklo, who had prudently changed sides), while the rebels failed to reach an agreement. In 1564 Ḥamälmal and Rom Sägäd were compelled to reconcile with Ś.D.

Despite this success, the next years were difficult for Ś.D. who had to deal with rebellious *č̣äwa*-units and their commanders. The most critical episode took place in September 1566, when Fasilo (↗Fasil Gärram) attacked the court and Ś.D. narrowly escaped death. However, Ś.D.'s opponents underestimated him. Already in January 1567 Ś.D. defeated Fasilo; finally, he reconciled also with *baḥər nägaš* Yəsḥaq.

During the main period of his reign, Ś.D. proved to be an extraordinary capable political and military leader. Basing in Šäwa (e.g., ↗Ǝndägäbṭän), Ś.D. first paid attention to the southern end of his realm. He settled new *č̣äwa* (Giyorgis Ḫayle in ↗Mugär) and compelled the local *č̣äwa* to submission (Bätramora). In 1566, he visited Konč; in 1567, he defeated the ruler of ↗Boš(a) and severely punished the ↗Gafat people, allies of Fasilo. In 1568 he received an hommage from ↗Säpänhi of ↗Ǝnnarya. In 1569 he defeated and subjugated ↗Aze of Hadiyya, appointed his own governors in Hadiyya and ↗Waǧ (Täklä Giyorgis and ↗Darägot). In 1571 Ś.D. returned to ↗Gubaʾe (↗Ǝnfraz) where *azmač* Ḥarbo and Yəsḥaq pledged loyalty to him.

Despite Ś.D.'s growing power, the situation in the Empire was precarious. When the Turks (↗Ottoman empire) had resumed their activities from ↗Dəbarwa, Ś.D. left Yəsḥaq to deal with them, and in 1572 rushed to the south, where the Oromo had overrun Waǧ. In 1574 he had to fight the Oromo penetrating Šäwa. In 1576 *sulṭān* ↗Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ʿUṯmān of ʿAdal rebelled and declared a new ↗*ǧihād*, but was swiftly defeated by Ś.D.

The animosity between Yəsḥaq and Ś.D. was growing, and a major conflict was only a question of time. Yəsḥaq allied with the Ottomans and was preparing a new plot, having a certain Wäldä Zäṭaʿos as his candidate to the throne. In 1577, Ś.D. faced a serious dilemma: to fight the Oromo in the southern provinces or to deal with Yəsḥaq. Having repulsed the Oromo from Waǧ, Ś.D. rushed to the north, and his campaign of November–December 1578 became one of the biggest military victories of his reign (occupying the entire seventh chapter of his Chronicle). Yəsḥaq was killed and Dəbarwa was captured (some Ottoman musketeers entered the service of Ś.D.). The success was completed by Ś.D.'s ↗coronation ritual in ↗Aksum, many years after his actual ascension to the throne.

In 1579, instead of campaining against the Oromo (who penetrated as far as ↗Angot), Ś.D. had to deal with the rebellion of ↗Rädaʾi and ↗Kalef of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel in Səmen, which he crushed despite their stubborn resistance in November–December of that year. In 1586 Ś.D. successfully combatted ↗Gʷäšən, another Betä Ǝsraʾel leader. In the same year, he campaigned in ↗Agäw Mədər and then repulsed the Oromo from Goǧǧam. In 1587 Ś.D. went to Ǝnnarya. In 1587, the Gafat of Šat were baptized; and the alliance with Ǝnnarya was strengthened by the baptism of ↗Bädančo; the governor of Boš(a) was also converted (there are signs that he also tried to spread the Orthodox Christianity in ↗Käfa; s. Ullendorff 1955).

In 1588 Ś.D. had to fight the Ottomans led by ↗Kädawərd *paša*, who had captured Dəbarwa and defeated the northern governor Däragot (bearing the titles of ↗*təgre mäkʷännən* and ↗*baḥər nägaš*). After several skirmishes and the siege of Dähono (↗Ḥərgigo), the Ottomans were expulsed back to Massawa. Ś.D., however, did not try to completely clear the Ethiopian ↗Red

Sea coast. The last of the campaigns mentioned in Ś.D.'s royal Chronicle was the one against the ↗Gämbo, in late 1590.

The "short chronicles" continue the list of Ś.D.'s campaigns up to 1597. According to these sources, his extraordinary career came to an end in Šat (somewhere in the "old" Damot); Ś.D. died on the way back from his usual preventive campaign against the Oromo. Later Amharic ↗historiography elaborated on the event, adding that the cause of death was fish poisoning. Ś.D. was reportedly buried at ↗Rema.

Modern historians proposed different evaluations of Ś.D. and his reign (cp. Bartnicki – Mantel-Niećko 1978: 144–52; Černetsov 1982: 260-87; CrumLand 56). In any case, it seems that, despite formidable problems that Ś.D. faced during his reign, he indeed achieved a certain degree of stability and even a revival of his state. He managed to neutralize, at least for a while, both external and internal threats. Yet, by the late 1580 when Ś.D. was at the peak of his power, his real capacities in financial, military and administrative terms remained limited, and his extensive Empire remained vulnerable. Towards the end of his reign, Ś.D. seems to have had more and more problems with the Oromo who made deep incursions into Ś.D.'s tributary territories and provinces. The Emperor was unable to simultaneously keep the entire country under his control. There are hints that the situation was much more dramatic than the official historiography reports (cp. Varenbergh 1915–16: 21, 37; CRHist 223–31 [text]). Soon after Ś.D.'s death, the large southern part of the Empire was *de facto* lost to the migrating Oromo.

There is no information on any reform attempts undertaken by Ś.D., which appear to have been badly needed in view of the formidable dangers. However, any transformation of the fabric of the traditional society and its institutions was hardly possible in the context. As his precursors, Ś.D. had to rely upon the existing system of social and economic relations and customs (e.g., in the ↗army, he strengthened the discipline of the *č̣äwa*-regiments, and created important alliances with powerful regional lords by marrying them to his daughters). In this situation, the remarkable critical voice was that of *abba* ↗Baḥrəy, who tried to investigate the reasons of the failure of the Christian Orthodox state to defeat the pagan Oromo. What he expresses in his ↗*Zenahu lägalla* may be reminiscent of the critical thoughts circulating in the learned circles of Ethiopia of the time.

Ś.D. reacted to the deteriorating conditions in the south by moving the political centre of the monarchy to a more secure region in the north (repeating the practice of some of his predecessors). In this respect, Ś.D. continued preparing foundation for the ↗Gondärine kingdom, even at the price of large territorial losses in the south. He started submitting regions around Lake Ṭana, in the first line ↗Dämbəya (where he settled *č̣äwa*), and in the late 1570s he established his capital at Guzära/Guba᾽e, on the north-eastern shore of Lake Ṭana, where a castle had been constructed (to the end of his reign, he moved again to ↗Ayba).

Metropolitans contemporary to Ś.D. were *abunä* ↗Peṭros, ↗Marqos II and ↗Krəstodulo I. There is no information concerning any discord in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which had just recovered after a turbulent period. Ś.D. appears to have been an ardent adherent of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and his reign is marked by new church foundations (like Ayba Kidanä Məḥrät, Maḫdärä Maryam), and a number of ↗*gʷəlt*-donations to churches and individuals (his land charters becoming particularly formalized and legthy).

Remarkably, Ś.D. started the usage of ↗fire-arms in his army, and his residence at Guzära/Guba᾽e was built by foreign artisants. He treated well the Portuguese, who resided in his country, and did not harm the settlement at ↗Fəremona; ca. 1574 he settled a group of the Portuguese in Dambəya, probably in order to strengthen his control over the area. Apparently, he never responded to appeals to embrace ↗Catholicism; but he sent a few missives to the West (cp. Raineri 2005: 140; Martinez 2008: 77) and requested military support (cp. his letter to Philipp II of Spain [who had written to Ś.D. in 1587, praising him for his victories over the Ottomans; BecRASO X, 355f.], dated by 1589; Ludolf 1691: 483-86). But the cooperation with the ↗Jesuits was disrupted by ↗Oviedo's support to Yəsḥaq and his candidate for the throne. Oviedo's requests for military support to facilitate Ethiopia's conversion to Catholicism were not granted (for the Vatican, Oviedo's major ally Yəsḥaq was profoundly compromized by his alliance with the Ottomans). After Oviedo's death in 1577, the mission scaled down its activities.

The reign of Ś.D. was fruitful for ↗Gəᶜəz literature, enriched during this period by such texts as, e.g., ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ḥawi* (the latter – like probably quite a few other texts – having been translated by ↗Sälik), the second recension of the ↗*Sənkəssar*, ↗*Mäzmurä Krəstos* (by *abba* Baḥrəy) etc. Finally, the Chronicle of Ś.D. is an imposing literary monument of his reign. It was composed by more than one author: chs. 1–7 were compiled upon Ś.D.'s coronation in 1579; ch. 8 was added in ca. 1580 on the occasion of Ś.D.'s campaign in Səmen; ch. 9 relates the events of 1587–90. The "short chronicles" (and later Amharic historiography) provide an account parallel to the royal Chronicle, complementing the latter.

Ś.D. had one wife, *ətege* ↗Maryam Śəna, who did not bear sons to him. Ś.D. had prepared his nephew ↗Zädəngəl to become his heir, but due to the intervention of Maryam Śənä, Ś.D. was succeeded by Yaᶜəqob, his seven-year-old son by Ḥarägo, his Betä Ǝsraᵓel mistress. Another succession crisis followed, worse than that in the begining of Ś.D.'s reign, and was solved only after years of bloody destructive struggle, with the ascension of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm s. index; BecRASO III, VII, X, s. index; BegCron 35–40; BruNile II, 214–38; BTafA 153–89 and s. index; Sevir B. Černetsov (tr.), *Efiopskie hroniki XVI–XVII vekov* ('Ethiopian Chronicles of the 16th–17th Centuries'), Moscow 1984, 3–152; CRHist; CRAxum 5, 44ff., 68, 68, 72 (text) = 5, 52–56, 81, 83, 87 (tr.); DombrChr 180–87; Hiob Ludolfus [Hiob Ludolf], *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius* …, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 483–86; Jules Perruchon, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Règne de Sarṣa-Dengel ou Malak-Sagad 1er (1563–1597)", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 177–85; Osvaldo Raineri (ed., tr.), *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici* (*sec. XII–XX*). *Versioni e integrazioni*, Città del Vaticano 2005 (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 55), nos. 22–27; Joseph Varenbergh, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerᶜata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45.

Lit.: Andrzej Bartnicki – Joanna Mantel-Niećko, *Geschichte Äthiopiens*, Teil 1: *Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1978, 144–52; Sevir B. Černetsov, *Efiopskaja feodalnaja monarhija v XIII–XVI vv.* ('The Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 13th–16th Centuries'), Moscow 1982, 260–87; Id., "Who Wrote 'The History of King Sarsa Dengel' – Was it the Monk Bahrey?" in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 131–36; BudHist 359–75; Carlo Conti Rossini, "La guerra turco-abissina del 1578", *Oriente moderno* 1, 1921, 634–36, 684–91 and 2, 1923, 48-57; CrumLand 56–67; Girma Beshah – Merid Wolde Aregay, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations* (*1500–1632*), Lisbon 1964, 66–70; Ignazio Guidi, [Review of CRHist], *RSO* 1, 1907, 221–26; Eike Haberland, "The Horn of Africa", in: Bethwell A. Ogot (ed.), *Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, London 1992 (UNESCO, International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa. General History of Africa V), 703–49, esp. 716–21, 723–30; George Wynn Brereton Huntingford, "Sartsa Dengel", in: *EncAfr* 126–27; Steven Kaplan, *The Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *in Ethiopia*: *From Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York – London 1992; Michael Kleiner, "Zu den mit ሰገድ (*sägäd*) gebildeten Namen äthiopischer Kaiser sowie anderer hoher Würdenträger des Reiches", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 54–73; Manfred Kropp, "Politische Zensur im 17. Jhdt. in Äthiopien: Die Chronik des Sarsa-Dengel", in: Piotr O. Scholz (ed.), *Äthiopien gestern und heute. Akten der 1. Tagung des Orbis Aethiopicus* …, Warszawa 1999 (NÆ IV/V), 77–100; Id., "Un cas de censure politique en Éthiopie au XVIIe siècle: chapitres 8 et 9 de la chronique de Śärsä-Dəngəl", *AE* 16, 2001, 257–77; PankBord 247ff., 394, s. index; Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner, *In the Company of* Iyäsus: *the Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia, 1557–1632*, Ph.D. thesis, European University Institute, Florence 2008, 77; Franz Praetorius, [Review of CRHist], *ZDMG* 64, 1910, 603–30; Hervé Pennec, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean* (*Éthiopie*). *Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation*: *1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 102ff., s. index; TSTarik III, 225–44; Taddesse Tamrat, "Ethiopia, the Red Sea and the Horn", in: Roland Oliver (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 3: *From c. 1050 to c. 1600*, Cambridge 1977, 98–182, esp. 179–82; Edward Ullendorff, "The Inscription of St. George of Baha", *Antiquity* 29, 1955, 237–38.

Denis Nosnitsin

Śärṣ́ä Krəstos

Ś.K. (**ሠርጸ፡ ክርስቶስ**, d. 4 June 1631) was an Ethiopian lord. He was probably the son of ↗Yämanä Krəstos and therefore grandson of the latter's father and his own namesake Śärṣä Krəstos. Around 1622, he was named ↗*ṣäḥafe lam* of ↗Amhara and *mäkbəb* of ↗Atronsä Maryam and Mänz(əḥ); in 1627 he was *blatten geta* (PerChr 202, 222, ch. 66, 76). In 1624, he met Manoel de ↗Almeida and in February 1626 he accompanied Patriarch Alfonso ↗Mendes on his arrival at the *kätama* of ↗Dänqäz (BecRASO VI, 382, 479).

Ca. 1628, Ś.K. had his first disagreements with ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos, who was the main advocate of the Jesuit mission. Ś.K. replaced Səᶜəlä Krəstos at least until mid-1629 as governor of ↗Goǧǧam. However, thanks to the mediation of the ↗Jesuits the dispute was settled (BecRASO VI, 39; XII, 394f.). In mid-1629, he fell ill and took confession with the Jesuits at Dänqäz (BecRASO XII, 379); thereafter he was made governor of ↗Bägemdər (BecRASO VII, 43). In October–November 1629, Ś.K. assisted Səᶜəlä Krəstos with his troops in a campaign to quell a rebellion in Lasta.

In October 1630, Ś.K. took part with Səᶜəlä Krəstos in another campaign to quell a rebellion in Bägemdər, but this failed. *Aṣe* ↗Susənyos made Səᶜəlä Krəstos responsible for it and gave the governorate of Goǧǧam to Ś.K. (BecRASO XII, 486ff.). In Goǧǧam the latter initially acted as a devout Catholic, but on 18 May 1631 he started a full-scale rebellion (BecRASO VII, 2; XII, 459f., 488). His army ravaged the ↗Gafat and ↗Damot lands, stole numerous cattle and imprisoned *däǧǧač* "Askadər" (Ǝskəndər) as well as Bellarmino, a son of Səᶜəlä Krəstos (BecRASO XII, 489f.). On 21 May, claiming to be ↗*nəguś*, he admonished people to abandon the Roman faith and the reforms introduced by the Jesuits. Subsequently he tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to capture the missionaries of Liqä Nəguś and Ǝnnäbəsse and storm the residence of ↗Qʷälläla, but on 24 May managed to execute pro-Catholic figures: the abbot ↗Zäśəllase of ↗Ṣəlalo (s. EAE vol. 5), one "*azzaž ədug ras*" and "Ṭəqur" Yämanä Krəstos, a cousin of the same Ś.K. (BecRASO XII, 490ff.). On 1 June, however, he was captured by the army of *abeto* ↗Fasilädäs (the future Emperor) and sent to Dänqäz, where he was executed (BecRASO IV, 66; XII, 496f.; PerChr 247; BegCron 47). He had three children.

Src.: BecRASO IV, 66; VI, 39, 382, 479; VII, 2, 43; XII, 379, 394f., 459f., 486–98; BegCron 47; PerChr 202, 222, 247 (tr.), ch. 66, 76, 92.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

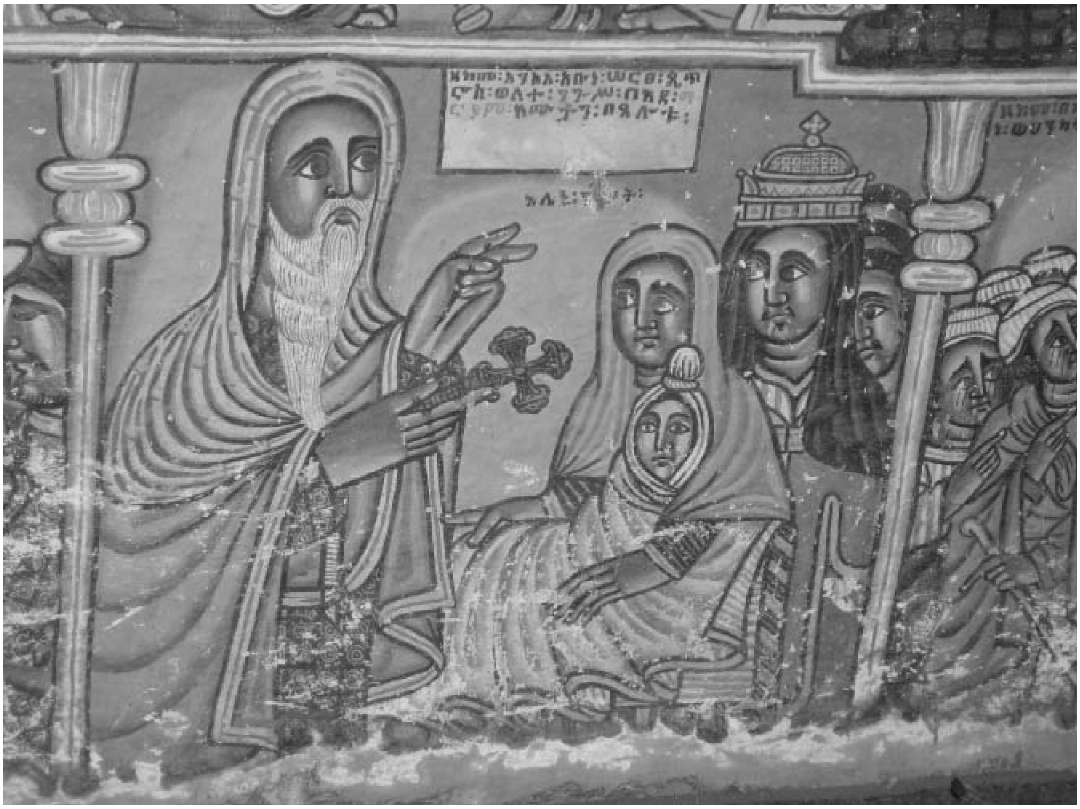
Śärṣ́ä Peṭros

Ś.Ṗ. (**ሡርፀ፡ ጴጥሮስ**; fl. 14th–15th cent.) is an Ethiopian saint. He was a contemporary of several Ethiopian emperors, from *aṣe* ↗Dawit II to *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam I, and is credited with re-establishing the monastery of ↗Däbrä Wärq, destroyed by the Muslims during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arᶜad (according to the ↗*Sənkəssar* of Däbrä Wärq, but according to the monastery's chronicle *Mäzgäbä tarik*, by Gudit [↗Ǝsato] in 851 A.M. [858/59 A.D.]).

The main sources on Ś.Ṗ.'s life are his Vita (↗*Gädl*) and his Miracles (↗*Täᵓammər*), both preserved in one early 19th-cent. manuscript kept in Däbrä Wärq. The local *Sənkəssar* contains a shorter and somewhat different account of Ś.Ṗ.'s life; in addition, many stories about the Saint are preserved in the monastic oral tradition.

According to the Vita, Ś.Ṗ. was born in Ǝnnäbse (northern ↗Goǧǧam) to pious parents, Abrəham and Sara. He was consecrated deacon and; after a while, he received "great ranks" from the metropolitan.

The archangel Michael instructed Ś.Ṗ. to go to the "Jerusalem of Ethiopia" (i.e. Däbrä Wärq). Looking for a place for a new church of St. ↗Mary, *aṣe* Dawit asked Ś.Ṗ. to rebuild



Śärṣ́ä Peṭros, raising the daughter of *aṣe* Bäᵓədä Maryam from the dead, wall painting, 19th/20th-cent., Däbrä Wärq; photo 2008, courtesy of Stefan Wagner

Däbrä Wärq (allegedly founded by Asfaḥ, son of Aṣbəḥa), the monastery "encircled by two rivers". Dawit provided the church with paraphernalia, and Ś.P̣. gathered in it 318 deacons and priests – as many as the Fathers at ↗Nicaea.

Together with his "spiritual brother" Robel, he received the *qobᶜ* and *askema* from *rəᵓəsä rəᵓusan* Täklä Maryam of Märṭulä Maryam (and was included in the genealogies of ↗Ewosṭateans, cp. ᶜAlämnäw Azzänä 2002/03: 22; Lusini 2004: 263f., 266f., 269f.).

Having re-established Däbrä Wärq, Ś.P̣. and Robel set out on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem but on their way they met *abba* Zärᵓa Haymanot who sent them back. After that, in north-eastern Goǧǧam Ś.P̣. and Robel founded ↗Getesemani Maryam (also encircled by two rivers). Robel stayed in Getesemani whilst Ś.P̣. left to build new churches. In Aynä Kärm he founded the third sanctuary, which he named "Jerusalem of Ethiopia" (called in the *Sənkəssar* Däbrä Wärq, but distinguished from "the first Däbrä Wärq"). In the meantime, Ś.P̣.'s disciples at Däbrä Wärq got into trouble with the local peasants (*ḥaqlawəyan*), and Ś.P̣. went to Dawit to ask for protection. The Emperor took the side of the monastery; Ś.P̣. stayed at the court for a while, teaching Dawit the "divine mysteries".

An important episode in Ś.P̣.'s life is linked to *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's campaign against ↗Aḥmad Badlāy. After Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob asked the Saint to pray for him and his troops going into battle, Ś.P̣. predicted the Emperor's victory based on the fact that several threads put on the *Wäynut* (a Marian icon preserved in the monastery until today) were miraculously bound together. After the battle Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob gave Ś.P̣. "the Muslim" mail and helmet as a reward. Apart from the Vita, the episode is re-narrated in the Miracles of Ś.P̣. and in the ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam* (Ś.P̣. being substituted here by the phrase "one man", s. Cerulli 1933: 88f.).

According to the *Sənkəssar*, Bäᵓədä Maryam summoned Ś.P̣. when *ətege* Marta, daughter of his son *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər (DombrChr 165; KrLebD 17), was bitten by a snake (according to the oral tradition, the daughter of Bäᵓədä Maryam himself). Ś.P̣. together with a certain *abba* Elyas brought her back to life.

According to the Vita, Ś.P̣. died in Däbrä Wärq on 12 *Ṭəqəmt*. Oral tradition, on the other hand, has it that, at the end of his life, Ś.P̣. went to preach, and died in ↗Mänz or ↗Harär. His cross remained at Däbrä Wärq and "cried" when he died. Marta brought Ś.P̣.'s corpse to Däbrä Wärq. Reportedly, Ś.P̣.'s grave is located in the ↗*mäqdäs* of the monastery's church, where wall paintings narrate some of his miracles. His cross and stick are still preserved in the monastery.

↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa

Src.: interviews with *märigeta* Käbkab, age 58, Abraham Akalu, age 84, May 2008, Däbrä Wärq; ᶜAlämnäw Azzänä, ዝክረ፡ ወይኑት (*Zəkrä wäynut*, 'Record[s] of the Wäynut') Addis Abäba 1995 A.M. [2002/03 A.D.]; *Gädlä Śärṣ́ä Peṭros*, ms., Däbrä Wärq; *Mäzgäbä tarik*, ms., Däbrä Wärq; Enrico Cerulli, "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 5, 1933, 57–112, here 88f.; DombrChr 165 (tr.); KrLebD 16 (tr.) = 17 (text).

Lit.: KinBibl 90, no. 139; Marcel Cohen, "Dabra Warq", in: *Mélanges René Basset. Études nord-africaines et orientales*, Paris 1923 (Publication de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines 10), vol. 1, 143–62; Rudolf Kriss – Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, 66f.; KrLebD 17 (text) = 16 (tr.); Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali dell'ordine di Ēwosṭātēwos di Dabra Ṣarābi", in: Enzo Lucchesi – Ugo Zanetti (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 249–72, here 263f., 266f., 269f.; Osvaldo Raineri, "Śarṣa P̣ēṭros", in: *EncSan* 942–43.

Susanne Hummel

Sarzec, Ernest de

(Gustave Charles) Ernest Comte Choquin de S. (b. 11 August 1832, Rennes, d. 31 May 1901, Poitiers; original name Chocquin, later named "de Sarzec" after his newly purchased castle) was an archaeologist, civil engineer and French diplomat in Egyptian ↗Massawa and Ethiopia.

At the beginning of his career, S. was the director of gas supply in Alexandria (1864–68) and then became an employee of the Universal Suez Ship Canal Company. On 8 June 1872 he replaced the Hungarian Franz Hassen, the then acting French vice-consul in Massawa, and successor of ↗Munzinger, the last vice-consul of France in Egyptian Massawa. From the beginning, the new vice-consul S. had to face numerous diplomatic difficulties.

At the invitation of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, S. travelled to ↗ᶜAdwa in 1873, and again in 1875 – after a stay in France in 1874 –, to discuss relations between ↗France and Ethiopia. Despite the strong support of the French government Munzinger had originally enjoyed by the French government, S. distanced himself from his predecessor, now an Egyptian governor of Massawa and considered him a personal enemy of Yoḥannəs IV.

Consequently, S. won the full trust of the *nəguś* who even thought of relying on France in future conflicts with ↗Egypt. They signed a protocol nominating S. not only as Yoḥannəs's representative at Massawa, but also as the "protector of the Christians" in Egyptian territory at the coast, which was based on the ancient claim of France to be the natural protector of the Oriental Christians, and on Ethiopia's claim over the Christian populations of the coast (↗Massawa Governorate; ↗Ottoman Empire). In return, Yoḥannəs promised to stop the persecution of Catholic missionaries of ↗Akkälä Guzay and ↗ʿAgamä. In order to preserve her friendship with Egypt, Paris did not support S.'s "pro-Ethiopian" stand as S.'s policy was not appreciated by the Egyptian *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāʿīl. Following various incidents between Munzinger *paša* and S., Paris decided to relieve S. of his duties. S. left Massawa in December 1875 without having been able to sign a French-Ethiopian treaty of friendship which had been planned (↗Treaties and conventions, s. EAE vol. 5).

Appointed vice-consul in Bassorah in 1875, then in Bagdad, S. won fame as a pioneer archaeologist, who discovered one of the most important cities of the Sumer civilization, and enriched the Mesopotamian collections of the Louvres. In 1899 he was nominated Ambassador plenipotentiary.

Src.: French Foreign Office, Personnel, 1er série, 953; GUSTAVE DE SARZEC, *Une page de l'histoire de l'Éthiopie. Le règne de Yohannès, depuis son avénement jusqu'à ses victoires de 1875 sur l'armée égyptienne* (*d'après les papiers de M. E de Sarzec, vice-consul de France à Massaouah, réunis et mis en ordre par un ami de l'Éthiopie*), Romans 1926, 347.

Lit.: GEORGES MALÉCOT, "Le consulat de France à Massaoua", in: *Perspectives nouvelles sur le passé de l'Afrique noire et de Madagascar*, *Publication de la Sorbonne, série Études* 7, 135–47; NUMA BROC, *Dictionnaire illustré des explorateurs et grands voyageurs français du XIX^{e} siècle*, vol. 2: *Asie*, Paris 1992, 408f.

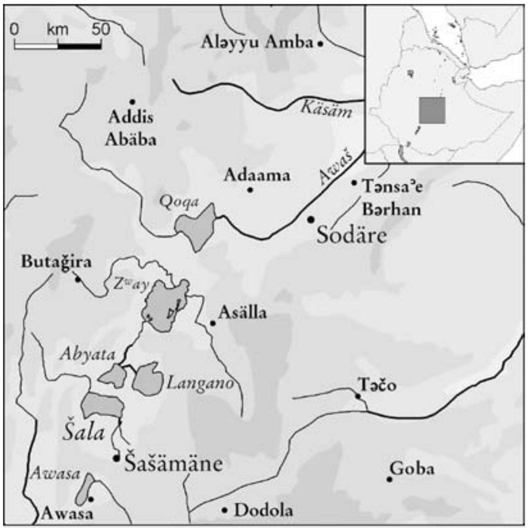
Lukian Prijac

Šašämäne

Š. (ሻሸመኔ, Orom. sp. Shaashamane, 7° 12' N, 38° 36' E) is located in the Məsraq Šäwa zone, Oromiyaa, about 250 km south of Addis Abäba. A folk etymology explains the name as "house [Orom., *mana*] of Šaaš", a woman who welcomed travellers. According to Braukämper the place was called after an ancestor of the Šaašoogo-↗Hadiyya who is said to be buried there, combined with *manna* (Hadiyya: 'people'; s. BrHad 219). A popular market place, it became an outpost for *aṣe* Mənilək II's armies during the conquest of southern Ethiopia. ↗*Näfṭäñña* were invited to settle and war veterans, members of the royal family and entrepreneurs were beneficiaries of land grants around Š. The town was occupied by the Italians and the municipality was founded in November–December 1943.

Š. has always been a hub of migration and its population grew steadily. In 1962 it was estimated at 5,048, a figure which doubled in three years. The 1984 census gave 32,376 inhabitants while a 2009 estimate reached 120,000. Š. has been considered as an ethnic mosaic as migrants came from all over the country, settling in the town and founding various economic niches. Originally in Arsi province, and later in Šäwa province, Š. is today the administrative centre of the most populated *wäräda* of the East Šäwa Zone, one of the 12 zones of Oromiya as established by the 1995 Constitution. Š. town is constituted of 10 *qäbäle*, while Š. *wäräda* has 78 peasant associations.

Š. is known throughout the world thanks to the ↗Rastafari settlement in its northern periphery. In 1950, Ḫaylä Śəllase I granted 5 *gaša* (200 hectares) of land, originally possessed by ↗Arsi, to the Ethiopian World Federation, founded in New York in 1937 by ↗Mälaku Bäyyan, as a reward for their support during the war against the Italians. However, there were few Caribbean or American settlers on this land until the mid-1960s, when Jamaican Rastafarians arrived. With the land nationalization of March 1975, most of them had to flee the country and only a handful remained in Š. New migrants arrived only in the mid-1990s. A 2003 census by the Ethiopian Immigration of-



fice indicated that Rastafarians of 14 nationalities were living in Š. Only 108 adults responded to this census, but as arrivals are continuing, they might now number at least 300 adults and many children. While the Rastafarians have transformed Š. through their economic and educational activities, through their culture and the founding of many Ethio-Caribbean families, they still live in precarious conditions owing to their lack of legal documents. Nonetheless, Š. remains the symbol of the Pan-African policies of Ḫaylä Śəllase I and serves to this day to legitimize the Rastafarians' claim of their right to a land in Africa.

Lit.: BENTI GETAHUN, *A History of Shashamanne from its Foundation to 1974*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1988; GUNILLA BJERÉN, *Migration to Shashemene. Ethnicity, Gender and Occupation in Urban Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1985; GIULIA BONACCI, *Exodus*! *L'histoire du retour des Rastafariens en Ethiopie*, Paris 2008; MESFIN GETAHUN, "Shashemene", in: DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Living on the Edge*: *Marginalised Minorities of Craft Workers and Hunters in Southern Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2001, 269–85.

Giulia Bonacci

Šaašoogo ↗Hadiyya

Savoia, Amedeo di, Duke of Aosta

Amedeo di Savoia, Duca di Aosta, as *vicere* of Ethiopia; photo from the collection of Wolfgang Hahn

Cousin of the King of Italy ↗Vittorio Emanuele II, S. (b. 21 October 1898, Turin, d. 3 March 1942, Kenya) enjoyed a lightning career in the Italian army and air force, reaching the rank of General at the age of 36. He distinguished himself during World War I and later fought in Libya. He became familiar with the geography and the problems of Ethiopia in the course of a series of exploratory missions in the 1920s.

From 21 December 1937 till 19 May 1941, S. served as Viceroy of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana. He inherited a difficult situation in Ethiopia largely because of the harsh policies of his predecessor, Rodolfo ↗Graziani. The Duke's closest collaborator was General Nasi, who became his deputy, replacing Enrico ↗Cerulli.

An admirer of British colonialism, S. introduced a policy of co-operation with the Ethiopians trying to promote a form of indirect rule. Among other things, S. closed the hated military tribunals, authorized the appointment of Ethiopians to minor administrative posts, and released 1,000 detainees at Dänane. These conciliatory policies gradually reduced the need for military action throughout Ethiopia but did not succeed in suppressing patriots' ↗resistance. On 4 August 1940, Italian forces invaded and subsequently occupied ↗British Somaliland. In January 1941, allied forces operating from Sudan and Kenya invaded Africa Orientale Italiana. On 16 March 1940, another allied force, operating out of Aden, landed in ↗Berbera. The available sources are not very accurate about the losses suffered by the Italian army in the Africa Orientale Italiana campaign up to the final collapse of the Empire in November 1941. Del Boca (1982:350) estimates that the casualties amounted to 65,000, colonial troops included, equivalent to one fifth of the entire army committed on the battlefield and to four or five times the casualties for the conquest of Ethiopia in 1935–36. The allies suffered only 1,154 casualties. On 19 April 1941, S. formally surrendered at ↗Ambalage. His bravery in the desperate defence of the Empire gained him a gold medal from the Italian government and the respect by the British troops. He died of tuberculosis in a prisoner-of-war camp in Kenya.

↗Italian war 1935–36

Src.: AMEDEO SAVOIA DUCA DI AOSTA, "Diario" [excerpts], *Gente* 8, 19 February 1969.

Lit.: ANDREW J. BARKER, *The Civilizing Mission*: *A History of the Italo–Ethiopian War*, New York 1968; ALFIO BERRETTA, *Amedeo d'Aosta*, Milano 1948; ID., *Con Ame-*

deo d'Aosta in Africa orientale italiana in pace e in guerra, Milano 1952; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli italiani in Africa orientale*, vol. 3: *La caduta dell'Impero*, Roma – Bari 1982, 307–52; MICHAEL GLOVER, *An Improvised War: the Abyssinian Campaign 1940–1941*, London – New York 1987; MockWar; NEIL D. ORPEN, *East African and Abyssinian Campaigns*, Cape Town 1968; DAVID SHIRREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers: Wingate, Sandford, the Patriots, and the Part they Played in the Liberation of Ethiopia*, London – New York 1995.

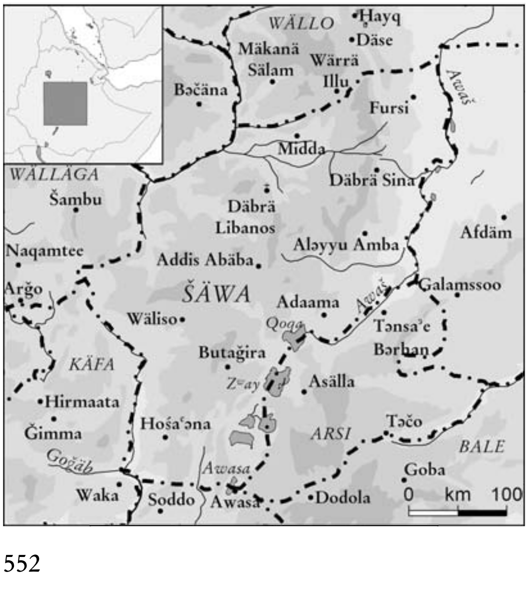
Thomas P. Ofcansky

Šäwa

Geography of Šäwa

The core area of Š. (ሸዋ) is characterized by the cenozoic volcanic plateaus and mountains to the north up to the confluence of the ↗Abbay River and its tributary, the ↗Bäšəlo. Mounts Amba Farit (3,975 m) and Abuyä Meda (4,012 m), huge craters worn away by erosion, border with ↗Wällo. The central part of Š. is constituted by the plateau historically referred to as Šäwa Meda. To the east, the edges of the plateaus, which are cut by horsts and grabens, descend to the course of the middle-↗Awaš River. To the west the highlands are carved by the canyons of the ↗Abbay tributaries (Wänčət, Ğäma, Bäto). The ↗Mugär River flows in deep gorges through volcanic plateaus dominated by the cones of Mounts Fota (3,294 m), ↗Männagäša and Wäč̣äč̣a (3,405 m) to the west of the ↗Addis Abäba. The Abbay canyon borders on ↗Goǧǧam, and the course of the ↗Gudär, Mount Tulluu Amara (3,146 m) and younger volcanoes (Dändi, Wänč̣i) in ↗Wälläga.

The 1987 reform of the ↗administrative divisions partitioned Š. into Addis Abäba, West-Š. (↗Wäliso), South-Š. (Zʷay) and North-Š. (Däbrä Bərhan); North-Š. was later divided into North-Š. and South-East Š. (↗Adaama/Nazret). The administrative reform of the 1990s split Š. into several zones which today are part of the Amhara and Oromiyaa regional states. The Gurage, Səlṭe, Kambaata and Hadiyya zones are now part of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region.



The population of Š. has grown quickly. In 1970 it was estimated at 4,923,906 in an area of 85,500 km^2 (density: 58 inhabitants per km^2). In 1984 it was estimated at 9,503,140 (density: 111 inhabitants per km^2). Addis Abäba attracts migrants from all over Ethiopia. At present, population increase in the towns is especially strong toward the Awaš and the Rift Valley where commercial farms have been established (Moǧo, ↗Adaama/Nazret, Wänč̣i, Mätähara in the middle-Awaš and Mäti, Zʷay, Nagallee and ↗Šašämäne). Ca. 4,000,000 inhabit a regional conurbation bringing together ↗Aqaqi, Qalliti, ↗Däbrä Zäyt/Bišoftuu, Moǧo and Adaama. ↗Eucalyptus forests and market gardens have extended over the area in order to meet the needs of a booming capital. Recently a few foreign firms started cultivating flowers in greenhouses; these are exported by air to the foreign markets. Local entrepreneurs, often in joint ventures with foreigners, profit from good roads and rail services and from an abundant supply of manpower.

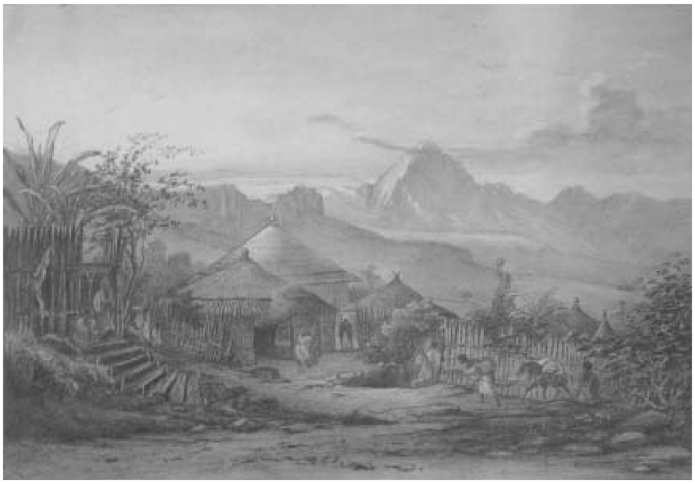
Src.: CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, "Communications Respecting the Geography of Southern Abyssinia", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 18, 1848, 84–102; DAVID R. BUXTON, "The Shoan Plateau and Its People: an Essay in Local Geography", *The Geographical Journal* 119, 4–6, 1949, 157–72; EMAtlas; MesfAtlas[2]; MesfGeogr; CSO 1971; CSA 1984, 1998, 2004.

Lit.: ALAIN GASCON, "Diviser pour régner: les vicissitudes du découpage administratif de l'Éthiopie depuis 1941, étude géographique", paper read at the *10th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Paris, 20–26 August 1988; ID., "Éthiopie, Érythrée, pays de la longue durée", in: ALAIN DUBRESSON – JEAN-YVES MARCHAL – JEAN-PIERRE RAISON (eds.), *Les Afriques au sud du Sahara*, Paris – Montpellier 1994, 272–85; ID., "Addis Abeba, La plus haute capitale d'Afrique", in: ANNE-MARIE FRÉROT (ed.), *Les grandes villes d'Afrique,* Paris 1999, 165–76; ID., *Sur les hautes terres comme au ciel. Identités et territoires en Éthiopie*, Paris 2006; ID., "Shäwa, Ethiopia's Prussia. Its Expansion, Disappearance and Tradition", in: *PICES* 16 [online], 85–98; GasEth.

Alain Gascon

History of Šäwa

Š. (ሸዋ) was the name of several polities on the territory of Ethiopia. In the early times, it was the name of a medieval Islamic sultanate; later the name of a province of the Christian Ethiopian empire (“Old Š.”). In the 18th–19th cent., it was applied to the Kingdom of Š. (“Greater Š.”), which became later again the name of an administrative unit within the unified Empire. The shape, extent and ethno-religious composition of Š. changed several times.



Šäwan village in the vicinity of Ankobär, ca. 1841–43, original drawing by Johann Martin Bernatz; from the Bernatz collection of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main

Sultanate of Šäwa

An Islamic state apparently existed in Š. as early as 896/97–1285 A.D. The very existence of a sultanate in Š. and the general outlines of its history are known from a single source: a folio (12v–13r) of a miscellaneous Arabic manuscript on vellum dated 9 August 1863 (colophon, fol. 38r: 23 *Ṣafar* 1280 H.) which Enrico ↗Cerulli copied in ↗Harär in 1936; no further data concerning the location of the original text ever came to light. In 1941, Cerulli published the short text which is simply a concise chronology of events (*ḏikr al-tawārīḫ*). According to the document (sometimes referred to as the Arabic “Chronicle of Š.”), the Sultanate of Š. (mentioned in three different spellings: Šäwá [with final *alif maqṣūra*], Šawah and Šawā) emerged in 896/97 A.D. [283 H.]: that would be the most ancient date in the history of the whole region of Š. However, it is at least a suspicious coincidence that this same date is given in another document found in Harär as that of the birth of the Haräri emirate (Wagner 1976).

The *sulṭān* family allegedly belonged to the ↗Maḫzūmī clan. Some Islamic historical traditions point to the existence of trade relationships between the Maḫzūmī clan and “al-Ḥabaša” (Hinds in EI^2) but the reliability of these accounts has been radically questioned (Crone 2004: 124–29). Local oral sources, probably as a feedback from the written tradition, report an ancient dispute in nearby ↗Ifat between Maḫzūmī and Umayyad parties (Cerulli 1941: 15).

The territorial extension of the Sultanate of Š. is difficult to ascertain. Cerulli surmised that it could be located in the oriental part of modern Š. and in the “central core” of historical Š., that is the highland south of the mountain chain of Ṭarma Bärr up to ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo, delimited westwards by the Mugär valley and eastwards by Ifat and ↗Fäṭägar. As for Walalah, the capital of the Sultanate of Š., it was tentatively identified by Cerulli with Wäläle, southwards of Šäno (in the valley of the Ǝnk^{w}ay River, in ↗Sälale). However, no traces of ancient Muslim culture have so far been discovered in this specific region.

The document mentions twelve *sulṭāns* who ruled in 1063–1280 but focuses almost exclusively on the latest period of the Sultanate (1231–89). Apart from the foundation of the Sultanate, the oldest event recorded in the text is the death of queen ↗Badīt bint Māyā in 1063. The text mentions five events which occurred in the 12th cent. but relates events of the 13th cent. with greater accuracy. At that time the Sultanate entered the phase of decay; four competing branches of the ruling family fought for power and at the same time launched raids against the neighboring Islamic regions (↗Gidāya in 1233–34, 1268, 1285 and 1287; Gabar-ge in 1263 and 1270–71, ↗Mora conquered in 1264–67, Degun in 1270–71 and 1277).

The internal strife and external wars undermined the strength of the Sultanate. The growing power of the ↗Walašma^{c} family in Ifat became a menace for the Sultanate of Š. *Sulṭān* Dilmārrah tried to appease Ifat and in 1271 married a woman of the Walašma^{c}. The move did not prevent the Walašma^{c} from threatening Š. In 1275/76, Ifat supported the revolt of ↗Dilgāmis. In 1279 Dilmārrah “escaped to the *ḥaṭī* [Yəkunno Amlak?]” and apparently remained under his protection until he was captured and killed by

^{c}Alī b. Walašma^{c} in 1283. Two years later, Ifat troops destroyed both the Maḫzūmī dynasty and the Sultanate of Š.

Scanty information on the ethnic composition of the Sultanate of Š. can be inferred. Basing on the ↗names of places and persons mentioned in the document, Cerulli hypothesized that the inhabitants of the Sultanate were speakers of a Semitic language not unlike those of Ifat. As for the cultural features of the Š. Islamic state, the text reports the death in 1255 of a *faqīh* Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan who was the ↗*qāḍī l-quḍāt* of Š. It may thus be assumed that the Sultanate possessed a well-structured learned elite, and could have been instrumental in catalyzing the conversion to ↗Islam of nearby regions. The relationships of the Sultanate with the broader Islamic world are not proved: the reference to the fall of the Abbasid caliphate cannot be considered anything but a hint to a superficial knowledge of Near Eastern Islamic history by the writer of the text (Cerulli 1941:21).

Finally, the text of the Chronicle of Š. testifies also to the practice of giving names to periodical ↗famines as familiar to Ethiopian Muslims (Cerulli 1941:21).

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42 [repr. in CerIslam 207–43]; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 237–94 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80], §4 ["Un principe scioano musulmano …"].

Lit.: PATRICIA CRONE, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*, Princeton, NJ 2004, 124–29; MARTIN HINDS, "Makhzūmī", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 6, 137–40; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Chronologie der frühen muslimischen Herrscher in Äthiopien nach den Harariner Emirslisten", in: BRIGITTA BENZING – OTTO BÖCHER – GÜNTER MAYER (eds.), *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik: Festschrift für Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Meisenheim 1976, 186–204.

Alessandro Gori

Province of Šäwa

The old province of Š. (also: Sewa, Siwa) is to be distinguished from historical ↗Amhara country, the domain of the ↗Solomonic dynasty (re-)established by *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak. In Ethiopian Christian sources, Š. appears only in the 14th cent. and early references to Š. are two-fold: it is mentioned as both a Muslim region (MarAmdS 56f.) and a "frontier area" from where *aṣe* ↗^{c}Amdä Ṣəyon I recruited troops (ibid. 62f.). Š. may indeed have been dominated in some parts by Christians and in others by Muslims, owing allegiance to different rulers (cp. Cerulli 1941:23).

The Ethiopian Christian tradition refers to the gradual spread of ↗Christianity in Š. since the Aksumite period, linking it to the migration of a (Semitic-speaking) population from the north (TadTChurch 36). The precise linguistic identity of these early settlers cannot be established (cp. ↗Gafat). In any case, Š. being the area situated to the south of the chain of districts constituting the historical Amhara (↗Angot, ↗Gayənt, ↗Gəšše), as well as ↗Wäläqa and ↗Märḥabete, came under the firm control of Christian monarchs in the 14th cent., following the victories of ^{c}Amdä Ṣəyon I. In the west, Š. neighboured ↗Damot, in the south/south-east, the chain of Muslim sultanates, of which Ifat was the strongest (cp. maps TadTChurch 65, 133; BrHad 73). The larger province of Š. could indeed have absorbed the former Muslim Sultanate of Š. and adopted its name (*pars pro toto*).

Despite continuing tension on the borders, northern Š. soon became a secure part of the Christian realm, and started to become more important in the 15th cent. The governor of the province had the title of ↗*ṣäḥafe lam*. After his victory over ↗Aḥmad Badlāy (who was able to penetrate the highlands of Š. in 1443), *aṣe* ↗Zär^{ɔ}a Ya^{c}əqob decided to build his residence at ↗Däbrä Bərhan in Š., and was assisted by the "chiefs of Š." (*śəyyumanä Šäwa*; s. ↗*Šum*). Another important 15th-cent. part of Š. was ↗Täg^{w}əlät, where the church of ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq was constructed. Contingents of ↗*čäwa* were settled in Š. (cp. CRHist 53, 132 [text]). Muslim principalities bordering Š. were made vassals of the Christian emperors.

Assisting the consolidation of the Christian royal power, the expansion of Orthodox ↗Christianity in Š. was prompted by monastic settlements and linked with the names of their respective saintly founders, the most important being, e.g., Däbrä Asbo (renamed later as ↗Däbrä Libanos [of Š.]), founded by *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot in the late 13th cent.; Däbrä Bəsrat of *abunä* ↗Zena Marqos in ↗Morät (14th cent.), ↗Däbrä Bäggə^{c} of ↗Ḥəṣan Mo^{ɔ}a (14th cent.) and ↗Zəq^{w}ala of *abunä* ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus among others. From Š., Christianity and monasticism spread further to the South: Damot, ↗Bale, ↗Gamo Gofa, ↗Gurage, ↗Sidaama (cp. ↗Bərbər Maryam, ↗Däbrä Asäbot, ↗Mäba^{ɔ}a Ṣəyon, ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat, ↗Tulluu Guddoo, ↗Z^{w}ay etc.).

The presence of numerous ↗rock-cut and cave churches is a conspicuous feature of Š.'s early Salomonic period, clearly showing the region's importance and cultural and political affiliation. Though not as sophisticated as similar structures in northern Ethiopia, there are noteworthy examples such as Adadi Maryam (Anfray et al. 1965:13–16, pls. XII–XIII), ↗Yäkka Mikaᵓel, Kistanä (in Soddo, not far from Adadi; cp. Godet 1976), as well some less spectacular examples, today in ruins, such as Däy Giyorgis (probably a foundation of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Maryam; Chojnacki 1969), ↗Ǧəbat, Ǝnṭoṭṭo, Gənbi (Ricci 1976), Ǝnsəlale (Anfray 1965:25f., pls. XXII), both not far from Yärär (cp. GueCopMen 322 n. 3; Conti Rossini 1904:20 [text]; today in the vicinity of Adaama/Nazret; cp. Sauter 1963: 276–79, counting some 31 monuments of this art; s. also Anfray 1985: 15–28).

In the late 15th cent.– early 16th cent., several locations in Š. appear to have been important as sites of the royal "moving capitals" (↗*Kätäma*) or residences, and of ecclesiastical authorities: Däbrä Bərhan and Däbrä Sina (cp. CrawItin 64f.), ↗Bärara, ↗Männagäša (cp. BassHist 215), Yärär, Ǝnṭoṭṭo (by the time of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob?; s. GueCopMen 36 n. 5, 40 n. 3). ↗Ǝndägäbṭän was a key-region adjacent to Š. in the south-west (cp. also TadTChurch 274 n. 3; StStud 76 n. 1). A few of these places (such as Bärara, Zəqʷala, etc.) are conspicuous on European medieval maps and itineraries; Š. appears as the "*regno de saba*" on the 15th-cent. map of Fra Mauro (CrawItin fig. 4, 201). However, Š.'s pre 16th-cent. historical geography remains obscure; some place names located in Š. according to old traditions are difficult to identify precisely (Grarya, Kätata, Ṣəlaləš [cp. ↗Sälale], Adamo, Ṣəḥga, Zorare, Yäläbäša, etc.).

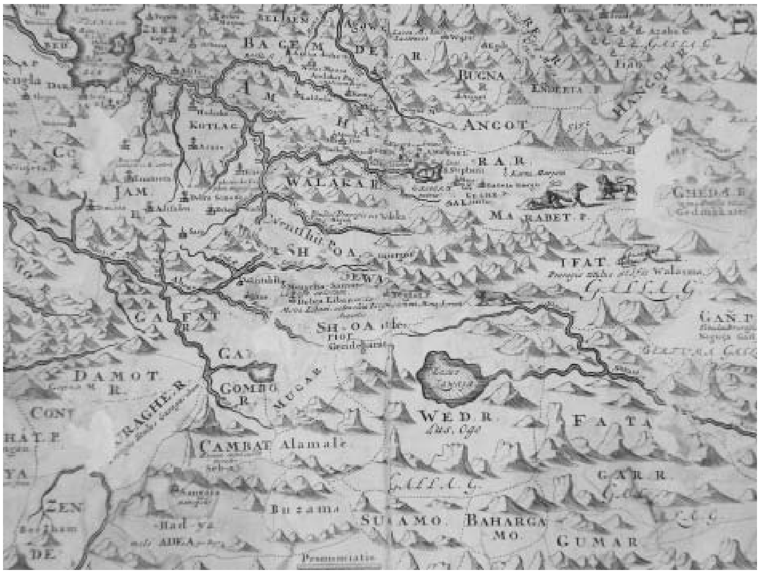
Trade routes are reported to have linked ↗Zäylaᶜ with Amhara and Bärara in central Š. In the early 16th cent., *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl and his court seem to have particularly favoured the southern part of Š. One reason for this was purely economic (the relative richness of the region, abundance of water, grass etc.). Another was the necessity to stay closer to the extensive southern border, controlling the southern Muslim principalities. The 14th-/15th-cent. role of Š. allowed a few scholars to define the period from 1270 to the *ǧihād* of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") as the time of "the Šäwan Kingdom" (Tubiana 1966:165).

During the Muslim war, the army of Aḥmad Grañ easily broke Christian defences in Š. Bärara was captured in April–May 1531; by late October the Muslims had passed all "gates" separating Š. from Amhara (from Ahəyya Fäǧǧi [CrawItin 53] to "Wäsäl" [probably ↗Ambassäl], cp. BassHist 282f., 306).

After the *ǧihād*, the importance of Š. was reestablished for a while. *Däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḥamälmal, *ṣäḥafe lam* of Š., was one of the greatest lords of the Empire. *Aṣe* ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl still operated from Š. according to the old scheme, but massive migration of the ↗Oromo became a new danger. The Robaale-*gadaa* appears to be the first to directly have invaded Š. (in 1572–73, cp. CRHist 226 [text]; cp. DombrChr 181f.). By the end of the reign of Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl Š. *de facto* had been given up. The old population was partly wiped out, partly forced to move into less convenient areas (↗*Qʷälla*). In the first half of the 16th cent., most of Š. was reported to have been taken over by the Oromo (cp. BeckHuntAlm 19). The ↗Boorana penetrated along the western edge of Š. as far as Wäläqa (cp. ↗Boräna). The ↗Tuulama crossed the central Š., while Karrayyuu went along its eastern part as far as the historical Amhara, to create Oromo enclaves in ↗Wällo and ↗Azaboo-Rayyaa.

Kingdom of Šäwa

In the 17th cent., Š. was *de facto* separated from the ↗Gondärine kingdom. The Christian Amharic-speaking enclave embraced a few historical regions in northern Š. (cp. StStud 84). For a while, Däbrä Libanos was detached from it (cp. ↗Ǝnsaro) and completely deserted. The Šäwan tradition (collected by ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase; cp. AWTarik 69f.; BTafA 490–95; cp. also StStud 82–91) claims that the late 17th-cent. rulers of some 14 Šäwan districts formally remained subjects of the Gondärine kings, but had no royal governor. Royal annals, however, report that Atanasyos was *ṣäḥafe lam* of Amhara and Š. under *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I (GuiIohan 89 [text]). In 1689 "the people of Š." and the governor ↗Dəmeṭros surrendered power to Iyasu the "imposter" Yaba, who had found refuge in Š. (ibid. 123ff., 133f. [text]). In 1696 Iyasu entered Š. via Däyär, visiting Morät, Aganča, Märḥabete and other places (ibid. 181f. [text]; cp. DombrChr 222), but left in less than a month. In the same year Iyasu was again in Š., probably settling a religious controversy (ibid. 223). In 1699, Iyasu crossed Š. again and visited Däbrä Libanos deploring its ruined state; he had ordered the "princes of Š." to come



The province of Šäwa on the 17th-cent. map after Balthazar Tellez: "Sewa", "Shoa superior", "Shoa inferior"; from LudHist

there, but the Chronicle is not explicit about his aims and about results of the meeting (GuiIohan 199f. [text]; DombrChr 227; the event may be the source of a tradition recorded later by Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, s. AWTarik 70f.; BTafA 494–99). Thereafter, Iyasu partitioned the governorship of Š. (GuiIohan 201 [text]).

The consolidation of Š. and the emergence of the "principality" or "kingdom of Š." seems to have been initiated from ↗Mänz. *Abeto* ↗Nägaśi Krəstos is reported to have achieved an alliance with the *wälasmas* of ↗Yəfat, perhaps under the auspice of Iyasu I, to push back the Oromo (BTafA 498f., 502f.). *Märəd azmač* ↗Səbəstyanos started to extend the power of the dynasty, subduing the ↗*balabbat*-rulers of smaller districts around Mänz and Oromo groups one by one.

In the 18th cent., this process was marked by the gradual moving of Š.'s capitals southwards. Initially based in Aganča, Nägaśi later used Aya Bär; ↗Ayne (Maryam) was founded by him and used by Səbəstyanos. ↗Doqaqit was established by Səbəstyanos; along with ↗Ḥarr Amba, it was used as a residence by Abbəyye. ↗Ankobär, an ancient place, was used by ↗Amməḫa Iyäsus (cp. ↗Afärbayne Täklä Haymanot); ↗Qʷəndi was used by ↗Wäsän Sägäd.

The last tribute from Š. was received by *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis from *märəd azmač* ↗Asfa Wäsän. For the following nearly 60 years Š. was left alone, generally avoiding from the bloody struggles of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

Despite fierce wars with the Oromo, an acculturation pattern emerged early in Š., with Oromo groups and individuals intermarrying with the Šäwan–Amhara, adopting their culture and language and converting to Orthodox Christianity.

It is commonly assumed that an important period in the consolidation of the power of Šäwan rulers was the reign of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase. He stabilized the Kingdom after the assassination of *märəd azmač* ↗Wäsän Sägäd; he combined both military and political methods, exploited the internal struggles of the Oromo groups and tried to ally with them, securing large areas under his control (cp. an example of ↗Abbaa Maale). Aiming at religious consolidation, Śahlä Śəllase imposed the *Sost lədät* teaching (of Däbrä Libanos; cp. ↗*Ṣägga*) as the "official" doctrine, punishing those who opposed it (AWTarik 124f.; Darkwah 1975: 46). The administration was built upon the strong personal power of Śahlä Śəllase, who ruled directly or through a system of governors (EgeClass 153–63). As a result, European travellers praised Š. as the most stable and prosperous of the Ethiopian regions.

The political aspirations of Śahlä Śəllase who envisaged achieving supreme power are reflected in his assumption of the title ↗*nəguś* around 1839, and in his attempts to bring the supreme ecclesiastic authority, i.e. a metropolitan (AWTarik 125) to Š. At the end of his reign, the Kingdom of Š. extended from Yəfat, Mänz and Märḥabete in the north to the Awaš and ↗Gibe Rivers in the south. In the west it now included Sälale and bordered on the ↗Gudär River.

As with other Ethiopian lords, the rulers of Š. had realized the importance of acquiring ↗firearms. In the late 1830s Śahlä Śəllase started trying to establish contacts with foreigners and foreign powers, first and foremost in order to acquire military materials and political gains. The first Europeans who visited Š. after a long interlude were ↗Combes and ↗Tamisier (1835–36). In

1839 ↗Krapf and ↗Isenberg moved to Š. from Təgray. In the same year, ↗Rochet d'Hericourt also visited Š., and his contacts with Śahlä Śəllase resulted in a letter to Louis-Philippe I (RubActa I, no. 33); later he was joined by ↗Lefebvre who entered Š. in 1841. Following the takeover of Aden in 1839–40 (cp. ↗Yemen), British interest in Ethiopia manifested itself in their haste to send the mission of ↗Harris (also in response to a letter of Śahlä Śəllase, ibid. nos. 34, 35). Harris was followed by Charles Johnston and ↗Beke. Śahlä Śəllase signed treaties with Harris and Rochet d'Hericourt (ibid. nos. 44, 66; cp. HerTar 115–23), each acting "on behalf" of his respective government. These treaties had no practical consequences, since the enthusiasm of both the French and British subsided as they realized that any involvement in Š. would mean high costs and unclear profits. But Śahlä Śəllase enjoyed a considerable increase in his fire-arms arsenal and the European travellers produced a large amount of literature describing the Kingdom of Š.

The independent political development of Š. was interrupted by the victory of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II over *nəguś* ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot in 1855. The latter's son and successor Mənilək (the future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) was captured by Tewodros; Šäwans resisted under the leadership of ↗Säyfu Śahlä Śəllase, but suffered significant setbacks in 1859–60, when Ankobär was pillaged and Säyfu killed (Darkwah 1975: 48). However, Tewodros was not able to consistently control Š., being engaged in fighting elsewhere. When Mənilək escaped in 1865, he quickly re-generated the power of the local dynasty and within the next 25 years raised Š. to the strongest position among the regions of Ethiopia.

Having realized the importance of connections with Western countries and the possibilities offered by Western technologies, Mənilək acted pragmatically and did not hesitate to consult individual Europeans and employ them as agents. He kept ↗Massaja for more than ten years, was treated by the physicians ↗Alfieri and ↗Traversi, and allowed a few other expeditions and traders to enter Š. Initial difficulties and setbacks in establishing foreign relations (cp. the 1872 mission of *abba* ↗Mikaᵓel) did not discourage Mənilək.

In 1878, ↗Ilg became Mənilək's closest assistant for a number of years. In the 1880s there was an influx of Europeans to Š., where ↗Italy soon took a leading role. In 1876 ↗Ləṭ Maräfiya was given to the Italian geographic mission (cp. ↗Società Geografica Italiana), while its head ↗Antinori became representative of the Italian government in Š. His successor ↗Antonelli was instrumental in developing relations between Italy and Š. and bringing large supplies of modern fire-arms to Š. (Darkwah 1975: 60). The Treaty of 1883 and the ↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce were signed; relations, however, were strained after the Italian occupation of Massawa in 1884 and the Italian encroachment in north Ethiopia; they collapsed in 1890.

Having no superiority in military power to compete with the major Ethiopian lords, Mənilək initially preferred to wait; he abstained from the power struggle which followed the death of Tewodros II and opted to submit to *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs in 1875 and 1878 (Darkwah 1975: 83; on harsh conditions, including, e.g., the proclamation of ↗*Karra* as official doctrine). Yet Mənilək did not rush to save Gondär during the ↗Mahdists' attack on Ethiopia, and Š. narrowly escaped the punitive campaign of Yoḥannəs IV in 1889.

When Mənilək claimed supreme power following the death of Yoḥannəs, he had Š. behind him as a strong base. From the early period of his reign, the "reconquista" was carried out on the southern borders of Š. (cp. ↗Gobäna Dač̣i; ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel). This was accompanied by establishing several *kätäma*s in the conquered areas (such as ↗Fəčče, ↗Holäta, ↗Addis ᶜAläm etc.); in 1882, Šäwans stopped the southern advance of the rulers of ↗Goǧǧam in the battle of ↗Ǝmbabo. Over a long period of time, Mənilək had the rich resources of the south at his disposal and was able to increase the ranks of his soldiers by sharing the conquered land among them (cp. ↗*gäbbar*; ↗*näfṭäñña*). He also managed to connect Š. with the Red Sea avoiding Təgray and Eritrea (cp. ↗Djibouti, ↗Obok, ↗Tağūra); this connection was further secured by the occupation of ↗Harär in 1887 (allegedly on an order of Yoḥannəs IV, s. ZewYohan 217) and, in the 20th cent., by means of the Djibouti–Addis Abäba ↗Railway.

Šäwa in 1889–20th century

As Mənilək ascended to the throne in 1889, the policy of the Šäwan kings became the basis of his policy for the entire country, while the Šäwan Amhara nobility (specifically of Mänz) was considered to have become the political elite of the Empire (StStud 119). In the late 19th-early

20th cent., Š. remained the most stable and prosperous region of Ethiopia. The presence of the capital, spreading innovations and generating "an image of the future Ethiopia" (urban, increasingly multi-ethnic and cosmopolitan, with trade and economy clearly growing) gave Š. a special weight and in fact defined its future political role. Däbrä Bərhan, Ankobär and Däbrä Sina remained important Šäwan towns. ↗Aləyyu Amba served as a major piedmont market where Oromo and Argobba, agro-pastoralists inhabiting the mountain slopes, met the ↗ᶜAfar of the lowlands. The town was also the gateway to Š. for the caravans which used to come from the coast. During the 1920s–30s, new towns (↗Ambo, Hagärä Həywät, Wäliso) were established along the road to the ↗coffee-producing regions (↗Wälläga, ↗Ǧimma). Š. played a pioneering role in the ↗urbanization process for the rest of the 20th cent.

After the death of Mənilək Š. once again demonstrated its leading political position when *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu (backed by the "Wällo party") was overthrown by the "Šäwan party" supporting Täfäri Mäkʷännən (the future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). On the eve of the ↗Italian war 1935–36, the southern border of Š. followed the Awaš; the province encompassed six large districts (ZerÉth 25–28). During the war, the Italians met with substantial resistance from the ↗patriots in Š., esp. in its central part. In 1936 the Italians abolished Š. and created a small *Governatorato d'Addis Abeba*. In 1938, it was replaced by the larger *Governo dello Scioà* which was about the same size as Š. in 1935.

After the Liberation, the province was re-established; in 1942 it incorporated Gurageland. The plantations that the Italians had implemented or planned were distributed among Ḫaylä Śəllase I's favourites and, henceforth, became a part of the capital region. Early in the 1960's the ↗Kämbata region and the whole Rift Valley were annexed to Š., which by 1967 encompassed 13 *awraǧǧas* (↗Č̣äbo–Gurage, ↗Ḥayqočč–Butagira, Ǧibat–Meč̣č̣a, ↗Kämbata, Männagäša, ↗Mänz–Gəšše, Märḥabete, Sälale, Tägʷəlät–Bulga, Boräna, ↗Ǧämǧäm, ↗Sidamo, ↗Wälamo). New lands and abundant supplies of manpower were available to urban investors. According to the 1970 and 1984 censuses Š. was the most densely populated region where goods and people of Ethiopia converged. This province had the most important educational, industrial and health infrastructure. In the 1950s, Addis Abäba became the seat of the Patriarch of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. As a matter of fact, multiethnic and economically strong Š. kept its leading role within modern Ethiopia into the late 1980s; only in the course of the 1990s' administrative reforms along the lines of the "ethnic federalism" it was split up and given an inferior administrative place.

Src.: AbPrince 144–82, s. index; AWTarik; BassHist 87 n. 2, 215, 282f., 306, s. index; Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopian Records of the Menilek Era: Selected Amharic Documents from the Nachlaß of Alfred Ilg 1884–1900*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 54), s. index; BauEr II, 28; Luigi de Biase, *Lo Scioa*, Milano 1943 (Le Regioni dell'Africa italiana); BTafA s. index; BrHad 73; Enrico Cerulli, "Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43], here 22–25; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Vita sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta Marqorewos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 20 (text) = 22 (tr.); ConzGal 12 (text) = 127 (tr.); CSO 1971; CrawItin s. index; CRHist 6f., 53, 83, 120–24, 127, 132, 226 (text) = 9, 62, 95, 136–41, 144f., 150, 200 (tr.); DombrChr 222f., s. index; Guida; GuiIohan 89, 123ff., 133f., 181f., 199ff. (text) = 90, 127–30, 139f., 190f., 210f., 213 (tr.); Charles Johnston, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia*, 2 vols., London 1844, ^{2}1972; HerTar 115–23; HuntGeogr s. index; LudHist lib. I, cap. 3, §24; lib. II, cap. 17, §8; MarAmdS 56f., 62f., 116, 134f., 214, s. index; PerrZarY s. index; RubActa I, nos. 33–35, 44, 66; ZerÉth 24–28.

Lit.: Francis Anfray et al., "Chronique archéologique (1960–1964)", *AE* 6, 1965, 3–48; Id., "Des églises et des grottes rupestres", *ibid.* 13, 1985, 7–34; Berhanou Abbebe, *Évolution de la propriété foncière au Choa (Éthiopie) du règne de Ménélik à la Constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971; Stanisław Chojnacki, "Däy Giyorgis", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 43–52; DerDom s. index; EgeClass, passim; Alain Gascon, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", *Tropiques. Lieux et liens*, Paris 1989, 435–44; Eric Godet, "L'église et les habitations rupestres du vallon de Kistana", *AE* 10, 1976, 145–56; Kofi Darkwah, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire,* London 1975 [review: Donald Crummey, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9, 1976, 292–95]; A.F. Matthew, "The Monolithic Church of Yekka", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 89–98; MHasOr s. index; Lanfranco Ricci, "Resti di antico edificio in Ginbi (Scioa)", *AE* 10, 1976, 117–210; LevWax s. index; Roger Sauter, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92; Volker Stitz, "The Amhara Settlement of Northern Shoa during the 18th and 19th Centuries", *Rural Africana* 11, 1970, 70–81; StStud passim (Lit.); TadTChurch s. index (Lit.); Joseph Tubiana, "Turning Points in Ethiopian History", *RSE* 21, 1966, 162–66; ZewYohan s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Sawākin

Together with ↗Massawa, S. (19° 6' N, 37° 20' E) was the most important port on the western (African) shores of the ↗Red Sea for most of the second half of the second millennium A.D.

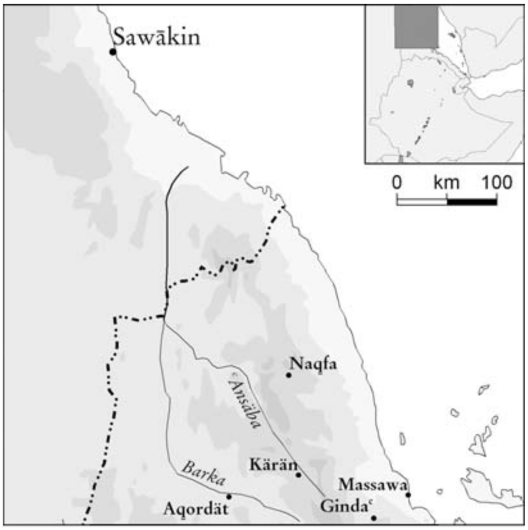
Historically, S. served as an outlet and a gateway for caravans, traders, missionaries, envoys and pilgrims to and from the ↗Nile Valley and the Ethiopian plateau, until the requirements of modern shipping led to its replacement by Port Sudan in the early 20th cent. S.'s fortunes fluctuated in direct relationship to the tortuous and interconnected evolution of politics, commerce and security both in the Red Sea area and in the port's hinterlands.

Situated along the Sudanese coasts, S. was endowed with a deep water natural harbour, and, like Massawa and other eastern African ports, it was built on a small offshore coral island, before a causeway constructed in 1878 connected it to the mainland area, known as al-Gayf. The spectacular architectural style characteristic of the structures built on S. Island shares similarities with that of other Red Sea ports which came under ↗Ottoman and Egyptian control after the 16th cent., most conspicuously Jiddah and Massawa (Greenlaw 1995).

Ethnically S. was dominated by ↗Beǧa and went through a history of urbanization and ethnic diversification partially similar to Massawa (including Arab settlers, and a few ↗Təgre). Organized in patriarchal extended families the urban and urbanized inhabitants of S. served as merchants or trading agents and brokers (*adhārī*) in long-distance international commerce. They developed a communal ethos and a corporate identity that saw itself as socially and culturally separate from the non-urban folk of the mainland (Spaulding 2008: 39ff.).

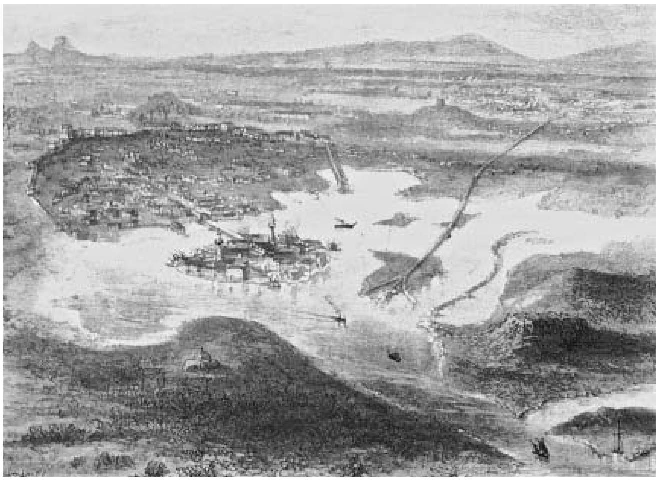
The etymology of S.'s name has given rise to several hypotheses. Some link it to a form of the Arabic word *sūq* ('market') but since S. is spelt with a "*k*", others have associated it with the word *sakan* ('to live', 'dwell'). A popular legend accounting for the origins of S. tells of seven slave girls sent by the king of Ethiopia to that of Egypt, who, en route in S., were impregnated by seven *ǧinns*. Following their arrival in Egypt the king sent them back to S. where their children became the first inhabitants of the town. It was said that the '*ǧinn* had done it' (*sawwa ǧinn*) since it was 'the *ǧinn*'s dwelling' (*sakan al-ǧinn*). Hence Sawāǧinn over time might have been rendered Sawākin (Hofheinz in EI², 87; Bloss 1936: 272f.).

The first mention of the name S. by Arab geographers such as al-Hamdānī and Ibn Ḥawqal dates back to the 10th cent. S.'s rise to prominence is associated with the gradual decline of the chief Egyptian medieval Red Sea port Ayḏab, whose leaders, the Ḥadāriba (a ruling Beǧa family who claimed origins from ↗Ḥaḍramawt), constantly challenged the authority and power of the ↗Mamlūks, who ultimately destroyed it in 1426. S. prospered in the 14th and 15th cent., and the Ḥadāriba moved their capital to the port town. Participating in the Indian Ocean trade and enjoying a degree of political autonomy as Mamlūk power declined, S. established itself as the most important north-east African port, often competing with Massawa.



Following the conquest of Egypt in 1517, the Ottoman Empire became the major power in the Red Sea. After a brief period of Ottoman-Portuguese power-struggles in the Red Sea, ↗Özdemir *paša* occupied S. in the early 1550s. In 1557 the *eyalet* of ↗Ḥabeš was established with its administrative headquarters in the port town. Another factor accounting for change in the 16th cent. was the rise and establishment of the ↗Funǧ sultanate of ↗Sinnār, which attempted to control S. and its hinterlands. Power struggles between the Ottomans and the Funǧ enabled the leaders of the Ḥadāriba to develop some degree of autonomy and maneuver power relations with both powers mainly by means of withholding or paying customs revenues.

S. served as a gateway into the north-east African interior for traders and travelers from far and wide. In the 17th cent. Catholic missionaries, official envoys and European voyagers passed through S. on their way to the Ethiopian



19th-cent. drawing of the Sawākin harbour; from Guadalupi 2005: 306

plateau or when leaving north-east Africa (van Donzel 1979, cf. index).

The decline of Ottoman and Funǧ power in the late 18th cent. translated into greater autonomy for S. and the leading Ḥadāriba families, known in tu-Beḍáwiē as the *artayga* ('patricians'; Paul 1954: 66, 140). In the early 19th cent. the local ruler in S. was known as the *amīr al-ḥadāriba*, who was chosen by the five leading *artayga* families of the Ḥadāriba, and who lived in al-Gayf (Crawford 1951: 119f.; Talhami 1979: 57). In 1814 the population of S. Island was estimated at 3,000 and 5,000 on the mainland (Bloss 1936: 297f.).

In the 17th and 18th cent. S. enjoyed an active role as a long-distance trading entrepot. Its chief export commodities then were ↗gold, slaves (↗Slavery), ↗tobacco, ↗incense, ostrich feathers from Šandi and Sinnār, and durra, mats and ↗camels from ↗Kassala.

In the early 19th cent. the revival of Egyptian hegemonic ambitions in north-east Africa under ↗Muḥammad ʿAlī gradually brought S. under Egyptian control. Between 1813 and 1865 S. and Massawa changed hands several times between Egyptians and Ottomans. In 1865 the Ottomans transferred the administration of both ports to Egypt, and they remained under its authority until 1885.

S.'s 19th-cent. history vacillated between periods of crisis and insecurity, on the one hand, and on the other, decades, or parts thereof, of booming prosperity and urban development resulting from the general commercial boom in the Red Sea following the introduction of steamships in 1829. The abolition of the slave trade affected S., even though smuggling continued and the port's total slave exports for the entire century were estimated at 107,000. S.'s main exports were gum, hides, ↗ivory, butter, ostrich feathers and wax, which was produced in Ethiopia but exported through S. It was not uncommon for commodities to reach S. instead of Massawa. Since mid-19th cent., the ever-fluctuating state of security and stability in the latter and on the roads leading to it often made its usage hazardous and risky.

Following the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, S. enjoyed a renewed commercial and building boom in the 1870s until interrupted by the Mahdīya (↗Mahdists). S. was never conquered by the Mahdists but a significant part of its population left the town when it became the headquarters for British military operations against the Mahdi's most energetic *amīr* ʿUṯmān b. Abī Bakr Diqna (Bloss 1937: 255–73). The inaptitude of S.'s harbor for modern shipping led to its replacement by Port Sudan, some 60 km north of S., in 1905. A year earlier its population was 10,500 inhabitants. In 1923–25 most S. merchants moved to Port Sudan and S. fell into disrepair. By the mid-1940s most of its beautiful houses had collapsed and the old town was deserted (Hofheinz in *EI*^{2}, 89). Since 1991 some efforts have been made by the Sudanese government to revive S. including the transferal of some of Port Sudan's activities to the ancient port town.

Src.: DonMurad.

Lit.: Ralph Austen, "The Islamic Red Sea Slave Trade: an Effort at Quantification", in: *PICES* 5, 433–68; John F.E. Bloss, "The Story of Suakin", *SNR* 19, 2, 1936, 271–300; *ibid.* 20, 2, 1937, 247–80; Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, 118–26; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ḍirār, *Taʾrīḫ Sawākin wa-l-baḥr al-aḥmar* ('The History of Sawākin and the Red Sea'), Khartoum 1991; Jean-Pierre Greenlaw, *The Coral Buildings of Suakin: Islamic Architecture, Planning, Design and Domestic Arrangements in a Red Sea Port*, London ^{2}1995; Gianni Guadalupi, *Der Nil: Die Geschichte seiner Entdeckung und Eroberung*, Köln ^{5}2005, 40 (ill.); Albrecht Hofheinz, "Sawākin", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 9, 87–89; KilHDic 392; Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmperatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti. Habeş Eyaleti*, İstanbul 1974 (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları 1856); Andrew Paul, *A History of the Beja Tribes of the Sudan*, Cambridge 1954; David Roden, "The Twentieth Century Decline of Suakin", *SNR* 51, 1970, 1–22; Jay Spaulding, "Suakin: A Port City of the Early Modern Sudan", in: Kenneth R. Hall (ed.), *Sec-*

ondary Cities and Urban Networking in the Indian Ocean Realm, c. 1400–1800, Lanham, MD 2008, 39–53; GHADA HASHEM TALHAMI, *Suakin and Massawa under Egyptian Rule, 1865–1885*, Washington, DC 1979.

Jonathan Miran

Šäwanäš Abrəha

Wäyzäro Š.A. (**ሸዋናሽ፡ አብርሃ**; b. 1900/01, near Mäq̱älä, Təgray, d. July 1968, Addis Abäba), a daughter of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Abrəha Arʾaya and thus a descendant of the family of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, was a female patriot during the Italian occupation of 1935–41. Her husband was *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Käbbädä, a famous patriotic leader in ↗Wag. Following his death in 1937 and the merciless massacre of the patriots of Wag, Š.A. took over the leadership of the surviving patriotic groups, who moved to Qʷalisa in Bägemdər and continued their struggle. She was supported by her son-in-law, *däǧǧazmač* Taffärä Täsämma, and her son *ləǧ* (later *wag šum*) Wäsän Ḫaylu, who defected from the Italians and joined her in 1938.

Š.A. established contacts with other patriotic leaders in Bägemdər to coordinate their activities against the invading army. To strengthen her forces she married her daughter Zäwditu to *ləǧ* Yoḥannəs Iyasu, son of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu and a patriotic leader in Bägemdər. Her struggle was, however, sometimes hindered by rivalry and conflicts with other patriotic leaders over provisions and firearms.

With the arrival of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in Goǧǧam, Š.A. sent her son Wäsän Ḫaylu to meet the Emperor while mobilizing her forces to liberate Wag. The patriots of Wag, supported by *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša of Təgray, occupied Säqoṭa on 28 April 1941. Š.A.'s forces also participated in the battle of ↗Ambalage against the Viceroy Amedeo di ↗Savoia, Duke of Aosta.

After the Liberation Š.A. was decorated with several medals for her patriotic leadership and bravery.

↗Resistance

Src.: *New Times & Ethiopia News,* 23 October 1937, 1; *Banderaččən,* 16 *Gənbot* 1933 A.M. [24 May 1941 A.D.]; *Addis Zämän*, 13 *Ḫamle* 1960 A.M. [20 July 1968 A.D.].
Lit.: TSEHAI BERHANE SILASSIE, "Women Guerilla Fighters", *NEASt* 1, 3, 1979–80, 73–83, here 80f.; SALOME GABRE EGZIABHER, "The Ethiopian Patriots: 1936–1941", *EthObs* 12, 2, 1969, 63–91, here 66, 69; MockWar 259, 401; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *The Ethiopian War, 1935–1941,* Chicago, IL 1969, 260 n. 69; GÄRIMA TAFÄRRA, **ጎንደሬ፡ በጋሻው** (*Gondäre bägašaw*, 'The Gondarine Man with his Shield'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.], 127, 156–59, 187, 195; WUDU TAFETE, "Dajjazmac Haylu Kabbada and the Patriotic Resistance Movement in Wag, 1935–41", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 97–110, here 104–08; TEGAW AGEGN, *The Patriots of Libo, 1936–41*, B.A. thesis, Haile Selassie I University 1973, 19.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Šäwarägäd Gädle

Š.G. (**ሸዋረገድ፡ ገድሌ**; b. 1885/86, Däbrä Bərhan, d. November 1949, Lalibäla) was a prominent female anti-Italian ↗Resistance fighter.

Born to a noted Šäwan family (her father, *däǧǧazmač* Gädle, was a *bäǧərond* at Mənilək II's court), Š.G. grew up in Addis Abäba. There, at her father's residence in Qäbbänna, she received traditional church education. She married a certain *fitawrari* Dabbočč, who died soon leaving Š.G. childless, and she moved to her father's estate in ↗Addis ʿAläm. She considered becoming a nun and pilgrimaged to ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa and to ↗Jerusalem but had to return to take care of her father.

When the ↗Italian war 1935–36 started, Š.G. became organizer of the Ethiopian Women's Work Association. ↗Tänaññä Wärq Ḫaylä Śəllase became its president, and Š.G. the vice-president. She successfully used the women's forum to encourage women to join the Ethiopian ↗Red Cross, to enlist in regiments for training and to prepare food and medical supplies for war.

During the Italian occupation (1936–41), Š.G. actively involved herself in propaganda, provision of supplies, intelligence work and armed struggle. She used the money she gained from selling her father's land for supporting the fighters.

Š.G. was among the first "inner patriots" (*yäwəsṭ arbäññočč*). Along with others, she kept patriot chiefs informed about enemy positions and their movements in and around Addis Abäba. Š.G. played an active role in the Šäwan patriots' unsuccessful attempt to liberate the capital in July 1936. Following the attack on ↗Graziani, in February 1937, Š.G. was captured and exiled to Italy where she stayed as a political prisoner on Ponza and then on Asinara.

In 1939 Š.G. was repatriated as a result of Italy's appeasement policy and immediately resumed her underground work under the cover name of Wälättä Bərhan Fəssəha.

In 1940 Š.G. managed to establish a secret link between Mammo Ḫaylä Mikaʾel, a high official in the Italian service, and Gäbrä Mädḫən Ḫaylä Maryam, chairperson of the Ethiopian intelligence system. As a result, secret documents could be removed or destroyed before suspected places

Šäwarägäd Gädle; photo courtesy of the IES (no. D-2-1)

or persons could be searched. She also played an important role in the storming and fall of the Italian military forts at Ǧäldu-Mäč̣č̣a (April 1940) and Addis ^{c}Aläm (December 1940). At Bäč̣o, she was received with great ceremony by the patriot chief Bäqqälä Wäyya and his troops. She then headed her own patriots' regiment. While she was in the camp of ↗Gäräsu Duki, the Italians ventured a surprise attack and captured Š.G. She was imprisoned and sentenced to death, but was released by the British liberation forces.

After Liberation, Š.G. lived in Addis ^{c}Aläm, dedicating her efforts to restoring the life of patriots freed from prison and helping the poor and the needy. A devoted Christian, in 1949 she undertook a pilgrimage to ↗Amba Gəšän Maryam and to ↗Lalibäla, where she fell ill and died. She was buried in ↗Däbrä Libanos.

Š.G. is remembered as an example of genuine patriotism; the writers of her time referred to her as the "Ethiopian Joan of Arc," and the "Lion-Hearted Woman" of Ethiopia. She was the only woman patriot honoured when ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I returned from exile in 1941. A street in Addis Abäba bears her name.

Src.: *Addis Zämän*, 3 *Ḫədar*, 21 *Miyazya*, 5 and 12 *Gənbot* 1942 A.M. [1950 A.D.]; *The Ethiopian Herald* 1, 45, 6 May 1944; *New Times and Ethiopia News* 314, 9 May 1942.

Lit.: AMHA AWAKE, *Woyzero Shoareged Gedle, a Woman Patriot*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1984; BZHist; FanTarik 226f.; SALOME GEBRE-EGZIABHER, "The Ethiopian Patriots: 1936–1941", *EthObs* 12, 2, 1969, 63–91; SELTENE SEYOUM, "A History of Ethiopian Women & the Resistance, 1935–1941", research report to OSSREA, Addis Ababa 1994; TADDÄSÄ MARQOS, **የክብርት፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ሸዋረገድ፡ ገድሌ፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ፡ ባጭሩ** (*Yäkəbərt wäyzäro Šäwarägäd Gädle yäḥəywät tarik bač̣č̣əru*, 'Short Biography of Esteemed Mrs. Šäwarägäd Gädle'), ms. 25 *Ḫədar* 1975 A.M. [1982 A.D.]; TADDÄSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, **ቀሪን፡ ገረመው፤ የአርበኞች፡ ታሪክ** (*Qärin gärrämäw*: *yäʾarbäññočč tarik*, 'Those Who Survived were Amazed: a History of Patriots'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.].

Seltene Seyoum

Säwasəw

The Ethiopian grammar treatises of ↗Gə^{c}əz known as S. (**ሰዋስው**, lit. 'steps, ladder') go back to an oral tradition likely to have been fixed in written form by the period of the ↗Gondärine kingdom – an age of artistic and literary renaissance, as well as of "standardization". Liturgical notation was then formally produced (cp. ↗*mələkkət*), exegetical tradition (↗*Andəmta*) written down and codified. Palaeographic evidence, too, points to consistency and uniformity (cp. ↗Palaeography). Within this framework of social and educational changes, the codification of grammar tradition should also be placed.

The remote origins of S. lie in the Copto-Arabic vocabularies or "scalae" (*sullam*, Arab. lit. 'ladder') of the late middle ages, usually provided with a grammatical introduction (*muqaddama*) – a structure well preserved in the S. The S. tradition shares quite a few features with the Copto-Arabic and, even more, the Arabic grammatical traditions. A number of Ethiopic terms used are semantic calques on Copto-Arabic or Arabic equivalents: e.g., Arab. *aṣl*, Amh. *zär*, 'origin, i.e. root'; Arab. *ism*, Amh. *səm*, 'name, i.e. nomen'; Arab. *šaddada*, Amh. *ṭäbbäqä*, 'to stretch, i.e. to double, to geminate [the consonant(s)]'.

Azzaž ↗Sinoda is traditionally celebrated as a composer of S., but no manuscript of S. is known that bears his name. The earliest S. manuscripts date from the 17th–18th cent. (e.g., EMML no. 2092, fols. 68r–82v; 2817, fols. 2r–40), or even earlier (a ms. Paris, BN Éth. 160 [ZotBNat 261–64] with an autobiography of ↗Ṗawlos dated to the 16th cent. contains a S.; s. Conti Rossini 1918:279). ↗Ludolf discussed the S. tradition and published an extract from a S. (1691:209f., 556). ↗Wansleben probably copied one S. in the 17th cent. (s. Bausi 1989:17).

A S. contains glosses of Gəᶜəz lexemes and/or grammatical data. The former are arranged according either to the order of their appearance in the indexed literary works (usually Biblical or liturgical texts) or their meaning. Some S. deal with the vocabulary of such literary works as ↗*Qerəllos* (cf. Weischer 1973:21–24). Some S. pay special attention to loanwords or transcriptions from Hebrew, Latin or Greek; some add corresponding terms from other languages (e.g., from Arabic and Coptic in S. extracts quoted by Ludolf 1691:209f.).

The grammatical part of the S., called **እርባ(ን)**, *ərba*(*n*), or **እርባሕታ**, *ərbaḥta* (conjugation, from *räbḥa*, 'to gain, to augment'), contains information on the inflection of verbs (**ግሥ**, *gəś́*) and noun (**ጥሬ**, *ṭəre*, or **ስም**, *səm*, or **ብትን**, *bəttən*), and on the particles (**አገባብ**, *aggäbab*), as well as examples of various types of sentences. Several conjugational types (**ሰራዊት**, *särawit*) are distinguished and grouped into larger classes (**አርእስት**, *arᵓəst*). Nouns are divided into deverbal (**ጥሬ፡ ዘር**, *ṭəre zär*) and primary (**ጥሬ፡ ነባር**, *ṭəre näbbar*). The deverbal nouns are, in turn, classified according to their derivations. Nouns formed without affixal extension or with a prefix or suffix, resp., are called **ዘመድ፡ ዘር** (*zämäd zär*, lit. 'intimate noun') and **ባዕድ፡ ዘር** (*baᶜəd zär*, lit. 'strange noun'); in some S., the latter term only applies to nouns with prefixes, those with suffixes being called **ምእላድ**, *məᵓəlad*. A number of manuscripts also include additional notes on exegesis (**ፍካሬ**, *fəkkare*) and ecclesiastical poetry (cp. ↗*Qəne*; ↗*Sämənna wärq*).

As is the case with many other such traditions, Gəᶜəz grammar studies were triggered by the sacralization of the ancient language, replaced by vernaculars in everyday life. When the earliest S. appeared, Gəᶜəz had long yielded as a spoken medium to ↗Amharic or ↗Təgrəñña. Only in a very few S. is Gəᶜəz employed in writing about Gəᶜəz itself (as, in fact, the recent work by Täklä Maryam Sämharay 1939): most S. are bilingual, usually Amharic–Gəᶜəz.

The first printed editions of S., usually compiled by Ethiopian scholars also acquainted with the western grammar tradition, belong to the 19th cent. Albeit under European influence, these editions usually retain the method and terminology of traditional S., but are marked by a more systematic arrangement of the material. One of the earliest grammatical compendiums is *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam's, published by the Evangelical Mission at Ǝmkullu in 1897. An extensive treatise of 316 pages, it consists of two parts: a grammatical introduction (*mäqdəm*) and a lengthy alphabetic word list. *Aläqa* Tayyä's work was selectively compiled from an extant corpus of lexico-grammatical writings. As to lexicography, besides the alphabetic one, it provides a thematic list, in the introductory chapter.

Abba ↗Täklä Maryam Sämharay's compendium, consisting of 311 pages, was printed by the Catholic Mission of Kärän in 1906/07. This S., with a modern apparatus of index and footnotes, is organized in the form of a dialogue, followed by both paradigm tables of verbs and nouns and a thorough discussion of key topics.

The compilation of *abba* ↗Yaᶜəqob Gäbrä Iyäsus, of 265 pages, printed by the Catholic Mission of Asmära in 1928, has a similar structure. It also contains an index and footnotes, and is likewise organized into questions and answers, followed by paradigm tables. In addition, it dedicates a separate chapter to the Gəᶜəz syllabary – a rather rare case for a S.

The famous *Mäṣḥafä säwasəw wägəss wämäzgäbä qalat ḥaddis* ('The Book of S. and the Verb and New Dictionary'; KWKDic) by *mämhər* ↗Kəflä Giyorgis (updated by *aläqa* ↗Kidanä Wäld Kəfle and finally published by ↗Dästa Täklä Wäld) contains, as its title indicates, a grammatical description and a dictionary of Gəᶜəz. The former part mostly preserves the traditional terminology and organization, but is arranged systematically, and accompanied by a historical overview. The vocabulary, more substantially deviating from the classical S., is ordered according to the *Abugida* order (cp. ↗*Abugida* and *Hahu*). Each word is translated into Amharic, with information on inflection, a (proposed) etymology and textual references.

Today, the term S. is customarily applied to refer to all works of grammar (cp. Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos 1943; Amanuᵓel Sahlä 1984; Bayyä Yəmam 1993/94, etc.) as opposed to lexicons which are known as *mäzgäbä qalat* (Gəᶜəz, lit. 'treasury of words').

Src.: EMML nos. 2092, 2817, s. index; Amanu^{ɔ}el Sahlä, **ሐጺር፡ ሰዋስው፡ ትግርኛ** (*Ḥaṣir säwasəw təgrəñña*, 'A Short Təgrəñña *Säwasəw* [Grammar]'), Asmära 1987; Bayyä Yəmam, **ያማርኛ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Yamarəñña säwasəw*, 'The *Säwasəw* [Grammar] of Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.]; *aläqa* Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Mäṣḥafä säwasəw*, 'The Book of *Säwasəw*'), Mənkullo 1889 A.M. [1896/97 A.D.]; LudHist lib. I cap. 15, § 34; lib. IV, cap. 2, § 3; Hiob Ludolf, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius …*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 209f., 556; Makonnen Argaw, *Lexique guèze–amharique des formes verbales*, Paris 1974; DTWDic esp. 10–67; KaneDic 571; KWKDic esp. 10–67; Märsə^{c}e Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos, **ያማርኛ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Yamarəñña säwasəw*, 'The *Säwasəw* [Grammar] of Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1935 A.D. [1942/43 A.D.]; *abba* Täklä Maryam [Wäldä Sämharay], **የግዕዝ፡ ቋንቋ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Yägə^{c}əz q^{w}anq^{w}a säwasəw*, 'The *Säwasəw* [Grammar] of Gə^{c}əz Language'), Kärän 1899 A.M. [1906/07 A.D.]; Id., **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዋስው፡ ዘልሳነ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ በልሳነ፡ ርእሱ** (*Mäṣḥafä säwasəw zäləssanä mäṣḥaf bäləssanä rə^{ɔ}əsu*, 'The Book of *Säwasəw* of the Language of the Book in the Same Language'), Roma 1931 A.M. [1939 A.D.]; Ya^{c}əqob Gäbrä Iyäsus, **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Mäṣḥafä säwasəw*, 'The Book of *Säwasəw*'), Asmära 1928; ZotBNat, mss. Éth 147–50, 160.

Lit.: Gertrud Bauer, *Athanasius von Qūs, Qilādat at-Taḥrīr fī ^{c}ilm at-Tafsīr*: *Eine koptische Grammatik in arabischer Sprache aus dem 13/14. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg i.B. 1972; Alessandro Bausi, "I manoscritti etiopici di J.M. Wansleben nella Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze", *RSE* 33, 1989 [1991], 5–33; Hermine Brauner-Plazikowski, *Ein äthiopisch-amharisches Glossar* (*Sawāsew*), Ph.D. thesis, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin 1913 (= *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin* 17, 1914, 1–96); Marius Chaîne, "L'enseignement du ge'ez chez les Abyssins", *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* 67, 1934–37, 363–76; Marcel Cohen, "Sur les lexiques éthiopiens", in: *PICES* 2, 20–26; Carlo Conti Rossini, "L'autobiografia di Pāwlos, monaco abissimo del secolo XVI", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 27, 1918, 279–96; DillmLex xiv–xv; Ignazio Guidi, "Il Sawāsew", in: Carl Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag …*, Gieszen 1906, vol. 2, 913–23; LesCDic xv–xvii; Martino Mario Moreno, "Struttura e terminologia del Sawāšew", *RSE* 8, 1949, 12–62; Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe …*, Paris 1810, 218–31; Bernd Manuel Weischer, *Qērellos* I, Glückstadt – Hamburg 1973 (Afrikanistische Forschungen 7), 21–24.

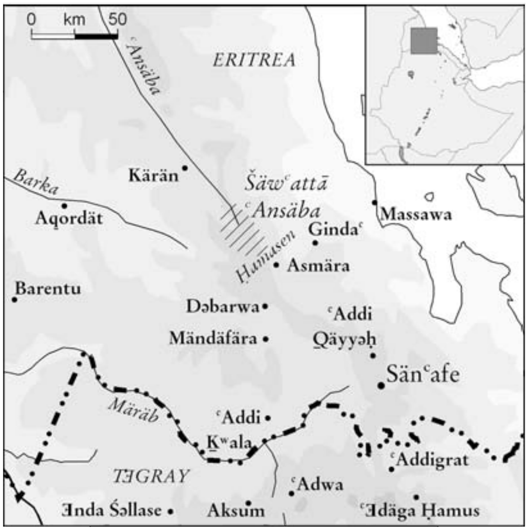
Meley Mulugetta

Šäw^{c}attä ^{c}Ansäba

The Š.^{c}A. (**ሸውዐተ፡ ዐንሰባ**, also Šob^{c}attä [^{c}]Ansäba, Šäbattä [^{c}]Ansäba, lit. 'seven [groups of] [^{c}]Ansäba') is a confederacy of agriculturalist Təgrəñña-speaking subgroups in the northwestern extension of the Eritrean highlands (↗Təgrəñña-speakers), and the name of the region they inhabit. The Š.^{c}A. district lies between the rivers ^{c}Ansäba and Gärgär, in Eritrea's Central Region (*zoba* Ma^{ɔ}əkäl), previously Zämat Taḥtay district of ↗Ḥamasen. It borders on ↗Dämbäzan (s. EAE vol. 5) in the east (across ^{c}Ansäba), on ↗Loggo Č̣əwa in the south (across Gärgär), on ^{c}Addi ^{c}Ali Bäk̠it of the Beni Amər in the west and the region of Lamačälli and Bilin in the north.

According to tradition, the Š.^{c}A. originate from different ↗Beğa, ↗Balaw, ↗Təgre (in particular, ↗Mänsa^{c} and ↗Marya), ↗Sāho, and ↗Bilin groups, as well as some Təgray–Təgrəñña groups who immigrated during Zär^{ɔ}a Ya^{c}əqob's expansion in the 14th cent. The migrants formed seven descent groups. Those from highland Akkälä Guzay, the Däqqi Dašəm and the Därsänäy; the Bilin, the Däqqi ^{c}Amdu; peoples of the Barka lowlands of Ḥamasen and Akkälä Guzay, as well as the Amhara, the ^{c}Addi Yoḥannəs, the Mäläṣṣänay, and the ^{c}Addi Na^{ɔ}amən. The Däqqi Šahay are the remnants of an ancient Balaw invasion (Conti Rossini 1940) or the descendants of the ↗Asaorta Sāho (PollEr 123; Perini 1905: 59). The seven groups have also given name to the present-day seven districts of the Š.^{c}A. Some groups inhabit several villages (e.g., the ^{c}Addi Yoḥannəs, who live in the village of ^{c}Addi Yoḥannəs and in that of Däbri; Däqqi Dašəm inhabit Däqqi Dašəm but also Mägärqa and Wärräsäb, s. Perini 1905: 59, PollEr 123).

The first to be inhabited was Mäläṣṣänay (Conti Rossini 1940:349); however, the Däqqi Šahay traditionally claim to have been the most powerful group. The village of the Därsänäy is particular as a part of it, May Däräse, is inhab-



ited by the ↗Ǧäbärti Muslims (PollEr 123). ᶜAddi Yoḥannəs was a historical *gʷəlt* of Däbrä Śəllase of Ṣäᶜada Ǝmba (PollEr 124). Prior to the Italian occupation, the general assembly of the heads of the seven districts/clans took place in ᶜAddi Naᵓamən (Perini 1905: 59; Conti Rossini 1940: 349).

The confederacy of the seven groups was probably formed as a reaction to the strong neighbouring Bilin groups, such as Bet Gäbrä Tärqe and Bet Ṭäqʷe. The confederacy assumed a common law that united them in their political and material interests (Kemink 1991: 56; Conti Rossini 1940: 349). The law, known as Zämat (s. PollEr 124), was initially accepted by all, both the Zämat *taḥtay* ('lower Zämat'), i.e. the Š.ᶜA. proper, with the assembly seat in ᶜAwdi Bərhanu, and the Zämat *laᶜəlay* ('upper Zämat'), i.e. the inhabitants of Dämbäzan; after codification and revision of 1907 it was only followed by the Zämat *taḥtay* (cp. Yaqob Beyene 2002, 2003).

Similar to other sedentary Təgrəñña groups, the Š.ᶜA. identify themselves strongly with land ownership, which is transmitted within one lineage, from father to son. They are known to have paid tribute to the princes of Ḥamasen (the dynasty of the ↗Däqqi Täššəm).

The traditional legal code of the Š.ᶜA. (↗*Waᶜəla Šobᶜattä ᶜAnsäba zämat taḥtay*), a witness to their legal autonomy, was in continuous use locally, occasionally amended by the assemblies of elders (↗*Bayto*), even up to the 1970s (cp. ↗Customary law).

Src.: **ዋዕላ፡ ሾብዓተ፡ ኣንሰባ፡ ዘማት፡ ታሕታይ** (*Waᶜəla Šobᶜattä Ansäba zämat taḥtay*, 'The Code of the Šäwᶜattä ᶜAnsäba "lower Zämat"'), Asmära 1910 A.M. [1918 A.D.]; ZÄRᵓA-YAᶜƎQOB ƎSṬIFANOS – WÄLDÄ MARYAM ABRAHAM – GÄRIMA GÄBRÄMÄSQÄL (eds.), **ሕግን፡ ሥርዓትን፡ ናይ መሬት፡ ዓደቦ** – *Codes and Bylaws of Eritrean Regions & Counties*, s.l. [West Germany] 1990, 433–56; YAQOB BEYENE, "Diritto consuetudinario dello Šaw'atta 'Ansabā", *RSE* nuova ser. 1, 1, 2002, 85–141 (1st part), 2, 2003, 107–64 (2nd part).

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Lo statuto dello Scioattè Ansebà (Eritrea)", in: *Scritti giuridici in onore di Santi Romano*, vol. 3, Padova 1940, 345–66; LYDA FAVALI – ROY PATEMAN, *Blood, Land, and Sex: Legal and Political Pluralism in Eritrea*, Bloomington, IN 2003; GAIM KIBREAB, "Eritrean Women Refugees in Khartoum, Sudan, 1970–1990", *Journal of Refugee Studies* 8, 1, 1995, 1–25, here 5, 25; FRIEDERIKE KEMINK, *Die Tegreñña-Frauen in Eritrea: Eine Untersuchung der Kodizes des Gewohnheitsrechts 1890–1941*, Stuttgart 1991 (SKK 101), 33, 173; MULUBERHAN HAGOS, *Harmonisation of Laws Relating to Children, Eritrea*, Addis Ababa 2006 (The African Child Policy Forum), 31, 55; MunSt 257f.; RUFFILLO PERINI, *Di qua dal Marèb (Marèb-Mellasc')*, Firenze 1905, 59; PollEr 121–25 and pls. 5f. (between pp. 64-65); TESFA G. GEBREMEDHIN, *Women, Tradition and Development: A Case Study of Eritrea*, Lawrenceville, NJ 2001, 39.

Wolbert Smidt

Sawiros

S. (**ሳዊሮስ**, Arab.: Sāwīrus, fl. 11th cent.) was the Metropolitan of Ethiopia who suceeded ↗Fiqṭor, probably his uncle (his brother according to the Ethiopic ↗*Sənkəssar*, 12 *Säne*). A peculiarity in this situation was that S. seems to have been brought up in Ethiopia and later returned to ↗Egypt, where he was consecrated metropolitan by Patriarch Cyril (1077–92). Promising better treatment for Ethiopian Muslims and gifts, he received the support of *amīr* Badr al-Ǧamalī, a *wazīr* of *ḫalīfa* al-Mustanṣir, and after consecration went to Ethiopia. There, he defeated the usurper-Metropolitan Qūrīl (Cyril) ᶜAbdūn, who, after a short stay on the ↗Dahlāk island, was sent to Egypt and executed there.

According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, S. was successful in combatting the polygamous marital practices of the Ethiopian king and his subjects. Badr al-Ǧamalī was not impressed by the gifts S. sent him via the latter's brother Riǧāl in 1088. However, he was also informed that, as promised, S. had contributed to the construction of seven ↗mosques, which were immediately destroyed by the Ethiopians, and S. was imprisoned by the Ethiopian king. A delegation of Coptic bishops carrying warning letters from Cyril II and Badr al-Ǧamalī was dispatched to Egypt, but the Ethiopian king responded with a strongly worded letter as well. The Ethiopic *Sənkəssar* mentions that S. died after some eleven years in office, and his relics were transferred to Dayr Anbā Maqār in Egypt. In Ethiopia, his successor was perhaps Metropolitan ↗Giyorgis.

Src.: BudSaint 994f.; GuiSyn I, 599f.; SawHist vol. 2, part 3, 329f., 347–51 (tr.).

Lit.: CRStor 287ff.; MHAlex 152–55 (Lit.); TedEthPrel II, 1005f. (Lit.); TadTChurch 47–50, s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Sawiros

Abunä S. (**ሳዊሮስ**, birth name Tädla; b. 26. April 1876, Därra Abunä Ḥara, Bägemdər, d. 7 September 1933, Addis Abäba) was one of the first Ethiopian bishops.

He completed the first two stages of traditional ↗education in his home parish. In 1888 he left Därra Abunä Ḥara and went to Goǧǧam, to be ordained ↗*diyaqon* by the Egyptian bishop *abunä* ↗Luqas. He then entered the monastic life, taking his baptismal name Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus as his monastic name. He was further educated in different monasteries of the region.

In 1908, S. went to ↗Däbrä Tabor in the search for financial support towards a pilgrimage to ↗Jerusalem. There he met *ras* ↗Gugsa Wäle and *wäyzäro* (future *ətege*) ↗Zäwditu. He accompanied Zäwditu to Addis Abäba and remained at the court, serving the royal family. He became Zäwditu's ↗*näfs abbat* and was among the monks who performed the last ↗unction for *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in 1913.

S. was a strong supporter of Zäwditu in the ensuing political struggles. After the overthrow of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu in 1916, he was rewarded for his loyalty and appointed head of Däbrä Abunä Ḥara and Däbrä Wälättä Ṗetros (probably ↗Rema) in his home region, with the title *mälakä gännät*. In 1917, he was appointed ↗*mämhər* of ↗Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis in Addis Abäba. He stayed there until 1924, taking only a short break from his administrative services to visit Jerusalem and the Coptic monasteries in Egypt. On 26 November 1924 he was appointed head of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa with the title ↗*əččäge* and the name Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus. On 18 September 1925 he founded the Holy Synod (*Mänfäsawi guba'e*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church.

Even though in 1928 S. supported Zäwditu in her struggle with *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), he was chosen by Täfäri in 1928 as one of the five Ethiopian clerics to be consecrated bishop by the Egyptian Patriarch John XIX. On the way to Egypt, however, S. fell ill and did not reach Alexandria with the others who were ordained there in 1929. He was consecrated bishop of South Ethiopia, this time receiving the name S., on 10 January 1930, in Addis Abäba, during the Patriarch's visit upon *ras* Täfäri's invitation.

S. was therefore the first Ethiopian *əččäge* to become bishop. Until that time the office of the *əččäge* had always been the Ethiopian measure to adjust the powers of the foreign Egyptian bishops and the patriarchs.

After the death of Empress Zäwditu in 1930, S. remained in office long enough to sign the new ↗constitution promoted by the freshly crowned Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase. Afterwards, however, S. shared the fate of many of Zäwditu's faithful clerics and was expelled from the palace. He spent his remaining years in the church of Maḫdärä Səbḥat Lədäta Lämaryam, which he had built in the place granted to him by Zäwditu.

Src.: *Bərhanənna Sälam*, 15 June 1929, 23 January 1930.

Lit.: CerDLib iii, 168, 171; Haggai Erlich, *The Cross and the River. Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Nile*, London 2002, 97ff.; MahZekr 536–41; Märša Alläḵäññ, ዜና፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን (*Zena ṗaṗṗasat ityoṗyawyan*, 'History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A. D.], 100–03; Märsəʿe Hazän Wäldä Qirqos, የመጀመሪያው፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ፡ ፓትሪያርክ (*Yämäǧämmäriyaw ityoṗyawi patriyark*, 'The First Ethiopian Patriarch'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; Id., የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ የቀዳማዊ፡ ኀይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ዘውዲቱ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት (*Yäzämän tarik yäqädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase Zäwditu zämänä mängəśt*, 'The History of the Time: the Reigns of Zäwditu and Ḫaylä Śəllase I'), Addis Abäba 1938 A.M. [1945/46 A.D.], 187; Sergew Hable Sellassie – Tadesse Tamrat (eds.), *The Church of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1970, 35.

Angela Müller

Šawwāl ʿīd

Š. (two Arabic loanwords, شوال and عيد, merged according to the rules of Harari syntax; in Harari also *Šuwal id* [Abdurahman Mähammäd Qorram 1984:68]; Səlṭi: *Qalləte fəče*, 'small festival of breaking the fast' [Gutt – Hussein Mohammed Mussa 1997:194]) is the name of the festival (*ʿīd*; ↗Feasts, Islamic) at the end of the supererogatory six day period of fasting (e.g., Səlṭi: *Səddəstočča* or *Səddəsto*, Gutt – Hussein Mohammed Mussa 1997:160) during the tenth month of the Islamic lunar ↗calendar (*Šawwāl*; Wensinck in EI²) which follows the compulsory fast month of ↗*Ramaḍān*. The practice of ↗fasting these six days is based on a couple of prophetic sayings whose most accepted form is: "Who fasts *Ramaḍān* and then six days in *Šawwāl*, it will be as if he had fasted for a lifetime" (Muslim, *Kitāb aṣ-ṣiyām*, *bāb* 39, *Ḥadīṯ* 1164); "Who fasts six days after the *fiṭr*, it will be as if he had fasted the whole year" (Ibn Māǧah, *Kitāb aṣ-ṣiyām*, *bāb* 33, *Ḥadīṯ* 1786). The ideal of *ṣiyām ad-dahr* ('a lifetime fast') was and is deeply felt in mystical Islamic thought and the *Ḥadīṯ* shows the practical way to realize it.

According to the strictest canonical interpretation, the fast in *Šawwāl* does not need to follow a fixed chronological sequence: on the contrary, the faithful could theoretically fast any six days of the month to be granted the reward mentioned by Prophet ↗Muḥammad. Practically, most of the Muslims start fasting immediately after the *ʿĪd al-fiṭr* on the first of *Šawwāl*. The fasting period thus lasts from the 2nd to the 7th.

In the Islamic world, a collective celebration of the 8th of *Šawwāl* to mark the end of the six day fast is apparently attested only in Iran where a festival called *šaša* (lit., 'period of six days') has been held since medieval times (Schimmel 2001: 112).

In Ethiopia the traditional practise of fasting in *Šawwāl* is widespread but the feast to solemnize the end of this fasting period is celebrated with huge mass participation only by the ↗Harari and Səlṭe (↗Səlṭi) peoples. In Harär *Šuwal id* is more important than *ᶜĪd al-fiṭr* and really marks the end of the fast month. It is felt almost as a national feast though other ethnic groups living in the city do not normally participate in the celebrations, at least not with the same enthusiastic feelings. Drumming sessions are organized two days before Š. at the two shrines of Šullum Ahmad (in the area of Argobäri) and *āw* Akbara (in the area of Assumbäri). *Zikri* (↗*Ḏikr*) are chanted and a joyful and multicoloured crowd of both men and women meet to sing and dance. Š. is one of rare town events where males and females are allowed to participate freely: for Harari it thus represents the traditional occasion that young men legitimately use to look for a suitable fiancée among the finely dressed and well disposed females (Gibb 1996: 176ff.).

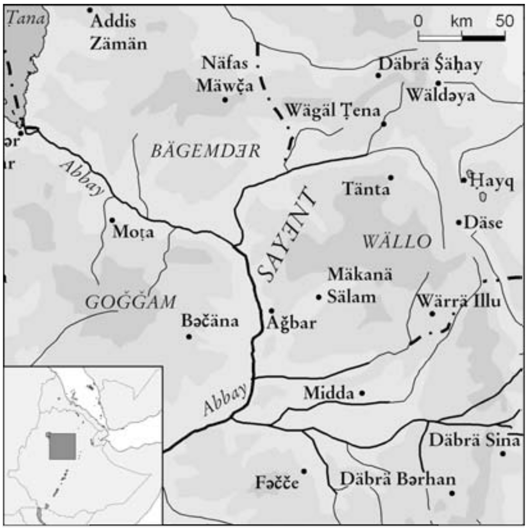
Src.: Abdurahman Mähammäd Qorram, **ጩቅቲ፡ ክታብ፡ ሀረሪ፡ አማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Ç̣uqti kətab Harä̈ri amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Haräri Amharic Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1991 A.D.], 68; Eeva H.M. Gutt – Hussein Mohammed Mussa, *Silt'e–Amharic–English Dictionary* (*with Concise Grammar by Ernst August Gutt*), Addis Ababa 1997, 160, 194.

Lit.: Camilla Gibb, *In the City of Saints*: *Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1996, 176ff.; Annemarie Schimmel, *Das islamische Jahr*, München 2001, 112; Arent Jan Wensink, "S͟hawwāl", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 9, 380.

Alessandro Gori

Sayənt

S. (**ሳይንት**, also Amhara Sayənt, Sayənt Amhara) is a small district adjacent to the ↗Abbay River, neighbouring on ↗Mäqdäla and ↗Wäläqa (in imperial Ethiopia a *wäräda* of ↗Boräna *awraǧǧa*, with Aǧbar as its capital; today in the Amhara Region). It is seen as part of the historical core of the land of the Amhara people and their culture, up to the point that ↗Lobo considered this region the first one to have been "colonized" by the Amhara who allegedly Christianized the local people, formerly "worshippers of ↗serpents" (GueCopMen 300, no. 6; cp. BTafA 423). S. was important prior to the 16th-cent. Muslim wars, hosting in particular two royal religious institutions, the churches of ↗Atronsä Maryam and ↗Tädbaba Maryam. ↗Zuramba is also one of S.'s monasteries. S. appears, though not specified, in the "Kingdom of Amhara" of de ↗Almeida (BeckHuntAlm, map), together with Tädbaba Maryam and (Amba) Legot, another historical district (a part of S., s. PerChron II, 239 and 582).



During the *ǧihād* of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), the Muslims penetrated S.; in the 17th–18th cent. S. was exposed to the Oromo raids both from ↗Wällo and from the south. In the mid-19th cent. it was governed by the local ruler *däǧǧazmač* Təkku Bərəlle, who rebelled against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II but lost, and S. was given to Təkku's sons (BTafA 579, 977). At some point S. was retrieved by the rulers of the Šäwan dynasty, becoming a strategic pass in Mənilək's struggle with *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV (GueCopMen 256). Later S. seems to have been one of Mənilək's loyal provinces (with Atronsä Maryam being used as the royal prison). For some time in the 1890s S. was governed by *ras* ↗Mängäša Atikam, and by 1895 by *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel ᶜAli (GueCopMen 429, 504). In 1917 S. was given to *ras* ↗Gugsa Wäle, and after his fall was included in 1930 into the governorate of *ras* Kaśa Ḫaylu (GebMolIyas ch. 101). Shortly before the ↗Italian war of 1935–36, S., a part of Wällo, was governed by *däǧǧazmač* Ambaṣo Gässäsä (ZerĒth 327). After the Italian occupation, S. was reduced to the status of a *wäräda*. According to the opinion widely circulating in Ethiopia and the local tradition of S., the population of the region is composed of "pure Amhara" and keeps "pure Amharic culture" (Molvaer 1995: 19). The region still remains poorly studied.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 18f., map; BTafA 203, 423, 579, 977 (Lit.), s. index; Edmond Combes – Maurice Tamisier,

Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat, Paris 1838, vol. 2, 290f.; Domenico Brielli, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo", in: CRStud 78–110, here 79 and n. 3; GebMolIyas ch. 101; *Guida* 394; GueCopMen 55 n. 5, 256, 300, 429, 504, s. index, carte VIII; HuntGeogr 72f., map 12; HSLife 57, 157; PerChron I, 309, II, 239 and 582; ZerÉth 327.
Lit.: Reidulf K. Molvaer, *Socialization and Social Control in Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 44), 19.

Denis Nosnitsin

Säyfä Arᶜad

Aṣe S.A. (**ሰይፈ፡ አርዐድ**, regnal names Nəwayä Krəstos, Qʷästantinos [Constantine]; r. 1344–71, d. 10 May 1371) was the son and successor of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. He had two brothers, Saf Sägäd and Baḥrä Asgäd, who was governor of Təgray from 1328 (Fiaccadori 1997: 51). S.A.'s mother's name is unknown.

The "short chronicles" and the commemoration in the ↗*Sənkəssar* for 21 *Ṭəqəmt* praise S.A. for his campaigns against ↗Egypt and ↗Ḥaqqaddīn II b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad of the ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty. According to this text, the Emperor marched into Egypt because of the renewed persecution against the Copts in the 1350s, culminating in the imprisonment of the Patriarch of Alexandria *abba* Marqos (*abba* Mikaᵓel in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ṭefut*, by confusion with an older episode reported in the history of the patriarchs of Alexandria and implying Nubia) by the *sulṭān*. According to the *Sənkəssar*, it was the Egyptian *sulṭān* who sent an embassy to patriarch Marqos, in order to stop S.A. from oppressing Muslims in Ethiopia. This may be a reference to events in ↗Ifat described by al-↗Maqrīzī, particularly the revolt of the son of the Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān* ↗Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad, Ḥaqqaddīn, against S.A. and the subsequent bloody battles with the Christian army.

The texts composed in a monastic context have a less positive view of S.A., whom they accused of polygamy. S.A. broke his pact with the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob by marrying three women, and thus aroused the opposition of Yaᶜəqob (consequently expelled to Egypt) together with the monks ↗Filəp̣p̣os, ↗Aron and ↗Anorewos (at least according to their 15th–16th-cent. Vitas, s., e.g., Turaiev 1908: 224, 137 [text]). Subsequently, the conflict with the monks took another turn. The quarrel with Filəp̣p̣os was about the feast of the Nativity (↗*Lədät*), to be celebrated on 29 *Taḫśaś* (Turaiev 1908: 237f., cp. 229f. [text]; Grebaut 1945: 89; RicEnbYoh III, 208ff.). The conflict with Aron resulted from his refusal to let two children of the Emperor leave his monastery (Turaiev 1908: 137f. [text]). One of these children was Princess ↗Zir Ganela (Grebaut 1928: 142ff.).

The relations between S.A. and the monks must be seen from another point of view: since the "short chronicles" speak about his visit to *abunä* ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ in Təgray, a fact possibly confirmed by the land donation preserved in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* (CRAxum 21f. [text]). S.A. also donated a Gospel to the Ethiopian community at the Qusqām monastery in Egypt (ms. Paris, BN Éth. 32, fol. 1 [ZotBNat 26]).

S.A. died in the 23rd year of mercy (KolTrad III, 23). According to a document preserved in the ↗Kəbran Gospel, his son, *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, ordered that his ↗*täzkar* be celebrated on 15 *Gənbot* (Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 4, vol. 1, 507; Getatchew Haile 1983: 67f.). This *täzkar* is recalled in some of the *Sənkəssar* versions (BudSaint 892 but not ColSyn). S.A. was succeeded by his sons ↗Nəwayä Maryam and Dawit.

Interestingly, S.A. entered Arab folklore, as the principal adversary of the popular epic hero Sayf b. Ḏī Yazan (cp. ed. Jayyusi 1999).

Src.: BassÉt 11 (text) = 100f. (tr.); BegCron 9f.; BudSaint 177ff., 892; Andre Caquot, "Aperçu préliminaire sur le *Maṣḥafa Ṭēfut* de Gechen Amba", *AE* 1, 1955, 89–108, here 91f., 94, 98f.; ColSyn VII, 120–23; CRDLib 177 n. 2; CRAxum 10, 21f. (text) = 10, 23ff. (tr.) [nos. 4, 7-8]; FotCr 91; Getatchew Haile, *The Different Collections of Nägś Hymns in Ethiopic Literature and their Contributions*, Erlangen 1983 (Oikonomia 19), 67f.; GréSyn V, 89; Lena Jayyusi (ed., tr.), *The Adventures of Sayf Ben Dhi Yazan. An Arab Folk Epic*, Bloomington, IN 1999; KolTrad III, 23; Jules Perruchon, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie", *RevSem* 1893, 177–82; MaqIlmam^{2} 9; Boris Turaiev (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum* II. *Acta ss. Aaronis et Philippi*, Louvain 1908 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 137f., 224f., 229ff., 237f. (text) = 123f., 205ff., 212, 224f. (tr.); ZotBNat 26, ms. Éth. 32.
Lit.: Enrico Cerulli, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 2, 1931, 39–101 (repr. in: *CerIslam* 136–206), here 45 n. 1; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Ripristino dell'omelia etiopica sull'arcangelo Afnin", *Miscellanea marciana* 12, 1997 [1998], 45–51, here 51 (Lit.); Sylvain Grebaut, "Note sur la princesse Zir-Gānēlā", *JA* 213, 1928, 141–45; RicEnbYoh III, 208ff.; TadTChurch 145–50, 194, 251–55; Taddesse Tamrat, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 505–08.

Marie-Laure Derat

Säyfu Śahlä Śəllase

S. (**ሰይፉ፡ ሣህለ፡ ሥላሴ**, b. ca. 1828/29, d. June 1860, Midda) was a son of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa and his wife *wäyzäro* Bäzzabbəš. Together with his elder brother ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot he was largely brought up by Ǝǧǧəgayyähu, who later became Ḫaylä Mäläkot's wife and mother of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II.

A tradition has preserved the last words directed by Śahlä Śəllase to his sons on his deathbed. Leaving his realm to Ḫaylä Mäläkot, he asked S. not to rebel against his brother, and take the governorship of the lands of his father-in-law Wäldu, i.e. ↗Märḥabete.

Throughout the 1840s–50s S. was the governor of Märḥabete and ↗Sälale. During this period, S. had several successful campaigns against the Oromo of Tuulama and Mäč̣č̣a, thus considerably expanding southwards the boundaries of his domain.

S. offered strong resistance to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II when the newly crowned Emperor tried to bring Šäwa under his control and appointed ↗Ḫaylä Mikaʾel ↗*märəd azmač*. According to some traditions, Ḫaylä Mikaʾel captured S., who only managed to free himself and flee with the help of his wife, *wäyzäro* Gäbäyanäš, daughter of another leader of anti-Tewodros resistance, Səmu Nəguś.

S. temporarily retreated to ↗Galamso in Č̣ärč̣är where he created an army of Oromo and followers of the ↗*Sost lədät* doctrine. Seeing the growth of S.'s forces, Tewodros had to participate personally in a battle against S. at ↗Ankobär in October 1859. S. offered fierce resistance for several days but was eventually defeated, and had to flee. Tewodros took ca. 500 soldiers of S.'s army prisoner and, following the advise of *abunä* ↗Sälama for treating infidels, punished them by cutting off their right hands and left feet.

S., with his remaining troops of no more than 200 persons, retreated to the Oromo area Yettu, in Č̣ärč̣är. He tried to find asylum in Harärge but the ruler, Amər, did not want to shelter S. S. then tried to hide in Märḥabete, but the representative (*məsläne*) he had left there, *ato* Kəbrät, rebelled and claimed control over the area. For a while, S. was sheltered by the ↗Wäläqa governor Ǝmaro ʿAli.

S. tried to regain control over Märḥabete, but was killed by Kəbrät at ↗Midda. He was buried there on 15 *Säne*. His son ↗Mäšäša Säyfu, a close associate of Mənilək, received the governorate of Märḥabete in the 1870s.

Src.: BTafA 555ff., 577, 769; CecZeila I, 247f., 252, 254–59; HarAeth II,242,III,3f.;AWTarik 131,137–41;GueCopMen 96f.; IsKrapf 320; LitTheod 46 (text) = ZanLitTheo 180 (tr.); MonVidTeo 20f. (text) = 24ff. (tr.).

Lit.: KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813–1889*, London 1975, s. index; EgeClass 105, 168, 178; RubTew 78.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Šayḫ

Š. (Arab., شيخ, pl. *šuyūḫ* and *mašāʾiḫ*; lit.: 'white-haired', 'old man'; fem. *šayḫa*; as a loanword in [Leslau 1990:366]: Amh.: **ሼህ**, *šeh*, also **ሼኽ**, *šeḵ* [KaneDic 602, 655]; Tgn.: **ሸኽ**, *šäḵ*; Tgr.: **ሸይክ**, *šäyk*; Harari: **ሼኽ**, *šeḵ* [Abdurahman Mähammäd Qorram 1984 A.M.:70]; Gurage: **ሼኀ**, *šeḫ*, also **ሻህ**, *šah*; Səlṭe: **ሻ**, *ša* [Gutt – Hussein Mohammed Mussa 1977:165]); Orom.: *šeeki* [Hinsene Mekuria 2005:521]) is a respectful title used all over the Islamic world, and the Horn of Africa in particular, for outstanding and honourable individuals. The category of people which can be addressed as Š. is wide. It includes chiefs of tribes, clans, families or guilds, trade, professional leagues as well as heads of and teachers in educational institutions (Qurʾānic schools, *madrasa*, *dār al-ḥadīṯ*, *dār al-ʿulūm* etc.). More recently, in a seemingly less motivated usage, Š. has been attributed to any respectable person occupying a socially, politically or economically high position (e.g., oil tycoons or Gulf area rulers) and to any renowned learned man. Many times "Š." is used in a *status constructus* with other words to clarify its meaning (e.g. *šayḫ al-qabīla*, 'head of a tribe'; *šayḫ al-balad*, 'head of a town, mayor'; *šayḫ al-iqrāʾ*, a teacher expert in Qurʾānic reading).

It is, however, in the field of Islamic mysticism that the use of the epithet Š. is most significant. In the ↗Islamic brotherhoods Š. is the title given to the spiritual master who has completed his mystical education and is thus able to teach the novices and to become their model and guide. The *šayḫ aṭ-ṭarīqa* (*šayḫ as-saǧǧāda* when he is the successor of the eponymous founder) is the outstanding representative of a brotherhood who has completely absorbed its tenets and rules and is entitled to lead it. The strong spiritual power of the mystical Š. makes him a ↗holy man (↗*Walī*) while at the same time his learning qualifies him as a *ʿālim* (s. Geoffroy in EI^2). Likewise, most Ethiopian Muslim learned men are commonly addressed as Š. (e.g., ↗Muḥammad Walī; ↗Muḥammad Ṯānī Ḥabīb). Holy men are almost invariably called Š. (the respectful pl. form *šehočč* is used, e.g., in the case of the venerated Gurage holy man *sayyid* [Muḥammad] Budallā b. Bušrā Abbā Rāmūz al-Abrītī.

In the written sources, Š. is mentioned as the title carried by the Muslim leader Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad (depicted as a kind of miracle performing holy man) who in 1299 fought against *nəguś* Wədəm Räʿad (Cerulli 1943:280–84). In the army of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, people called Š. were present and took part in battles (*šayḫ* Dāwūd, BassHist I: 37, BassHist II: 87; *šayḫ* Dāwā(h), BassHist I:57, 219, BassHist II: 119, 316; *šayḫ* Zammāla [var. Zammāka], BassHist I: 37, 117, BassHist II: 87, 194). *Qāḍīs* in Harär were also called Š. (Cerulli 1931: 53, 57). From a political point of view, even if *šayḫ* ↗Abādir was also a religious leader of Harär (Wagner 1975: 287), there is no evidence to prove the use of Š. as the title of an administrative rank in Ethiopia as was the case for some time in ↗Mogadishu and ↗Berbera (Fiaccadori 1989).

Finally, Š. is the title given to Muslim ↗*zar* (e.g., *šəh* Anbäso, *šəh* Ǝbabo) and to Muslim *zar* healers (Rodinson 1967: 27, n. 7 et passim).

Src.: ABDURAHMAN MÄHAMMÄD QORRAM, **ጩቅቲ፡ ክታብ፡ ሀረሪ፡ አማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Çuqti kətab Harӓri amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Haräri Amharic Dictionary'), Addis Ababa 1984 A.M. (1991 A.D.); BassHist I, 37, 57, 117, 219; II, 87, 119, 194, 316; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 53, 57 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 152, 158]; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE*, 3, 1943, 273–94, here 280–84 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 266–69]; EEVA H.M. GUTT – HUSSEIN MOHAMMED MUSSA, *Silt'e–Amharic–English Dictionary* (*with Concise Grammar by Ernst August Gutt*), Addis Ababa 1997; HINSENE MEKURIA, *Galmee Jechoota Afaan Oromoo–Amaaraa–Inglizi*, Addis Ababa 2005; KaneDic 602, 655; WOLF LESLAU, *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic*, Wiesbaden 1990; MAXIME RODINSON, *Magie, medicine, possession à Gondar*, Paris – La Haye 1967.

Lit.: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Arba' Rukun. Note sull'ordinamento repubblicano di Mogadiscio nel medioevo", in: *Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Bovini*, Ravenna 1989, 237–74; ERIC GEOFFROY, "Shaykh", in: *EI²* vol. 9, 397; EWALD WAGNER, "Imamat und Sultanat in Harar. Ein Beitrag zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen religiösem und weltlichem Herrschaftsanspruch in islamischen Randgebieten", *Saeculum* 26, 1975, 283–92.

Alessandro Gori

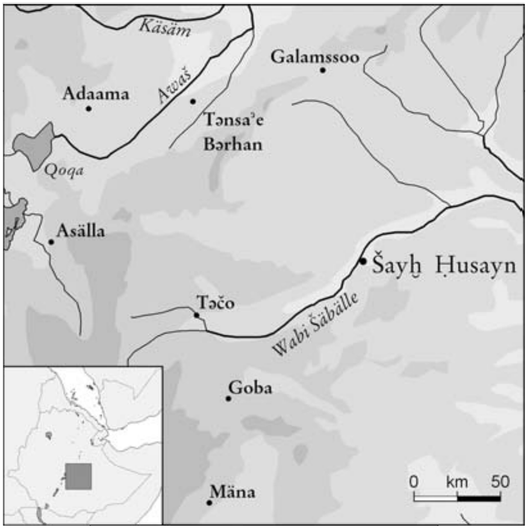
Šayḫ Ḥusayn

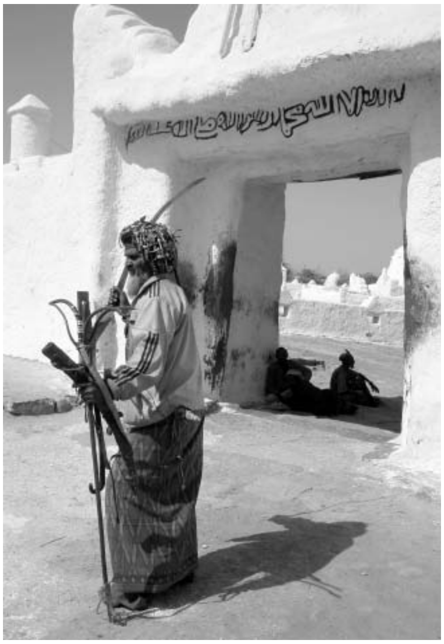
Š.Ḥ. is the place of the shrine (↗*Zāwiya*) of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn, situated in an area called Anaağina or Dirree Šek Huseen (Orom. 'plain of *šayḫ* Ḥusayn') in ↗Bale, ca. 150 km north-east of the town of ↗Robee, at ca. 1,500 m A.S.L. It lies on the edge of a plain above the Qačamsare River, an affluent of the upper course of the ↗Wabi Šäbälle. Topographically, this place is at a juncture between the ↗Oromo highlands and the Ogaadeen-Somali lowlands, and has contributed to spiritual connections between these peoples. In the contemporary administrative framework of Ethiopia, Š.Ḥ. lies in the Gasära-Gololča *wäräda* of the Bale zone (Oromiyaa *kəlləl*). A new gravel road was constructed in 2007 to connect Š.Ḥ. to Mičeta (in West ↗Harärge zone), 170 km to the north.

Š.Ḥ. is the most venerated holy place of ↗Islam in south-east Ethiopia. Twice a year it attracts huge crowds of pilgrims, not only from surrounding ↗Arsi–Oromo areas, but also from more distant regions in Ethiopia and even from Somalia, Djibouti and Northern Kenya.

One of the ↗pilgrimages takes place at the same time as the great pilgrimage to ↗Mecca, during the Islamic month of *Ḏū l-ḥiğğa* up to the celebration of the feast of sacrifice (*ᶜĪd al-aḍḥā*). This parallel with Mecca, corroborated by many other analogies, led authors and concerned communities to consider Š.Ḥ. a local substitute for the *ḥağğ*, or as a "Mecca for the poor".

The other pilgrimage to Š.Ḥ., considered the main one, is performed to commemorate the anniversary of the saint's death. Its date is a matter of confusion between authors. Some incorrectly claim it takes place on a fixed day according to the Oromo solar ↗calendar, in February or in August. Most authors suppose that it corresponds to a day of the Islamic calendar. It is often said to happen during the month of *Rabīᶜ al-awwal*, when the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad (cp. ↗*Mawlid*) takes place. According to informants and through comparison between actual pilgrimages, it becomes clear that the main ceremonies at Š.Ḥ. are performed on the 15th (i.e. the full moon, Orom. *goobana*) of *Ğumādā l-āḫira*, which is called the month of *zaraa* or *zahra* by pilgrims (from Arab. *ziyāra*, 'pilgrimage' or *zahra*, 'flower'?).





The pilgrimage site of Šayḫ Husayn, with the local leading *šayḫ* in the foreground, carrying the typical *ulee* stick of the Šayḫ Husayn pilgrims, a whip and other symbolically important items; photo 2007, courtesy of Denis Nosnitsin

Pilgrims who proceed to Š.Ḥ. are called *garibaa* (from Arab.: *ġarib,* 'foreigner, guest') or *ǧiila* (Orom. 'pilgrim') or *ǧaalallo* (Orom. 'devotees'). They travel as ascetics in groups (men and women together), living from ↗alms and singing hymns (called *baaroo*; Andrzejewski 1972, 1974; Baxter 1987). As a rallying sign, they carry Y-shaped sticks (Orom.: *ulee* or *ḍanqe*), the branches of which are curved outwards and down. *Ulee* is also the name given to the permanent keepers of the sanctuary who lead the ceremonies.

Rituals performed at Š.Ḥ. follow a course determined by the sacred geography of the place. Before entering the sanctuary, pilgrims gather on the hill of Waalenso dominating the plain of Annaaǧina, where they sing songs in praise of Š.Ḥ. The beginning of the sacred area is marked by two broad ↗sycamore trees. The sanctuary itself is enclosed by stone walls. At the entrance, on the right of the door, there is a sacred black stone that is kissed by those entering (the analogy with the *haǧar al-aswad* ['The Black Stone'] in the Kaᶜba of ↗Mecca is obvious). Devotion is focussed on the domed mausoleum (Arab. *qubba*) of the saint. At the time of ceremonies, it is draped with green and red curtains. The tomb is in a crypt surrounded by four stone columns. It is reached through a low door. Inside devotees usually take some of the dust of the sacred lime of the floor and the walls (Orom. *ǧawara*, probably from Arab. *ǧawhara*, 'precious stone'), a substance they swallow, rub their body with or bring back home, as it is considered to be endowed with healing properties. Next to this shrine, the second most important part of the sanctuary is the mosque dedicated to ᶜAbdalqādir al-Ǧīlānī, the Baghdadi founder of the *Qādirīya* ↗Islamic brotherhood, the most widespread throughout the Horn of Africa. Outside the walls, there are two smaller *qubba* for the father and the mother of the saint, which are also honoured by pilgrims. Within the sanctuary, the pond of Haroo Lukkuu is fed by a spring, allegedly discovered through a miracle by the saint. It is also called *zamzam*, again by analogy with Mecca. Its water is considered holy and to have healing powers. Outside the sanctuary there are two rainwater ponds (called Imaro and Dinkiro) for more ordinary use. On the slopes of Qačamsare pilgrims visit a series of caves and other places linked to miracles worked by the saint. In the "cave of the snake", stone formations are seen as a python petrified by the saint. The "cave of the horsemen" is where his enemies were turned into stone. In the "cave of honey", walls of black stone ooze water. In the "cave of the sinners" white pebbles are collected which are then thrown into the "valley of sins" for the sake of purification. In the "cave of herbs", pilgrims make a vow while pulling a sprig of grass.

Devotion to *šayḫ* Ḥusayn probably goes back to the 13th cent., when this saint was (supposedly) the agent of the propagation of Islam in ancient ↗Bale. However, the pilgrimage to Š.Ḥ., in its present form, began to take shape at the end of the 18th cent., when *amīr* ↗ᶜAbdaššakur b. Yūsuf of Harär built the mosque dedicated to ᶜAbdalqādir al-Ǧīlānī, on the holy site of the tomb of *šayḫ* Ḥusayn, probably in order to consolidate the practice of Islam throughout the Oromo populations. A Somali *šayḫ*, *āw* Muḥammad, was put in charge of that mosque, which became the centre of diffusion of the *Qādirīya* in the region (Braukämper 1989:121). Later, it became the meeting place of other brotherhoods, particularly the followers of *šayḫ Aḥmad b. Idūs*, to which the custodians of the sanctuary adhere. Because of its very deep roots and through its diffusion in vast ethnic and religious networks, the shrine of Š.Ḥ. has long been a melting pot of Islamic practices and local systems of belief drawing mainly on Sidaama, Oromo and Somali cultures. Several authors (CerStud II; Braukämper 1989; Abbas Hajji 1991) consider the pilgrimage to Š.Ḥ. to be an Islamized version of older Oromo pilgrimages to the ↗*abbaa muuda*, the high-priest of the Oromo religion. This hypothesis is confirmed by many elements in the rituals performed by pilgrims. However, it is not known to what extent Oromo traditional religion had been moulded by the influence of Islamic societies of ancient Bale before the 16th cent.

Src.: Bogumil W. Andrzejewski, "Allusive Diction in Galla Hymns in Praise of Sheikh Hussein of Bale", *African Language Studies* 13, 1972, 1–31; Id., "Sheikh Hussen of Bali in Galla Oral traditions", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 463–80; Robert du Bourg de Bozas, *Mission scientifique de la mer Rouge à l'Atlantique à travers l'Afrique tropicale (octobre 1900 – mai 1903)*, Paris, 1906, 220ff.; CerStud II, 1–37 [repr. CerIslam 329–63]; Eshetu Setegn, *Shaikh Hussein of Bale and His Followers*, Senior Essay in History, Haile Selassie I University 1973; Charles Birch-Iensen, *Ett okänt Mecka. Forskning och Äventyr i Etiopien*, Stockholm 1960; Arthur Donaldson Smith, *Through Unknown African Countries. The First Expedition from Somaliland to Lake Lamu*, London – New York 1897, 56ff.

Lit.: Abbas Haji, "Le rôle du culte du chaikh Hussein dans l'islam des Arssi", *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara* 5, 1991, 21–42; Paul Trevor William Baxter, "Some Observations on the Short Hymns Sung in Praise of Shaikh Nur Hussein of Bale", in: Ahmed el Shahi (ed.), *The Diversity of the Muslim Community*, London 1987, 139–52; Ulrich Braukämper, "The Sanctuary of Shaykh Husayn and the Oromo–Somali Connections in Bale (Ethiopia)", *Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter* 1, 1989, 108–33; Enrico Cerulli, "Le popolazioni del bacino superiore della Uabi Scebelli", in: Luigi Amedeo di Savoia-Aosta, *La esplorazione dello Uabi-Uebi Scebeli dalle sue sorgenti nella Etiopia Meridionale alla Somalia Italiana (1928–1929)*, Milano 1932, 133–81 [repr. in CerSom, vol. 2, 123–70]; Alessandro Gori, "First Studies on the Texts of Shaykh Husayn's Hagiographies", *RSO* 70, 1–2, 1996 [1997], 53–82; *Guida* 468; Jeylan W. Hussein, "The Functions of African Oral Arts: the Arsi–Oromo Oral Arts in Focus", *African Study Monograph* 26, 1, 2005, 15–58; Elisa Pelizzari, "L'Islam popolare in Etiopia. Il pellegrinaggio di shaikh Husayn", *Africa* (Roma) 48, 3, 1993, 382–95; Alain Rouaud, "Shaykh Husayn", in: *EI*² vol. 9, 398–99; Ioan Myrddin Lewis, "The Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) and the Legacy of Sheikh Hussein of Bale", in: *PICES* 5, 409–15; Oskar Neumann, "Von der Somali-Küste durch Süd-Äthiopien zum Sudan", *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 37, 1902, 7–32; Madeleine Schneider, "Sur la route de Šayh Husayn du Bale (Ethiopie méridionale): une inscription en arabe", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 92–101; TrIslam 253ff.

Eloi Ficquet

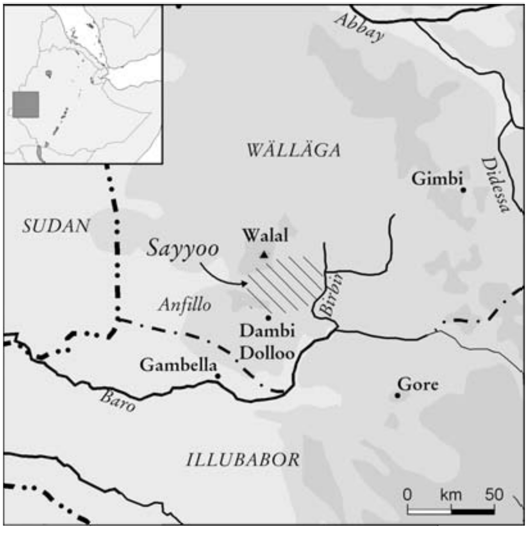
Säyṭan ↗Devil

Sayyoo

S., according to ↗Oromo oral tradition, is the name of one of three clans of the ↗Mäč̣č̣a who crossed the River ↗Gibe and settled in southwestern ↗Wälläga at the beginning of the 18th cent. Upon arrival in the region, the S. occupied the area stretching from Tulluu Walal to the ↗Anfillo forest near the River ↗Baro. Since then, the name has come to refer to both the people, known collectively as the *Ǧaᵓan Sayyoo* or the six sub-clans of S. (Daalle, Laaloo, Garǧeeda, Haw, Halaku and Galaan), and the geographical area where they live, today also designated as Dambi Dolloo. S. is also the name of a *wäräda* today.

Until the 1880s the settlement S. was a small Saturday market place frequented by farmers from the surrounding region which also served as a buffer zone between four local strong men who had emerged as regional leaders as the Oromo ↗*gadaa* government declined (cp. ↗*Mooti*). These were ↗Ǧootee Tulluu of ↗Gidaamii (later of ↗Qällǝm), Abbaa Gimbi of Busasse (Anfillo kingdom), Abbaa Dasa of Galaan, and Abbaa Gossa of Burayuu. After consolidating their power in their respective territories, the men started to expand towards the buffer zone in their quest to gain control of the marketplace and the trade at S. When Mǝnilǝk's general ↗Gobäna Dač̣i appeared in the region in 1886, Ǧootee, who tried to expand his power over all of S., submitted to him without resistance. In exchange, he achieved autonomy for his domain and was given some 2,000 rifles. This changed the balance of power in the region in favour of Ǧootee who was then able to establish full control over S. in 1886.

Ǧootee's moves coincided with growing ↗Mahdist involvement and British presence in the region. The British occupied the Sudan in 1898 and decided to draw western Ethiopia, which they viewed as potentially more profitable



than the Sudan itself, into their economic orbit. During the Anglo–Ethiopian boundary delimitation talks (1902), Britain sought to establish a commercial enclave in Ethiopia. In 1904 *aṣe* Mənilək II agreed to allow the British use of a trading post as an inland free-port. In 1907 the post was established at the town of ↗Gambella south of S. and soon emerged as a prosperous commercial entrepôt in south-western Ethiopia. This accelerated the growth of the town of S. Much of the trade from there, which, prior to the establishment of the Gambella post, was oriented toward the Sheikdom of ↗Beni Šangul to the north, quickly shifted south towards Gambella.

In the same year as the inland port was established, ↗Greek entrepreneurs from the Sudan began to arrive to take advantage of the commercial opportunity that the natural resources of the region offered. Within one year, about 30 Greek nationals settled in S. to collect such commodities as rubber, wax, ↗coffee, ↗ivory, ↗leopard skins, and civet (↗Zibeth) for forwarding to Europe via the Sudan and Egypt. In exchange, items such as cotton cloth, ↗salt, metal wares, and soap were imported. These goods were transported by human porters, a job opportunity which attracted many local people. In addition to initiating a lucrative trade in S., the Greeks introduced such innovations as alcohol distillation, soap-making, grain mills, oil-squeezing plants, cheese processing businesses, bakeries, coffee processing mills, brick factories, and hotel services. During his tour of S. in 1912, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu confirmed Dambi Dolloo as the name of the town.

In 1918 Ǧootee Tulluu died. The appointment of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəˀel as the first Amhara ruler ended the autonomy of Ǧootee's domain. In 1919 Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəˀel invited American missionaries from the Sudan to enter S. (↗Missions). In the following years, they built the first hospital as well as modern schools. The Italians who occupied S. in 1936 built an airstrip, roads, and new buildings. After liberation, S. continued to develop as a major urban centre. Apart from the settlers who came to the area as soldiers with *däǧǧazmač* Bərru, seasonal labourers, small entrepreneurs and government workers migrated to S. Yemeni Arabs became the dominant owners of small restaurants and shops. Municipal administration began in earnest in 1955 and utility services soon followed. The first public elementary and secondary schools were inaugurated in the late 1950s.

Src.: THOMAS A. LAMBIE, *A Doctor Without A Country*, New York – London – Edinburgh 1939.

Lit.: ADMASU ETAFA, *The Greek Community in Qellem, 1904–1942*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1982; ALTAYE TADESSE, *The Historical Survey of Dembi Dollo, 1880–1941*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1983; BAHRU ZEWDE, "An Overview and Assessment of Gambella Trade (1904–1935)", *IJAHS* 20, 1, 1987, 75–94; ID., *A Biography of Dejzmach Jote Tulu, Abba Iggu, 1855–1918*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1970; NEGASO GIDADA, *History of the Sayyoo Oromoo of Southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730 to 1886*, Addis Ababa 2001.

Ezekiel Gebissa

Schimper, Wilhelm

Georg Wilhelm Heinrich S. (in Amh. sources: **ሽምብር**, *ato* Šəmbər; b. 2 August 1804, Lauf/Pegnitz, d. 10 October 1878, ᶜAdwa) was a renowned German botanist, who spent more than 40 years in Ethiopia collecting specimens of plants, mainly in ↗Səmen, the ↗Täkkäze area and the region around ↗ᶜAdwa. S. discovered more new African plant species than possibly any other botanist, and numerous plant species bear the epithet *schimperi*/*schimperiana*.

S. was the son of the engineer and teacher Friedrich Ludwig Heinrich S. and Margaretha Baroness von Furthenbach. From 1828 to 1830 S. studied natural sciences in Munich and entered into contact with ↗Rüppell. In 1834, after a first expedition to Algiers, S. published his thesis under the auspices of the botanist Christian Ferdinand Friedrich Hochstetter in Esslingen, and then proceeded to Alexandria. After research in Egypt and other regions he arrived in ↗Massawa in January 1837. In Təgray *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam allowed him to settle in ᶜAdwa. Between October 1837 and May 1840 S. undertook various expeditions, whose results made him a famous botanist.

Financial problems of his sponsors in 1842 forced him to remain in Ethiopia, and he was appointed governor of ↗Ǝntiç̣ç̣o (with 18 village districts). S. also acted as a political advisor and translator for Wəbe, and on 22 April 1843 married the Catholic convert *wäyzäro* Mərṣit in ᶜAdwa (b. ca. 1823/28, ᶜAddi Mäᶜasärät, d. 5 February 1869, ᶜAdwa), who belonged to the landed gentry and who was related to the diplomatic envoy *abba* ↗Ǝmnätu (RubActa II, 223). He had three children with her: Yäšimmäbet Dästa (b. 3 December 1843), Ṭaytu or Ṣ́äḥaytu (baptized 15 December 1845) and *ləǧ* Ǝngədašät (b. 1847, also known as Wilhelm S. junior), the later engineer, and interpreter for the Italians in Eritrea (Smidt

Wilhelm Schimper (seated, left, with white beard), with his family members (his wife seated, right; daughters with children in front of him), among other captives of Tewodros II just after their liberation by the Napier expedition (detail); photo 1868, from the collection of Wallraff-Richartz-Museum, Agfa-Fotorama, Köln

2005: 209f.; for dates s. de Jacobis 2000: 453, 565, 724). Just before his marriage, S. was converted to Catholicism, on 16 April 1843, by de ↗Jacobis, and thereafter furthered the establishment of Catholics in his governorate, especially in ᶜAddi Paša, Ǝntiččo and his second seat Ambasəya. He did not practise this faith, however, after ↗Tewodros II took power (Herbert 1867: 68; de Jacobis 2003: 1500–03).

In June 1850, S. and his collaborator ↗Zander were asked by Wəbe to build a palace and a church, ↗Däräsge Maryam in Səmen, near the village of ↗Däräsge. The buildings, for which S. also supervised the floral decoration of the murals (Markham 1869:64), were finished five years later. Rich botanical collections were also made, sent to Alexander Braun and ↗Schweinfurth, and to the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, for which S. had a standing order.

After the Battle of Däräsge, 1855, Kaśa Ḫaylu was crowned in S.'s Däräsge Maryam as *aṣe* Tewodros II. S., as a former protégé of Wəbe, lost his governor-post, retreated to ᶜAdwa, and his scientific work was blocked by the new ruler. In 1861 the Protestant missionary ↗Bender married S.'s daughter Yäšimmäbet in ᶜAdwa, and in 1863 the missionary ↗Kienzlen married S.'s youngest daughter Ṣ́äḥaytu in ↗Gafat, where, by order of Tewodros, they all had to stay (also after Kienzlen's death). There, S. worked out his topographic maps of Bägemdər and Təgray (Sadebeck 1869), and was later transferred, with all the other captives including his children, to ↗Mäqdäla; among them was a third daughter called Təbleṭ (later married to the merchant Ermyas Kaśa in ᶜAdwa), seemingly from a second wife in Däräsge Maryam. They were released only on 12 April 1868 by the ↗Napier expedition.

S. spent the last years of his life in ᶜAdwa. He continued to write reports on Ethiopia to the German Consulate in Alexandria and other institutions, e.g., on the coronation ceremony of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV; or on *aṣe* Yoḥannəs's maltreatment of Ṣäḥaytu, then the wife of the pretender-to-the-throne ↗Kaśa Golǧa. S.'s last surveys were published in 1877. In his last known letter, of 8 May 1878, he described famine in Təgray. S. had at least one more child from a marriage after 1869 and, allegedly, further from other relations.

Src.: Giustino de Jacobis, *Scritti*, vol. 1: *Diario*, Roma 2000, index; vol. 2: *Epistolario*, Roma 2003, index; Clements Robert Markham, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 64; Achille Richard, *Tentamen Florae Abyssinicae*, Paris 1847–51; RubActa I, 66, II, 223, III 165; Anton Sadebeck, "Skizze und Umgebung von Axum und Adoa", *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 1869, Tafel V, Karte VI; Wilhelm Schimper, "Wilhelm Schimpers Reise von Adoa in Abyssinien an den Tacazé und in das Semengebirge, vom November 1839 bis Mai 1840", *Die Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* 33, 34, 36 und Beilagen, 1843; Id., "Meine Gefangenschaft in Abessinien", *Petermann's geographische Mittheilungen* 8, 1868, 294–98; Id., *In Abyssinien*, ms. 1868 [BritLib 28505, appendix: maps and drawings, ms. 28506]; Id., "Neues aus Abessinien", *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 7, 1872, 270–72; Id., "Nachrichten Dr. Schimper's über die gegenwärtigen Zustände Abyssiniens", *ibid.* 364–66; Id., "Die geologischen und physikalischen Verhältnisse des Districtes Arrho und der Salzhandel in Abyssinien", *ibid.* 1877, 109–16.

Lit.: Annie Betts – Tony Betts, *A Princess in the Family: the Story of Georg Wilhelm Schimper and his Descendants from 1804 to 1968*, Burgess Hill 2010; Jan Bevington Gillett, "W.G. Schimper's Botanical Collecting Localities in Ethiopia", *Kew Bulletin* 27, 1, 1972, 115–28; Hans Götz, *Georg Wilhelm Schimper der Abessinier, Auszüge aus dem Schimperschen Nachlaß*, Schwetzingen 1990 (Schriften des Stadtarchivs 14; Lit.); Gerd Gräber, "Georg Wilhelm Schimpers abessinische Zeit (1873–1878)", *Verein für Naturkunde Mannheim* 6, 1999; Id., "Die befreiten Geiseln Kaiser Tewodros' II, Aus dem Photoalbum der Royal Engineers 1867/68", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 159–82 (Lit.); Olov Hedberg – Ib Friis – E. Persson (eds.), *Flora of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, vol. 8, Addis Ababa – Uppsala 2009; Elizabeth Herbert, *Abyssinia and its Apostle*, London 1867, 68; Wolbert Smidt, "'Annäherung Deutschlands und Aethiopiens': Unbekannte Briefe des Kaisers Menelik II. und seines Gesandten 1907–08",

in: Stefan Brüne – Heinrich Scholler (eds.), *Auf dem Weg zum modernen Äthiopien, Festschrift für Bairu Tafla*, Münster 2005, 197–224 (Lit.).

Gerd Gräber

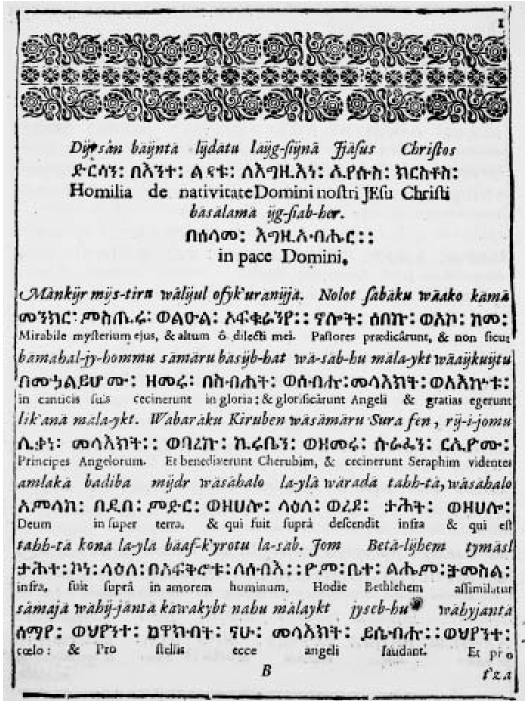
Schlichting, Christoph

S. (d. after 1729) was a 17th–18th-cent. German Orientalist and one of the better-known students of Hiob ↗Ludolf, though little is known about his life. Two dates are certain: he entered the Academic Gymnasium in Hamburg in 1676, and wrote a note in a manuscript dating from 1729 (Uhlig 1983 A: 76; SixTana III, 456). He was a student of Esdras Edzard in Hamburg, with whom also Ludolf maintained good relations (Behrmann 1902: 46).

S.'s work as scribe and translator for Ludolf helped preserve some of the latter's original correspondence up to the present day.

S. mastered Gəʿəz to such a level that he could write short poems in this language, which he dedicated to such personalities as the theologians Heinrich Opitz and Kaspar Hermann Sandhagen (Behrmann 1902: 49).

The *Homilia Aethiopica de nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, published by Theodor ↗Petraeus twice in 1659–60, was republished in 1691 by S. using the Ethiopic types cut by Johann Georg ↗Nissel and Theodor ↗Petraeus (Wijnman 1960: xxv). A Latin translation and a description of the Ethiopic characters was provided. The volume also contains ch. VIII of Ludolf's *Theologia Aethiopica*, the *De Ministerio Ecclesiastico* written by ↗Gorgoryos. According to Behrmann (1902: 49), S. composed an *Obtestatio supplex de lingua et studio aethiopico propagando* in 1693. In 1697 Ludolf reports that S. planned to publish "something Ethiopian", but there is no further evidence to that (ibid.). Still in 1697 S. taught at a "Collegium Aethiopicum" in Hamburg (Schröder 1873: 560).



1

Dyrsân bäynta lydatu laÿg-ſiynâ Jjâſus Chriſtos
ድርሳን፡ በእንተ፡ ልደቱ፡ ለእግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡
Homilia de nativitate Domini noſtri JEſu Chriſti
bäsalama ÿg-ſiab-her.
በሰላመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡፡
in pace Domini.

Mânkÿr mÿs-tiru wâlÿul ofyk'uraniÿa. Nolot ſabäku wäako kamä
መንክር፡ ምስጢሩ፡ ወልዑል፡ አፍቁራንየ፡፡ ኖሎት፡ ሰበኩ፡ ወአኮ፡ ከመ፡
Mirabile myſterium ejus, & altum ô dilecti mei. Paſtores prædicârunt, & non ſicut
bamahal-jy-hommu sämäru basÿb-hat wä-sab-hu mala-ykt wäaÿkuÿtu
በመኀልይሆሙ፡ ዘመሩ፡ በስብሐት፡ ወሰብሑ፡ መላእክት፡ ወአእኰቱ፡
in canticis ſuis cecinerunt in gloria; & glorificârunt Angeli & gratias egerunt
lik'anä mala-ykt. Wabaräku Kiruben wäsämäru Sura fen, rÿ-i-jomu
ሊቃነ፡ መላእክት፡፡ ወባረኩ፡ ኪሩቤን፡ ወዘመሩ፡ ሱራፌን፡ ርእዮሙ፡
Principes Angelorum. Et benedixerunt Cherubim, & cecinerunt Seraphim videntes
amlaka badiba mÿdr wäsäbalo la-ylä wärada tabb-ta, wäsabalo
አምላከ፡ በደበ፡ ምድር፡ ወዘሀሎ፡ ላዕለ፡ ወረደ፡ ታሕተ፡ ወዘሀሎ፡
Deum in ſuper terra, & qui fuit ſuprà deſcendit infra & qui eſt
tabb-ta kona la-yla bäaf-k'yrotu la-sab. Jom Betä-lÿhem tymasl
ታሕተ፡ኮነ፡ላዕለ፡በአፍቅሮተ፡ሰብእ፡፡ዮም፡ቤተ፡ልሔም፡ትመስል፡
infra, fuit ſuprà in amorem hominum. Hodie Bethlehem aſſimilatur
sämaja wabÿ-janta kawakybt nabu mälaykt jyseb-hu wabyjanta
ሰማየ፡ ወህየንተ፡ ከዋክብት፡ ናሁ፡ መላእክት፡ ይሴብሑ፡፡ ወህየንተ፡
cœlo: & Pro ſtellis ecce angeli laudant. Et pro
B
ſza

Incipit of Schlichting's *Homilia Aethiopica de Nativitate Domini* of 1691, fol. 5r; photo 2010, courtesy of Anne Koevel

↗Incunabula

Src.: Johann Moller, *Johannis Molleri Flensburgensis Cimbria Literata …*, vol. 1, Hafniae 1744, 593; Christoph Schlichting, *Homilia Aethiopica de nativitate domini nostri Jesu Christi, ante annos multos ad verbum Latine versa … addita etiam literarum Aethiopicarum genuinae lectionis explicatione …*, Hamburg 1691; Id., *Obtestatio supplex de lingua et studio aethiopico propagando*, Hamburg 1691; Wilhelm Sillem, *Die Matrikel des Akademischen Gymnasiums in Hamburg 1613–1883*, Hamburg 1891, 52; SixTana III, 210, 456, 484.

Lit.: (Georg) Behrmann, *Hamburgs Orientalisten*, Hamburg 1902, 46, 49; Alfred Rahlfs, "Nissel und Peträus, ihre äthiopischen Textausgaben und Typen", *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse 1917*, Berlin 1918, 267–348, here 336ff., 340–43; Hans Schröder, *Lexikon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller*, vol. 6, Hamburg 1873, 560; Siegbert Uhlig, *Hiob Ludolfs "Theologia Aethiopica"*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 14A/B), A 30, 35, B 181, 193, 194 (ill.), 203ff.; Henrik Frederik Wijnman, *An Outline of the Development of Ethiopian Typography in Europe*, Leiden 1960, ix–xxviii, here xxv (repr. from *Books on the Orient*).

Sophia Dege – Siegbert Uhlig

Schlobies, Hans Martin

S. (b. 15 March 1904, Heydekrug, Memelland, now Lithuania, d. January 1950) was a German Orientalist. He finished his school education at the grammar-sch ool (*humanistisches Gymnasium*) of Insterburg in 1922. S. started his university studies in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad), but soon moved to Berlin, where he studied Oriental languages, including Gəʿəz and Amharic. His main teachers were the assyriologist Bruno Meissner and Eugen ↗Mittwoch. In Berlin S. was promoted to Doctor of Philosophy in 1925 with a thesis on the Akkadian weather god (Schlobies 1925).

In autumn 1925 S. worked as a private tutor for a German family in Ethiopia. Later, he was employed by a German firm in Addis Abäba, and finally he worked as a dragoman (interpreter) at the German Legation there (1927–28). During his stay in Ethiopia S. collected rich linguistic and historical material, especially on local Muslim peoples. He also had the opportunity to visit Yemen.

Back in Germany, S. received several research scholarships from the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* (1928–30 and 1932–34). The last one enabled him to visit Yemen again. There he had access to the Ancient South Arabian artefacts of the private collection of *imām* Yaḥyā. S.'s scientific interest now became centred on Ancient South Arabia. His most important work in this field is, together with Eugen Mittwoch, the edition of the Ancient South Arabian inscriptions at the Ethnological Museum of Hamburg (Mittwoch – Schlobies 1936–38).

S. worked as a lecturer at the Seminar for Oriental Languages at the University of Berlin (1930–31 and 1934). He taught Ethiopian languages, mainly Amharic and Oromo. He also studied law, apparently preparing to enter the diplomatic service. In January 1935 he started working as research assistant in the Oriental Department of the Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt), in 1938 he became Legationssekretär (legation secretary) and in 1942 Legationsrat (legation councillor).

S.'s intention of publishing his Ethiopian materials and composing an Oromo dictionary was never realized due to his early death (in 1950 as a prisoner of war). His legacy as an Ethiopisant owes much to the materials which he collected and which are now kept in the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin. The Ethiopian part comprises Gəᶜəz manuscripts (mainly ↗magic scrolls), card catalogues of Amharic words, personal names and names of plants, Arabic, ↗Harari and ↗Səlṭi texts, and linguistics notes on Oromo, Harari, Səlṭi and other Gurage languages, ↗Argobba, ↗Kəmantnäy etc. The Islamic manuscripts are now catalogued (WagHand: call numbers starting with NL Schlobies), but only two texts have been published (Wagner 1989; in SegBodLes).

Src.: information by the German Foreign Office; Hans Martin Schlobies, *Der akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotamien*, Ph.D. thesis, Berlin 1925 (*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* Vol. 1, II, 3, 1925); Eugen Mittwoch – Hans Schlobies, "Altsüdarabische Inschriften im Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 5, 1936, 1–34, 278–93, 349–57; 6, 1937, 83–100, 222–33, 305–16; 7, 1938, 95–99, 233–38, 343–54.

Lit.: FahLit 18–68; Maria Höfner, "Hans Schlobies (1904–1950)", *ZDMG* 101, 1951, 15–17; WagHand; Ewald Wagner, "Selt'i-Verse in arabischer Schrift aus dem Schlobies-Nachlass", in: *SegBodLes* 363–74; Id., "Ein arabischer Text zur traditionellen muslimischen Erziehung in Harar", in: Id. – Klaus Röhrborn (eds.), *Kaškul. Festschrift zum 25. Jahrestag der Wiederbegründung des Instituts für Orientalistik an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen*, Wiesbaden 1989, 170–85.

Ewald Wagner

Schneider, Roger

S. (b. 29 April 1917, Luxembourg, d. 4 April 2002, Addis Abäba) was an eminent Ethiopisant, epigraphist and philologist. He received his secondary education in Luxembourg. His interest in Semitic languages led him to the Université Catholique de Louvain, where S. attended courses in Assyriology and in Sabaic by Gonzague Ryckmans, and further to the ↗Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO) in Paris, where he studied Arabic. After the armistice in 1940 S. returned to Luxembourg and continued his studies there.

In 1945, S. again was a student in Paris. This time he focused on Ethiopian languages, studying Amharic and Gəᶜəz under Marcel ↗Cohen at INALCO and the École pratique des hautes études (EPHE), IV^{e} section, resp. In 1955, after submitting at the EPHE his diplome on Gəᶜəz syntax (published in 1959), S. became a research fellow at the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS). In 1956 he participated in a CNRS research mission in Ethiopia, with a long stay in Gondär.

In 1957 S., employed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, returned to Ethiopia as an expert of the Archaeological Section of the National Library of Ethiopia, in charge of epigraphic materials of Ethiopia. In 1959 he became a member of the French archaeological mission at the Centre of the Research and Conservation of Cultural Property, Ethiopian Ministry of Culture, actively promoting French–Ethiopian co-operation.

S.'s fruitful collaboration with the archeological mission resulted in a series of articles on Ethiopian epigraphy and on early Ethiopian history. He deciphered and published several important inscriptions in Gəᶜəz and Sabaic (for the relevant works, see bibliography in RIÉ I), and also made several significant contributions on the origin and development of the Ethiopian ↗script (Drewes – Schneider 1976; Schneider in SegBodLes). Together with Étienne Bernand and the present author, S. worked on the first two volumes of the *Recueil des Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie* (RIÉ I–II; appeared in 1991).

S.'s pursuits in Ethiopian philology are no less significant. He published several papers on Ethiopian hagiographical works, and contributed to the description and preservation of the ancient Ethiopian ↗manuscripts of the National Library. During his research in the monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde in 1962 S. started to compile an inventory of the monastery's library and was able to discover a number of important ancient manuscripts (s. Schneider 1963; Anfray 2003:368).

In 1973, S. received the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Prize of Ethiopian Studies.

After retiring in 1982, S. remained in Ethiopia, teaching South Arabian and Ethiopian epigraphy as well as early Ethiopian history at Addis Ababa University as a part of his activities at the Mission française d'archéologie.

Src.: ABRAHAM J. DREWES – ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Origine et développement de l'écriture éthiopienne jusqu'à l'époque des inscriptions royales d'Axoum", *AE* 10, 1976, 95–107; RIÉ I–II; ROGER SCHNEIDER, *L'expression des compléments de verbe et de nom et la place de l'adjectif épithète en Guèze*, Paris 1959 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Section des sciences historiques et philologiques, fasc. 312); ID., "La bibliothèque du couvent de Gounda-Goundé", *Tārik* 2, 1963, 45–46; ID., "Les origines de l'écriture éthiopienne", in: *SegBodLes* 412–16.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Roger Schneider", *RSE* nuova ser. 1, 1, 2002, 147–50; ID., "Roger Schneider: Luxembourg, 29 avril 1917 – Addis-Abeba, 4 avril 2002", *AE* 19, 2003, 367–69; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Une version Geᶜez du traité d'Hippolyte de Rome sur l'antichrist", *AE* 6, 1965, 165–214; ABRAHAM J. DREWES, "In memoriam Roger Schneider (1917–2002)", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 206–14 (Lit.).

Abraham Johannes Drewes – Red.

Schoeller, Max

S. (b. 28 July 1865, Düren, Germany, d. 12 May 1943, Zurich) was a traveller in Eritrea and author.

S. grew up in Düren as the son of the industrialist and lord of a manor, Alexander S. (1837–92), and his wife Adele née Carstanjen (1841–1913). Originally, S. was supposed to take over his father's sugar refinery in Jülich, for which purpose he studied chemistry in Freiburg, acquiring the title of Dr. phil. However, he started to get interested in Africa and the German colonies. In spring 1894 he undertook a hunting expedition to the Colonia Eritrea, accompanied by the Swiss botanist and explorer Alfred Kaiser (1862–1930), Ernst Anderssen (or Andersson) and a certain hunter Reich.

In Eritrea, S. met the explorer Georg ↗Schweinfurth. Together, they visited ↗Qoḥayto and cleared out a rock grave. They found 70 skeletons, packed in animal skins, of which 30 skulls were brought by Schweinfurth to the famous anthropologist Rudolf Virchow in Berlin. S. described the grave in his book *Mittheilungen* (1895) which was also translated into Italian. A collection of 34 photographs of this journey is kept in the Biblioteca Civica of Villasanta.

In 1895 S. planned a journey to the Oromo countries, which, however, was not realized. Instead, he travelled to Equatorial East Africa and Uganda in 1896–97, again accompanied by Kaiser, and by the pioneer photographer of animal life, Carl Georg Schillings (1865–1921). S. brought numerous ethnographica with him, which are kept, together with photos, in the Ethnographic Museum of Vienna.

S. was a member of the German Colonial Council and received several decorations and orders. His correspondence is kept in the Federal Archives of Berlin.

Src.: Villasanta (Italy), Biblioteca Civica, Fondo fotografico Camperio (Photo collection); MAX SCHOELLER, *Mittheilungen über meine Reise in der Colonia Eritrea (Nord-Abyssinien)*, Berlin 1895; ID., *Un mio viaggio nell'Eritrea*, tr. by MOTTURA, Genova 1896; ID., *Mittheilungen über meine Reise nach Äquatorial-Ost-Afrika und Uganda, 1896-1897*, 3 vols., Berlin 1901–04.

Lit.: GEORG SCHWEINFURTH, "Über seine letzte Reise mit Dr. Max Schoeller in der Italienischen Kolonie Erythraea", *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 21, 7, 1894, 379–431.

Steffen Wenig

School of Oriental and African Studies

The SOAS of the University of London was opened in 1917 as School of Oriental Studies (renamed the SOAS in 1938), originally as a centre for training in the languages and cultures of "Eastern and African peoples, Ancient and Modern […] especially with a view to the needs of persons about to proceed to the East or to Africa for the pursuit of study and research, commerce or a profession" (Philips 1967:17). From the beginning language teaching along with historical and cultural studies formed the nucleus of SOAS's mission, though initially mostly focusing on the Indian sub-continent and the Near and Middle East. By the mid 1930s, however, African languages formed an established part of SOAS's coverage. In the last years of that decade, teaching of Amharic and Gəᶜəz was introduced, under the distinguished tutelage of ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase during his exile in the United Kingdom with Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase. Later, between 1948 and 1951, Roy Clive ↗Abraham was the first designated Lecturer in Amharic. Other teachers and researchers of Ethiopian languages at SOAS in the 1950s were Frank Palmer (remembered for his work on Bilin and Təgre especially), Archibald ↗Tucker, and Bogumil Witalis ↗Andrzejewski. Amongst non-linguists we should mention George Wynn Brereton ↗Huntingford, who joined the Department of Anthropology in 1945.

The consolidation of ↗Ethiopian Studies at SOAS originates in the 1960s with the appointment in 1964 of Edward Ullendorff (retired in 1982) to the Chair of Ethiopian Studies that had been especially created for him. Ullendorff was joined in 1965 by the historian Charles ↗Beckingham. Under Ullendorff, teaching of and research into Amharic language and literature became a permanent feature of SOAS first with Arthur Irvine (who joined the staff a little before Ullendorff and retired in 1996), and then with David Appleyard (from 1975 to 2006), who also worked on Agäw languages. Richard Hayward (from 1971 to 2002) researched on a wide range of Ethiopian languages from ^{c}Afar to Zayse, and is known as the pioneer of ↗Omotic studies in the United Kingdom.

Historical research on the region has always been one of the key points of the African History section, and a number of internationally recognised scholars of Ethiopian history have obtained their research degrees from SOAS. Similarly, research and teaching on the Ethiopian region has also figured in the Departments of Anthropology, Music, The Study of Religions, and Art and Archaeology. The latter department has a growing research interest in Ethiopia.

At the time of writing, SOAS is the only university institution in the United Kingdom which is actively engaged in the teaching and research of Ethiopian and Eritrean languages (Amharic is currently the only Ethiopian language taught regularly, though Gə^{c}əz, Oromiffaa and Təgrəñña have been taught in the past), history, social anthropology, and art and archaeology, regularly attracting students and researchers from across Europe and the world.

Src.: Cyril H. Philips, *The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 1977–1967. An Introduction*, London 1967; David Arnold – Christopher Shackle, *SOAS Since the Sixties*, London 2003; David Appleyard, "Ullendorff, Edward (b. 1920)", in: Keith Brown et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, vol. 13, Oxford ^{2}2005, 215.

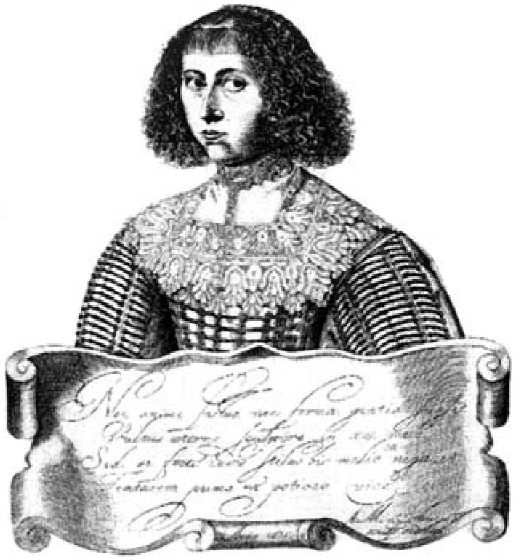
David L. Appleyard

Schurman, Anna Maria Van

S. (also von Schürman[n], Van Schuurman[s]; b. 5 November 1607, Cologne, d. 14 or 15 May 1678, Wieuwerd, near Leeuwarden, The Netherlands) was a Dutch poetess and artist, who wrote one of the first ↗Gə^{c}əz grammars.

In 1636 S. became the first female student in Europe and studied arts and literature, medicine (partly), but mainly philosophy, theology and Semitic languages at Utrecht University. Gysbert Voetius, one of her professors, taught her theology, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Syriac, but for Samaritan and Gə^{c}əz she was an autodidact. She was an active member of the "Respublica Litteraria" (Van Schurman 1648; Van Beek 2004 and 2010; Irwin 1998). Contemporaries such as Huygens praised her studies, especially her knowledge of Gə^{c}əz (Huygens 1895: 147f.). She used Gə^{c}əz in her polyglot pages, e.g., Ps 19:9 and Ps 110:1 (Van Beek 2004: 88–92, 109, 116; 2010: 73, 82, 172).

Although Hiob ↗Ludolf is praised as the founder of ↗Ethiopian Studies, it should not be forgotten that S. had completed her Gə^{c}əz grammar long before he published his in 1661. In 1647 he visited her in Utrecht and greatly admired her grammar and other products of her intellectual and artistic mind. When he fell ill at her home, she nursed him and drew his picture before he left (Juncker 1710: 43, 94; Mollerus 1744: 806, 814; Schotel 1853: 35ff.).



Self-portrait of Anna Maria Schurman from 1633; collection of 't Coopmanshuis Franeker, The Netherlands

Later S. became a member of the radical Protestant Labadists in Amsterdam, later Altona and Wieuwerd, and sold much of her library. The superintendent of Greifswald, Maier, got hold of some "scripta rariora varia A.M. Schurmanniae autographa Aethiopica, Graeca, Arabica, Ebraea […], nec non Grammatica Aethiopica, Lib. II. Lib. I agit de Lectione, alter de Nomine et Verbo" (*Bibliotheca Maijeriana* 1715: 786). Until this grammar is found, we do not know how much Ludolf owes to her studies.

In her autobiography *Eukleria* she rejected her studies, saying that one drop of the Holy Spirit would have given her more insight in the real meaning of the Bible than all her linguistic studies, Gəʿəz included (Van Schurman 1673: 31f.).

Src.: mss. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Doos KB 121 D2/49; Utrechts Gemeente Archief nr. 2965 [Bible verses in Gəʿəz and other languages]; *Bibliotheca Maijeriana Seu Apparatus Librarius Io. Fri. Mayeri*, Berolini 1715, 786; ANNA MARIA VAN SCHURMAN, *Grammaticae Aethiopicae Libri duo*, ms. 1647 [lost]; EAD., *Opuscula Hebraea Graeca Latina et Gallica, prosaica et metrica*, Lugduni Batavorum 1648; EAD., *Eukleria seu Melioris Partis Electio*, Altona 1673, 31f.; CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS, *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*, ed. by J.A. WORP, Groningen 1895, 147f.; JOICE IRWIN (ed., tr.), *Whether a Christian Woman Should be Educated and Other Writings from her Intellectual Circle*, Chicago, IL – London 1998.
Lit.: CHRISTIAAN JUNCKER, *Commentarius de vita, scriptisque ac meritis illustris viri Iobi Ludolfi*, Leipzig – Frankfurt a.M. 1710, 43, 94; JOHANNES MOLLERUS, *Cimbria Literata …*, Hafniae 1744, 806, 814; G[ILLES] D[IONYSIOS] J[ACOBUS] SCHOTEL, *Anna Maria van Schurman*, 's-Hertogenbosch 1853, 35ff.; PIETA VAN BEEK, *Anna Maria van Schurman en haar kennis van oud-oosterse talen*, M.A. thesis, Universiteit van Stellenbosch 2004; EAD., *The First Female University Student*: *Anna Maria van Schurmann* (*1636*), Utrecht 2010 (Lit.).

Pieta van Beek

Schuver, Juan Maria

Juan (or Joannes) Maria S. (b. 27 February 1852, Amsterdam; d. 1883, Tek, Dinka area) was a Dutch journalist, traveller and explorer. He was the son of the Dutch coffee and tea merchant Joannes Theodorus Schuver and Theodora Paulina Monica Roothaan. S.'s travels took him to Spain as a war reporter, then to the Balkans and western Asia, later to Cairo and the Sudan. In the southern Sudan S. was killed by Dinka warriors who mistook him and his small group of Zande soldiers for slave traders.

S.'s significance for the study of North-east African history and ethnography is based on two travel accounts: *Between two Niles* and *On the Abyssinian Frontier*. Their historical value lies in the vivid observations of the political system of the region, the rising Mahdīya (↗Mahdists), the Ottoman-Egyptian Sudan, and the expanding Ethiopian empire. His accounts of encounters with the Oromo chief ↗Ǧootee Tulluu, his descriptions of the ↗Kwama, ↗Berta and ↗Gumuz people are unique ethnographic accounts of the time, region, and its peoples. These accounts have served as basic sources for various publications, e.g., by Ernesta Cerulli (CerPeople).

Since 1947 S.'s ethnographic collection, containing a considerable number of objects, has been in possession of the *Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde* in Leiden. Included are objects from various ↗Koman-speaking peoples, such as a straw raincoat, an ostrich eggshell apron and necklaces of teeth, as well as a wide variety of other items acquired by S. from his field trips and from markets in Khartoum.

As an explorer, S. had long fallen into oblivion until the extent of his observations was made public to a wide readership by the extensive edition of his African manuscripts by Wendy James, Gerd Baumann and Douglas Johnson in 1996.

Src.: HENK IMANSE, '*Something Nobler was my Motive*', *Juan Maria Schuver and his African Collection*, Leiden 2002 (Digital Publications of the National Museum of Ethnology) [Lit.]; WENDY JAMES – GERD BAUMANN – DOUGLAS JOHNSON, *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North-East Africa 1880–1883*, London 1996; JUAN MARIA SCHUVER, *Reisen in oberen Nilgebiet. Erlebnisse und Beobachtungen auf der Wasserscheide zwischen Blauem und Weissem Nil und in den ägyptisch-abessinischen Grenzländern 1881 und 1882*, Gotha 1883 (Petermann's Geographische Mitteilungen, supplement no. 72).
Lit.: ArEvang 253–55, CerPeople.

Alexander Meckelburg

Schweinfurth, Georg August

S. (b. 29 December 1836, Riga, Latvia, then Russian Empire; d. 19 September 1925, Berlin) was a German botanist, geographer, and ethnographer, who explored especially the northern Ethiopian borderlands, ↗Eritrea, central Sudan and the ↗Nile valley.

S.'s father originated from the area of Heidelberg where S. went to study in 1857. After completing his naturalist studies in Munich and Berlin (1862), he went on his first expedition to the Nile countries in 1864, through ↗Nubia, and then to the Red Sea coastal region south of ↗Sawākin, reaching the Ethiopian borderlands (1864–66). Back in Germany he published his *Beitrag zur Flora Aethiopiens* (1867) which won him the support of the Humboldt Foundation for his next journey into inner Africa, to discover the watershed between the Nile and Congo river systems, one of the last secrets of central Africa of that time.

In 1868 in Khartoum S. made an agreement with the Coptic trader Ġattas which allowed him to join an expedition of Sudanese ↗ivory traders into the Baḥr al-Ġazal region, which left ↗Khartoum on 5 January 1869. In their company, S. travelled through the territories of the Dinka, Jur (Luo) and Bongo. In January 1870, one year after his departure from Khartoum, he travelled alone through the country of the "Niam-Niam" (perceived as "cannibals" by northern Sudanese), i.e. Zande (Azande). At "Monbuttu" (Mangbetu), where he stayed for nearly a year, S. became the first European to have contact with Central African pygmies (Aka Mbuti). In the Uelle River, running westward, he found proof that he had indeed crossed the Nile-Congo watershed. His travel account which was received with great enthusiasm (1874) was immediately translated into English, followed by six other European languages.

From winter 1873 to spring 1874 S. accompanied Gerhard ↗Rohlfs into the Libyan Desert exploring the al-Ḫarga oasis. The following year, he came to Egypt following an offer of the *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl where S. founded the Geographical Society in Cairo. From 1875 to 1889 S. lived in Cairo from where he started for at least twelve expeditions, most of which led him into the Arabian Desert between the Nile and the Red Sea. In 1881 he travelled to southern Arabia and ↗Soqotra (s. EAE vol. 5). He explored the Nile valley between Asyut and Aswan in 1882, the coast of Marmarica in 1883 and the geological aspects of the region of Cairo and Gizeh in 1883 and 1887, ending his Cairo term with another visit to the ↗Yemen in 1888–89.

Once back in Berlin, S. was employed in the Botanical Gardens, but soon took up travelling again, writing books and numerous articles in between. In 1891, 1892 and 1894 he visited Italian Eritrea (in 1894 in collaboration with Max ↗Schoeller).

S. compiled extensive botanical, anthropological and ethnographical collections, of which some are kept in Berlin in the Ethnographical Museum and the Botanical Garden.

Src.: GEORG SCHWEINFURTH, *Beitrag zur Flora Aethiopiens*, Berlin 1867; ID., *Im Herzen von Afrika*, Leipzig 1874; ID., *Abyssinische Pflanzennamen*, Berlin 1893; ID., *Sammlung arabisch–äthiopischer Pflanzen*, Genf 1894; ID., *Veröffentlichte Werke, Landkarten, Aufsätze und Briefe 1858–1916*, Berlin 1916; ID., *Afrikanisches Skizzenbuch*, Berlin 1925; ID. – LUDWIG DIELE, *Vegetationstypen aus der Kolonie Eritrea*, Jena 1905.

Lit.: BERNHARDT ANKERMANN, "Georg Schweinfurth und die Völkerkunde", *Naturwissenschaften*, 14, 24, 1926, 556–68; KONRAD GUENTHER (ed.), *Georg Schweinfurth. Lebensbild eines Afrikaforschers: Briefe 1857–1925*, Stuttgart 1954; Lockot I 397, index.

Werner Petermann

Script, Ethiopic

Elaborated by the mid-4th cent. A.D. on the basis of a consonantal script attested in South Arabia, the E.s. is the only syllabic alphabet ever used by the Semitic-speaking peoples (the other writing systems attested with certainty among them are different varieties of the consonantal alphabet and the syllabo-ideographic cuneiform script borrowed from the Sumerians). From the typological and, to a certain extent, historical points of view, the E.s. is classified among the syllabaries (or rather alphasyllabaries) which are wide-spread in India (including Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī) and South-Eastern Asia (cp. Jensen 1969:337, 351). It is often called the Gəᶜəz script (also rarely Abyssinian or Ethiopian–Eritrean script) or, to avoid any geographical connotations, *fidäl* (ፊደል, i.e. 'letter[s]') and, in daily conversation in Ethiopia and Eritrea, sometimes after the language in which it is used (i.e. Amarəñña [↗Amharic] or ↗Təgrəñña). The Gəᶜəz term *fidäl* is already mentioned by Ludolf (1661:1, 468; 1698:102), but is of obscure origin (cp. LesCDic 155).

Genesis of the consonantal script

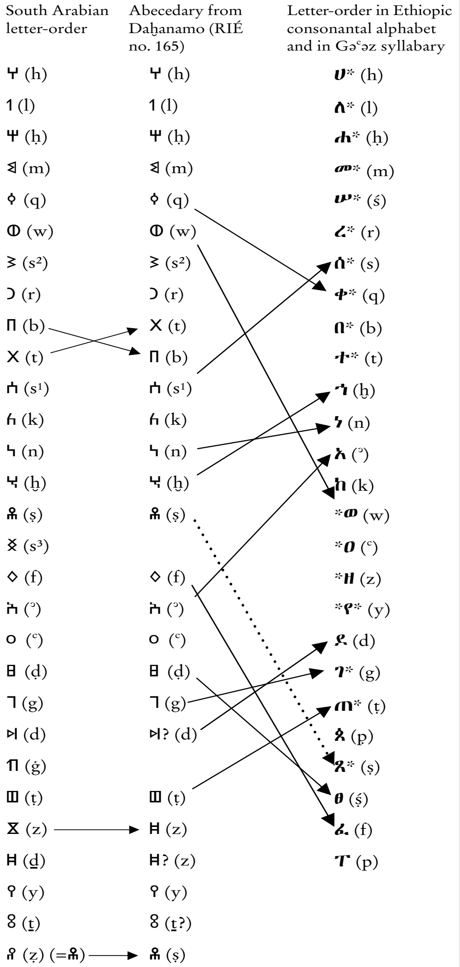
The problem of the origins of the original, unvocalized writing system from which the E.s. stems still remains debatable. In 1841 Wilhelm Gesenius and Emil Rödiger succeeded in deciphering the South Arabian monumental script (cp. ↗Epigraphic South Arabian) thanks to the close resemblance of the majority of its characters to the E.s. As a result, the hypothesis about the emergence of the E.s. under direct South-Arabian influence became self-evident, and, after the discovery of early Sabaic ↗inscriptions at the sites of ↗Yəḥa, Ǝnda (Abba) ↗P̣änṭälewon near ↗Aksum and ↗Käskäse, it was explicitly formulated by Enno ↗Littmann (DAE IV, 41, 78).

Adolf ↗Grohmann (1915) tried to demonstrate that the script of early Sabaic graffiti (which he also designated as "die sabäische 'Kursiv'form") rather than the ductus of monumental texts ought to be considered as the real basis for the development of the E.s. The hypothesis proposed by Ryckmans (1955: 4f.) and supported by Drewes (1955: 122) and later by Garbini (1979: 80f.) and Ricci (1984: 256), which sees the origin of E.s. in the Thamūdic script, is hardly tenable, in view of the lack of any trace of contacts between non-Sabaean population of Arabia and pre-Aksumite Ethiopia. Moreover, the term "Thamūdic" is an artificial label applied to a conglomerate of undetermined and non-homogeneous Arabian writings. In 1976 Drewes and ↗Schneider returned to Grohmann's conception, but admitted the possiblitity that some influence of South Arabian monumental script on the evolution of the E.s. is not excluded. Some years later Schneider (in BodSegLes) assumed that the script of South Arabian graffiti (which he too called "cursive") had been introduced into Ethiopia earlier than the monumental one.

Recently, formal similarities of characters found in Ethiopian Sabaic graffiti and in newly discovered documents on wood from ancient Yemen have been pointed out (Frantsouzoff in PICES 15). Two possible explanations were proposed: either the South Arabian minuscule writing proper to these documents was known in Ethiopia, or both writings developed independently, yet follow the same trends, from a common source – the South Arabian monumental script.

A tentative chronological classification of the consonantal script of the Gəᶜəz inscriptions, proposed by Drewes and Schneider (1976), distinguishes between "Protoethiopic", i.e. the script of early Aksumite graffiti still close to the South-Arabian script, and "ancient Ethiopic", the most ancient form of the E.s. proper. The criteria for this classification are not only the shape of certain graphemes, but also the variations in size and position of graphemes. In "Protoethiopic", there are letters of medium size and medium level (በ or ገ), those prolongated upwards (as አ, ሐ, ሰ) and those prolongated downwards (as የ and ጸ). The earliest stage of "Protoethiopic" is represented by RIÉ nos. 181 (written from right to left) and 180. The inscriptions RIÉ nos. 182 and 183 represent the second stage of "Protoethiopic".

Table: The order and shapes of the letters in Epigraphic South Arabian consonantal alphabet and in Gəᶜəz syllabary.



South Arabian letter-order	Abecedary from Daḫanamo (RIÉ no. 165)	Letter-order in Ethiopic consonantal alphabet and in Gəᶜəz syllabary
𐩠 (h)	𐩠 (h)	ሀ* (h)
𐩡 (l)	𐩡 (l)	ለ* (l)
𐩢 (ḥ)	𐩢 (ḥ)	ሐ* (ḥ)
𐩣 (m)	𐩣 (m)	መ* (m)
𐩤 (q)	𐩤 (q)	ሠ* (ś)
𐩥 (w)	𐩥 (w)	ረ* (r)
𐩦 (s^2)	𐩦 (s^2)	ሰ* (s)
𐩧 (r)	𐩧 (r)	ቀ* (q)
𐩨 (b)	𐩩 (t)	በ* (b)
𐩩 (t)	𐩨 (b)	ተ* (t)
𐩪 (s^1)	𐩪 (s^1)	ኀ (ḫ)
𐩫 (k)	𐩫 (k)	ነ (n)
𐩬 (n)	𐩬 (n)	አ (ᵓ)
𐩭 (ḫ)	𐩭 (ḫ)	ከ (k)
𐩮 (ṣ)	𐩮 (ṣ)	*ወ (w)
𐩯 (s^3)		*ዐ (ᶜ)
𐩰 (f)	𐩰 (f)	*ዘ (z)
𐩱 (ᵓ)	𐩱 (ᵓ)	*የ* (y)
𐩲 (ᶜ)	𐩲 (ᶜ)	ደ (d)
𐩳 (ḍ)	𐩳 (ḍ)	ገ* (g)
𐩴 (g)	𐩴 (g)	ጠ* (ṭ)
𐩵 (d)	𐩵? (d)	ጰ (p̣)
𐩶 (ġ)		ጸ* (ṣ)
𐩷 (ṭ)	𐩷 (ṭ)	ፀ (ṣ́)
𐩸 (z)	𐩹 (z)	ፈ (f)
𐩹 (ḏ)	𐩹? (z)	ፐ (p)
𐩺 (y)	𐩺 (y)	
𐩻 (ṯ)	𐩻 (ṯ?)	
𐩼 (ẓ) (=𐩮)	𐩮 (ṣ)	

1. The reliable rearrangements of characters are marked with uninterrupted arrows, the hypothetic ones – with peched lines.
2. The Ethiopic characters attested in RIÉ no. 239 I and II are designated with an asterisk put respectively at the right or at the left of the character.

The first stage of "ancient Ethiopic" is found in the inscription of ᶜAnza (RIÉ no. 218), but the same type of script is also used in ↗ᶜEzana's documents (RIÉ no. 185 II). Whereas the graphemes አ, ሐ, ሰ are still higher than በ or ገ, the lower borderline is the same for all graphemes. The final stage of "ancient Ethiopic" is represented by a few vocalized inscriptions of ᶜEzana (RIÉ nos. 187–89), with the same size and level of all graphemes.

In "Protoethiopic", the shapes of many characters remained almost the same as in South Arabian writing. For instance, in RIÉ no. 181, only six letters differ from their Sabaic counterparts: *ḫ* is represented upside down, s^2 and *d* are turned at 90° to their normal position, *n*, *k* and ᵓ are reversed. Some of these changes, viz. for *ḫ*, s^2 and *d*, became fixed in standard E.s., others proved to be accidental. All the characters of “ancient Ethiopic” and of the E.s. proper, in comparison with South-Arabian script, can be classified as follows (s. table):

1) those which were only slightly modified (ሰ, ቀ, በ, ነ, አ, ከ, ወ, ዐ, የ, ገ, ጸ, ፀ);
2) those which retained their general contours, but were turned 180° (cp. 𐩢 and ሐ, 𐩧 and ረ), 90° (cp. 𐩣 and መ, 𐩦 and ሠ, 𐩵 and ደ) or less with simultaneous change of the angle between the bars (cp. 𐩩 and ተ);
3) those which lost one bar (cp. 𐩠 and ሀ, 𐩸 and ዘ, 𐩷 and ጠ);
4) those which were more radically transformed (cp. 𐩡 and ለ; 𐩭 and ኀ; 𐩰 and ፈ).

Certain South-Arabian graphemes (*ġ*, *ẓ*, *ś*, *z*, *ṯ*) are absent from the E.s. due to differences in the phonological systems of Gəʿəz and ↗Epigraphic South Arabian. After the merging of *z* and *ḏ* into *z*, the Sabaic sign for *ḏ* (of more frequent occurrence than *z*) was chosen to render the resulting phoneme.

The South Arabian word divider, i.e. a vertical bar (|), appears in Aksumite epigraphy (even in the late Aksumite inscription of ↗Ham, RIÉ no. 232), but is eventually replaced with two dots put vertically (፡). In some inscriptions of ʿEzana two small horizontal bars appeared at the ends of the divider (RIÉ nos. 186–88). Only such bars, without a vertical line between them, were used in the two fragments of an inscription found in South Arabia and dated from the reign of ↗Kaleb (RIÉ no. 195 I–II). The transformation of these bars into dots is attested in an Aksumite graffito, RIÉ no. 252.

In Aksumite epigraphic documentation neither *p* nor *p̣* occurs. Nevertheless, the former at least (evidently derived from the Greek π, cp. the specific variant of this character used as numeral: Π → ፹ → ፐ) must have been known at the time (↗Numbers, numerals, numeral systems). It is often attested in the onomastics of the ↗Bible (the main part of which had probably been translated in Gəʿəz by the 6th cent.). The emergence of its emphatic counterpart *p̣*, formed on the graphic basis of *ṣ* (ጸ → ጰ), could be more recent.

Direction of writing

Numerous South-Arabian inscriptions in Ethiopia and Eritrea are “boustrophedon”, where the writing direction alternates between right-to-left in one line and left-to-right in the next one. Both directions appear to be acceptable in Sabaic graffiti of the Ethiopian-Eritrean region. Almost one third of them (40) is written left-to-right, 31 consisting of one line, 9 of two lines. Similarly, both directions are found in “Protoethiopic” inscriptions (RIÉ no. 181 is written right-to-left). The spread of Greek writing in Ethiopia, albeit limited, must have played an important part in the final adoption of the left-to-right direction in “ancient Ethiopic” and in the E.s. proper.

Letter-order in Ethiopic consonantal alphabet and in Gəʿəz syllabary

The South-Arabian alphabet of Daḫanamo (RIÉ no. 165) gives clear evidence that the so-called South Semitic letter-order, used in ancient Yemen, was known in pre-Aksumite Ethiopia too. The main difference is the absence of the letters *ġ*, *ẓ*, *ś* and *z*, which probably reflects local phonetics (s. Frantsouzoff in PICES 15, 575). Two fragments of an abecedary, also found in Daḫanamo (RIÉ no. 239 I–II), show a different letter-order, closer to the traditional Ethiopic syllabary called *Hahu* (for still another alphabet order s. ↗*Abugida* and *Hahu*). Changes versus the South-Arabian order are mostly due to the tendency to range together graphemes of similar shape (Ryckmans 1984: 81).

Names of the signs

The names of the Gəʿəz characters became known in Europe thanks to the Ethiopian traditional scholar ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon, who mentioned them in the preface to his 1548 edition of the Gəʿəz N.T. (↗Incunabula). Since then, they appear regularly in works on ↗Ethiopian studies, sometimes with minor differences (Ludolf 1702; Isenberg 1841). In his grammar, ↗Dillmann (1899, Taf. I) gave those names in two columns: according to Isenberg 1841 and to the 1548 N.T. edition (s. also a slightly different version in *Abugida* and *Hahu*). The authenticity of the traditional names is confirmed by the genuine Gəʿəz texts mentioning some of them (s. Getachew Haile in PICES 3; Conti Rossini 1941; cp. also the works by traditional scholars, e.g. THMDic 45–49; DTWDic 10).

Both in Ethiopia and Eritrea, the names of Gəʿəz characters are no longer in use. Instead, every syllabic symbol is called in accordance with its pronunciation (*ha*, *hu*, etc.). In order to distinguish between signs having the same phonetic value in Amharic, several descriptive designations for them were elaborated, such as **እሳት፡ ሰ** (‘*s* as in *əsat*’ = ‘fire’) or **ንጉሥ፡ ሠ** (‘*ś* as in *nəguś*’ = ‘king’; s. Leslau 1995: 3).

Vocalization of consonantal Ethiopic script

A major reform in the history of the E.s. was its vocalization. No information about this innovation has been preserved. As the epigraphic evidence suggests, it took place during the reign of ᶜEzana, even before he converted to Christianity (the vocalized inscriptions RIÉ nos. 187, 188 certainly belong to his pre-Christian period). The introduction of new syllabic signs was not gradual; they appeared at once, alongside with the special symbols for labiovelars: e.g., ጓ in *Agʷezat*(*a*) (RIÉ no. 187.10, 11, 16); ኰ in *kʷəllu* (RIÉ no. 189.7); ኈ in *ḫʷəlqo* (RIÉ no. 189.22), etc. However, independently of this reform some attempts to introduce *matres lectionis* into the Ethiopic consonantal writing were undertaken. Two characters, *w* and *y*, were employed for rendering *u*, *o* and *i* at the end and sometimes even in the middle of the words. Their use, which proved to be very limited and short-termed, is attested in the legends on the coins of the kings ↗MḤDYS and ↗Gersem as well as in the only partly vocalized inscriptions of *ḥaṣ́ani* ↗Danəᵓel.

The main principle of the vocalization reform consisted in the addition of small bars or circles to a consonantal character, or even in a partial change of its shape so as to create seven graphic variants for rendering "consonant + vowel" syllables. These variants are designated by Western scholars with the term "order", while in Ethiopia they still bear their traditional names (cp. HabTent 33):

1st order (C + *ä*; a character preserved its original shape): ግዕዝ, *gəᶜəz*;
2nd order (C + *u*): ካዕብ, *kaᶜəb* (lit. '2nd');
3rd order (C + *i*): ሣልስ, *śaləs* (lit. '3rd');
4th order (C + *a*): ራብዕ, *rabəᶜ* (lit. '4th');
5th order (C + *e*): ኃምስ, *ḫaməs* (lit. '5th');
6th order (C + *ə* or zero): ሳድስ, *sadəs* (lit. '6th');
7th order (C + *o*): ሳብዕ, *sabəᶜ* (lit. '7th').

For labiovelars (*qʷ*, *ḫʷ*, *kʷ*, *gʷ*) five variants were elaborated, but with no special names (cp. at the beginning of EAE vols. 1, 2, Transliteration and Transcription Tables: Table 2).

The vocalization of the E.s. might have been influenced by one of the early Indian writing systems, Brāhmī or esp. Kharoṣṭhī (s. also ↗India, relations with). The discovery of a few short inscriptions, dated into the first three centuries A.D. and written in a variety of the Brāhmī script, side by side with two or three unvocalized Ethiopic graffiti in the cave of Ḥōq in Soqoṭra (s. EAE vol. 5) makes it probable that such a script was also known in the ↗Horn of Africa. In both the above-mentioned Indian writing systems the basic form renders a consonant with the short *a*. As for the other principles of the formation of syllabic signs, this process in Brāhmī consists of some stages, while in Kharoṣṭhī as well as in the E.s. the variants derive directly from the basic form. Albeit only a few signs of Kharoṣṭhī have been found yet in Ethiopia (exclusively in Indian coin legends, s. Chatterji 1968: 54), there are good reasons to consider it as a probable model for the vocalization of the Gəᶜəz consonantal writing (s. also ↗Inscriptions: Gəᶜəz inscriptions in Ethiopia/Eritrea in antiquity).

Further development of the syllabary

The next reform of the syllabic script undertaken presumably in the 14th–15th cent. was the invention of new symbols (such as ቸ, *č*, ጀ, *ǧ*, ጨ, *č̣* etc.) for the sounds absent from Gəᶜəz but characteristic of Amharic, by that time a court language of the ruling ↗Solomonic dynasty. Ullendorff (1951a: 214) mentions an Amharic manuscript dating to the late 16th cent. as the earliest manuscript using such letters (Oxford, the Bodlean Library, Clarke Or. 39). Thus, the E.s. syllabary came to be used for writing in Amharic and, later, Təgrəñña.
Further symbols were invented for such labialized consonants (followed by *a*) as ቧ, *bʷa*, ጧ, *ṭʷa* etc., for the spirantized consonants (ኸ, *k̠*, ቐ, *q̠*) of Təgrəñña, as well as for such imported consonants as ቨ, *v*. However, no elimination of certain Gəᶜəz graphemes, superfluous in Amharic, took place. As a result, certain sets of graphemes employed in written Amharic (such as ሀ, ሐ, ኀ) do not differ in pronunciation and are to a certain degree interchangeable. Their employment is not standardized, but tends to follow Gəᶜəz written tradition (cp. ኀይል, *ḫayl*, 'power' vs. ሐውልት, *ḥawəlt*, 'stela', both pronounced with initial [*ha*] – in contrast to Təgrəñña, which has preserved the difference between ሀ [*ha*] and ሐ [*ḥa*]). In Eritrea, the graphemes ሠ, ኀ, and ፀ have been eliminated from today's Təgrəñña, as they are pronounced in the same way as ሰ, ሀ, and ጸ, resp. (different from Təgrəñña of ↗Təgray, Ethiopia, where ጸ has been eliminated).

An attempt at creating a new syllabary, more appropriate to the phonetic system of Amharic, is ascribed to ↗Mənilək II (s. GSMen 94; Demoz in SegBodLes 399ff., table II; the "cursive script"). But neither the enforcement of this new script, nor other, less drastic, proposals for the orthographic reform of Amharic, by Ethiopian, Eritrean or European scholars (ibid.; Leslau 1954; Cowley 1967), were ever achieved (cp. also *Amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 2001, prepared by the Ethiopian Languages Research Center [↗Ethiopian Language Academy]). The E.s. was carefully preserved from the fall of Aksum up to the mid-20th cent., in the first line thanks to the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, but also due to its obvious applicability and convenience.

It should be noted that within the tradition of ↗magic literature, "secret signs" were sometimes produced (cp. ↗Magic scrolls). Most probably, they have no relation to the regular characters of the E.s., and seem to have been borrowed from the cryptic alphabets based on the Arabic one which were known among the Copts. In any case, the close parallels to some of those signs, especially to the so-called "caractères à lunettes", can be found in the alphabets collected in *Šawq al-mustahām fī maᶜrifat rumūz al-aqlām* (the essence of most important issues called 'The Lover's Desire'/ teaching about the enigmatic letters) ascribed to the semi-legendary early Islamic writer Ibn Waḥšiyya (cp. ed. Hammer 1806).

No device for marking gemination has been developed in the E.s. (but cp. CRAbb 16f.), although several European scholars employed in this function special symbols such as two dots over the corresponding consonants, or a sign similar to the Arabic sign of emphasis *šadda* (such as Johannes ↗Kolmodin did for Təgrəñña, s. KolTrad). ↗Irob writers in ↗Təgray have started to use the two dots to mark geminations in printed texts written in Irobəñña (cp. ↗Saho).

In its present form, the E.s. includes 202 graphemes for Gəᶜəz and 251 (rare graphemes excluded) for Amharic. Capital/small letters are not distinguished. Punctuation signs include the word divider ፡ (*näṭəb*); marker of the sentence end ። (*mulu näṭəb*); semicolon/colon ፤ (*dərrəb säräz*); and ፣ ([*näṭäla*] *säräz*), corresponding roughly to a comma.

The E.s. was widely employed by missionaries to create the first samples of written texts in other languages of Ethiopia – ↗Təgre, ↗Oromiffaa (starting from 1871, replacing a previous Latin orthography of Oromiffaa), ↗Konso etc. In the 20th cent., when the creation of alphabets for previously unwritten languages of Ethiopia began during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I (s. ↗Literacy), a decision was made to adapt the E.s. syllabary to the specific requirements of these languages. This implied both the modification of the writing system and the introduction of new symbols, for sounds specific for those languages (e.g., implosive *ɗ*, retroflex *ɖ*, retroflex-implosive *ḍ*, or, in the case of ↗Bilin and other ↗Agäw languages, **ጝ** for *ŋ*) – a task carried out by the Ethiopian Language Academy. Most non-Semitic languages, such as Oromiffaa, ↗Sidaama, ↗Kambaata etc., later abandoned the *fidäl* in favour of a newly fixed orthography in Latin script. At present, the Ethiopic syllabary is mostly used for writing in Ethio-Semitic languages: Gəᶜəz, Amharic, Təgrəñña, Təgre, ↗Harari, ↗Səlṭi, ↗Čaha, but also for some non-Semitic languages such as ↗Qabeena, ↗Wälayyta, or Irob.

↗Palaeography

Src.: AHMAD BIN ABUBEKR BIN WAHSHIH, *Ancient Alphabets and Hieroglиphic Characters Explained* ..., ed., tr. by JOSEPH HAMMER, London 1806; CRAbb 16f.; DAE; DTWDic 10; ETHIOPIAN LANGUAGES ACADEMY (ed.), **አማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'An Amharic dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1993 A.M. [2001 A.D.]; GuiVoc xiv-xv, 1, 47, 119, 139, 410, 859; HabTent 33; CHARLES W. ISENBERG, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language. In Two Parts*: *Amharic and English, and English and Amharic*, London 1841, 1 (and pl. before it), 13, 43, 50, 102, 110, 152, 187; KolTrad; LesCDic 155; IOBI LUDOLFI, *Lexicon Aethiopico–Latinum*, Londini 1661, I, 468; ID., *Lexicon Amharico–Latinum*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1698, 102; ID., *Grammatica Æthiopica* ..., Francofurti ad Moenum ^{2}1702, 2–3; RIÉ; THMDic 45–49; GSMen 94; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Volume II*, Oxford 1951b, 19f., no. 79 [ms. Clarke Or. 39].

Lit.: SUNITI KUMARA CHATTERJI, *India and Ethiopia from the Seventh Century B.C.*, Calcutta 1968 (The Asiatic Society Monograph Series 15), 49–56; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Lo 'Awda Nagast, scritto divinatorio etiopico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 127–45, here 133; ROGER COWLEY, "The Standardisation of Amharic Spelling", *JES* 5, 2, 1967, 1–8; DAE IV, 41, 78; AHMAD HASAN DANI, *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford 1963, 40, fig. 5: IX, X; PETER T. DANIELS, "The Study of Writing Systems", in: ID. – WILLIAM BRIGHTS (eds.), *The World's Writing Systems*, New York – Oxford 1996, 3–17; ABRAHAM DEMOZ, "Amharic Script Reform Efforts", in: *SegBodLes* 393–411; AUGUST DILLMANN, *Grammatik der Äthiopischen Sprache*, ed. by CARL BEZOLD, Leipzig ^{2}1899, Taf. I; ABRAHAM J. DREWES, "Problèmes de paléographie éthiopienne", *AE* 1, 1955, 121–26; ID. – ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Origine et développement de l'écriture éthiopienne jusqu'à l'époque des inscriptions royales d'Axoum", *ibid.* 10, 1976, 95–107; SERGUEI A. FRANTSOUZOFF, "South Arabian Minuscule Writing and Early Ethiopian Script of Pre-Axumite Graffiti: Typological Resemblance or Genetic Interdependence", in: *PICES* 15, 572–86; ID., "*Matres lectionis* v rannem geeze" ('*Matres lectionis* in Early Gəᶜəz'), in: *VarAeth* 50-57; GIOVANNI GARBINI, *Storia e problemi dell'epigrafia semitica*, Napoli 1979 (Supplemento n. 19 agli Annali IUO 39, 1979, fasc. 2), 79–82; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Archaic Amharic Forms", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 61–80, here 62, 65, n. 6; ID., "Ethiopic Writing", in: PETER T. DANIELS – WILLIAM BRIGHTS (eds.), *The World's Writing Systems*, New York – Oxford 1996, 569–76; ADOLF

GROHMANN, “Über den Ursprung und die Entwicklung der äthiopischen Schrift”, *Archiv für Schriftkunde* 1, 2–3, 1915, 57–87; GSMen 94; HANS JENSEN, *Die Schrift in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Berlin ^{3}1969, 334–38, 351–61, Abb. 345; WOLF LESLAU, “La réforme de l’alphabet éthiopien”, *RSE* 12, 1953 [1954], 96–106; ID., *Reference Grammar of Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1995, 1–4; AVRAAM G. LOUNDINE, “L’origine de l’alphabet (Texte traduit et commenté par JACQUES RYCKMANS)”, *Cahiers de l’Institut de linguistique de Louvain* 11, 1–2, 1985, 173–202, here 180, 197f., n. 36; S.J. MANGALAM, *Kharoṣṭhī Script*, Delhi 1990, 27; LANFRANCO RICCI, “L’expansion de l’Arabie méridionale”, in: JOSEPH CHELHOD et al. (eds.), *L’Arabie du Sud. Histoire et civilisation.* 1. *Le peuple yéménite et ses racines*, Paris 1984 (Islam d’hier et d’aujourd’hui. Collection dirigée par A.M. Turki 21), 249–57; CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN – MARIA GOREA, “Les vestiges antiques de la grotte de Ḥôq (Suquṭra, Yémen)”, *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* 146, 2, 2002, 409–45; JACQUES RYCKMANS, “L’origine et l’ordre des lettres de l’alphabet éthiopien”, *BiOr* 12, 1955, 2–8; ID., “Alphabets, Scripts and Languages in Pre-Islamic Arabian Epigraphic Evidence”, in: ^{c}ABD AR-RAḤMĀN AṬ-ṬAYYIB AL-ANṢĀRĪ (ed.), *International Symposium on Studies in the History of Arabia*, vol. 2: *al-Ǧazīra al-^{c}Arabīya qabla l-Islām* (‘Pre-Islamic Arabia’), Riyadh 1984 [1985], 73–86, here 81; ID., “Données nouvelles sur l’histoire ancienne de l’alphabet”, *Bulletin des séances de l’Académie Royale des Sciences d’Outre-Mer* n. sér. 34, 2, 1988 [1989], 219–31, here 226f., 229, n. 17; ROGER SCHNEIDER, “Les origines de l’écriture éthiopienne”, in: *SegBodLes* 412–16; STEFAN STRELCYN (ed., tr.), *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes* (*maftəḥē šərāy*), Varsovie 1955 (= Rocznik Orientalistyczny 18), xxxiii–xxxix; WERNER SUNDERMANN, “Äthiopische Schrift”, in: HUBERT KAUFHOLD (ed.), *Kleines Lexikon des Christlichen Orients*, Wiesbaden ^{2}2007, 88–89; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, “Studies in the Ethiopic Syllabary”, *Africa* (London) 21, 1951a, 207–17, here 211–14.

Serguei A. Frantsouzoff

Še ↗Benç̌

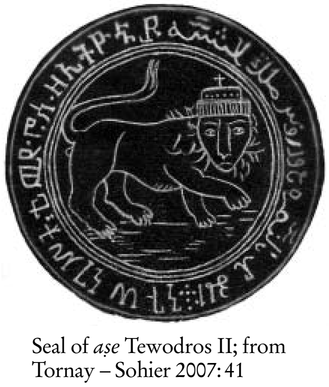
Seals

The use of S. in Ethiopia is relatively recent. Ethiopian ruler’s use of S. with a ↗lion rampant was mentioned in several European publications from the 16th cent., especially by ↗Jesuit missionaries, but no traces of it have been found and the pattern of the reproductions known is undoubtedly of foreign origin (Pankhurst 1973: 180). The use of S. by Ethiopian rulers is better documented during the Gondärine monarchy: the Chronicle of ↗Iyasu I is the first to mention a royal S. (**ማኅተም**, *maḫtäm*), as well as the reception of letters from abroad adorned by S. (Pankhurst in PICES 6, 401f.). But the known letters written by Iyasu I and his successors to foreign correspondents bore no S. (Pankhurst in PICES 6, 402–15). Some letters sent by ↗Susənyos and Iyasu I to Europeans also had the design of a cross enclosed by the letters **ኢየሱስ** (*Iyäsus* ‘Jesus’) at the top, instead of a S. Foreign travellers in Ethiopia drew attention to this practice of Ethiopian leaders in the early 19th cent. (Pankhurst 1973: 180).

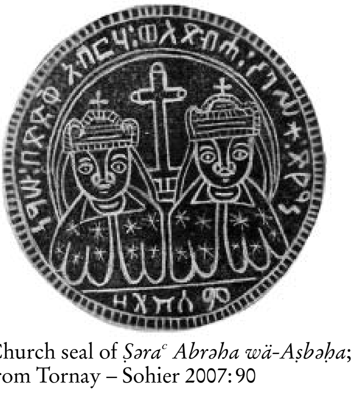
During the first half of the 19th cent. some Ethiopian noblemen, including *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, made use of real S. in their foreign correspondence (Pankhurst 1973: 184f.). *Aṣe* ↗Tewodros II was nevertheless the first to use it systematically in his letters. His S. is adorned by a lion rampant, which served as a model for his successors until ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

During the second half of the 19th cent., only kings and dignitaries of high rank used S. Later their use became more common in Ethiopian society, and they were even eventually adopted by lower rank chiefs such as ↗*azzaž* or ↗*qäññazmač*. The popularity of the use of S. grew with the extension and reinforcement of royal power and of the administrative development of Ethiopia in the 20th cent. The expansion of political and economic relations between Ethiopia and foreign countries (↗Europe, relations with; ↗Treaties and conventions, s. EAE vol. 5) also furthered its popularity.

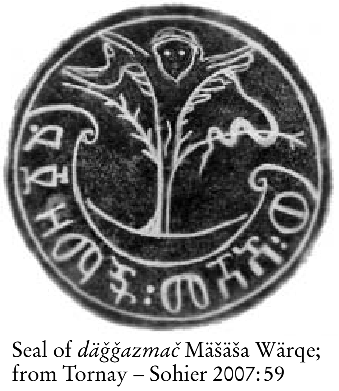
S. had various uses. Used for signing letters sent by chiefs and other authorities to their coun-



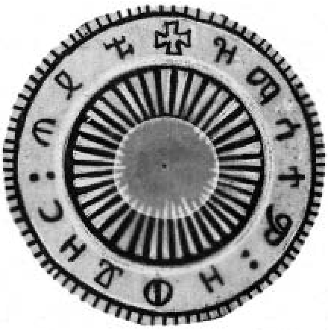
Seal of *aṣe* Tewodros II; from Tornay – Sohier 2007: 41



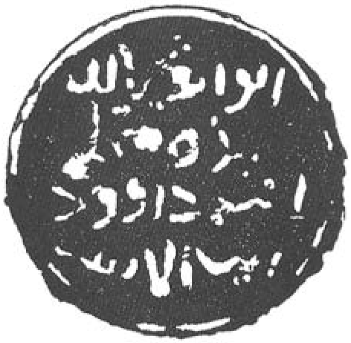
Church seal of *Ṣəra^{c} Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa*; from Tornay – Sohier 2007: 90



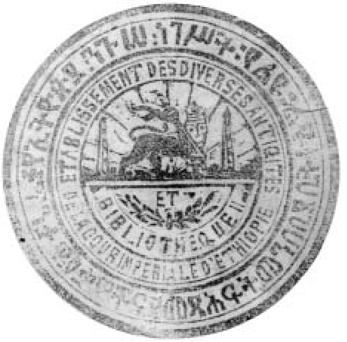
Seal of *däǧǧazmač* Mäšäša Wärqe; from Tornay – Sohier 2007: 59



Seal of *ətege* Ṭaytu; from Tornay – Sohier 2007:79



Arabic seal of Abbaa Ǧifaar II of Ǧimma, displaying his Muslim name (ibn Dawd); from Borelli 1888:159



Seal of the imperial library and collection of antiquities; ca. 1930, private collection of Berhanou Abebe

terparts in Ethiopia or abroad, they also served as evidence of identity and authenticity on the passes delivered by dignitaries to foreign travellers. They could be affixed to the top of royal proclamations, read in various places of the territory (↗*Awaǧ*). A S. could also be a sign of ownership, affixed especially to manuscripts. It could also be used to take an oath. After the ↗coup d'état of 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081) which led to the dismissal of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, all chiefs were required to affix their S. to the deposition text (GebMolIyas 364). Economic transactions were also concluded with the S., which had, in that case, a legal, contractual value. In case, affixing a S. was a mark of the commitment of its owner and the S. was considered a very personal object.

The S. is in many ways the official and personal representative of its owner. It bears his name but also his title(s), sometimes the name of the region or the city of which he is the ruler, the origin of the holder, or a motto, in Amharic, Təgrəñña, Arabic, Coptic or in a European language, depending on the culture of the owner, on his region but also on his correspondents. The inscription of the S. of *abunä* ↗Peṭros was, for example, written in Coptic, Gəᶜəz, and Arabic, whilst the S. of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel was written in Gəᶜəz, Italian or French and Arabic (Tornay – Sohier 2007:84, 112).

Except in the case of Muslim leaders such as ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II, whose S. contain only a legend in Arabic (cp. ill.), the S. were always adorned with symbols and every element was carefully chosen (s. Tornay – Sohier 2007:21). The diameter of the S. may also express the rank of its owner. The place of the S. on the letter was also meaningful and regulated. Only the king of kings and the *abun* had the right to affix their S. to the top of their letters, whilst other dignitaries had to fix it on the bottom of the documents (cp. also Smidt in VarAeth).

The S. was a carefully kept object of value. The king's matrix was under the custody of the ↗*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*, a precaution that did not always prevent political problems arising because of the use of the royal S., as is related in various diplomatic sources. Some S. were manufactured abroad, such as those of Tewodros II or of ↗Mənilək II as *nəguś* of ↗Šäwa; most were fashioned in the country, possibly by the clergy and/or by Armenian or Arabic ↗goldsmiths of Addis Abäba. Catholic missionaries also sometimes provided S. to Ethiopian nobles. Matrixes were made of silver, copper, brass or other blendings, engraved or embossed, but the matrixes of most noblemen of the 19th and 20th cent. are untraceable today, except in the case of the S. of Tewodros, whose matrix was brought to England by British soldiers in 1868 (Pankhurst 1973:89; ↗Napier expedition). The absence of such precious artefacts in public collections may be explained by the fact that S. - were, after the death of their owner, broken or had the surface of their matrix scored in order to prevent misuse by non-authorized persons.

Ink was more widely employed than sealing wax. Its colour varied: blue and black ink were often used but the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome also contains a letter of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV with a golden S. and a letter of Mənilək II ornamented by a red S. The meaning of these colours is not known today. Ink was imported from abroad.

The use of S. by individuals decreased after the fall of the monarchy, but is still employed by the Ethiopian administration. In spite of their tiny surface, the S. are valuable and rich historical sources.

Src.: Jules Borelli, *Ethiopie-Méridionale*: *Journal de mon voyage aux Pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama, Septembre 1885 à Novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 159 (ill.); GebMolIyas 364; RubActa I–III.
Lit.: Conseil International des Archives/Le Comité de Sigillographie (eds.), *Vocabulaire international de la sigillographie*, Rome 1990; Sebastian Euringer, "Osservazioni sui «sigilli abissini» di E. Littmann", *RSE* 2, 1942, 333–35; Enno Littmann, "Sigilli abissini", *ibid.* 1, 1941, 217–25; Id., "Nuove osservazioni sui sigilli abissini", *ibid.* 2, 3, 1942, 331–32; Richard Pankhurst, "Ethiopian Noblesmen's Seals of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: a First Selection", *EthObs* 15, 3, 1972, 142–53; Id., "Letter Writing and the Use of Royal and Imperial Seals in Ethiopia prior to the Twentieth Century", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 179–207; Id., "Ethiopian Royal Seals of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in: *PICES* 6, 397–417; Sven Rubenson, "The Lion of Judah. Christian Symbol and/or Imperial Title", *JES* 3, 2, 1965, 75–85; Wolbert G.C. Smidt, "Deutsche Briefe von Äthiopiern 1855–1869 aus dem Umkreis der protestantischen Mission zur Regierungszeit von Tewodros II.", in: *VarAeth* 287–316; Id., "The Seals of Negus Mika'el …", *AE* 23, 2007–08, 435–39; Serge Tornay, "A Hundred-and-One Pictures of Ethiopian Royal and Noblemen's Seals Collected by the French Consul Boucoiran: a New Document in Sigillography from the Time of Tewodros to the 1920s", in: *PICES* 15, 496–506; Id. – Estelle Sohier, *Empreintes du temps. Les sceaux des dignitaires éthiopiens du règne de Téwodros à la régence de Täfäri Mäkonnen*, Addis Abeba 2007, 21, 84, 112.

Estelle Sohier

Səbəstyanos

The first ↗*märəd azmač* of ↗Šäwa, S. (**ስብስትያኖስ**, also Səbəste, r. 1703–19, d. 27 *Yäkkatit* 1719 [AWTarik 81]) was one of the six or seven sons of ↗Nägaśi Krəstos.

Before his sudden death in 1703, Nägaśi left a will giving his throne at Agânča to his son Akawa, his spear and silver knife to S. and his land and money to all his other children (AWTarik 73; BTafA 505). Akawa thus succeeded his father, but was soon deposed in favour of his brother Dana. S. did not fight his brothers; he went to ↗Märḥabete to serve the ruler Mäzämmər, where he was received with honours and gained esteem by his bravery. Meanwhile, Dana suffered several territorial losses, and his kinsmen decided to displace him in favour of S., who was lured from Märḥabete back to Aganča by a trick.

Even before S. ascended the throne he had repelled the invading ↗Ṭəmmuga and ↗Abbičuu Oromo. These victories brought him much wealth, which enabled him to acquire his own followers. Dana, on the advice of his own people, marched against S. but lost. Shortly after this victory, S. had his kinsmen and friends assembled at ↗Šola Meda for the official mourning of his father. On this occasion, and after having consulted the *maḥammade* of ↗Walašma^{c}, S. pronounced himself *märəd azmač* (BTafA 507; AWTarik 74f.).

S. drove the Karrayyuu Oromo out of Yəfat and managed to restore to Šäwa the region around ↗Doqaqit previously conquered by Nägaśi. He apparently built the town of Doqaqit and governed "all Šäwa" from there (PankHist 186). S. married Tagunstyan (Darkwah 1975: 8), a noblewoman from Dobba, who bore him ↗Abbəyye "Qädami Qal". Later, leaving his son at Doqaqit (AWTarik 80; BTafA 507), S. made ↗Ayne, founded by his father Nägaśi, his capital. S. is credited with founding such towns as ↗Ḥar Amba and Aya Bär (PankHist 186).

Abbəyye, who had no ↗*tabot* for the church of St. Michael he was restoring at Doqaqit, stole one from Ayne. Seeing this as an act of disloyalty, S. marched to Šola Meda where Abbəyye resided, and was killed there, either by his son or by one of the latter's servants. The traditions differ as to the exact year of S.'s death; his rule is estimated at ca. 10–20 years.

Unlike his father, S. never sought the recognition of the emperors at Gondär, and paid them no tribute. The emperors, on the other hand, never recognized S. as Šäwan ruler. S. rather declared Šäwa a sovereign state. He expanded its borders as far as the ↗Awadi, and cultivation of the valley started during his rule (AWTarik 82; BTafA 509). The title S. bestowed upon himself became hereditary and, along with the position, passed from father to son without serious contest for seven generations.

Src.: BTafA 505–09; AWTarik 74–82; CecZeila I, 238f.; GueCopMen 55ff.; HarAeth III 8; Paul Soleillet, *Voyages en Éthiopie*, Rouen 1886, 270.
Lit.: PankHist I, 185f.; LevWax 31ff.; StStud 102–05; EgeClass 21–25; AbPrince 144–47; Kofi Darkwah, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire,* London 1975, 6ff.

Sophia Dege

Səbḥat Arägawi

Ras S.A. (**ስብሐት፡ አረጋዊ**; b. ca. 1844, d. 25 February 1914, Ak̠ora) was a Təgrayan warrior-prince and governor of ↗^{c}Agamä.

Aṣe ↗Yoḥannəs IV had a policy of weakening the hereditary base of the house of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of ^{c}Agamä by imposing overlords on them and transferring them to other units within ↗Təgray. This policy, of partitioning ^{c}Agamä into several districts run by distantly related or even completely unrelated chiefs (Markham

1869:54; Tsegay Berhe 1996:107), reached its peak following the death of *šum ᶜagamä* ↗Arägawi Säbagadis in 1873. Yoḥannəs used the opportunity to appoint a favourite courtier, Tädla Ayba, from the neighbouring area of Kələttä Awləᶜalo, over the traditional territory of the *šum ᶜagame* with the title of *däǧǧazmač* (Caulk 1984:211; BTafY 129; Tsegay Berhe 1996:107). At the death of Aragäwi, his two children, Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel and S.A., reacted in two diametrically opposed ways. The older brother, Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel, who had at that time a family of his own and much to loose, opted for the more traditional way of going to the Emperor's court to wait for royal favours (Caulk 1984:211; Tsegay Berhe 1996:107).

S.A., however, opted to rebel, joining his ↗Irob kinsmen in the escarpments. He was one of the young Təgrayan nobles who had been taken to *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II's court in 1861 (Caulk 1984:211; Tsegay Berhe 1996:107). In the early 1870s, he posed a serious challenge to Yoḥannəs by defeating a series of government expeditions sent against him and by capturing one of Yoḥannəs's appointees in ᶜAgamä. In response, the Emperor appointed Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel over ᶜAgamä, with the title of *däǧǧazmač*, in 1875. This appeased S.A. and he started to frequent the Emperor's court (Caulk 1984:211; Tsegay Berhe 1996:117). He is even said to have fought at the Battle of ↗Gundät in November 1875 on the side of Yoḥannəs. He commanded the ᶜAgamä contingent when Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel reportedly fell ill. However, S.A., not wishing to become a simple courtier, went back to the bush in 1876 in an open revolt against the Emperor's rule (Tsegay Berhe 1996:109f.; Caulk 1984:211). Furthermore, S.A. seems to have quarrelled with his own brother over the acquisition of hereditary ↗*rəst* lands.

Between 1876–81, S.A. continued to challenge Yoḥannəs's government, destabilizing ᶜAgamä and the adjacent lowlands, raiding cattle and waylaying caravans. He is even said to have allied himself with the Egyptians and made his abode among his Irob kinsmen. The Catholics of ᶜAgamä collaborated with him (as they did with his father, Arägawi) looking for his protection to consolidate their fledgling Catholic base, in ↗ᶜAlitena (OMahPh vol. 3, 6; Aleme Eshete 1970/71:57). Some time earlier, S.A. is said to have had a confrontation with Yoḥannəs's troops, apparently led by *baḥər nägaš* Täsfa Maryam of Saᵓəsəᵓ whom he captured and brought to Irobland to hide. In response, the Emperor sent about 3,000 government troops commanded by two of his leading lieutenants, *däǧǧazmač* Tädla Ayba and Mäšäša, who looted the countryside burning down the Catholic churches and missionary residences (Aleme Eshete 1970/71:57; OMahPh vol. 3, 6; Tsegay Berhe 1996:110).

Defiant groups of the Irob among the Buknáyto Catholics ambushed and killed a number of the ruler's soldiers while S.A. struck from behind, restoring to the Irob much of what had been taken as booty (Aleme Eshete 1970/71:57; Caulk 1984:211, OMahPh vol. 3, 6f.). The action further strained the ↗Lazarist's relations with Yoḥannəs and induced diplomatic pressures from European consuls in ↗Massawa (Aleme Eshete 1970/71:57; OMahPh vol. 3, 6). When Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel's health deteriorated, the Emperor appointed S.A. deputy governor of ᶜAgamä with the title of *šum ᶜagame*. This brought an end to the feud between the Emperor's court and the family of Säbagadis. From 1881 onward, S.A. served his Emperor loyally, administering his father's land with his ailing brother. When Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel finally died in 1888, Yoḥannəs appointed S.A. as successor to his brother with the title of *däǧǧazmač* (Caulk 1984:211; Tsegay Berhe 1996:110f.).

S.A. became one of the leading contenders of the post-Yoḥannəs power struggle in Təgray. He was ambivalent in his alliances with *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, the Italians and members of the feuding Təgrayan nobility in the years between 1889 and 1898. After armed hostilities with *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs, the official successor of Yoḥannəs IV, an uneasy truce was concluded in 1892 when S.A. reluctantly recognized Mängäša. Mängäša in turn conferred the title of *ras* on S.A (ErlAlula 141; Tsegay Berhe 1996:154f.). But it was a short-lived peace until 1894 when Mängäša managed to confine S.A. in the prison of ↗Ambalage. The Italian colonial invasion of 1895, however, helped his release. As a consequence, S.A. briefly joined the Italians, who confirmed him as *ras* only to betray them on the eve of the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa. He played a significant role during the battle of ᶜAdwa by launching another front in the strategic mountains of ᶜAgamä (BerAdwa 24f.; Yaqob Beyene 1973:146). Then, S.A. joined a rebellion with his erstwhile rival, Mängäša, against Mənilək, which led to his captivity and exile to ↗Harär for another decade. In 1908, he was restored to his governorship of ᶜAgamä which he ruled until 1914.

In 1914, S.A. died in the battle of Aḵora, in his ᶜAgamä chiefdom, in yet another round of power struggle with his nephew, *däğğazmač* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər of ^{c}Adwa and central Təgray. S.A. was perhaps one of the most influential politicians of his period. His successors ruled over ^{c}Agamä until the 1974 ↗Revolution (Yaqob Beyene 1973: 146f.; Tsegay Berhe 1996: 157f.).

Src.: ASSEFA ZEWDE, **የክቡር፡ ራስ፡ ስብሐት፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäkəbur ras Səbḥat yäḥəywät tarik*, 'The Biography of the Honorable *ras* Səbḥat'), ms. n.d.; JOSEPH BAETEMAN, "Impressions de voyage de France en Abyssinie", *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1922, 258; BTafY 129; CLEMENTS MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 54.
Lit.: ALEME ESHETE, *La Mission Catholique Lazariste en Éthiopie*, Ph.D. thesis, Institut d'histoire des pays d'outremer, Aix-en-Provence 1970/71, 57; BerkAdwa 24f.; RICHARD CAULK, "Bad Men of the Borders: Shum and Shifta in the Northern Ethiopia in the Nineteenth Century", *IJAHS* 17, 2, 1984, 201–27, here 211; ErlAlula 141, 161f., 263ff.; FanTarik 222; OMahPh vol. 3, 6f.; TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of Agama, 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996, 107–10, 117, 152, 154f., 157f.; YAQOB BEYENE, "Rās Sebḥāt in alcune composizioni poetiche tigrine dell'^{c}Agāmä", *Annali IUO 33*, 1973, 145–60.

Tsegay Berhe

Səbḥatä fəqur

The S.f. (**ስብሐት፡ ፍቁር**, 'praise of the Beloved') is a communal daily office in the practice of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church.

The S.f. is considered to form a unity with the office of the ↗*Sä^{c}atat*. Correspondingly, in books (both manuscript and printed), the S.f. always follows upon the *Sä^{c}atat* (s. ed. Mogäs ^{c}Ǝqubä Giyorgis 1996/97: 208ff.; ed. Ṭə^{c}umä Ləssan 1999/2000: 221). In some manuscripts (e.g., VatLib Aeth. 30, 47; EMML nos. 1309, 1529), the S.f. appears under the title ↗*Məhəlla*, being also a sort of supplication.

Like the *Sä^{c}atat*, the S.f. is not read during the Easter period (↗*Fasika*) and on major church ↗feasts such as ↗*Lədät*, ↗*Ṭəmqät*, and others. The frequency of use depends on the local church tradition. It can be included into the daily service, or only said on a specific occasion or feast, e.g., the Marian cycle, or during the first seven days of each month (cp. ed. Ṭə^{c}umä Ləssan 1999/2000: 221), or during the period of spiritual retreat (↗Fasting). If the ↗*Maḫlet* or ↗*Sä^{c}atat* is celebrated in the morning, the S.f. could be said right before the Divine Liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) of the afternoon, or late in the afternoon.

The S.f. is always sung in ↗*^{c}əzəl* mode of chant. The melody of S.f. is also called *zema maḫzäni* ('song of compassion', cf. EMML no. 2852).

The S.f. is celebrated in the form of processions inside or outside a church, the ministers carrying a Marian icon, the ↗*tabot*, and the ↗cross. The S.f. is divided in portions according to the days of the week (EMML no. 1529).

In the past, the S.f. had a simpler structure, and varied according to a local tradition. Today, S.f. has fixed and optional/moveable elements. These include the Prayer of Thanksgiving, Nicene Creed, *Our Father*, a series of hymns, fixed Psalms, ↗*Wəddase Maryam*, and, if there is a priest, *liṭon* and *mästäbq^{w}ə^{c}at* (↗Litanies).

Different collections list different psalms and canticles to be recited every day (cp. ↗Psalter):

E.g., ms. EMML no. 1529 (17th–18th cent.): Ps 6, 24, 31, 37, 50, 69, 129, Ct 6 (prayer of Manasses), Ct 13 (*Magnificat*); ms. EMML no. 3049: Ps 26, 41, 50, 123 Ct 6, 13; EMML nos. 2201 and 4493 (16th cent.): Ps 120, 26, 41, *Taśahalänni* [50, or 55, or 56], 85, 123, Ct 6, 13.

The litanical hymns of the S.f. (some published, some still unpublished) include:

Mäḥarännä Ab ('Have mercy on us, o Father'; EMML no. 3049; ed. Mogäs ^{c}Ǝqubä Giyorgis 1967/77: 238–44; ed. Ṭə^{c}umä Ləssan 1999/2000: 245–54); *O Zäwärädkä* ('O you descended'; ed. Mogäs 1967/77: 204–07); ↗*Bäʾəntä śəllasekä* (EMML nos. 1487, 3049; ed. Mogäs 1967/77: 303f.), *G^{w}äśʾa ləbbəyä* ("Eructavit cor meum"; EMML no. 1487).

Particularly relevant are such Marian hymns as (cp. ↗Marian literature):

↗*Bəṣəʾət anti* (Raineri 1986), *Mälkəʾa śə^{c}əl* (ChRep no. 368), ↗*O rəḫrəḫtä ḫəllina*.

The supplication is addressed to God through the intercession of the ↗Prophets, the Patriarchs, the ↗Apostles (esp. St. Peter), St. ↗George of Lydda, ↗Täklä Haymanot, ↗Ewosṭatewos or ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus (EMML no. 3049). God is asked to bless the supplication for the sake of Christ who suffered for the sinners (ms. VatLib Aeth. 47; EMML no. 1529).

Tradition ascribes the composition of the S.f., or at least of its Marian parts, to the 15th-cent. Emperor ↗Zärʾa Ya^{c}əqob (EMML nos. 1529–5, 2096–3; Getatchew Haile 1983: 55; Raineri 1986).

Src.: ChRep no. 292; EMML V, VI, X (mss. EMML nos. 1487, 1529, 1831, 2201, 2096, 4493); GréTisVat I, 142f., 199f. (mss. VatLib Aeth. 30, fols. 9–21v, Aeth. 47, fol. 199); *liqä mäzämməran* MOGÄS ^{c}ƎQUBÄ GIYORGIS (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት** (*Mäṣḥafä sä^{c}atat*, 'The Book of the Hours'), Aśmära 1969 A.M. [1976/77 A.D.], 208–37; *mämhər abba* ṬƎ^{c}UMÄ LƎSSAN KIDANÄ MARYAM ZÄDÄBRÄ ABBAY (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዓታት፡ ከነምልክቱ** (*Mäṣḥafä sä^{c}atat kännäməlәkkətu*, 'The Book of the Hours with Musical Notation'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.], 245–54.
Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Different Collections of Nagś Hymns in Ethiopic Literature and Their Contributions*, Erlangen 1983 (Oikonomia. Quellen und Studien zur orthodoxen Theologie 19); OSVALDO RAINERI, "L'inno ma-

riano etiopico ‘Beṣeᶜet anti’ (Beata sei) del ‘Səbḥatä fəqur’ (Celebrazione del diletto)”, *OrChrP* 52, 1986, 421–31.

Habtemichael Kidane

Səbḥatä nägh

The S.n. (**ስብሐተ፡ ነግህ**, lit. ‘Praise to the Morning’, i.e. Matins; sometimes simply *Nägh*) is an office in the practice of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. It is a part of the ↗*Dəggʷa*. Unlike such other parts as the ↗*Mäwäddəs* (celebrated on Sundays), the ↗*Kəśtätä aryam* (celebrated on a saint’s day) and the ↗*Məhəlla* (celebrated only ten times during the year), the S.n. is celebrated every day of the week.

The S.n. is celebrated early in the morning. The name stands for different forms of Matins or Lauds for big liturgical ↗feasts, minor feasts, weekdays, and for special days.

The main types of S.n. are: **ንኡስ፡ ስብሐተ፡ ነግህ** (*nəᵓus səbḥatä nägh*, ‘minor S.n.’); and **ዐቢይ፡ ስብሐተ፡ ነግህ** (*ᶜabiyy səbḥatä nägh*, ‘major S.n.’), for Sundays and important feasts such as ↗*Mäsqäl*, the three Sundays of Advent (*Səbkät*, *Bərhan*, *Nolawi*), *Amanuᵓel* (Christmas eve), ↗*Lədät*, ↗*Ṭəmqät*, *Təsbəᵓt*, Palm Sunday, ↗*Fasika*, Ascension, Transfiguration, Pentecost, ↗*Fəlsäta lämaryam*. The main difference lies in constituting elements and the chanting mode. The specific composition may vary from church to church.

During weekdays, *səbḥatä nägh zäzäwätər*, a weekday S.n. in the memory of the saints, is performed. It takes a particular form during the Marian *Zämänä ṣəgge* (26 *Mäskäräm* to 5 *Ḫədar*, ‘the season of the Flowers’), when on Saturdays the Canticle of Canticles is used instead of Ps 62, 91, 5, 64, and the ↗*Maḫletä ṣəge* becomes part of the Matins on Saturday and Sunday. During the weekdays of ↗Lent, the whole ↗Psalter is recited, divided into groups of ten psalms each.

The elements used in the S.n. are: (1) Biblical readings: Ps 62, 91, 5, 64, 148–50 (also called *säbbəḥəwo*, i.e. Lauds) and two Canticles of the Three Boys in Furnace (Dn 3:52–56 and 57–88), each accompanied or followed by a *Dəggʷa* element; Gospel passages; (2) extra-biblical readings: extracts from the ↗*Sənkəssar*, ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam*. The *Dəggʷa* elements utilised in the S.n. are: a) elements that accompany Biblical texts, ↗*zäᵓamlakəyä*, ↗*zäyəᵓəze*, *bäḫamməstu*, ↗*yətbaräk*, ↗*maḫlet*, *səbḥatä nägh*, *śäläst*, ↗*sälam*, *arbaᶜət*; b) elements that are said on their own: ↗*ᶜəzəl* or *həyäntä ᶜəzəl* (according to the liturgical period), *abun*, *əsmä läᶜaläm*, *qənwat*, *mäzmur*. Other ↗hymns are composed during the S.n., including such ↗*qəne* as *zäᵓamlakəyä*, *gubaᵓe qana*, *śəllase*, *zäyəᵓəze*, as well as different ↗*mälkəᵓ*, ↗*ziq*, and other hymnological compositions. Various ↗prayers such as the ↗*Wəddase Maryam*, ↗litanies and *Kidan* prayers taken from the ↗*Testamentum domini* are usually included into the S.n.

↗Calendar; ↗Qəddase

Src.: **አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትወ፡ ዜማዎች** (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawočč*, ‘The Five Categories of Chants’), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.]; *mämhər* ELYAS ABRƎHA, **ይትበሃል፡ ዘጎንደር፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ማኅሌት** (*Yətbähal zägondär zäwəᵓtu śərᵓatä maḫlet*, ‘The Celebration of the Divine Office in the Tradition of Gondär’), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D]; HabTent 69ff.

Lit.: HabUff 336–58; VelMe I, 305–13; BERNARD VELAT, *Exécution liturgique de l’Office divin éthiopien*, Paris University, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, thèse complémentare 1966.

Habtemichael Kidane

Secundus

S. (Gr. Σεκοῦνδος, *Sekoûndos*, Eth. **ስክንድስ**, Səkəndəs; fl. 2nd cent., Athens) “the Silent” is a Greek philosopher (of either Pythagorean or Cynic school) known from an anonymous *Vita* of S. (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.) containing his life and his maxims, which was also translated into Gəᶜəz.

While learning abroad, S. was told that all women are inclined to ↗prostitution. Back home, he tried to seduce his own mother to test this claim, and realized that she would succumb to his advances. When he disclosed his identity, she committed suicide. Seeing the tragedy resulting from his words, S. took a vow not to speak anymore. He remained steadfast even when threatened with death by Emperor Hadrian. Finally, Hadrian posed his questions on the world and man and received S.’s answers (“maxims”) in writing.

The Greek text is known in several versions (Perry 1964:65–91). An Armenian translation was made as early as the 5th cent. An incomplete Syriac translation is known from a 9th-cent. manuscript. The 12th-cent. Latin version, with suggestions from Ambrose’s *Exameron*, became widespread in Europe and was the source of several versions in European languages (Moretti 1998). Extant Christian Arabic versions, known in Arabic since the 9th cent. (GrafLit I, 388; Perry 1964:59–64, 119–60, append. III), are considerably expanded in comparison to the Greek. The Arabs also knew S. as an alchemist (Ullmann 1972:164).

The Gəᶜəz translation titled **ዜና፡ ስክንድስ፡ ጠቢብ፡ ለእንድርያኖስ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወትምህርታቲሁ፡ ወጥበቡ፡ ወተስእሎታቲሁ** (*Zena Səkəndəs ṭäbib *läᵓəndəryanos nəguś wätəmhərtatihu wäṭəbäbu wätäsəᵓəlotatihu*, 'The story of Secundus, King Hadrian's sage and of his teachings, his wisdom and his dialogue') was made from an Arabic *Vorlage*, probably in the 14th cent. It is attested in manuscripts since the 17th cent. (Zotenberg dates ms. BN Éth. 146 [ZotBNat 249] to this period).

The impact of this book on Ethiopian culture is hard to assess. Manuscripts seem to be quite rare, although two of them (mss. BritLib Orient. 818 and 827) were in the royal collection at ↗Mäqdäla. A comprehensive Arabic-Gəᶜəz edition drawing on broader manuscript evidence is a desideratum.

Src.: JOHANNES BACHMANN (ed.), *Das Leben und die Sentenzen des Philosophen Secundus des Schweigsamen – nach dem Äthiopischen und Arabischen*, Halle 1887; ID. (tr.), *Secundi Philosophi taciturni Vita ac Sententiae*, Berolinum 1887 (tr. of Eth. text); ID., *Die Philosophie des Neopythagoreers Secundus. Linguistisch-philosophische Studie*, Berlin 1888; CRAbb III, no. 214, fols. 60–102; DillmBerl 64 [ms. Peterm. II Nachtr. 38], fols. 4–82; BEN EDWIN PERRY (ed., tr.), *Secundus the Silent Philosopher*, Ithaka, NY 1964 (Philological Monographs 22) (ed. and tr. of Greek and Arabic texts; repr. of Armenian, Syriac and Eth. texts); CLAUDE SUMNER, *The Source of African Philosophy*: *The Ethiopian Philosophy of Man*, Stuttgart 1986 (AeF 20), 100–22; WrBriMus 296, no. 390 [ms. Orient 827], fols. 41–72; 310, no. 391 [ms. Orient 818], fols. 129–44; ZotBNat 245f., ms. Éth. 146, fols. 194–205.

Lit.: SEBASTIAN BROCK, "Secundus the Silent Philosopher: Some Notes on the Syriac Tradition", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 121, 1978, 94–100; RICHARD M. FRANK [review of Perry 1964], *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 86, 1966, 347–50; GrafLit I, 388, II, 679; PAOLA FRANCESCA MORETTI, "Ambrogio e Secondo filosofo. Su una presunta fonte delle descrizioni di mare, sole e luna nell'"Exameron'", in: LUIGI F. PIZZOLATO – MARCO RIZZI (eds.), *Nec timeo mori. Atti del Congresso internazionale di Studi ambrosiani nel XVI anniversario della morte di Sant'Ambrogio* (*4–11 aprile 1997*), Milano 1998, 649–62 (Lit.); OLIVER OVERWIEN, "Secundus der schweigsame Philosoph: Ein Leben zwischen Mythos und Kosmos", *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*, NF 28b, 2004, 105–29; VINCENZO POGGI, "La Scuola di Beirut secondo testi greci e orientali", in: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI (ed.), *Autori classici in lingue del Vicino e Medio Oriente. Atti del* VI, VII *e* VIII *Seminario sul tema «Recupero di testi classici attraverso recezioni in lingue del Vicino e Medio Oriente»* (*Milano, 5–6 ottobre 1987, Napoli 5–6 dicembre 1988; Bologna, 13–14 ottobre 1989)*, Roma 2001, 57–68, here 60ff. (Lit.); CLAUDE SUMNER, "The Ethiopian Philosophy of Greek Origin", in: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA (eds.), *Collectanea Aethiopica*, Stuttgart 1988 (AeF 26), 145–71, here 162–69; MANFRED ULLMANN, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 164.

Stefan Weninger

Śəᶜəlä Krəstos

Ras Ś.K. (**ሥዕለ፡ ክርስቶስ**, b. ca. 1570, d. ca. 1636) was half brother of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos through Ḥamälmal Wärq (s. vol. 5) and one of the staunchest supporters of the ↗Jesuit mission. After Susənyos's second coronation at ↗Aksum in 1607, the Emperor appointed Ś.K. governor of Təgray (BecRASO III, 409) and, afterwards, Ś.K. joined the monarch in his struggle against ↗Kəflo and ↗Yolyos (PerChron 129–32 [text]). Thereafter, he was promoted governor of ↗Goǧǧam (ibid. 142).

As governor of Goǧǧam, Ś.K. was one of Susənyos's closest confidants. Along with his troops, he took an active part in the campaigns against the Oromo (PerChron 190–97 [text]; BecRASO III, 499–508) and against nobles who challenged the Emperor's authority. Although he started his career as a bitter rival of the Catholic missionaries, Ś.K. was highly respected by the Jesuits, who described him as "very prudent, brave, perspicacious, and well-versed in the Ethiopian books" (BecRASO III, 429).

Towards 1612, Ś.K. began to frequent Jesuit company, in particular that of Pedro ↗Páez and later Francisco Antonio de Angelis, who became his confessors (BecRASO III, 429–34). In February 1613, he authored a letter to Pope Paul V (ibid. 440f.). Two possible factors behind his leaning towards the Jesuits could have been his close relationship with the pro-Catholic ↗Bəᶜəlä Krəstos and his recovery in 1614 from a serious illness. Henceforth, the governor attributed his military victories over the Oromo to his break with the Ethiopian Church (BecRASO II, 383f.; VI, 433).

Ś.K.'s increasing affinity towards the missionaries' creed found conspicuous expression in the vast swathes of land that he designated for the construction of Catholic churches (↗Qʷälläla, Särka, Ḥadaša; BecRASO XII, 213; Pennec 2003:225). Under the influence of Ś.K., the province of Goǧǧam was the first to accept the Roman Lenten and to celebrate publicly the Catholic feasts (BecRASO IV, 15). Moreover, Ś.K. named his son after Cardinal Bellarmine and was deemed by the missionaries to be an agent for spreading the faith (BecRASO XII, 490; Orlowska in PICES 14, 430). He was also active in Susənyos's plan to expand the empire, particularly in the systematic policy of converting to Catholicism the ↗Agäw populations. In 1624, Ś.K. reported that he had burned down a huge Agäw idol and asked the patriarch Alfonso ↗Mendes to send more clergy for the purpose of reinforcing the conversion enterprise (BecRASO XII, 135f.).

However, towards the end of the decade Susənyos began to lack confidence in Ś.K.'s fervent methods. He removed Ś.K. from his long-held post in Goǧǧam (BecRASO IV, 55). Later he appointed Ś.K. governor of Bägemdər, only later to dismiss him out of fear that his kinsman's zealousness would alienate the peasants, who already were on good terms with Ś.K.'s rival ↗Gäbrä Krəstos (cf. PerChron 293 [text]). Thereafter, Ś.K. managed to convince Susənyos to grant him the governorship of ↗Damot (PerChron 292f. [text]), for which he agreed once again to take up the sword against the Oromo.

The relations between Ś.K. and Prince ↗Fasilädäs were also characterized by a lack of trust. Thanks to the Jesuits' mediation, a meeting was set up between the two at which Ś.K. declared that he did not harbour any aspirations for the throne. Nevertheless, Susənyos's royal chronicle blames him for the chaos that descended upon the land amid the unravelling of the Catholic project. In the final year of his reign, Susənyos commanded his half-brother to return to the front, even though he was still nursing wounds.

After Susənyos's death (1632), Fasilädäs asked Ś.K. to return to his ancestral faith. As the latter refused, he was exiled to ↗Wägära in November of the same year (BecRASO VII, 197–203). Later, he was transferred to the lands of the ↗Balaw, where he died (BecRASO VII, 446f.).

His name and figure inspired, most likely, the character of Rasselas, the protagonist of Samuel ↗Johnson's homonymous novel.

Src.: BecRASO II, 383f.; III, 409, 429-34, 440ff., 499–508; IV, 15, 52–59; VI, 421ff.; 433; VII, 179-83, 197–203, 446f.; XI, 319f.; XII, 135f., 163ff., 213, 248–57, 394ff., 463–72, 490–500; PerChron 129–32, 142, 190–97, 292f. (text) = 100ff., 110, 146–51, 225f. (tr.).

Lit.: GIRMA BESHAH – MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations* (*1500–1632*), Lisboa 1964, 79–87, 99–104; IZABELA ORLOWSKA, "The Chronicle of Susneyos as an Ethiopian Source for Research on the Jesuit Period in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 422–34; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean …*, Paris 2003, 222–26, 234–38.

Leonardo Cohen

Seera

The word S. ('order', 'custom' or 'local law') is known among the ↗Oromo, ↗Gurage, Səlṭe (↗Səlṭi), ↗Hadiyya and ↗Sidaama. It is related to Semitic (cp. Gəᶜəz **ሥርዐት**, *śərᶜat*, 'ordinance, order' [also Amh.], cp. also Arab. ↗*šarīᶜa*) but entered into the Gurage languages via Cushitic (KaneDic 480f.; Leslau 1979: 558).

Among the Oromo, who are taken as an example here, S. are sets of religious, moral and juridical laws, precepts and commandments that guide judgements in different Oromo societies. They define wrong-doings and often contain regulations about how to proceed in case of human misdemeanours, such as theft, bride abduction and homicide. The S. is regarded as sacrosanct. Holy objects, creatures and institutions are thereby under special protection. Many prescriptions also refer to cattle, and to places of communal right such as watering places. The different S. are codified to varying degrees. Among the ↗Arsi, S. is subdivided into six chapters (VSAe II, 226, 476–81). Some S. rather resemble moral commandments, such as the ↗Boorana S.: "Fear God/the Sky [↗Waaqa], fear the Earth. […] Fear the father, fear the mother, fear the elder brother. […] You shall not kill. You shall not lie. […] You shall not abandon your mother" (VSAe II, 226f.).

At court sessions, the judge (↗*Hayyuu*) hears the arguing parties and witnesses. After thorough consultation with the other elders, he finally pronounces the verdict by holding his sceptre (↗*Bokkuu*) and by saying: "Receive the law" (VSAe II, 231). Despite his influence, the *hayyuu* can rarely enforce the execution of his judgement by sanctions. There are nevertheless accounts of severe punishments, e.g., among the western Arsi, and even of death penalty (de Salviac 1910: 203f.; VSAe II, 322f.).

The transmission of the holy formulae is one of the most important acts when handing over the duties and offices of the ↗*gadaa* system (VSAe II, 226). During several ceremonies, the S. is recited and the amount of blood-money (or the number of cattle) to be paid after homicide is fixed (HuntGal 47; de Salviac 1910: 185; VSAe II, 541). For the most part, the "newly" proclaimed law is a re-statement of the traditional law, sometimes with modifications (HuntGal 47; VSAe II, 225).

↗Aadaa; ↗Customary law

Src.: GraggDic 355; KaneDic 480f.; LesCDic 532f.; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (*Ethiopic*), vol. 3: *Etymological Section*, Wiesbaden 1979, 558; MARTIAL DE SALVIAC, *Un peuple antique au pays de Ménélik. Les Galla* (*Dits d'Origine Gauloise*), *Grande Nation Africaine*, Paris 1910, 185, 203f.; HuntGal 47.

Lit.: VSAe II, 226f., 231, 255, 322f., 476–81, 567.

Andrea Nicolas

Seᶜert, Chronicle of

The C.S. is a conventional title of the chronicle, provided by its editor Scher, who had found an acephalous manuscript of the work in Seᶜert (Turkish *Siirt*), Eastern Turkey, where he had been the archbishop of the Chaldean community.

It is a work of an unknown East Syrian ("Nestorian") author written in Arabic, which contains information on East Syrian Church history (including the monastic) together with accounts of the secular history of Persia (↗Iran) and the ↗Byzantine Empire. The text, as published by Scher, contains two parts covering the periods 253–422 A.D. and 484–650 A.D., i.e. beginning from Emperor Valerian (253–260 A.D.), whereas the last datable account is that of the West Syrian (↗Jacobite) patriarch Athanasius Gammālā (594–631 A.D.); the Arab conquests are mentioned, too. Recently a new manuscript was found which is reported to contain the missing beginning (van Vossel 1998), but so far it has not been published; the end remains unknown.

The C.S. was based on Syriac sources (e.g. the *Church History* by Daniel bar Maryam (mid-7th cent., not extant) most of which remain unknown. It was composed in the 11th cent. before 1020 (Fiey 1966: 22).

The C.S. contains a valuable account of the arrival of Christianity at ↗Nağrān, where a massacre by the Jewish king of Ḥimyar, ↗Yūsuf Asᵓar Yaṯᵓar also known as Ḏū Nuwās, provoked the Aksumite crusade of ↗Kaleb ca. 519/524 A.D. Due to the brevity of its report, details concerning the history of Christianity at Nağrān remain obscure. In particular, the C.S. does not explain which Yazdegard occupied the Persian throne when the merchant Hannān was baptized at Ḥira and began the conversion of Nağrān and Ḥimyar, and does not reveal the form of Christianity that Hannān adopted. Of considerable interest to Ethiopian historians are remarks in the chronicle about the Jewish king, whom it calls Masrūq, thus confirming the name otherwise known from the *Book of the ↗Ḥimyarites*.

The C.S. was discovered and edited by Scher (1908–19), who was assisted by several scholars, with R. Griveau supervising the final instalment after Scher was murdered in 1915. The fate of various parts of the manuscript at Seᶜert, Mosul, Paris, and Baghdad is described by Macomber (1971).

↗Arabia

Src.: *Histoire nestorienne inédite* (*Chronique de Séert*), ed. [and tr.] by ADDAI SCHER, [part] 1:1, Paris 1907 (PO 4:3 = 17), 211–313; [part] 1:2, tr. by PIERRE DIB, Paris 1910 (PO 5:2 = 22), 217–344, [part] 2:1, Paris 1910 (PO 7:2 = 32), 93–203, [part] 2:2, Paris 1918 (PO 13:4 = 65), 433–639; ADDAI SCHER, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque épiscopale de Séert* (*Kurdistan*) *avec notes bibliographiques*, Mosul 1905, 90.

Lit.: JEAN MAURICE FIEY, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'église en Iraq*, Louvain 1970 (CSCO 310, Subsidia 36) 21ff.; ID., "Table des noms propres de la seconde partie de la Chronique de Seert", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 42, 1966, 201–18; GrafLit II, 195f.; JOACHIM WILHELM HIRSCHBERG, "Nestorian Sources of North-Arabian Traditions on the Establishment and Persecution of Christianity in Yemen", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 15, 1939–40, 321–38; PIERRE NAUTIN, "L'auteur de la 'Chronique de Séert': Išōᶜdenaḥ de Baṣra", *Revue d'histoire des religions* 186, 1974, 113–26; IRFAN SHAHÎD, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, Washington, DC 1989, 360–76; WILLIAM F. MACOMBER, "Further Precisions concerning the Mosul Manuscript of the Chronicle of Seʿert", *OrChr* 55, 1971, 210–13; JACQUES RYCKMANS, "Le christianisme en Arabie du sud préislamique", in: *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul tema: L'Oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà (Roma 31 marzo–3 aprile 1963; Firenze 4 aprile 1963)*, Roma 1964 (Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura 62), 413–53; LOUIS SAKO, "Les sources de la chronique de Séert", *Parole de l'Orient* 14, 1987, 55–66; VINCENT VAN VOSSEL, "Mari en Kokhè", *Het Christelijk Oosten* 50, 1998, 185–210.

Roderick Grierson

Seferian & Co Limited

The Ethiopian-Armenian company S. & Co was founded in 1913 by Mihran Mouradian, the elder son of Kevork Mouradian, a renowned and prosperous merchant in Istanbul.

Born in 1865, Mihran graduated from the Commercial School of Marseille in 1885 and joined the family business. After the ↗Ottoman Empire lost the Roumeli region to Bulgaria, the Mouradians' business was affected, so the family decided to diversify and establish branches in other countries. A younger brother, Diran, went to England and another relative to New York seeking new venues for their business. In 1901 Kevork Mouradian died and his four sons continued the business of their father, expanding it globally under the management of Mihran Mouradian. With the intention of expanding the business in ↗India, he went to Manchester to consult with his brother, and then boarded a vessel for Egypt.

Mihran Mouradian spent some time in Egypt where, in 1908, he established a branch in partnership with Krikor Seferian, under the management of his brother Edward. Krikor Seferian informed Mihran of the vast possibilities in the Sudan and Ethiopia and they decided to establish branches of their business in ↗Khartoum, ↗Addis Abäba, ↗Asmära, Port Sudan and ↗Djibouti. While Krikor Seferian took over the task of establishing the branch in Khartoum, Mihran Mouradian arrived in Addis Abäba and established the Kevork

Mouradian Company, engaging in the import of ↗cotton, textiles and ↗salt, as well as the export of ↗coffee, hides and skins. The existence of an ↗Armenian community in Ethiopia and the events in the Ottoman Empire during World War I persuaded him to remain in Ethiopia, and he pledged to build a church in memory of his father. In 1928, the construction of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church could commence in Addis Abäba thanks to the donation of Mihran Mouradian; it was named Saint Kevork (St. George).

During the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (↗Italian war 1935–36), Mouradian left Addis Abäba for Europe where he died tragically in Italy, in 1936. His partner, Krikor Seferian, then took over the business and expanded it further with branches all over Ethiopia. In addition to its existing business, the company extended its activities to the import of machinery, pumps, diesel engines, electrical appliances, tires, trucks, and cars.

↗Armenians

Src.: Haig Patapan, *Modern Ethiopia and the Armenian Community*, ms., Armenian Community Archives, Addis Abäba.

Mary Nalbandian

Šəfta

The word Š. (**ሽፍታ**, ‘bandit, outlaw’), from **ሸፈተ**, *šäffätä*, ‘he rebeled, lived as an outlaw’), probably of Semitic origin, exists in variants in many languages in the Horn of Africa, including Cushitic (e.g., Agäw, Kambaata, Somali; cp., e.g., Leslau 1979: 573f.). The term covers a wide spectrum of meanings ranging from criminals, like ordinary ‘robbers’ or ‘highwayman’, to ‘robber barons’, politically ambitious ‘rebels’ as well as ‘resistance fighters’ and even pretenders to the throne. The word was regularly used to vituperate a political enemy and only rarely as a self-ascription. “Š.” describes somebody who left his society or his lord and “went into the woods” (**ዱር፡ገባ**, *dur gäbba*, cp. also **ዱር፡አዳሪ**, *dur addari*, ‘vagabond’, ‘brigand’, ‘outlaw’) As an expression of his outlawed status (**ሽፍታነት**, *šəftannät*, ‘banditry, rebellion’) the “classical” Š. refrained from cutting his hair and let it grow in a warlike **ጐፈሬ** (*g*^{w}*äfäre*) style. The Š. leaders, who often were of (or claimed) noble descent, gathered followers from their families and countrymen to raid traders and to challenge the respective ruler or government.

Among historians (cp. Crummey in PICES 7; 1986; 2004/05; Fernyhough 1986) the Š. is discussed in terms of Hobsbawn’s (1972) concept of the “social bandit”, a Robin Hood-like folk hero who redistributes the wealth of his victims among the peasantry. Crummey (2004/05: 12f.), however, states that, applied to Ethiopian examples, Hobsbawn’s concept in many cases does not fully match or cannot be deduced easily from the sources. For him the Š. phenomenon is often better described as “rural social criminality” rather than “social banditry” (s. also ↗*Bolläd*). Both concepts, however, may apply to different historical examples of Š.

Apart from the very great number of local bandits active throughout the history of Ethiopia, a considerable number of important political figures spent some period of their lifetime as Š. In such cases *šəftannät* became a frequent strategy on their way to legitimate political power. Most prominent examples are Kaśa Ḫaylu who ascended the thone as *aṣe* ↗Tewodros, and Kaśa Mərč̣a, who later became known as *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. In the 1860s Kaśa Mərč̣a stayed among the ^{c}Afar as an outlaw, before assuming a leading role in Təgray. Already before, in the 1840s, his maternal uncle ↗Ar^{ɔ}aya Śəllase Dəmṣa had rebelled against *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam (cp. Caulk 1984: 204f.).

In modern times, the socio-political tradition of Š. was maintained in internal conflicts over supremacy as well as in the military opposition against foreign intruders. In Eritrea the 1894-rebellion of ↗Bahta Ḥagos against Italian colonialism may be understood as an example of this. During the Italian occupation (1935–41) the term Š. was broadly used by the Italian administration for any kind of ↗resistance fighters. After Liberation local groups who did not obey to the *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I regime were characterized by the same label. In Eritrea in the 1940s the so-called Mäsazgi brothers fought against British rule and were, likewise, denominated as Š.

Between 1963 and 1967 Somali secessionists in north-eastern ↗Kenya were called Š. in government propaganda (after Somali: *šufto*). The conflict of ethnic Somali and the Kenyan government became known as the “shifta war” (s., e.g., Mburu 1999).

Src.: KaneDic 667, 1732; Wolf Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (*Ethiopic*), vol. 3: *Etymological Section*, Wiesbaden 1979, 573f. (Lit.).

Lit.: Jon Abbink – Klaas van Walraven, “Rethinking Resistance in African History”, in: Jon Abbink – Mirjam de Bruijn – Klaas van Walraven (eds.), *Rethinking Resistance*: *Revolt and Violence in African History*, Leiden

2003, 1–42; Aregawi Berhe, “Revisting Resistance in Italian-occupied Ethiopia: the Patriots Movement (1936–1941) and the Redefinition of Post-war Ethiopia”, in: *ibid.* 87–116; Richard Caulk, “Bad Men of the Borders: Shum and Shifta in Northern Ethiopia in the 19th Century”, *IJAHS* 17, 2, 1984, 201–27; Donald Crummey, “Banditry and Resistance: Noble and Peasant in Nineteenth Century Ethiopia”, in: *PICES* 7, vol. 1, 263–77 (Lit.); Id. (ed.), *Banditry, Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa*, London 1986; Id., “African Banditry Revisited”, *EnterText* 4, 2, 2004/05, 11–36; Timothy Fernyhough, “Social Mobility and Dissident Elites in Northern Ethiopia: the Role of Banditry, 1900–69”, in: Crummey 1986, 151–72; Eric Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, London 1972, passim; Nene Mburu, “Contemporary Banditry in the Horn of Africa: Causes, History and Political Implications”, *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 8, 2, 1999, 89–107.

Dirk Bustorf

Səgd

S. (**ሰግድ**, ‘the [Fast of] Supplication’) is a major religious observance of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel, which falls on the last (29th) day of the 8th moon, 49 days after the Day of Atonement. In Ethiopia people and priests, who gathered the day before, made a ↗pilgrimage in the morning, ascending a hill. As recently as the 1940s and 1950s, the people carried stones on their heads and backs up the hill, and also left handfuls of millet grain on the stones to commemorate the dead (they no longer carried grain in the 1970s; Leslau 1951: xxxivf., 1957: 87f.; Kaufman Shelemay 1980/81).

The priests sang prayers while ascending the hill, and then sung and read religious passages at the top of the hill in and around a shaded stone enclosure. The religious passages chanted and sung in the 1970s focused on the prophet Ezra from Neh, the Decalogue from Ex 20 and related passages in Ex 23 and Lev 20 and 26, as well as Dan 3 and Ps 146: 2. There were also scattered passages and prayers in Agäw throughout that the priests no longer understood (Kaufman Shelemay 1980/81: 57f.). In the 19th cent., passages included Deut 28–32 (Flad 1869: 52). In the 1940s and 1950s, passages from the ↗*Təʾəzazä sänbät* were also part of the ceremony (Leslau 1957: 87). The singing continued while descending back to the village, taking about four hours altogether (Kaufman Shelemay 1980/81: 43f.; Quirin 1975).

A *səgd* celebration in Jerusalem; photo 2008, courtesy of Shalva Weil

The origins of this ceremony among the Betä Ǝsraʾel most likely lie in their 15th-cent. interaction with Ethiopian Christian monastic traditions and practices (Kaufman Shelemay 1980/81, 1986: 48ff.; Quirin 1992: 63–72). In the 19th cent., sources referred to the ceremony as **ዐመተ፡ ሰው** (*ʿamätä säw*, ‘assembly of the people’), at which time it was directly tied to the Betä Ǝsraʾel monks who went on a seven-day retreat into the “wilderness” immediately afterward (Flad 1869: 51). As late as the 1950s the Betä Ǝsraʾel called their ceremony ↗*məhəlla* (Leslau 1957: 87), after the Christian ceremony. By the 1970s, the term S. (from Gəʿəz *sägädä,* ‘to prostrate oneself’) predominated.

By this time, S. had become the best known and probably most significant annual holiday. Moreover, the ceremony which had long been carried out in several regions, was focussed at least in the Gondär region, on the village of ↗Ambobär. In the late 19th cent., Betä Ǝsraʾel converts to Christianity were allowed to take part, and some Christian participation continued into the 20th cent. (Salamon 1999: 57–62).

Today among the Ethiopian Jews in ↗Israel the ceremony is undergoing further modification (Abbink 1983; Ben-Dor 1987). While local celebrations occur, the primary celebration takes place in Jerusalem on a hill overlooking to Old City. The holiday is said to focus on the Betä Ǝsraʾel’s longing to return to Israel. In 2008 S. was granted the status of an official Israeli national holiday.

Src.: James Quirin, *Research Observations*, November 1975; Kay Kaufman Shelemay, "Seged: a Falasha Religious Festival", *Musica Judaica* 3, 1980/81, 43–62; Johannes Martin Flad, *The Falasha (Jews) of Abyssinia*, London 1869, 51f.; Id., *Kurze Schilderung der bisher fast unbekannten abessinischen Juden (Falascha)*, Basel 1869, 54; Wolf Leslau, "Taamrat Emmanuel's Notes of Falasha Monks and Holy Places", in: Saul Liebermann (ed.), *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, London 1975, 634–35; Id., *Falasha Anthology: Translated from Ethiopic Sources with an Introduction by Wolf Leslau*, New Haven, CT 1951, xxxivf.; Id., *Coutumes et Croyances des Falashas (Juifs d'Abyssinie),* Paris 1957 (Université de Paris. Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 61), 87f.

Lit.: Kay Kaufman Shelemay, "'Historical Ethnomusicology': Reconstructing Falasha Liturgical History", *Ethnomusicology* 24, 1980, 233–58; Ead., *Music, Ritual, and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1986, 48ff.; James Quirin, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: A History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920,* Philadelphia, PA 1992, 63–72, 149; Jon Abbink, "Seged Celebration in Ethiopia and Israel: Continuity and Change of a Falasha Religious Holiday", *Anthropos* 78, 1983, 789–810; Shoshana Ben-Dor, "The Sigd of Beta Israel: Testimony to a Community in Transition", in: Michael Ashkenazi – Alex Weingrod (eds.), *Ethiopian Jews in Israel*, New Brunswick 1987, 140–59; Hagar Salamon, *The Hyena People: Ethiopian Jews in Christian Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA 1999, 57–62.

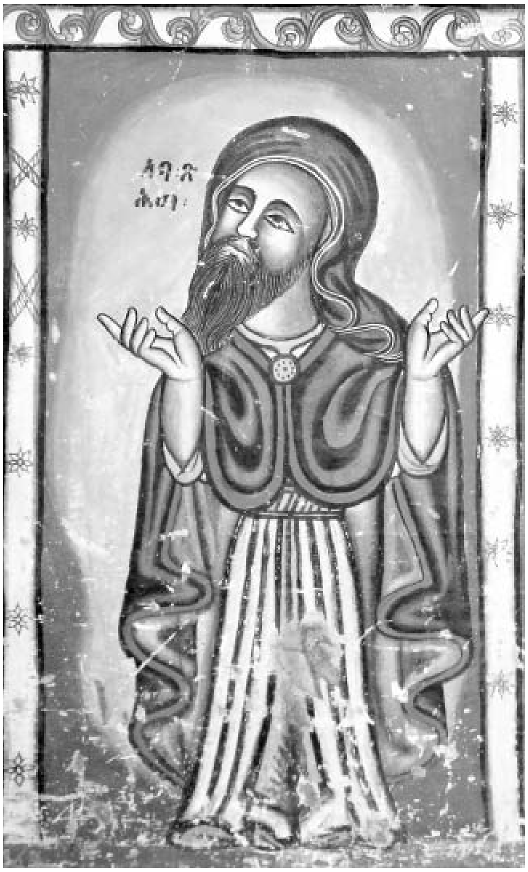
James Quirin

Ṣəḥma

Abba Ṣ. (**ጽሕማ**, also **ጸሕማ** Ṣäḥma) was a non-Ethiopian monk who allegedly arrived in Ethiopia with the group of the ↗Nine Saints in the 5th–6th cent. The main source on him is his Acts (↗*Gädl*) transmitted in a manuscript recently found in a church located in the area of Ṣädäya, called Däbrä Ḫättäta, near the village of ᶜEdaga ᶜArbi, Təgray (Brita 2008: 248f.). The manuscript was written in 1969/70, during the time of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase and Bishop *abba* Yoḥannəs of Təgray. The authorship of the Acts (↗*Gädl)* of Ṣ. is attributed to St. ↗Yared.

According to his Acts, Ṣ. was born on 3 *Taḫśaś* in Antioch, to Anqiṭos, king of Antioch, and Sara, the daughter of the king of "Rom", outside the sanctuary dedicated to St. Mary. Ṣ. was born completely covered with hair. Thus, the Archangel Gabriel appeared to ↗Athanasius of Alexandria, while he was baptizing the newborn, and advised him to name the child **ጽሕማ፡ በኑኀተ፡ ጸጕሩ** (*Ṣəḥma bänuḫatä ṣägʷəru*, 'Ṣ., because of the length of his hair', for the child was long-haired "like Samson" [cp. Gəᶜəz *ṣəḥm*, 'beard', LesCDic 552]). When he was an adolescent, at Anqiṭos's request, Ṣ was led by the king's envoys into the desert of Scetis. There he was entrusted to the care of *abba* Tewodros Esdros, who educated him in the Holy Books and bestowed on him the *askema* and *qob*ᶜ (↗Ordination).

Ṣ. led an ascetic life eating rotten leaves of mallow and drinking a bitter juice extracted from loe roots, ground on a stone and poured into a small clay pot to let the liquid settle for a week. Ṣ.'s dietary habits recall what, in the Syrian monastic milieu, Theodoretus of Cyrrhos, *Historia Religiosa* (ch. III), reports for the monk Sabine, who used to eat flour macerated in water for one month, the smell of which was foul (Brita 2008:188f.). A different matter is the saint's hairiness, which could be inspired by the scriptural model and, Samson apart, be related to Adam and Eve's awkwardness when, after eating the "fruit of the tree", they realized that they were naked (Gen 3:1–11; Brita 2008: 189f.). This motif



Abba Ṣəḥma, mural, 19th cent., Dima Giyorgis, Goğğam; photo 2008, courtesy of Ewa Balicka-Witakowska is fairly common in Ethiopian ↗hagiography, as attested, e.g., by the tradition of ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus (Marrassini 2003, vol. 2, xlix–l and *passim*).

At least one ↗*mälkəʾ* in ms. BritLib Orient. 577, fol. 63r, 1721–30 (WrBriMus 128, no. 191), and one ↗hymn in ms. BritLib Orient. 590, fol. 52r, 18th cent. (WrBriMus 133, no. 196) are dedicated to Ṣ.

In two manuscripts of *Gädlä ↗Liqanos* Ṣ.'s name was omitted and replaced with that of *abba* ↗ᶜOṣ (Brita 2008: 361f., § 10), quoted also in the *Gädlä ↗Gärima* instead of *abba* ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi or *abba* ↗Alef (Conti Rossini 1897: 174, vs. 112f.; Ducati 1939: 108). This could imply the presence of several traditions, at a very early stage, conflated in later times (Brita 2008: 24–28).

Ṣ. is also mentioned in both Təgre and Təgrəñña versions of the legend of the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda), where his name appears in the form **ጨሐማ**, Čäḥama (Littmann 1904: 4f.) and **ጫሕማ**, Čaḥəma (Conti Rossini 1911–12: 603, 612), respectively.

The *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* reports a feudal deed in favour of the church of *abba* Ṣ. made by the late 18th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Ḥəzqəyas, son of Iyasu III (CRAxum I, 49 no. 65; II, 59, no. LXV).

Ṣ. is commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 16 *Ṭərr*.

Src.: BudSyn 505; ColSyn IX, 118f.; CRAxum I, 49, no. 65; II, 59, no. LXV; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'Omilia di Yoḥannes, vescovo di Aksum, in onore di Garimā", in: *Actes du XI Congrès des Orientalistes. Section Sémitique*, Paris 1897, 139–177; ID., "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia: II. La seconda migrazione Agau dell'Eritrea", *RSO* 4, 1911–12, 599–651; BRUNO DUCATI (tr.), *La grande impresa di Amda Sion re d'Etiopia, romanzo storico del XIV secolo. I miracoli di Abbā Garimā omelia del XV secolo*, Milano 1939; LesCDic 552; ENNO LITTMANN, *The Legend of the Queen of Sheba in the Tradition of Axum*, Leyden 1904, 17–31; PAOLO MARRASSINI, *"Vita", "Omelia", "Miracoli" del santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus,* Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 597, 598 [SAe 107, 108]); THÉODORET DE CYR, *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. tr. by PIERRE CANIVET – ALICE LEROY-MOLINGHEN, Paris 1977–79 (Sources Chretiennes 234, 257); PG no. 82, 1283–1522; WrBriMus 128, 133, nos. 191, 196 [mss. Orient. 577, 590].

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Un indice del *Liber Aksumae*", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 147–63; ANTONELLA BRITA, *I racconti tradizionali sulla cristianizzazione dell'Etiopia*: *il «Gadla Panṭalēwon» e il «Gadla Liqānos»*, Ph.D. thesis, Università degli Studi di Napoli «L'Orientale» 2008; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Nine Saints" in: *CE*, vol. 4, 1047; *KinBibl* 90, no. 141; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "Saintly Shadows", in: *AfrHorn* 137–68; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Ṣaḥmā" in: *EncSan*, vol. 2, 919; SEIFU METAFERIA, "Ṣäḥma" in: *DicEthBio* 142.

Antonella Brita

Ṣəḥuf əmni

Ṣ.ə. (Tgn. **ጽሑፍ፡ እምኒ**, lit. 'inscribed stone', 14° 20' 30" N, 14° 41' 45" E, 1,240 m A.S.L.) is the name of a place in the bed of the River Obel, in Qʷäḥayn, Eritrea, where in 1897 the members of the topographic mission of the Geographic Institute of Florence discovered a stone block (1,80 m x 1,60 m) bearing South Arabic letters (the inscription is also referred to as Ṣ.ə.).

The first brief account on the inscription was made by ↗Conti Rossini in 1900. In a more detailed description (1947: 12ff., with a photo and two copies of the text, fig. 4–5) he ventured several proposals concerning the date of Ṣ.ə. (ca. the epoch of ↗ᶜEzana, the paleography of whose "pseudo-Sabaic" inscriptions bears certain resemblance to that of Ṣ.ə.). Conti Rossini also identified some roots of the inscription as Semitic.

Drewes and Schneider (1970: 66f.) offered a transcription of Ṣ.ə., but no translation, and claimed the language of the inscription to be neither ↗Gəᶜəz nor ↗Epigraphic South Arabian. RIÉ no. 287, providing a slightly different transcription, agrees that the language of Ṣ.ə. does not resemble any language known in the region.

Src.: *Guida* 238; RIÉ no. 287.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Ricerche e studi sull'Etiopia", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 4ª, 1, 1900, 104–20, here 110f.; ID., "Iehà, Tsehùf Emnì e Derà", *RSE* 6, 1947, 12–22, here 13f.; ABRAHAM J. DREWES – ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie – II", *AE* 8, 1970, 57–72, here 66f.

Maria Bulakh

Seismology and volcanic activity

As a result of its high tectonic mobility, resulting in the progressive separation of the Arabian and African plates along the East African Rift System (EARS), Ethiopia and Eritrea are recurrently struck by volcanic eruptions (for location of volcanoes s. map for ↗Rift Valley) and high magnitude earthquakes.

The relief of the country has been divided by the northernmost part of the EARS (Main Ethiopian Rift [MER] or Rift Valley) into two uplifted bocks, the North-Western Plateau and the South-Eastern Plateau, thus splitting the African plate into the Nubian and the Somalian plates. The MER terminates into the ↗ᶜAfar Triangle, where it joins the Gulf of Aden and Red Sea rifts.

Different fault systems, either parallel or transverse to the EARS, show recent activity, as testified by the dislocation of Quaternary volcanics and alluvial deposits (Bekele Abebe et al. 2007).

Surface faulting was observed in connection with strong earthquakes (e.g., Serdo and Kara Kore-Meğete earthquakes).

According to Gouin (1979), 15,000 tremors, strong enough to be felt by humans, including a large number of highly destructive events, occurred in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa between 1400 and 1977. More recent seismic episodes have been described by Atalay Ayele (1995) and Atalay Ayele et al. (2007). Significant were the events which affected southern Šäwa (25 August 1906: M = 6.8), ᶜAfar (4 January 1960: M = 5.5), ↗Awasa (14 July 1960: M = 6.3), Kara Kore-Meğete (1 June 1961: M = 6.6), Serdo (29 March 1969: M = 6.6), ᶜAfar (August 1989: M = 5–6; 24 September 2005: M = 5.5). Strong earthquakes also struck ↗Massawa (14 August 1921: M=5.8; 21 September 1921: M = 5.7), and Djibouti (22 January 1960: M = 6.0; 28 March 1973: M=5.5; 1 April 1973: M = 6.0; 20 August 1989: M = 6.3). Heavy damage to built-up areas as well as victims were caused by the earthquake shocks (as in the case of the 1961 Kara Kore-Meğete and 1969 Serdo earthquakes) and seismically induced landslides (such as that which destroyed ↗Ankobär town in 1842).

Furthermore volcanic activity is associated with rifting. This is the case of the Traps, a pile of basalt lava flows, some 2,000 m thick, during the Oligocene period. Volcanic activity continued during the Miocene, Pliocene and Quaternary, periods, resulting in major topographic changes and the formation of numerous lake basins.

Several volcanic eruptions have been recorded from the ᶜAfar and the MER in the last two centuries (Mohr 1962). Among these, the Dubbi eruption, starting on 7 May 1861, is reputed to have killed more than one hundred people. Another relevant eruption affected the Volcano ↗Afdera in June 1907. According to local tradition, a huge basalt flow erupted from the southwestern flank of the ↗Fantale volcano in 1810. Other volcanic episodes, discovered in the MER at Galibordi Pass and Mount Bosetti, could be related to the same period (Mohr 1962).

Three volcanic centres have erupted in the present century: the Erta Ale, the Dabbahu and the Manda Hararo volcanoes. The Erta Ale is a basaltic shield volcano located in northern ᶜAfar with a NNW–SSE elongated caldera which contains a rising lava lake whose activity has been documented since the 20th cent. The Dabbahu and Manda Hararo volcanoes started to erupt (basalt flows, ash, pumice and smoke plumes) along a 37-mile long approximately NNW–SSE ground fissure, and opened in the ᶜAfar in connection with the September 2005 earthquake.

↗Geology and Geomorphology

Lit.: Atalay Ayele, *Earthquake Catalogue of the Horn of Africa for the Period 1960–93*, Uppsala 1995 (Report 3–95); Id. et al., "The Volcano-seismic Crisis in Afar, Ethiopia, Starting September 2005", *Earth Planet. Sci. Letters* 255, 2007, 177–87; Bekele Abebe et al., "Quaternary Faulting and Volcanism in the Main Ethiopian Rift", *Journal of African Earth Sciences* 48, 2007, 115–24; Pierre Gouin, *Earthquake History of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa*, Ottawa 1979; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Per una nuova ricerca di sismologia storica della regione etiopica", *RSE* 41, 1997, 77–87; Paul A. Mohr, *The Geology of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1962; Luigi Palazzo, "Cronistoria dei terremoti etiopici anteriori all'anno 1913", *Bollettino della Società Sismologica Italiana* 19, 1915, 293–345.

Francesco Dramis – Giandomenico Fubelli

Šeko

Šeko language

Š. (also Šakko, Šak, Šekko, Čako; self-name: Şókú) belongs to the ↗Dizoid branch of ↗Omotic (not to be confused with ↗Šakačo, a ↗Gonga language). Š. is spoken in the Šeko, Guraferda and Yeki *wärädas* of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region, roughly between Mizan Täfäri, Tepi and Badiqa. The number of speakers was ca. 23,800 in 1994 (according to the 1994 Census, s. Gordon 2005: 118). The variety of Š. spoken in Guraferda is, although divergent, mutually intelligible with the variants spoken around the towns Tepi and Šeko. Only a small minority of speakers is monolingual. Second (third) languages are Amharic, ↗Benç̌, ↗Mağaŋgir or ↗Käfa. Š. is not used in education, has no written tradition and is under pressure from Benç̌ and Amharic.

The consonantal phonemes of Š. are: labial *b*, *p* (~ *f*), *p̣*, *m*, alveolar *d*, *t*, *ṭ*, *n*, *r*, *ʦ*, *ṣ*, *s*, *z*, alveo-palatal *č*, *č̣*, *š*, *ž*, *y*, retroflex *tş*, *tş'*, *ş*, *z̧*, velar *g*, *k*, *q*, *w*, glottal ᵓ, *h*. Vowels are *i*, *e*, *a*, *ə*, *o*, *u* (length is phonemic), and syllabic *n̦*. Š. has four level tonemes, designated as v̀ (low), v̄ (mid-low), v (mid-high) and v́ (high). Some grammatical distinctions are made by tone alone, e.g. *n̄-gēqù* 'my goat' – *ń-gēqù* 'our goat', *hā-gēqù* 'your (sg.) goat' – *há-gēqù* 'his goat'.

Š. nouns end in *-u*, *-i*, *-a*, *-n̦* or a consonant. Nouns can be marked for definiteness in the sg. by *-n̦-s* (def.-masc.), <*i*>*-n̦* (fem.-def.): *tóós* 'relative' – *tóósǹs* 'the male relative' – *tóóys-ǹ* 'the female relative'; and pl. is marked with -(*ù*)*s* (masc.), -(*ì*)*s* (fem.): *şóóẓ-ùs* ‘snakes’, *túún-ìs* ‘springs’, *tosa-s* ‘myths’. Most inanimate nouns are masc. Gender is also marked in demonstratives, adjectives, relative clauses, and in 3rd pers. pronominal elements.

The case system consists of nominative (nom.), accusative (acc., marked by *-rà*), dative (dat., *-kǹ* ~ *-ǹ*), instrumental (*-kā*), and locative (*-qà*).

The independent subject pronouns are *nātā* ‘I’, *yə̄tā* ‘you’, *ˀáz* ‘he’, *ˀíž* ‘she’, *nátā* ‘we’, *ˀítí* ‘you (pl.)’ and *íš̀ì* ‘they’. Demonstratives include *yiz* ‘this (masc.)’, *yinì* ‘this (fem.)’, *hàz* ‘this (masc.) here’, *ˀékinì* ‘that (fem.) there’. Question words include *ˀiti* ‘who?’, *yírá* ‘what?’, *na* ‘where?’, *ˀáás* ‘how?’, *gībn̄* ‘how much?’ and *yír-èš̀ǹtà* ‘why?’.

Verb paradigms have either a high (marking irrealis, irr.) or low (realis, real.) tone on the verb stem, interacting with the lexical tone. The verbal stem is followed by a verb signalling aspect (optional) such as *a*(*n*) ‘put’ (potential), *ki* ‘be’ (progressive), and a sentence type marker: *-kē* (real.), *-mē* (irr., signalling *inter alia* weaker modalities), *-sē* (optative), *-ē* (jussive). E.g.: *n̄-sííś-á-mē* ‘I will listen’, *hā-kaas-a-mē* ‘you will play’, *há-sūs-kì-kē* ‘he is/was listening’, *yí-kààs-kì-kē* ‘she is/was playing’, *ń-sūs-kē* ‘we listened’, *ˀítí-kààs-kē* ‘you (pl.) played’, *ˀíš̀ì-kāās-ē* ‘let them play’. The subject clitic mostly precedes the verb stem but may follow it (truth-value focus): *sīís-n-kē* ‘we did listen’; or cliticizes to a constituent (constituent focus).

The imperative consists of the bare verb stem, with optional *-ē*, and suffix *-ít* for pl.: *sííś*(*-ē*) (sg.), *sííś-ít*(*-ē*) (pl.) ‘listen!’.

Negatives are formed by suffixing *-ara* after the main verb stem, optionally followed by the markers of subject, aspect and sentence type, e.g. *sííś-ərá há-kì-kē* ‘he does not listen’.

Questions drop the sentence type markers. E.g.: *hā-sūs-kì* ‘are/were you listening?’.

The copula is *tēkē* (affirmative)/*térē* (negative), as in *ˀáz tàmàrskìb tēkē* ‘He is a teacher’, *subn̦s térē* ‘It is not red’.

Derived stems are formed by adding such suffixes as *-s* (causative), *-ṭ* (passive/middle), *-n̦* (reflexive/middle).

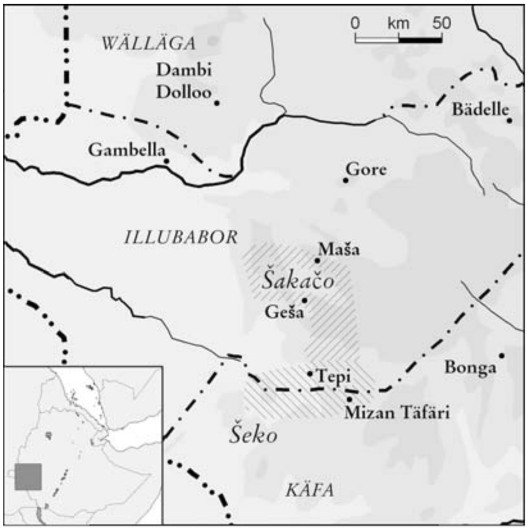
Š. follows the areal pattern with subordinate clauses preceding main clauses and Subject–Object–Verb order:

n̄-nānū káčí há-nā-ǹ yāān-kē

(1sg.poss.-brother yam 3masc.sg.-dat. plant.yam-real.)

‘My brother planted yam for me’.

Š. has both prefixes and suffixes, and some modifiers follow the head noun.



The ten-word list is: *qōy* ‘one’, *ṭaagn̦* ‘two’, *kadu* ‘three’, *taamu* ‘fire’, *haay* ‘water’, *ṣyaaṣù* ‘sun’, *ˀyáṣń* ‘moon, month’, *yarbǹ* ‘blood’, *ˀyarb* ‘tongue’, *ˀātş’ù* ‘tooth’.

Src.: author’s fieldwork notes; Raymond G. Gordon (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 118.

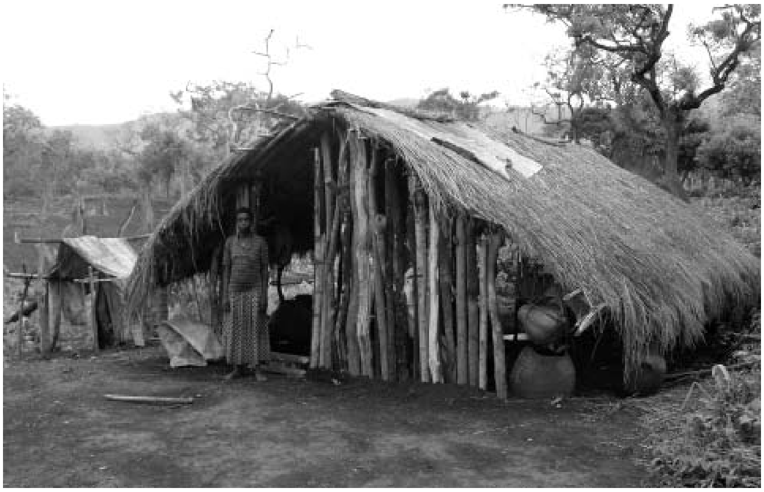
Lit.: Aklilu Yilma, *Sheko Phonology and Grammar*, mimeographed, IES, Addis Ababa University 1988; Id., “A Phonological Comparison of Bench and Two Majoid Languages”, in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 1053–63; Id., “Sheko Phonology and Morphophonemics”, *JES* 29, 2, 1996, 23–45; Id., “Comparative Phonology of the Maji Languages”, *ibid.* 36, 2, 2003, 59–88; Id. – Ralph Siebert – Kati Siebert, “Sociolinguistic Survey of the Omotic Languages Sheko and Yem”, *S.L.L.E.* 16, 2002; M. Lionel Bender, *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*, München 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19), 143–58; Anne-Christie Hellenthal, *A Grammar of Šeko*, Utrecht 2010.

Anne-Christie Hellenthal

Šeko ethnography

The Š. people (Šäko, also called Šeka or Čako in the literature) are an indigenous ethnic group living in a mountainous area in the “Šeka zone” in south-western Ethiopia north of Mizan town and up to Tepi; in 2007 they numbered 35,573 people (CSA 2008:85). They are one of the smaller Omotic-speaking groups and have an historical and linguistic-cultural affinity with the ↗Dizi and Nayi. They differ from the ↗Šäkačo living to the north. Small towns in the area are Gurafarda (in Š.: Duka Dukas) and Yeki. Since Straube’s survey (1963 [= VSAe III]), little if any research has been done on Š. society.

The Š. live as subsistence cultivators and mixed farmers in a humid montane forest area. Most Š.



Šeko homestead, Samarta *qäbäle*, Guraferda *wäräda*; photo 2008, courtesy of Anne-Christie Hellenthal

cultivate the locally prevalent root crops including ↗*ənsät*, taro and yam, as well as ↗maize and ↗sorghum (in a shifting cultivation system), and also many garden crops such as tobacco, spices, cabbage, beans and lentils. Cash crops are high quality ↗coffee and ↗honey. There is also hunting and gathering. The Š. Forest, although shrinking, still has species of wild coffee and spice plants. This forest is a unique habitat and was recently classified as one of the National Forest Priority Areas of Ethiopia. Š. have a careful indigenous system of forest management. In addition, the Š. keep a rare and ancient sub-species of humpless cattle, which seems to have developed resistance to trypanosomiasis and which are the subject of research. The Š. had a quite developed "cattle culture" (with rituals, decoration, and recognition of cattle descent lines, s. also ↗Pastoralism), which, however, declined after the imperial conquest in the late 19th cent., when they lost most of their livestock. Oral tradition suggests that the Š. originally lived in lower areas more favourable to livestock herding (VSAe III, 34).

Historically the Š. had a paramount sacred chief or king (*kóināb*, or *kiás*), and local chiefs (*kóbm*), usually clan leaders. People were generally identified on the basis of patrilineal clan membership and lived in multi-generational, patrilocal homesteads. There was a ranked structure of noble clans (the *qomtu*) and inferior clans (*qamu*), with each clan having its own "emblem", e.g., rain, or an animal or plant species. Clans are exogamous. They were reported to have a pattern of foster relationships (*burğa*), with ritual aspects (VSAe III, 38). As with most other south-west Ethiopian peoples, craftsmen castes of hunters-tanners (*bandu*) and potters (*šórï*) existed among the Š. as socially inferior groups. In recent decades both the clan system and the social hierarchy have lost much of their significance, while the decline of the kingship set in immediately after the conquest of the Š.

Marriage required bride wealth in the form of cattle (from 5 to 15 head), nowadays replaced by money or cloth or other items. In relative terms it is also lower than before.

The Š. area was conquered in the 1890s by imperial Ethiopian troops and was laid waste by the post-conquest occupation and the ↗*näfṭäñña*–↗*gäbbar* system. Abysmal poverty and abusive state administration came to mark the area, including slave-raiding (s. Hodson 1929: 155, 157, 160). Also neighbouring groups, notably the agro-pastoral ↗Meᵓen, who arrived later in the area, had a tense relation with them and fought them repeatedly.

Many Š. are Orthodox Christians and also follow their traditional religion, which is characterized by the notion of a sky god (*Záku*), ancestor veneration, divination and spirit medium (*kai*) cults. Since ca. 15 years Evangelical Christianity is growing among them, partly in response to internal crisis and instability.

Recognized as a separate ethnic group or nationality after 1991, the Š. in the early 2000s formed an alliance with the ↗Mağaŋir people, in the *Sheko Mejenger Democratic Unity Organization,* opposed to the central government. It even gained seats in the 2005 elections. In the past decade, they have been involved in violent conflicts with several other groups in the area due to the new post-1991 discord among local groups about ↗ethnicity and ethnic territories, leading to hardened group relations and several bloody clashes occurred (e.g., 1993 and 2002). After their involvement in the 2002 fighting in Tepi town, in the Šäkačo area, more than 140 Š. and their allies, the Mağaŋir, lost their lives and many locals were displaced and left the area. Š.

has remained an economically vulnerable and untapped area. The local economy today is impoverished and land and other resource scarcity is growing, connected to population pressure and group tensions.

Src.: CSA 1998, 66; CSA 2008, 85.

Lit.: Elisabeth Hildebrandt, *Enset, Yams and Honey*: *Ethnoarchaeology Approaches to the Origins of Horticulture in Southwest Ethiopia*, St. Louis, MO 2003; Arnold Wienholt Hodson, *Where Lions Reign*: *an Account of Lion Hunting in S.W. Abyssinia*, London [ca. 1929], 155–60; Shalander Kumar et al., "Research and Development Options for Enhancing Income and Sustainability of Farming Systems in Kafa-Sheka Zone of Ethiopia", paper presented at the 17 Symposium of the International Farming Systems Association, Lake Buona Vista, FL, 17–20 November 2002; VSAe III, 11–71.

Jon Abbink

Səlät

The vow (**ስለት** or **ስእለት** *səᵓəlät*, from Gəᶜəz **ሰአለ** *säᵓalä* 'ask, beseech') is a binding promise made to God. It is understood as an act of trust between a person and his God whereby the former offers a thing, an action, or assumes in the future to provide some service or dedicates something valuable. The practice of S., in the form of a promise to God, is widespread in the daily life of an Ethiopian Christian.

The type and offering of vows differ according to the status and sex of the faithful. E.g., women, especially those who want to have children, prepare candles, bread, beer etc. in honour of the Virgin ↗Mary or their favourite ↗saint, and take them to church on the saint's day. She may also promise to name her child after the saint or to engage the child in serving the Church through a life in priesthood. Many famous Ethiopian saints are said to have been born after their parents had promised them to the Church (e.g., ↗Samuᵓel of Däbrä Wägäg). Men would give ↗alms to the poor when the wish is fulfilled, slaughter a bull, sheep or perform another sacrifice on their saint's day, in order to consolidate the saint's benevolence for the year. They can also perform ↗pilgrimages and offer a votive present or prohibit themselves from doing something. It was usual for Ethiopian rulers to make a S. to their patron saint at times of war or campaign. The most frequent type of S. was building a new church dedicated to the saint. E.g., ↗Mənilək II built the new building of ↗Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis in Addis Abäba in keeping with the vow he made before the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa; ↗Mänän Asfaw consecrated ↗Däbrä Ḫayl Qəddus Raguᵓel to fulfil her vow and thank the Archangel for bringing her consort to power.

A person making a S. is expected to fulfil it by doing what is promised before the expiration of a votive period; otherwise it is believed that he or she would be punished by God.

Src.: LesCDic 480.

Lit.: Steven Kaplan, "Hagiographies and the History of Medieval Ethiopia", *History in Africa* 8, 1981, 107–23; PankSoc s. index.

Mersha Alehegne

Seljan, Mirko and Stjepan

The brothers M.S. (b. 5 April 1871, Karlovac, Croatia, d. 1913, Huajabamba, Peru) and S.S. (also called Stevo; b. 19 August 1875, Karlovac, d. 7 June 1936, Ouro Preto, Brazil) were adventurers, who stayed in Ethiopia between 1899 and 1901. M.S. received military training in his home town, and learned German, French and drawing. He did not serve as a soldier, but from 1893 to 1898 he worked in Rumania, Hungary and Austria. During this time he learned Rumanian, Hungarian and Russian. His brother S. received military training as well, and served in the Russian Navy from 1894 to 1898.

In 1898 the two brothers met in Karlovac and decided to go to Africa. It was M.'s stay in Orthodox ↗Russia that had sparked his interest in Ethiopia. They set out in January 1899, performed odd jobs and played music (M. the violin, S. the flute) to make their living. They reached the court of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel in Harär on 24 April 1899, left on 8 May, and arrived in Addis Abäba on 9 June. They were received at the court by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu, for whom they gave a concert. In Addis Abäba they became acquainted with the Russian "Count" Nicolaj ↗Leontiev. They provided their military skills and served as instructors and officers of a batallion of 300 members of the ↗Imperial Bodyguard for three months. At the end of September they were sent to southern Ethiopia, M. to serve as governor of the Ethiopian "Equatorial Provinces" (residing at Uba), with S. as his deputy. Leontiev had administered the area for a short while before them.

In southern Ethiopia the two brothers conducted geographical (including climatological and geomorphological) and ethnological research, and hunted ↗elephants. They studied the related Olamo (Wälamo, i.e. ↗Wälaytta), Boroda, ↗Malo, Kure (↗Koreete), Bakko (↗Aari; ↗Hamär Bakko), ↗Banna, ↗Bäšada and Karo peoples. M.S. drew excellent maps of this part of southern Ethiopia (now in the Town Museum in Karlovac). The brothers also founded a little town west of Lake ↗Turkana, long known as Seljanville (today's Selanž) and M. received the title "Count of Turkana". At the end of 1901, *aṣe* Mənilək gave them permission to leave the country, after he had decorated them with the Ethiopian Star and Solomon's Cross and having given each of them a silver shield, a sword and a silk tunic. They had collected many Ethiopian valuables, now kept, together with documents from their travels, in the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb. They later (1903) went to South America, where M. died during an expedition in Peru in 1913, and S. settled in Brazil, married, and had four children.

Lit.: ALEKSANDRA-SANJA LAZAREVIĆ, *Braća Seljan na crnom i zelenom kontinentu* ('The Seljan Brothers on the Black and Green Continent'), Zagreb 1991 (Lit.); EAD., *Zivot i djelo braće Seljan* ('Life and Deeds of the Seljan Brothers'), Zagreb 1977; EAD., "Researches of the Seljan Brothers in Ethiopia", paper submitted to the *International Congress of Africanists*, 3rd Session, 9–19 December 1973, Addis Ababa (Lit.); REIDULF K. MOLVAER, "The Seljan Brothers and the Expansionist Policies of Emperor Minilik of Ethiopia", in preparation (Lit.); RUPPERT RECKING, *Ein Journalist erzählt. Ein Kaiserreich auf Aktien*, Stuttgart – Berlin 1936, 138, 223, 236, 282, 292, 309, 312, 347, 359f.

Reidulf K. Molvaer

Šəlläla

Š. (**ሽለላ**) is a type of war chant or war song (meaning in Amharic also 'war boast', also a common translation for ↗*fukkära*). The term Š. is derived from the verb *šällälä*, 'to utter a war cry or chant', but also 'to cause to vanish', possibly a connotation of Š. as a war cry. Although the term Š. is often used in the same way as *fukkära*, the latter stresses the aspect of boasting, and is frequently uttered by the warriors praising their own bravery. Š. is often composed and performed by an *azmari* or *qärari/aqrari* to encourage soldiers and terrify the enemy. Š. chants can be accompanied by the performer's martial gestures, the brandishing of spears, etc., and were often exchanged by competing warriors.

In reference to Š., it is usual to say in Amharic: *Šəlläla qärrärä/aqrarra*, 'he composed and recited the Š.' (*qärärto* or *qärärtu* is defined as Š. and **የጦር፡ ዘፈን** [*yäṭor zäfän*, 'war song'], s. DTWDic 1117). The poetic form most suitable for Š. is the **ሰንጎ፡ መገን** (*sängo mägän*), with eight syllables, making for short, sharp utterances.

Early samples of Š. are found, e.g., in a chronicle written by *aläqa* Täkle (↗Täklä Iyäsus of Waqǧəra). After *fitawrari* Wändawwək, newly appointed by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Tädla Gʷalu as an official in Goǧǧam, was driven away by his opponents, they composed (*aqrarra*) the following war-song (cf. Molvaer 1998: 19):

Särgudäw, särgudäw, särgudäw bäç̣əre,
gədd bəlo, gədd bəlo kämäṭṭa bagäre,
fitawrari Wändawwək, yäṭis ç̣äw wädaǧu,
yägobäz mist wädaǧu;
afrəsäw, afrəsäw bäǧǧu!

'Pierce him, pierce him, pierce him with a spear,
If he comes to my land by force, by force,
Fitawrari Wändawwək, the friend of the salt [with a taste] of smoke [i.e. the false friend, repugnant as salt contaminated by smoke],
The friend [seducer] of the wives of the brave;
Go ahead and crush him, crush him!'

The next example shows that Š. and *fukkära* can serve much the same purpose. Another opponent of *däǧǧazmač* Tädla Gʷalu, the warrior Dori Ḫaylu, first boasted himself of his bravery (*fokkärä*), and then made a singer of war chants (*aqrari*) chant (*aqrarra*) the following war-song (cf. Molvaer 1998: 21):

Yäʾəlamitu anbässa ṭəǧǧaw;
täkula näw alabiw;
gadiwəmm əbab näw.
Qäç̣ämən täšagro mokkariwəss mannäw?

'His cow's calf is a lion;
His milkmaid is a wolf;
His leather-strap [used to bind the hind-legs of the cow when it is being milked] is a snake.
Who will dare to cross over [the river] Qäç̣äm [and come against him]?'

Historically, war-chants such as Š. proliferated during war-time: e.g., the campaigns of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, the ↗Italian war 1895–96 and the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, the ↗Italian war 1935–36 and during the ↗Resistance against the Italian occupation.

As troops are now trained in modern warfare, Š., *qärärtu* and *fukkära* are going out of fashion, appearing mostly in folkloric shows (e.g., at the commemoration of the battle of ᶜAdwa) and in plays celebrating war heroes (like *däǧǧazmač* ↗Balča Ṣafo). The musical style of such renowned Ethiopian musicians as Getaččäw Mäkʷəriya was mostly inspired by the Š. genre (Gétatchèw Mèkurya 2003).

Src.: DTWDic 1117, 1225; GÉTATCHÈW MÈKURYA, *Negus of Ethiopian Sax*, Éthiopiques No. 14, Buda Music, 2003 (CD); KaneDic 554, 604; TÄKLÄ IYÄSUS, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ/ የንጉሥ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Yäʾityoṗya tarik/ Yänəguś Täklä Haymanot*, 'A History of Ethiopia [and of] *Nəguś* Täklä Haymanot'), IES ms. 254.

Lit.: REIDULF K. MOLVAER, "The Achievement of Emperor Téwodros II of Ethiopia (1855–1868): From an Unpublished Manuscript by Aleqa Tekle-Īyäsus ('Aleqa Teklé') of Gojjam", *NEASt* new ser., 5, 3, 1998, 7–79; ID., "Some Ethiopian Historical Poems", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 147–63, esp. 150ff.

Reidulf K. Molvaer

Śəllase ↗Trinity

Śəllase

The Ś. (**ሥላሴ**, lit. 'Trinity') is a type of ↗*qəne* of complete verse, containing six *bet* and sung in ↗*ᶜəzəl* mode, as it depends upon the ↗*Səbḥatä nägh*. It has two sub-types: long (*räğğəm*) or short (*aččər*).

Ś., as its name indicates, is meant to celebrate the glory of the ↗Trinity. It is composed after the Canticles of the three youths in the furnace (Dn 3:52–56; ↗Psalter), which according to the teachers of *qəne*, reveal the unity and trinity of God, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

Ś. can have various symbolism: the coming of Christ after 600 centuries or after 5,500 years, or the six evangelical worlds (Mt 25:35–46).

Ś. is composed on different occasions and can contain different Biblical elements. It is composed by the *däbtära* in the service of ↗*Wazema addäraräs*, if the *Yətbaräk* (Dan 3) is accompanied by the *Dəggʷa* element also called *Yətbaräk*. It is sung after Canticles in ↗*Aryam addäraräs*. During the *Səbḥatä nägh*, it is performed after the Ps. 148–50 (known as *Säbbəḥəwo*), with *Yətbaräk* of the *Dəggʷa*. Ś. is only composed if *Yətbaräk* is sung in the *ᶜəzəl* mode. It is not necessary when the *Dəggʷa* elements, or the *Səbḥatä nägh*, which accompany the *Säbbəḥəwo*, have ↗*məlṭan* which replaces *qəne* (i.e. becomes *həyyäntä qəne*; Yəḫeyyəs Wärqe 1967/68: 21f.).

The Ś. is considered as a difficult *qəne* to compose and is usually entrusted to elderly *qəne* masters.

Like *mäwäddəs* and *śahləkä*, Ś. can also be composed outside the church service, for praising religious and civil authorities and important persons.

Lit.: ADMASU ǦÄMBÄRE, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ፡** (**ዝክረ፡ ሊቃውንት**) (*Mäṣḥafä qəne* [*zəkrä liqawənt*], 'The Book of the *Qəne* [The Memory of the Scholars]'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; ALEMAYYEHU MOGES, "Geez and Amharic Study without Qene is Incomplete", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 99–116; ID., "Language Teaching and Curricula in Traditional Education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *Ethiopian Journal of Education* 4, 1, 1973, 87–114; *mämhər* ELYAS ABRƎHA, **ይትበሃል፡ ዘጎንደር፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ማኅሌት** (*Yətbähal zägondär zäwəʾtu śərʿatä maḫlet*, 'The Celebration of the Divine Office in the Tradition of Gondär'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D]; ERIC GODET, "La métrique du qənē guèze", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 117–203; HabTent 104f.; HabUff 215f.; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne*, 'The Book of the *Qəne*'), Addis Abäba 1918 A.M. [1926/27 A.D.]; VelMe II; *mämhər* YƎḪEYYƎS WÄRQE, **ንባብ፡ ወትርጓሜ፡ ዘቅኔያት፤ አዕማደ፡ ምስጢራት** (*Nəbab wä-tərgʷame zäqəneyat. Aᶜəmadä məsṭirat*, 'Text and Interpretation of the Qəne. The Pillars of Mysteries'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.].

Habtemichael Kidane

Śəllase: Mäṣḥafä śəllase

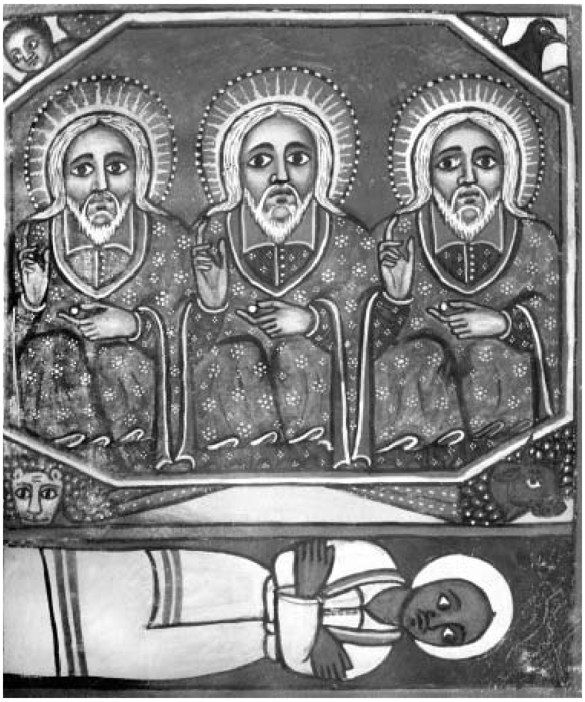
M.ś. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ሥላሴ**, 'Book of the Trinity', also **ኆኅተ፡ ፀሐይ**, *Ḫoḫətä ṣäḥay* 'The Gate of the Sun', the ↗sun being a metaphor for Christ; Wendt 1962: 11), is one of the theologico-apologetical writings attributed to *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob.

The M.ś. is a short treatise found intertwined with the larger homiliary known as the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*milad* (RicLett 825), with readings for the 29th of each month. The treatise on the ↗Trinity is clearly identifiable, forming the second (last) part of each homily, apart from *Mäskäräm* (the *Mäṣḥafä milad* homily for 28 *Gənbot* extensively deals with the matter of the Trinity). The M.ś. is twice introduced with the incipit **ነአምን፡ ዘንተ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡ ኆኅተ፡ ፀሐይ። ኆኅትሰ፡ ዘፀሐይ፡ ማርያም፡ ይእቲ፡ እመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ አዶናይ። ዘፀነሰቶ፡ ወወለደቶ፡ በድንግልና፡ ሕሊና፡ ወበድንግልና፡ ሥጋ፡ እንበለ፡ ጌጋይ።** ('We believe in this great book of the Trinity which is named "the Gate of Sun". The Gate of the Sun is indeed Mary, the mother of Christ the Lord whom she conceived and begot in the virginity of the mind and in the virginity of the flesh without sin'; Wendt 1962: 11, 33 [text], 11, 33 [tr.]).

The M.ś. as part of the *Mäṣḥafä milad* has been edited by Wendt from the 16th-cent. ms. BN d'Abbadie 62/63 (the pecularities of the language would suggest a later dating). EMML no. 6838 possibly dates to the 15th cent. (s. Getatchew Haile in EAE vol. 3, 965).

The aim of the *Mäṣḥafä milad* is to present the orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation and of the ↗Trinity and to defend them from presumed heresies. The contents of the M.ś., however, also include interesting points on ↗Mariology, ↗Eschatology (the reign of 1,000 years in Mount ↗Zion), Pneumatology, the sacraments of the Eucharist and Reconciliation, the ↗Sabbath, liturgical ↗calendar, etc.

The sources of the *Mäṣḥafä milad* and M.ś. are the ↗Bible (including Jub, En, Mac, 4 Es), the ↗*Didəsqəlya*, the ↗*Testamentum Domini*, the ↗*Senodos*, the ↗*Qerəllos* and other Church Fathers. The Biblical and extra-Biblical *testimo-*



Frontispiece miniature (the Trinity and a donor), ms. *Mäṣḥafä śəllase*, fol. 2v, 19th/20th cent., Čäläqot Śəllase, Təgray; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

nia, the theological issues and a great deal of the vocabulary of this text feature in other writings of the time (e.g., Vitae of ↗Absadi, ↗Täwäldä Mädḫən and Fiqṭor of Däbrä Maryam). Thus, the M.ś. reflects an environment of high erudition which was also aimed at unifying the Church behind a commonly shared doctrine and religious practice, and the throne.

The insistence on the figure 81 as the canonical number of the Biblical books (↗Bible: Biblical canon), the main topic of the *Gənbot* homily, deserves a notice. There are large passages which reflect a bitter strife on the status of the ↗*Testamentum Domini*, the ↗*Didəsqəlya* and ↗*Enoch*. The M.ś. mounts a vigorous defence of their canonicity, underlining their practical utility and their complementary role to the ↗*Senodos*. It draws a comparison with the synoptic ↗Gospels which are complementary to each other and to John and vice-versa. The M.ś. warns that those who reject the *Testamentum Domini* betray and forfeit their Christian identity (Wendt 1962: 109–18 [text], 95–104 [tr.]).

The M.ś. is much shorter, and possibly older, than the *Mäṣḥafä milad* (Wendt 1962: v). It is framed in monologue style and is constantly addressed to two audiences. The main target of the vehement invectives of the M.ś. is the ↗Stephanites and the Jews (↗*Ayhud*) labelled apostates, "darnel", and liars. The Stephanites are repeatedly accused of saying that "each member of the Trinity existed with his word and his spirit independently of each other", thus bringing *zərwätä śəllase* ('scattering of the Trinity'; Wendt 1962: 13, 36 [text], 12, 33 [tr.]). The stereotypical reaction of the M.ś. is: "Each Person of the Trinity has his own face, appearance and person; the word of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit is the Son; one Word, one Spirit for the three of them" (ibid. 34f. [text], 32 [tr.]). The Stephanite literature never declares a belief in a threefold Word or in a threefold Spirit (ibid. 38 [text], 34 [tr.]). The hostility towards the Jews, which appears in other writings of the time as well, is impressive and raises the question as to why the Jews were attacked whereas the Muslims who are equally opposed to the belief in the Trinity and Incarnation were left out. The M.ś. accuses the Jews for saying that God did not beget nor is he begotten (ibid. 11 [text], 10 [tr.]). After his invectives against the dissidents, the author reverts to the believers and exhorts them to stand fast in the straight faith of the Church and to beware of false doctrines.

In dealing with the doctrine of the Trinity, the M.ś. makes use of the standard Biblical witnesses (e.g., Gen 1:3; 2:26; 3:22; 18; 19; s. Wendt 1962: 76 [text], 67 [tr.]) and of the traditional interpretation, mostly allegorical. The M.ś. employs analogies, such as three suns and one light to describe the unity and trinity of God (ibid. 104 [text], 91 [tr.]).

The M.ś. did not enjoy the success and spread of other Trinitarian texts like the ↗*Dərsanä śəllase* (occasionally also entitled *Mäṣḥafä śəllase* or *Zena śəllase*).

Along with the *Mäṣḥafä milad*, M.ś. is an important source not only of theology but also of ecclesiology, history and anthropology. Some forms of proper names, e.g., the form Šəwa (Wendt 1963: 49 [text], 43 [tr.]) for Sewa (i.e. ↗Šäwa) indicates the influence of Amharic on Gəʿəz.

Src.: EMML no. 6838; Getatchew Haile, *The Gəʿəz Acts of Abba Ǝsṭifanos of Gʷəndagʷənde*, Lovanii 2006 (CSCO 619, 620 [SAe 110, 111]); Kurt Wendt, *Das Maṣḥafa Milād* (*Liber Nativitatis*) *und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē* (*Liber Trinitatis*) *des Kaisers Zarʾa Yāʿqob*, Louvain 1962, 1963 (CSCO 221, 235 [SAe 41, 43]).

Lit.: RicLett 825; TEDROS ABRAHA, *I Gädl di Abunä Täwäldä-Mädehn e di Abunä Vittore*, Turnhout 2009 (PO 227); KURT WENDT, "Das *Maṣḥafa Berhān* und *Maṣḥafa Milād*", *Orientalia* nova ser. 3, 1934, 1–30, 147–73, 259–93; ID., "Die theologischen Auseinandersetzungen in der äthiopischen Kirche zur Zeit der Reformen des XV. Jahrhunderts", in: *PICES* 1, 137–46.

Tedros Abraha

Ṣəllat ↗Tabot

Ṣəlmi

Ṣ. (**ጽልሚ**) is a variation of the extended family ownership of land in the highlands of ↗Eritrea. In this type of ↗land tenure system households are entitled to a share of the extended family's (↗*Ǝnda*) land through the male family head who is a member of the particular patrilineal lineage. Plots are allocated to individual families who then possess the right to lease them out or cultivate them; but without the prior assent of the members of the *ənda* unit, one cannot sell or mortgage them. Land is thus collectively administered by the extended family unit, and the individual who has the right to use it has only restricted rights over its disposal.

In Ṣ., as in *rəsti* (↗*Rəst*), ownership rights are traced back to the individual who first established rights over the land, most probably the first occupant. Ṣ., however, differs from *rəsti* in the practice of inheritance and distribution. In Ṣ., plots of land are allocated equally among the rightful heirs to the father's land. Strictly speaking, Ṣ. means the continued subdivision of the hereditary land, which in most cases leads to the fragmentation of the family estate. The progressive subdivision of the family estate often comes to a halt, which protects the land from being broken up into tiny fragments, and results in a system similar to collective *rəsti* (cp. ↗*Rəst*). It should be noted that at times terminology might be highly misleading, and in some areas the term Ṣ. applies to a system which nearly resembles *rəsti*.

Apart from some rare occasions, Ṣ. land is owned by inheritance generally through the male members of the patrilineal *ənda*. The system is thus basically exclusive, which means that land titles are due to members of the lineage community only and those who have been admitted through adoption. Although it is more common to inherit on the father's side, in practice, one may choose to own land in the mother's family estate. Similarly, it is more common for men to possess usufructuary rights, in some cases, though, women are also entitled to a share. These are rare cases when there are no male heirs to take over the land, when the father leaves a share to his daughter by will, or when the daughter is unmarried. Ṣ. land, once the right is given to share, cannot be revokable.

According to written and oral sources, Ṣ. was prevalent in all three highland provinces, ↗Ḥamasen, ↗Akkälä Guzay and ↗Säraye, prior to the reforms that came with the colonial era. In Säraye the system was able to survive until recently owing to the fact that the Italians did not force the overall adoption of ↗*desa* there. Today, this land tenure system is limited to small areas since in most parts of the country *desa* has been introduced by the subsequent ruling governments.

Lit.: ALEMSEGED TESFAI, *Communal Land Ownership in Northern Ethiopia and its Implications for Government Development Policies*, University of Wisconsin, WI 1973; AMBAYE ZEKARIAS, *Land Tenure in Eritrea*, Addis Abeba 1966; DEPARTMENT OF LAND TENURE, MINISTRY OF LAND REFORM AND ADMINISTRATION, *Report on Land Tenure Survey of Eritrea Province,* Addis Abeba 1969; LYDA FAVALI – ROY PATEMAN, *Blood, Land and Sex*: *Legal and Political Pluralism in Eritrea*, Bloomington, IN 2003; SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, "Land Tenure on the Eritrean Plateau", *Africa* [London] 16, 1–2, 1946, 1–21, 99–109; KJETIL TRONVOLL, *Mai Weini, A Highland Village in Eritrea*: *a Study of the People, their Livelihood and Land Tenure during Times of Turbulence*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1998; ID., "Meret Shehena, 'Brothers' Land': S.F. Nadel's Land Tenure on the Eritrean Plateau Revisited", *Africa* [London] 70, 2000, 595–613.

Sába Tesfay

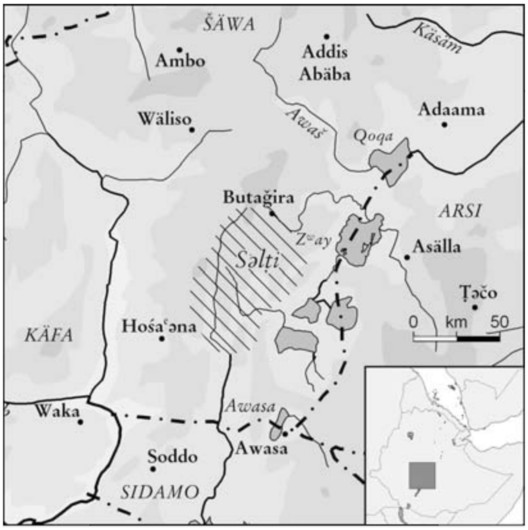
Səlṭan Sägäd I ↗Susənyos

Səlṭan Sägäd II ↗Fasilädäs

Səlṭi

Səlṭi language

S. (Səlṭe, Silṭi, Silṭe; self-names: *Islaamiñña*/ *Yiislaam Af*, lit. 'language of Islam', Amh.: Səlṭiñña), spoken by about 827,000 people (1994 census, s. Gordon 2005: 119), belongs to the East ↗Gurage group (along with ↗Zay and ↗Wäläne) which, together with ↗Harari, constitutes a branch of South-↗Ethio-Semitic. The language area stretches along both sides of the Addis Abäba–Hossa^{c}əna road, starting 10 km after Butağira and continuing up to 30 km before Hossa^{c}əna. The ↗Wəlbaräg consider themselves S. speakers. Neighbouring groups (e.g. ↗Libido, ↗Mäsqan) use S. as a second language. Cushitic influence is evident in the vocabulary (*fayya* 'good/well'), morphology (*-aančo*: *waarwaat-aančo* 'distressed'), and phonology (ten-vowel-



system with phonemic length). Arabic loanwords are not infrequent (Leslau 1999).

S. consonants are: plain stops *b*, *p*, *d*, *t*, *g*, *k*, ᵓ, ejectives *p̣*, *ṭ*, *č̣*, *q*, fricatives *f*, *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, *h*, plain affricates *ǧ*, *č*, nasals *m*, *n*, *ñ*, lateral *l*, vibrant *r*, approximants *w*, *y*. Vowels are *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, plus long counterparts.

S. consonants (except for *h* and ᵓ) have contrastive gemination. Extensive morphophonemic changes (assimilation, palatalization, contraction, elision) characterize S. Dialect variation mainly affects glottalized consonants and ᵓ in southern varieties (influence of ↗Hadiyya), *h* and *w* vs. initial vowels, and *p̣* vs. *b*.

In nominals, singular and plural are unmarked, paucal is marked by -(*č*)*ča* (*adan* 'cat(s)', *adan-ča* 'a few cats') or reduplication (*gaar* 'house(s)', *gaaraaro* 'a few houses'). Definiteness is indicated by *-ii/-y* (masc.), *-te* (fem.): *wald-ii* 'the children', *baaliiq-te* 'the old woman'. Accusative marker is -*a* (with allomorphs -*e* and ø) or –*n*(*a*): *giz-a* 'thing (acc.)', *huseen-na* 'Hussein (acc.)'. Possession is marked by *ya-* (*ya-karaab qar* [poss.-ox horn] 'horn of an ox'), distributive by -*sa* (*ba-sa-wado* [in-distr.-turn] 'each in his turn'). The vocative marker is -(*a*)*w/-ew* (masc.) and -(*a*)*y/-ey* (fem.): *amiid-aw* 'Amiid!', *zamzoo-y* 'Zamzo!'. There are special vocative pronouns *koo* (masc.) and *tee* (fem.) 'hey, you!'.

Personal pronouns are *ihe* 'I', *iña* 'we', *ata* 'you (masc.)', *aš* 'you (fem.)', *atum* 'you (pl.)', *uha* 'he', *iša* 'she', *uhnu* 'they'.

Verbs are conjugated for person (including a special impersonal form), number and gender. From a consonant skeleton (e.g., *rkb* 'to find') three stems are formed: perfective (*rakab*-), imperfective (-*rakb*-) and jussive/imperative (*r(i)kab*). Alone or expanded with affixes or auxiliary *naar* 'was' (3rd pers. masc. sg.), these stems express tense and aspect: simple past *rakab-a*, present perfect *rakab-aan*, pluperfect *rakab-a naar*, present/future *i-rakb-aan*, continuous past *i-rakb naar*, imperative *rikab*, jussive *ya-rkab* (all forms in 3rd pers. masc. sg.). Negative prefixes are *al*- (perfective/infinitive) *ilaw-/itti-/ila*- (present/future), and *al-/at-/ay*- (continuous past, relative present/future, jussive/imperative). Any of the three stems can attach the suffixes -*aane* or -*a* to form converb.

Pronominal objects are expressed by verb suffixes: *rakab-a-y* 'he found him'. S. makes use of the benefactive -*nn*- and detrimental -*b*-: *rakab-ku-nn-ii* 'I found for him', *rakab-ku-b-uy* 'I found to his detriment'.

Verbal derivational markers are *a*- (transitive), *at*- (causative), *ta*- (passive), reduplication (iterative). The agent noun is formed with -*i*, infinitive with -*oot*. Compound verbs with *baala* 'say' or *añe/aše* 'do' are common: *liile baala* 'to shine'.

Personal pronouns and proper names take the copula -*t* (uninflected), other masc. sg. nominals -*n* (inflected) (fem. sg. -*nt*).

The word order is Subject–Object–Verb: *miiš-ii*$_1$ *gaara*$_2$ *mañe*$_3$ 'The man$_1$ built$_3$ a house$_2$'. Subordinate clauses precede the main clause. Most modifiers precede the head noun.

The ten-word list is: (*h*)*add* 'one', (*h*)*oošt* 'two', *šeešt* 'three', *ǧira* 'fire', *may* 'water', *ayr* 'sun', *wari* 'moon', *dam* 'blood', *aramat* 'tongue', *isn* 'tooth'.

Some poetic and prosaic texts in S., in Arabic script, were collected by ↗Schlobies, probably written down ca. 1926 by a S.-speaker, Muḥammad ^{c}Arab (s. WagHand 104–18). Nowadays, S. uses the Ethiopic ↗script (vowel length and gemination unmarked). The main published work is the collection of 3,000 proverbs with an Amharic translation by Hussein M. Mussa and Awwel Mohammed (2002). S. becoming the medium of instruction in schools (1995), the publication of the S. dictionary (1997) and the creation of Səlṭe Zone (2000) have raised the profile of S.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 119; HUSSEIN M. MUSSA – AWWEL MOHAMMED, **መህማቾት፡ የስልጤ፡ ምሳሌያዊ፡ አነጋገሮች** (*Mähmaaččoot*: *yäsəlṭe məssaleyawi annägagäročč*, 'Səlṭe Proverbial Sayings'), Addis Abäba 1995 A.M. [2002 A.D.]; WagHand 104–18 [NL Schlobies 101–10];

Ewald Wagner, "Selt'i-Verse in arabischer Schrift aus dem Schlobies-Nachlaß", in: *SegBodLes* 363–74.

Lit.: Eeva H.M. Gutt – Hussein Mohammed Mussa, *Silt'e–Amharic–English Dictionary* (*with Concise Grammar by Ernst-August Gutt*), Addis Ababa 1997; Ernst-August Gutt, "The Silte Group (East Gurage)", in: Robert Hetzron (ed.), *The Semitic Languages*, London 1997, 509–34; Id., "Studies in the Phonology of Silt'i", *JES* 16, 1983, 37–73; Id., "On the Conjugation of the Silt'i verb", *ibid.* 19, 1986, 91–112; Wolf Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, Wiesbaden 1979, vol. 1, 961–1032; Id., "Arabic Loanwords in Selṭi", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 103–23.

Eeva Gutt

Səlṭi ethnography

The term S. (**ስልጢ**) is (1) an older variant of the modern ethnonym "Səlṭe" (**ስልጤ**) which includes all speakers of the S. language, and it is (2) the name of a major subgroup, the *Summus Səlṭi* ('Eight [districts of] S.') or "S. proper". Oral tradition derives the names S. and Səlṭe from the alleged *Summus Səlṭi* ancestor "*gän* Səlṭi" (*gän*[*za*], 'ruler of a territory'). Today's Səlṭe include the major subgroups of Azärnät, Bärbäre (↗Ǝnnäqor), Aliččo, Wuriro, Mälga (↗Wəlbaräg) and *Summus Səlṭi*. The great majority of the population is Muslim. Until the second half of the 20th cent., collective designations which included all major subgroups were "Ade(y)a" (from ↗Hadiyya [sultanate]), "Islam" and "East ↗Gurage", the last being primarily a linguistic category also including ↗Wälane and ↗Zay. They were widely considered to be part of the Gurage. However, after the fall of the *Därg* in 1991 a political movement formed, claiming an independent ethnic identity of the "Səlṭe", as they now called themselves. Ten years later the identity discourse resulted in the administrative secession from the Gurage zone and the establishment of a "Səlṭe zone" (for the earlier administrative division s. also ↗Hayqočč-Butağira). The S. language area reaches from the edge of the Gurage highlands up to the lowlands West of Lake Zʷay and from the area around the Har Šäyṭan crater lake, south of ↗Butağira, up to the lowlands of Sankura, bordering to the country of ↗Allaaba.

The Səlṭe practice mixed agriculture and cattle breeding. In the highland areas ↗*ənsät* cultivation is predominant, while in the lower regions cereals have more importance. ↗*Čat* and ↗*bärbäre* are the most relevant cash crops. Some written sources (e.g., Cecchi 1888: 123f.) describe the involvement of some S. and Wəlbaräg traders in slave trade. Since the 19th cent. merchants are engaged in trans-regional trade, especially in ↗coffee, on the caravan route crossing their territory to connect ↗Sidamo province and ↗Šäwa. During the 20th cent. many people from the area migrated to Addis Abäba and other towns in southern Ethiopia. In the capital they, together with the Gurage, make up one of the most important migrant groups. They are specifically known as entrepreneurs in the Märkato (↗Addis Kätäma) and Arada areas.

The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon mentions an entity allied to this emperor by the name of Sälṭagi/Səlṭähi, which can be interpreted as Səlṭi/e-ge ['land of S.'] (MarAmdS 100, 213). Braukämper identifies the "East-Gurage" as the only people related to the Hadiyya sultanate who did not adopt a Cushitic language. According to his reconstruction, in the 17th cent. their homeland was located in the highland of ↗Čärčär (BrHad 90, 184). According to oral tradition, today's Səlṭe consider themselves descendants of warriors of Arab, or even Šarīfic, descent who joined ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī and his successor *amir* ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid. In the wake of the ↗*ǧihād*, ancestors, such as, e.g., *haǧǧi* Aliye Umär, *šayḫ* Naṣrallāh (↗ᶜAbdannāṣir), *šayḫ* Bärkälle, *imām* ↗Śidi, Kabīr Ḥāmid and Nūr

The *haḍra* mosque of the Alkäso *zāwiya*, Səlṭi; photo 2004, courtesy of the author

Yūsuf, are said to have migrated with their folks into the province of ↗Wäǧ. There, they settled on the slopes of the highlands and intermingled with the local population, the so-called Žära (cp. Bustorf 2006).

The Oromo migration into and through Wäǧ during the 17th cent. and constant conflicts with the ↗Libido drove the S.-speaking groups farther west into the highlands. In the 19th cent. scarcity of land and frequent conflicts with the neighbouring Gurage, especially with the warriors of *agäz* Hamdeno of ↗Geta and *damo* Mägänas of ↗Gumär (the latter mentioned in Cecchi 1888: 111–28), forced them to leave most of the highland areas (except Mugo, Ǝnnäqor and Aliččo-Wuriro) to the Gurage and to expand their territory to the pastoralist areas in the east and south-east. This again brought them into conflict with the ↗Arsi, Libido, Leemo- and Šaašoogo-Hadiyya.

Səlṭeland was subdued by Mənilək's troops for the first time in 1879. The earlier marriage of the daughter of the *Summus Səlṭi* chief *azma*[*č*] Qälbo with *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase facilitated a comparatively amicable relation between the leading families and the new rulers. In the course of the further Ethiopian conquest, Səlṭe warriors, such as, e.g., *azma* Ormora Gona, became important allies of the Ethiopian empire, notably in the campaigns against the Libido (e.g., 1879) and against King ↗Ṭona of Wälaytta in 1894.

In the 19th cent. the history of the S. speakers was characterized by Islamic revitalism fuelled by an intensified contact with Muslim centres, especially in Wällo, the rise in popularity of the ↗Islamic brotherhoods and opposition towards the expanding Christian empire. The leaders of the six major subgroups in 1881 joined the *ǧihād* of ↗Ḥasän Ǝnǧamo of Qabeena against Mənilək and started to reinforce Islam amongst their own people. The integration of Səlṭeland into Mənilək's empire after Ḥasän Ǝnǧamo's defeat in 1889 was followed by the settlement of ↗*näfṭäñña* families and the foundation of the first ↗*kätäma* "S." (south of today's Qəbät) and Wəlbaräg. The family of *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu, who was related to the leading Qälbo clan, was entitled with huge lands in the western S. area.

During most of their history the Səlṭe had no common political or judical body above the councils (*dämbus*) of the different major subgroups. Supra-tribal integration mainly was conducted by certain Islamic leaders (e.g., in the 19th cent., Haruna *gošte* and *šayḫ* "Wälle"; in the 20th cent., Alkäso *šayḫ*) and by political and military alliances (↗*Gogot*) of two or more groups, including sometimes not only S. speakers but also, e.g., ↗Mäsqan and Allaaba. A famous alliance, active between 1936 and the early 1940s, was the so-called *Səlṭi/e Gogot*. It united all major subgroups of the Səlṭe and, under the leadership of *imām* Sugato Zäyni, could dominate neighbouring ethnic groups.

Src.: fieldnotes by the author 2003, 2004, 2005; Antonio Cecchi, *Fünf Jahre in Ostafrika*, Leipzig 1888, 123f.; MarAmdS 100, 213.

Lit.: Abdulfätah Huldar, **ኢስላም፡ በኢትዮጵያ፡ እና፡ የስልጤ፡ ህዝብ፡ ታሪክና፡ ባህል** (*Islam bäʾityop̣ya ənna yäsəlṭe həzb tarikənna bahəl*, 'Ethiopian Islam and the History and Culture of the Səlṭe People'), Addis Abäba 2000; Id., **የስልጤነት፡ ብሔራዊ፡ መገለጫዎች፡ እና፡ ለኢትዮጵያዊነት፡ ህልውናና፡ እድገት፡ ያበረከቱት፡ አስተዋፅኦ** (*Yäsəlṭennät bəḥerawi mäggäläč̣awočč ənna läʾityop̣yawinnät həlləwənanna ədgät yabäräkkätut astäwaṣ́əʾo*, 'National Expression of Səlṭeness and the Contribution, which They [the Səlṭe] Made to the Being and Development of Ethiopianess'), Addis Abäba 2002; Abraham Hussen – Habtamu Wändəmmo, **በሥልጢኛ፡ ቋንቋ፡ ተናጋሪ፡ ሕዝብ፡ የአዘርነት፡ በርበሬ፡ ኅብረተሰብ፡ ባህልና፡ ታሪክ** (*Bäśəlṭiñña qʷanqʷa tänagari ḥəzb yäʾazärnät bärbäre ḫəbrätäsäb bahələnna tarik*, 'The Society, Culture and History of the *Səlṭiñña* Language-speaking Azärnät-Bärbäre'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990 A.D.]; BrHad 183–94 et passim; Dirk Bustorf, "*Aṣe* Zäʾra Yaʿəqobs Kinder. Spuren der Vorbevölkerung von Səlṭe-Land", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 23–48; Id., *Die Səlṭe*: *Geschichte, Geschichtserzählung und Geschichtsbewusstsein eines muslimischen Volkes im südlichen Äthiopien*, Ph.D. thesis, Universität Hamburg 2009; Id., "*Imam* Sugato Zäyni: a War-lord of the *Selt'é Gogot*", in: *PICES* 16, 70–81; Nishi Makoto, "Making and Unmaking of the National-State and Ethnicity in Modern Ethiopia: a Study on the History of the Silte People", *African Study Monographs, Supplementary Issue* 29, 2005, 157–68; Dənbäru Alämu et al., **ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብኄረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ** (*Gogot. Yägurage bəḫeräsäb tarik, bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot, the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.], 48–52; Rahmeto Hussein, *The History of Azernet-Berbere until the Expansion of Shoa during Menelik II*, Senior Essay, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1984.

Dirk Bustorf

Šəmagällä

Š. (**ሽማገለ**, also Šəmagälle, Wäld Šum, lit. 'son of a leader') is the designation of a sociopolitical group among ↗Təgre-speakers and the ↗Bilin. Š. is derived from a term in Ethio-Semitic languages which means 'elder' (↗*Šəmagəlle*), but also connotes a regular leading social role within gerontocratic structures. Among the Təgre and sociopolitically related groups such as the Bilin the term Š. came to be applied exclusively in its sociopolitical sense. The Š. leaders usually bear the title ↗*šum*, therefore the Š. are also known as Wäld Šum, e.g., among the Marya (cp. MunSt 238). Folk etymology connects Š. with that title (which supposes a form "*šumagälle*").

The complex traditional relations between the diverse Təgre groups and subgroups can be described as a loose confederacy, within which several lineages assumed an economically and politically leading role. Such lineages were called Š. The Š. were the 'aristocratic class' dominating all other Təgre groups, who were their 'serfs' (called ↗*təgre* in both Təgre and Bilin languages, e.g., MunSt 235). The Š. assumed the role of defender of the serfs' territory in war or conflict and had to provide food and clothing (Shack 1974: 79). One social marker was that a Š. would not milk cows or camels, considered impure work and reserved for *təgre* only. Within some groups – such as the ↗Bet Asgädä/↗Ḥabab, ↗Mänsaᶜ and ↗Marya – the Š. lineages formed an important element. Several smaller Təgre groups had no Š. among them. Until the early 19th cent., the Š. were predominantly Christians, while the serfs had started to convert to Islam earlier. Most Š. lineages are Muslim today (cp. Shack 1974: 91).

A prerequisite for assuming the role of Š. was that one was supposed to be an original (indigenous) group or the "owner" of the country. Generally, local groups or lineages, whose apical ancestor was a migrant, were excluded from any politically leading role, such as the Bet Ǧuk, said to be of Gondäre origin, or the Muslim ↗Təgrəñña-speaking highlanders, the ↗Ǧäbärti, many of whom settled at caravan places inside Bilin and Təgre territories (such as ↗Kärän). However, "indigenous" groups could also lose their status of Š. Some Š. lineages belonged to the "original migrants" of an area, i.e. the first who took possession of it, such as the direct descendants of the Ṭäqʷe of the Bilin (MunSt 203). Among the Beni ᶜAmir the Š. are called *nabtab*; their political leader, the *diglal*, is chosen from *nabtab* clans (Shack 1974: 88).

During the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation period (1952–62) several members of the Š. class joined the ↗Eritrean Assembly as representatives of the diverse Təgre groups and therefore assumed a new role in politics. However, following the struggle for Eritrean independence, which was also fuelled by opposition against Š. rule, the serf system had been abolished. Thereafter the ethnic term Təgre was now applied to all Təgre-groups, now also including the Š.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916; KilHDic 379; MunSt 203, 232–39; NadEr; WILLIAM ALFRED SHACK, *North-Eastern Africa*, part IV: *The Central Ethiopians, Amhara, Tigriña and Related Peoples*, London 1974, 79, 85f., 88f., 91 (Lit.).

Wolbert Smidt

Šəmagəlle

Š. (**ሽማግሌ**) is an Amharic and Təgrəñña term denoting an 'elder' or 'old man'. Given the important role of the gerontocratic principle (↗Gerontocracy) in Ethiopian and Eritrean societies, the Š. is of central socio-cultural and political importance.

A typical Š. is a respected senior person, not necessarily of advanced age, who participates in the local council of elders (**ጉባኤ**, *gubaʾe*). He may serve his community as a mediator and adviser or as a local historian, conveyor of oral tradition (including ↗Genealogy) or expert in ↗customary law (↗Law: traditional legal institutions). The traditional judge (s., e.g., ↗*Dañña*) is selected from among the members of such a council.

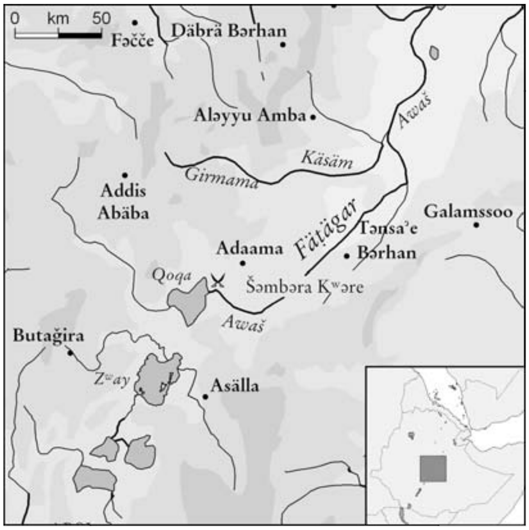
Src.: KaneDic 615f.

Dirk Bustorf

Šəmbəra Kʷəre

Š.K. (**ሽምብራ፡ ኵሬ**, also Šəmbəra Kure, 'Chick-pea pond') is a 16th-cent. battlesite in the area of the great Awaš bend, in the historical region of ↗Fäṭägar (for a tentative localization s. HuntGeogr 124 and his app. map 16, as well as the map below). Around or perhaps on 10 March 1529 (cp. BassHist 115 [tr.], with n. 2, and KrLebD 9, 12 [tr.], with nn. 26 and 42) it saw the first major confrontation between Muslim and Christian armies in the ᶜAdalite ↗*ǧihād* that had been launched against the Christian Kingdom by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ).

The Battle of Š.K. had a prelude in somewhat less bloody exchanges fought out briefly before at the nearby Sämärma River (the present-day Gərmama? Cp. HuntGeogr 89f., 124, and map 16). In those the Christian side remained victorious (BassHist 46–54 [text]; KrLeb 13 [text]). The subsequent battle of Š.K. however, even if both sides in it suffered heavy casualties (BassHist 63f. [text]; ↗Robel), ended in a severe and entirely unexpected defeat of the numerically greatly superior Christian forces (BassHist 55f. [text]; KrLeb 8f., 13 [text]). Still it was not, as is sometimes alleged, a decisive blow from which the



Location after HuntGeogr

Christian side was unable to recover or which, in central and southern Ethiopia, broke its fighting spirit. This might have been the case if the Muslim troops had followed up on their victory and, as Grañ desired, immediately marched against Ləbnä Dəngəl's residence at Badiqe. The exhausted and booty-laden *muğāhidūn* however could not be persuaded to do so, but preferred to return to Harär instead (BassHist 64f. [text]). It was hence only the 1531 battles of Anṣokiya and Ayfärs in Däwaro (the latter reported as the battle of Z-r-y in the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*; here and in the following similar instances, this source's Arabic script only yields orthographic skeletons; ↗Ǝslam Sägäd [I]), of B-w-sāt in Fäṭägar (↗Wäsän Sägäd), of Wāṣ-l at the Šäwa–Amhara border (↗Dägälhan, ↗Ros Näbiyat), and in 1532 the battle of Z-l-a in Bale (BassHist 106–11, 119–26, 160–70, 197–211, 285–90 [text]; KrLebD 10f., 13f. [text]) that for a decade broke the back of the Christian resistance in, essentially, the non-Təgrəñña-speaking parts of the kingdom.

Src.: KrLebD 8f., 13 (text) = 8f., 12 (tr.); BassHist 34f., 43–51, 53–66 (text) = 76–81, 84, 97ff., 102–10, 114–31 (tr.); Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad bin ᶜAbd al-Qāder bin Sālem bin ᶜUṯmān, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša. The Conquest of Abyssinia* [*16th Century*], tr. by Paul Lester Stenhouse, Hollywood, CA 2003, 60–86 and index.

Lit.: Andrzej Bartnicki – Joanna Mantel-Niećko, *Geschichte Äthiopiens. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 vols., [East] Berlin 1978, vol. 1, 107f.; HuntGeogr 89f., 124, and appendix, map 16; Harold Golden Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 2002, 32; PankBord 172, 184, 191.

Michael Kleiner

Sembrouthes

S. (Gr. ΣΕΜΒΡΟΥΘΗC, *Sembrouthēs*, Eth. *SMRT, *Ṣənf Rəᶜud? cp. the ancient tribal name Σεμβρῖται/-ῖδαι, *Sembrîtai/-îdai*, Lat. *Se(m)b(er)ritae*, on which DAE IV, 3f.?) was a king of ↗Aksum likely to have ruled, for some 25 years at least, towards the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D. He is only known from a Greek eight-line ↗inscription found by the Swedish missionary Sundström in 1906 at ↗Däqqämḥare, an Eritrean village on the road to Kärän, and kept now at the National Archaeological Museum in Asmära (DAE IV 3 = RIÉ 275).

In this much discussed document, dated to "the 24th year" of S.'s reign, the dedication of an unknown building or monument is implied: the king "came and set (it) up". Even more importantly, S. introduces himself in the third person as βασιλεὺς ἐκ βασιλέων ʼΑξωμειτῶν μέγας, *basiléus ek basiléōn Axōmeitôn mégas*, '(the) great(est) king from among the kings of (the) Aksum(ites)', i.e. from among his predecessors: a superlative predicate – so often misunderstood in scholarly literature – that seems to anticipate the later formula βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, *basiléus basiléōn*/Eth. *nəguśä nägäśt*, 'king of kings', i.e. 'king among(st) kings' or 'king par excellence' (s. ↗*Nəguś*).

S. has been regarded as identical with either a(n immediate?) predecessor of ↗Endybis (Pedroni 1997: 102–06) or, less recently, with the Ḥimyarite king ŠMR YHRᶜS (Drewes 1962: 106f.) or else with ↗Ousanas (Altheim – Stiehl 1968: 334 and 1969: 170f., 245) and ↗Ǝllä ᶜAmida (I) – whom some authors believe to be one and the same as Ousanas (Hahn 1983: 123ff. and in PICES 8, vol. 2, 11f.), but who is actually his son. All these groundless hypotheses also involve the identification of S. and his purported alias with the anonymous Aksumite king of the ↗*Monumentum Adulitanum*: a proposal that is now more soundly assumed for S. alone (MHAksum 79f.; Ricci 2003: 168f.; Fiaccadori 2004).

In keeping with the palaeographic evidence, dating the inscription to the 2nd/3rd cent. (rather than "the 1st/2nd cent. A.D." suggested by Bingen 1992) would definitely imply that S. be identified with the king of the *Monumentum*, dated to "the 27th year" of the latter's reign. Within a common Hellenistic framework, pointing to a "Ptolemaic" model, this inscription shows a number of striking similarities with that of Däqqämḥare, which could thereby be traced to one of the (north-)western campaigns recorded – three years later – in the *Monumentum*.

Src.: DAE IV, 3f., no. 3; Benjamin Hendrickx, *Official Documents Written in Greek Illustrating the Ancient History of Nubia and Ethiopia (3rd Century B.C.–6th Century A.D.),* Johannesburg 1984 (Monumenta Afro-Hellenica 1), no. 8; RIÉ I, 374f., no. 275 (text), cp. RIÉ IIIa, 23ff. (tr.); Jean Bingen, [review of RIÉ I, no. 275], in: Henk W. Pleket – Ronald S. Stroud – Johann H.M. Strubbe (eds.), *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*, vol. 42, Amsterdam 1992 [but 1995], 480, no. 1644.

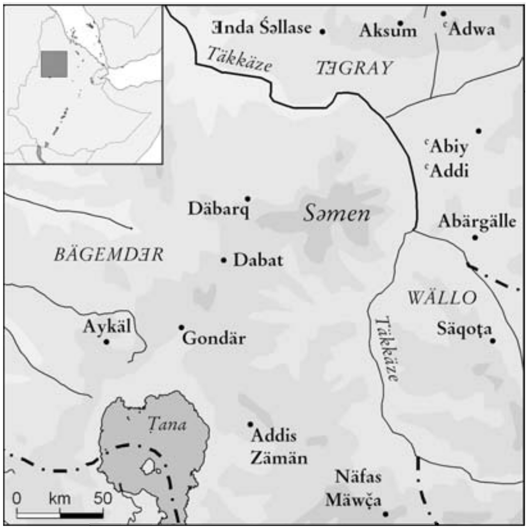
Lit.: CRStor 120ff., fig. 171 (pl. LV); Franz Altheim – Ruth Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, vol. 5, 1, Berlin 1968, 334; vol. 5, 2, 1969, 170f., 245; Id., *Christentum am Roten Meer*, vol. 1, Berlin 1974, 410; Abraham Johannes Drewes, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962, 106f.; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 107–11, 113–18, 120ff., 125–40 [Lit.]; Wolfgang Hahn, "Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurg. u. theolog. Anhang)", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 123f.; Id., "A Numismatic Contribution to the Dating of the Aksumite King Sembrouthes", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 11–13, here 11f.; Arthur K. Irvine, "Sembrouthes or Sebrouthes", in: *DictEthBio* 149f.; MHAksum 74 [fig. 10], 79f.; Luigi Pedroni, "Sembrouthes 'il grande': un bilancio critico", *RSE* 41 1997 [1998, but 1999], 89–106, here 92; Id., "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica*, ser. I 15, I–II [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 102–06; Lanfranco Ricci, [rev. of RIÉ IIIa], *RSE* [45], nuova ser., 2, 2003, 166–70, here 168f.; SerHist 81f.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Səmen

S. (**ስሜን**, sometimes Sämen, **ሰሜን**) is a highland region limited to the north and east by the ↗Täkkäze River. The S. mountains are made up of several plateaus separated by broad river valleys. Its landscape, shaped by a number of peaks that rise above 4,000 m (↗Ras Dašän), is the result of massive seismic activity about 40 million years ago. The S. mountains is the third and northernmost area in Ethiopia where glaciation took place during the late Pleistocene period (Grab 2002).

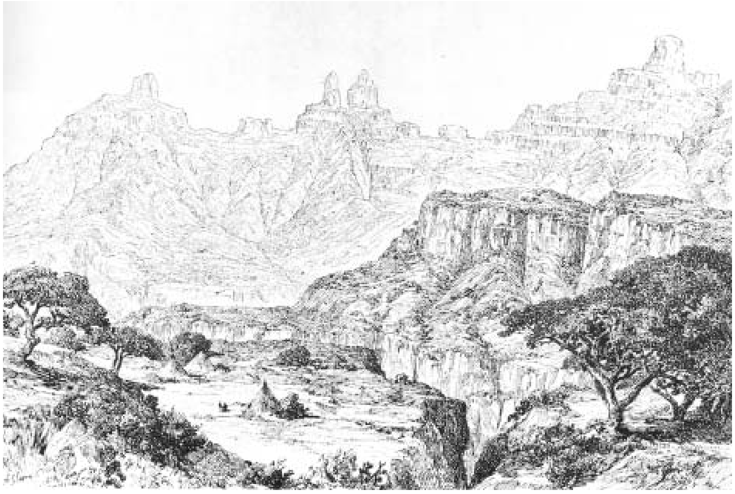
In 1959 the Simien Mountains National Park (↗Parks, National) was established, which stretches over 179 km² and is home to a great variety of flora and fauna, including endemic species (↗animals; ↗plants). The Park, which in 1978 became one of the first sites to be included by the UNESCO in its world heritage list, is today one of the country's main tourist attractions. The entry to the Park is at ↗Däbarq.



One of the earliest mentions of S. is made in the inscription copied by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes (↗Monumentum Adulitanum), which reports an Aksumite king crossing the Täkkäze River and conquering the peoples there, including the "Samêne", who lived "among inhospitable mountains that are covered deeply in snow" (Wolska-Conus 1968: 374f.; SerHist 62; RIÉ no. 277: 6–9). The S. was also stated by Cosmas to be the place to which "the king of the Aksumites expatriates anyone whom he has sentenced to be banished" (Wolska-Conus 1968: 378f.; SerHist 65).

The origin of the toponym is a Gəʿəz word originally meaning 'south', which reflected the position of S. respecting Aksum. Later, as the core of the Christian kingdom shifted southward, the word, now firmly associated with S., came to mean 'north' (LesCDic 503; DillmLex 334f.).

Until recently, S. was mainly populated by the Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel). By the 14th cent. it was known as one of major centres of ↗*Ayhud* (most probably identical with Betä Ǝsraʾel). The legendary queen Gudit, or ↗Ǝsato, is sometimes described as a "Fälaša" queen from S. who destroyed the town of Aksum and expelled its rulers at the time of ↗Dəlnaʿod (BassHist II, 457, n. 4). In 1332, ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon sent troops to put down a revolt of the *Ayhud* in S. (MarAmdS 68f.). Around the early 1370s, the monk ↗Qozmos renounced his Christianity and fled to S. The *Ayhud* of S. and ↗Ṣällämt venerated him as a semi-divine figure and helped him form an army that attacked the Christians in ↗Dämbəya and ↗Bägemdər. Eventually, this revolt was suppressed by *aṣe* ↗Dawit who sent troops from Təgray led by ↗Akḫadom.



The Səmen mountains viewed from Lämaləmo, drawing by Eduard Zander, 1850s; from Reclus 1885: 211

In the early 15th cent., *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq was the first ruler to become directly involved in the issue of the *Ayhud* in north-west Ethiopia. According to both Betä Ǝsraʾel oral traditions and Ethiopian written sources, Yəsḥaq instituted a divide and rule policy in ↗Wägära and S. that sparked a revolt. The *Ayhud* defeat in Wägära resulted in the first documented confiscation of their land (*Tarikä nägäśt*, EMML 7334, fol. 28v; Quirin 1992: 53ff.).

Despite this defeat, the Betä Ǝsraʾel in S. remained independent. But they were subject to Christian evangelization efforts, such as by the monk ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat, during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. These Christianization efforts stimulated a revolt of the Betä Ǝsraʾel in S., Ṣällämt and Dämbəya.

The S. Betä Ǝsraʾel continued to be the leaders of the group as a whole and remained independent through the next century. During the *ǧihād* of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), the S. area became a battlefield between the Christians and Muslims (BassHist I 185, 311f., 342f. [text]). The S. Betä Ǝsraʾel tried to maintain their independence by supporting Grañ during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (cp. also KrLebD 21 [text]), and then switched to support *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos. In 1542, after a battle won by Christian and Portuguese (cp. Christovão da ↗Gama) soldiers with the help of Betä Ǝsraʾel, one of the latter's leaders was appointed as governor of the region (Quirin 1992: 74ff.; BecRASO II, 314f.).

The Betä Ǝsraʾel maintained good relations with Gälawdewos almost to the end of his reign, but in 1559–60 his brother, ↗Minas, unsuccessfully attacked the S. Betä Ǝsraʾel; the attack was led by ↗Rädaʾi (KrLebD 54 [text], BassEt I, 337 [text]). *Aṣe* ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl repeated the attacks in S. Probably due to the more northern orientation of the regime which began under this king, the Christian state desired to control S. more directly, an effort that continued into the Gondär dynasty.

Between 1559 and the 1620s, the centre of Betä Ǝsraʾel leadership was in S. The sources name four prominent men and one woman in S.: firstly, the brothers Rädaʾi and ↗Kalef, secondly the brothers ↗Gʷäšən and ↗Gedewon as well as their sister Ḫarägo. It is not clear if all five were siblings, or if there were two families involved. After 1587–88, Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl took as his mistress Ḫarägo, who gave him four sons. The first son, Zämaryam, died in 1595, but the others – ↗Yaʿəqob, ↗Kəflä Maryam and Mätäkko – figured prominently in the politics of the succession struggle after Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl's death in 1597. Yaʿəqob, who was seven years old at the time of the Emperor's death, was declared king under a regency. It was during this regency, in 1597, that Gedewon, Ḫarägo's brother, was confirmed as the governor of S.

During the next two decades, many rebels rose against *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, several claiming to be the real Yaʿəqob. In 1614–15, one such rebellion was supported by Gedewon (PerChron vol. 1, 149–53 [text]). For two months the Emperor's forces attacked Gedewon in S. until he gave up the rebel in exchange for his own life. Gedewon was finally defeated and killed by the king's army in a conflict in 1623–24 (ibid. 155f. [text]). A final defeat of an uprising by Gedewon's son the next year (ibid. 283 [text]) put an end to Betä Ǝsraʾel political independence in S. But, as had been the case in previous regimes, some of the Betä Ǝsraʾel were next mentioned as soldiers serving under *abetohun* ↗Fasilädäs (ibid. 307f. [text]), the future emperor, who had been made governor of S. Besides, the S. remained a significant center of the Betä Ǝsraʾel religion into the 20th cent. with many monks living there.

During the ↗Gondärine kingdom, the ruler of S. was known as the *səmen ↗aggafari*, a position regularly allocated to the eldest son of the reigning emperor. The high rank of this official during the Gondär era suggests the significance to the kingdom of keeping this area under close control to prevent future Betä Ǝsraʾel revolts. The tolls from the S. customs post at Lämaləmo were also under the direct control of the monarchy (s. ↗*Kella*). In the early 19th cent., as centralized government was disintegrating (↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*), control over the S. was left in the hands of the local ruling family (probably also with the Betä Ǝsraʾel background, s. Quirin 1992: 139), with *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam being the most notable representative.

As Gondär was replaced as the power centre by ↗Šäwa during the 19th cent., S. also lost its political significance. *Ǝtege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul traced one side of her ancestry to a S. line (Prouty 1986: vii), and she favored her relatives in appointments. She was also said to have brought S. masons to help reconstruct the city of Gondär.

During the Italian occupation, S. was incorporated into the governorship of Amhara. After the Liberation, it became an *awraǧǧa* within the province of Bägemdər and S. It is now a part of Amhara Regional State.

Src.: ms. EMML 7334, fols. 28r–28v [not catalogued]; BassHist I 185, 311f., 342f. (text) = II, 277 n. 1, 407 n. 2, 455–59 (tr.); BassEt I, 337f. (text) = II, 110ff. (tr.); BecRASO II, 314f.; Miguel de Castanhoso, *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543* …, ed. by Richard Stephen Whiteway, London 1902, 56–60, 73ff.; CRHist 84–110 (text) = 96–125 (tr.); DillmLex 334f.; KrLebD 21, 54 (text) = 22, 54f. (tr.); LesCDic 503; MarAmdS 68f.; Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet (ed.), "Une tradition éthiopienne", *RevSem* 12, 1904, 259–68; Jules Perruchon, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Règne de Minas ou Admâs-Sagad (1559–1563)", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 87–90; Id., "Notes … Règne de Sarṣa Dengel ou Malak-Sagad 1er (1563–1597)", *ibid.* 4, 1896, 177–85; Id., "Notes … Règnes de Yaᶜqob et Za-Dengel (1597–1607)", *ibid.* 4, 1896, 355–63; Id., "Notes … Règne de Susneyos ou Selṭan-Saggad (1607–1632)", *ibid.* 5, 1897, 75–80, 173–89; PerChron vol. 1, 101, 128–31, 149–53, 155f., 177, 253f., 278f., 283, 307f. (text) = vol. 2, 79, 99ff., 115–18, 120f., 136, 195f., 215, 218, 237f. (tr.); PerrZarY 96f.; RIÉ no. 277; Isaak Wajnberg (ed., tr.), *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana 'Egzī'*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 50–60; Wanda Wolska-Conus (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 1, Paris 1968 (Sources chrétiennes 141), 374f., 378f.

Lit.: BTafA 968f.; LaVerle Berry, *The Solomonic Monarchy at Gonder, 1630–1755: an Institutional Analysis of Kingship in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University 1976, 110, 127f., 306; Stefan Grab, "Glacial and Periglacial Phenomena in Ethiopia: a Review", *Permafrost and Periglacial Processes* 13, 2002, 71–76 (Lit.); HuntGeogr, s. index; Steven Kaplan, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century*, New York 1992, 38ff., 47f., 55–72, 79–98; Chris Prouty, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II: Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London 1986, vii–viii [Genealogy]; James Quirin, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews: a History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1992, 21, 23, 25, 49, 51, 53–58, 61, 74–85, 106, 117f., 138f., 170, 176, 189f.; Elisée Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie universelle, la terre et les hommes, L'Afrique septentrionale*, vol. 10, Paris 1885, 211 (ill.); SerHist 62, 65; Frederick J. Simoons, *Northwest Ethiopia: Peoples and Economy*, Madison, WI 1960.

James Quirin

Semerjibashian, Johannes [Hovhannes]

S. (b. 10 August 1896 [?], Egypt [?], d. 9 October 1947, Addis Abäba) was a dragoman, a public relations officer, a resistance fighter and custodian of a diplomatic property in Ethiopia. An Armenian by birth, he lived almost all his life in Ethiopia and married a noble Ethiopian woman (Aṣädä Maryam Wäsän Yälläh, d. 1956).

Various sources put the year of S.'s birth between 1880 and 1896, and the family maintains the latter. He was brought to Ethiopia as a child and first lived in Harär where his father, Avedis Semerjibashian of Arapkir (b. 1860, d. 1924), had established a business. S. attended the Catholic mission school headed by ↗Jarosseau, where he met Täfäri Mäkʷännən (*aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). From 1906 to 1914 he attended an American mission college in Bardizag, Turkey.

On his return, S. started his career as a dragoman with the British legation in Addis Abäba. His proficiency in several foreign and local languages and his talent for communicating, soon made him invaluable as an interpreter. In 1919 he resigned and joined an Anglo-American oil prospecting company as an advisor, administrator, liaison officer and correspondent. In 1925 he finally joined the reorganized German legation, where he stayed for over 20 years. He started as first dragoman and was later promoted to Oriental secretary. When the legation was reduced to the status of consulate general shortly after the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1936, he was made advisor for local affairs.

All the time, S. was in contact with Ḫaylä Śəllase, to whom he gave practical assistance whenever he could. E.g., in 1935, he was said to have collaborated with David ↗Hall to realize the purchase of arms for Ethiopia from Germany. In 1936, the Italians, who were aware of his relations with the sovereign and who intercepted some of his correspondence with the resistance fighters, arrested and sentenced S. to death. He was saved only through the German and British diplomatic intervention.

Clandestinely S. continued to work in support of the ↗Resistance, informing the patriots about Italian activities as well as international developments. He also strove to create harmony among the different resistance leaders whose activities were hardly co-ordinated in the initial stage. He published an underground newspaper ↗*Amdä bərhan zäʾityop̣ya* and disseminated it among the resistance fighters. At least twelve issues of this publication are said to have been produced. In recognition of his patriotic activities, Ḫaylä Śəllase awarded S. the highest order of merit with five palms.

In the mid-1940s, a conflict between S. and the Ethiopian government broke out. One reason was that S. apparently joined those criticizing the Emperor's absolute power. Another was that, appointed during the war the custodian of the German legation properties in Addis Abäba under the auspices of the Royal Swedish legation in Cairo, he refused the Ethiopian government any access to the German properties. Subsequently, the government declared him *persona non grata*. S. nevertheless stayed in Ethiopia and continued to work for the American embassy. On the evening of 9 October 1947, he was assassinated close to his house. He was survived by his wife, two sons and two daughters.

Src.: Eleonore Singer, *Äthiopische Memoiren, 1927–1970*, ms. in the possession of the Singer family, part III, 4; S.'s Certificate of Merit (Imperial Ethiopian Government, Addis Abäba 1930 and 1944); letters: Gustav Strohm to S. (Addis Abäba, 10 January 1937), Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to S. (Addis Abäba, 30 May 1945); S. to Afä Mäsfən Andarge Mäsay (Addis Abäba, 31 May 1945); S. to the Royal Swedish Legation in Cairo (Addis Abäba, 27 July 1945 and 31 October 1945); S. to Gustav Strohm (Addis Abäba, 24 March 1947); Kurt Prüfer to S. (Geneva, 6 April 1947); Aklilu Habtäwäld to G.R. Merrell (Addis Abäba, 10 February 1948); Sigismund Frhr. v. Braun to W.A.J. Semerjibashian (Bonn, 6 December 1971); Testimonial of S. (issued by the American embassy in Addis Abäba on 7 October 1947); telegrams: W. Beach to the Secretary of State (Addis Abäba, 11 and 16 October, and 4 November 1947); Department of State, Washington, D.C., *Memorandum of Conversation* (14 October 1947).
Lit.: Anon., "Mahdessi Hovhannes and his son Avedis", *The Sons of Arapkh*, n.p. 1930, 831; *Yäʾerətra Dəmṣ* ('The Voice of Eritrea'), 6 December 1946; *Ethiopian Herald* 9 December 1946; Bairu Tafla, "The Forgotten Patriot: the Life and Career of Johannes Semerjibashian in Ethiopia", *Armenian Review* 38, 2, 1985, 13–39 (Lit.); Barclays Bank, *A Bank in Battledress: Being the Story of Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas during the Second World War 1939–45)*, London 1948, 65; W.A.J. Semerjibashian, "The Unfinished Life of the Patriot in Khaki Breeches", ms. in the family possession.

Bairu Tafla

Semeur d'Éthiopie, Le

S.E. was Ethiopia's first foreign-language periodical, produced almost entirely in French, but with occasional decrees or other texts in Amharic (from 1900 till 1905 *Bulletin du Léprosarium de Harar*), run by members of the French Lazarist Leprosarium in ↗Harär. Printed in Harär until 1908 and at ↗Dərre Dawa from December of that year to 1911, it was founded and edited for most of its existence by the French missionary, Father Marie-Barnard.

Devoted largely to religious and missionary topics and to Harär affairs, S.E. contained articles on the Lazarist leprosarium (↗Leprosy, lepers), with appeals to readers for financial assistance, and a necrology of past supporters; also contributions on the treatment, psychology and conversion of lepers; the activities of Roman Catholic missionaries; the history of the Eucharist in Ethiopia; an account of the mission station of Läfto during the great famine of 1889–1900; correspondence between the Pope and the rulers of Ethiopia; letters from ↗Jarosseau, Touvier, ↗Cahagne and other missionaries; Ethiopian Christian festivals; and indigenous Oromo religious beliefs (↗Oromo religion). Attention was also paid to essentially secular matters, with a series of brief news reports from Addis Abäba, Djibouti, Harär and Dərre Dawa. Subjects featured included the genealogies of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu; the Emperor's appointment of *ləğ* ↗Iyasu as his heir; the arrival of Haräri governors (↗Yəlma Mäkʷännən, ↗Balča Śafo and Täfäri Mäkʷännən [later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I], together with decrees by the latter); the coming to Ethiopia of French diplomatic and other envoys; the activities of the French-run Harär hospital; the Ethiopian ↗postal system – the cost of sending letters all over the world; the movement of Somali tribesmen around Djibouti; Oromo folk-tales, and the history of the ↗Harari. S.E., which advertized itself as an illustrated journal, also regularly published a number of pictures, mainly on religious themes, with a frequently repeated engraving depicting "The Rich Man Carried to Heaven in the Arms of the Poor Man".

Src.: *Le Semeur d'Éthiopie*, Harär – Dərre Dawa 1905–11.

Lit.: Ayalew Wolde Giorgis, "The Story of Ethiopian Press and Fathers of Newspapers", *Voice of Ethiopia*, 21 April 1962; Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 1962, 241–90, here 261f.; Id., "Two Early Periodical Publications: *Djibouti* and *Le Semeur d'Éthiopie* as Sources for Late 19th, and Early 20th Ethiopian History", *AE* 19, 2003, 231–56.

Richard Pankhurst

Semitic

The S. language family is one of the branches of the ↗Afro-Asiatic (also known as ↗Hamito-Semitic) phylum. As a linguistic designation, "Semitic" is first attested at the end of the 18th cent. (Voigt 2001: 1314). Several minor subdivisions within S. are certain: Akkadian; Canaanite (Hebrew, Phoenician, possibly Ugaritic); Aramaic; ↗Arabic; ↗Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA: Sabaic, Minaic, Qatabānic, Ḥaḍramitic); ↗Ethio-Semitic (ES); Modern South Arabian (MSA: Mehri, Harsusi, Jibbali, Soqotri). The arrangement of these groups into higher taxonomic units is still open to discussion.

One widespread classificatory pattern (Hetzron 1976, s. already Rössler 1950) splits the S. family into East S. (represented by Akkadian) and West S., further divided into North (or Central) and South S. Central S. consists of Canaanite, Aramaic and Arabic. South S. comprises ESA, ES and MSA. Semitic forms in the cuneiform archives from Ebla can usually be interpreted as East S. (= early Akkadian); West S. influence is discernible in the vocabulary only (Krebernik 1996).

The use of the suffix conjugation base $C_1aC_2aC_3$- to denote past actions separates West S. from East S. Amongst West S. languages, those that continue to use the long form of the prefix conjugation for the present-future (yV-$C_1aC_2C_2VC_3$) belong to South S., whilst Central S. has replaced it by the short form with suffixed -*u* (for further Central S. isoglosses s. Huehnergard 2005). The unity of South S., relying on an archaism rather than on a shared innovation, is problematic. Generalization of -*k*- in the suffix conjugation as a classificatory feature uniting ESA, ES and MSA has been assessed differently by various scholars (Blau 1978: 31; Zaborski in KayeLes 368f.; Appleyard 1996: 214f.; Huehnergard 2005: 168f.).

ESA, traditionally classified as South C., is attributed to Central S. in recent studies, since the present-future was expressed by *yV-$C_1C_2VC_3$-*u* at least in Sabaic (Nebes 1994).

The position of Arabic is ambiguous: *yV-$C_1C_2VC_3$-*u* for present-future suggests that it belongs in Central S., but a few features shared with ES and/or MSA (patterns of the broken plural, the verbal stem $C_1\bar{a}C_2aC_3a$, -*a*- in the suffix conjugation of derived stems) are striking (Blau 1978: 29ff.; Diem 1980: 68ff.).

Lexicostatistics suggest that proto-S. disintegrated in the mid-5th millennium B.C. (Militarev 2000: 303). The Arabian homeland of Semites, popular in earlier studies (s. references in Henninger 1968: 10), does not look attractive today in view of the well-developed agricultural terminology of proto-S. (Aro 1964) and the existence of contact lexemes between proto-S. (PS) and proto-Indo-European (PIE *_tauro_- – PS *_ṯawr_- 'bull', *_gʷern_- 'millstone' – *_gurn_- 'threshhold', *_woino_- – *_wayn_- 'wine', *_Haster_- 'star' – *_ᶜaṯtar_- 'astral deity', Gamkrelidze – Ivanov 1984:871–76), both of which point to a more northern locality (the combination of *_dubb_- 'bear', *_riᵓm_- 'aurochs' and *_ṯapan_- 'hyrax' in proto-S. animal vocabulary suggests Phoenicia and Palestine).

The PS consonant system comprises 29 phonemes (Cantineau 1953). Sibilants (*_s_, *_ṣ_, *_z_, *š), lateral sibilants (*_ś_ and *_ṣ́_, Steiner 1977) and interdentals (*_ṯ_, *_ḏ_, *_ṯ̣_) are prominent (some of them originally affricates, cf. Faber 1985; Steiner 1982; Voigt 1979). The wide inventory of gutturals (*_ḫ_, *_γ_, *_ḥ_, *ᶜ, *ᵓ, *_h_) is remarkable. Most stops and sibilants appear as triads of voiceless/voiced/"emphatic" (originally glottalized as in ES and Jibbali). The PS vocalic system comprises six phonemes (*_a_, *_ā_, *_i_, *_ī_, *_u_, *_ū_). Vocalic correspondences are regular in affixes, but reconstruction of root vocalism is often problematic (Kogan 2005). There is no reliable reconstruction of accent, but the "third mora rule" of Classical Arabic, corresponding to the metrical patterns of Akkadian poetry, may be projected to PS.

Primary nouns usually comprise three consonants, bi- and quadriconsonantal bases being also in evidence (Fox 2003: 61–83). Derived nouns are produced from verbal roots by vocalic elements inserted between the root consonants (Fox 2003), sometimes combined with prefixes.

Nouns in the sg. oppose the fem. in -(*a*)*t*- to the unmarked masc. Gender opposition in verbs and pronouns is expressed in a variety of ways, s. Gəᶜəz *tə-näggər-ø* – *tə-näggər-i* 'you (masc./fem.) say', *ant-ä* – *ant-i* 'you (masc./fem.)', *wəᵓət-u* 'he' – *yəᵓət-i* 'she', *zənt-u* – *zatt-i* 'this (masc./fem.)'.

The external pl. markers of nouns are *-_ū_ (masc.) and *-_āt_- (fem.). In some languages special affixes for the masc. pl. of adjectives are attested (Akkadian _-ūt-_, Gə^{c}əz _-an_, Təgre _-ām_). The most archaic apophonic pl. marker is *_-a-_ (Greenberg 1955), alternating with ∅ (Gə^{c}əz _əzn_ ‘ear’, pl. _əzän_) or another vowel (Mehri _ḥə-nīd_ ‘waterskin’, pl. _ḥə-nōd_). More developed systems of “broken” plurals (Ratcliffe 1998) are known from Arabic, ES, ESA and MSA. The dual marker *_-ā_ is productive in early Akkadian, Ugaritic, Arabic, ESA and MSA.

Nouns in the sg. distinguish between nominative (*_-u_), accusative (*_-a_) and genitive (*_-i_), preserved in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Arabic. In the dual and the external pl. only nominative vs. oblique are opposed: dual *_-ā_/*_-ay_, masc. pl. *_-ū_/*_-ī_, fem. pl. *_-āt-u_/*_-āt-i_. Possession is expressed by juxtaposition of the head and dependent noun in the genitive (Arab. _kitāb-u zayd-i-n_, ‘Zayd’s book’), analytic possessive markers are also widespread (Tgn. _nay ḥawwäy kälbi_, ‘my brother’s dog’). Spatial relations are expressed by prepositions.

No definite article can be traced back to PS, but according to Kuryłowicz (1950) and Dolgopolsky (1991), _-m_(V) or _-n_(V) following markers of number and case are fossilized markers of definiteness.

S. verbal roots are reconstructed as purely consonantal, although the thematic vowel of the prefix conjugation is lexically determined (*_-ktum-_ ‘to cover’, *_-šriq-_ ‘to steal’, Fronzaroli 1963). Verbal roots have three stable consonants (“strong” roots), or, if one of the radicals is _w_ or _y_, this alternates with a vowel or is dropped (“weak” roots). Some of the “weak” roots may be originally biconsonantal (cf. Voigt 1989; Zaborski 1991). Phonetically close consonants within a root are avoided (Greenberg 1950).

The verbal system of PS was close to that of Akkadian, which best correlates with non-S. Afro-Asiatic (Rössler 1950; Greenberg 1952). The short form of the prefix conjugation (*_y_V-$C_1C_2VC_3$) for past indicative and jussive is opposed to the long form for present-future, marked by gemination and _a_-apophony. Forms of the suffix conjugation denote state and are atemporal.

Throughout West S., the suffix conjugation base *$C_1 a C_2 a C_3$- came to denote actions in the past, replacing *_y_V-$C_1C_2VC_3$ in its narrative function (Gə^{c}əz _nägärä_ ‘he said’ – _yənäggər_ ‘he says’ – _yəngər_ ‘let him say’). In Central S. the long form disappears, and the present-future is expressed by the short form augmented with _-u/-na/-ni_ (Arab. _kataba_ ‘he wrote’ – _yaktub-u/yaktubū-na/yaktubā-ni_ ‘he/they/two of them (will) write’ – _yaktub/yaktubū/yaktubā_ ‘let him/them/two of them write’).

Derived stems are the intensive with a geminated second radical, the causative with prefixed *_š_V-, the passive and the reflexive with prefixed or infixed *_t_(_a_)- or prefixed *_n_(_a_)-.

S. languages have nominative syntax: the _u_-case marks the subject and the nominal predicate, the _a_-case marks the direct object. The word order in the nominal sentence is Subject-Predicate. For the verbal sentence the Verb–Subject–Object order typical of Central S., MSA and Gə^{c}əz is reconstructed for PS. Attributes follow their heads and agree with them in gender, number, case and definiteness.

Lit.: David Appleyard, “Ethiopian Semitic and South Arabian: towards a Re-examination of a Relationship”, _Israel Oriental Studies_ 16, 1996, 203–28; Jussi Aro, “Gemeinsemitische Ackerbauterminologie”, _ZDMG_ 113, 1964, 471–80; Joshua Blau, “Hebrew and North-West Semitic: Reflections on the Classification of the Semitic Languages”, _Hebrew Annual Review_ 2, 1978, 21–44; Jean Cantineau, “Le consonantisme du sémitique”, _Semitica_ 4, 1953, 79–94; Werner Diem, “Die genealogische Stellung des Arabischen in den semitischen Sprachen. Ein ungelöstes Problem der Semitistik”, in: Werner Diem – Stefan Wild (eds.), _Studien aus Arabistik und Semitistik, Anton Spitaler zum siebzigsten Geburtstag_ …, Wiesbaden 1980, 65–85; Aron Dolgopolsky, “Two Problems of Semitic Historical Linguistics”, in: _KayeLes_ 328–39; Alice Faber, “Akkadian Evidence for Proto-Semitic Affricates”, _Journal of Cuneiform Studies_ 37, 1985, 101–07; Joshua Fox, _Semitic Noun Patterns_, Winona Lake, IN 2003 (Harvard Semitic Studies 52); Pelio Fronzaroli, “Sull’elemento vocalico del lessema in semitico”, _RSO_ 38, 1963, 11–29; Tamaz Gamkrelidze – Vjačeslav Ivanov, _Indoevropejskij jazyk i indoevropejtsy_: _rekonstruktsija i istoriko-tipologičeskij analiz prajazyka i protokul’tury_ (‘Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans: a Reconstruction and Historical Analysis of Proto-Language and a Proto-Culture’), Tbilisi 1984; Giovanni Garbini, _Le lingue semitiche_: _Studi di storia linguistica_, Napoli ^{2}1984 (Istituto universitario orientale, Series minor, Dipartimento di studi asiatici 20); Joseph Greenberg, “Internal a-Plurals in Afroasiatic (Hamito-Semitic)”, in: Johannes Lukas (ed.), _Afrikanistische Studien_, Berlin 1955 (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 24), 198–204; Id., “The Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) Present”, _Journal of the American Oriental Society_ 72, 1952, 1–9; Id., “The Patterning of Root Morphemes in Semitic”, _Word_ 6, 1950, 162–81; Joseph Henninger, _Über Lebensraum und Lebensformen der Frühsemiten_, Köln – Opladen 1968 (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen: Geisteswissenschaften 151); Robert Hetzron, “Two Principles of Genetic Reconstruction”, _Lingua_ 38, 1976, 89–108; Id. (ed.), _The Semitic Languages_, London – New York 1997; John Huehnergard, “Features of Central Semitic”, in: Augustinus Gianto (ed.), _Biblical and Oriental Essays in Memory of Willaim L. Moran_, Roma 2005 (Biblica et orientalia 48), 155–203; Leonid Kogan, “Observations on Proto-Semitic Vocalism", *Aula Orientalis* 23, 2005, 131–67; MANFRED KREBERNIK, "The Linguistic Classification of Eblaite: Methods, Problems, and Results", in: JERROLD S. COOPER – GLENN M. SCHWARTZ (eds.), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the 21st Century: the William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference*, Winona Lake, IN 1996, 233–49; JERZY KURYŁOWICZ, *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics*, Wrocław 1972 (Polska Akademia Nauk. Komitet Językoznawstwa. Prace Językoznawcze 67); ID., "La mimation et l'article en arabe", *Archiv Orientální* 18, 1950, 323–28; ALEXANDER MILITAREV, "Towards the Chronology of Afrasian (Afroasiatic) and its Daughter Families", in: COLIN RENFREW et al. (eds.), *Time Depth in Historical Linguistics*, Cambridge 2000, 267–307; NORBERT NEBES, "Zur Form der Imperfektbasis des unvermehrten Grundstammes im Altsüdarabischen", in: WOLFHART HEINRICHS – GREGOR SCHOELER (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Band 1: *Semitische Studien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Südsemitistik*, Beirut 1994 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 54), 59–81; ROBERT RATCLIFFE, *The "Broken" Plural Problem in Arabic and Comparative Semitic*, Amsterdam – Philadelphia, PA 1998 (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science 4; Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 168); OTTO RÖSSLER, "Verbalbau und Verbalflexion in den Semito-Hamitischen Sprachen", *ZDMG* 100, 1950, 461–514; RICHARD STEINER, *The Case for Fricative Laterals in Proto-Semitic*, New Haven, CT 1977 (American Oriental Series 59); RAINER VOIGT, "Semitische Philologie und vergleichende Grammatik: Geschichte der vergleichenden Semitistik", in: SYLVAIN AUROUX et al. (eds.), *History of the Language Sciences …*, Berlin – New York 2001 (Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Sciences 18), vol. 2, 1311–17; ID., "Die Laterale im Semitischen", *Die Welt des Orients* 10, 1979, 93–114; ID., *Die infirmen Verbaltypen des Arabischen und das Biradikalismus-Problem*, Stuttgart 1988 (Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz 39); ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "Biconsonantal Roots and Triconsonantal Root Variation in Semitic: Solutions and Prospects", in: *KayeLes* 1675–703.

Leonid Kogan

Semito-hamitic ↗Afro-Asiatic

Səmᶜon

Ras S. (**ስምዖን**, fl. 16th cent.) was an important official in the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. In the sources his name is mostly associated with the name of the region he ruled: "*Ras* S. of Hagärä Maryam", Hagärä Maryam being also the name of his church in the centre of the same region. As his works and history show, S. was a capable writer and a scholar of ↗Gəᶜəz literature. We know so far that he authored:

1) **መጽሐፈ፡ ምዝጋና** (*Mäṣḥafä məzgana*, 'Book of Gratitude', EMML no. 5083, fols. 195r–99r);
2) **ድርሳን፡ በእንተ፡ ተዛልፎተ፡ አይሁድ፡ ወመርገመ፡ ይሁዳ፡ አስቆሮታዊ** (*Dərsan bäᵓəntä täzaləfotä Ayhud wämärgämä Yəhuda Asqorotawi*, 'Homily on Rebuking the Jews and Cursing Judas Iscariot', for Passion Week, EMML no. 5083, fols. 199v–203v);
3) several miracles of St. Mary (cp. ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam*) worked at Hagärä Maryam (EMML no. 3872, fols. 2r–3v, 1rv, 90r–95r, 161r–62r and 173rv).

The *Book of Gratitude* and the miracles, copied originally for the church of Hagärä Maryam, are all important sources for Ethiopian history, social and economic life before the war of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") (Getatchew Haile 2005: 5–95).

S. was one of several children of the famous *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* ↗Nägädä Iyäsus, the abbot of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos and *liqä kahənat* of ↗Mäkanä Śəllase (Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 114–17). From the chronicles, we know that the *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* had another son called Bəᵓəse Ǝgziᵓabəḥer who was killed with his father on the same day in the war with Aḥmad Grañ (BassÉt I, 328). A new source (EMML no. 5083, fol. 196r) also reveals that S. and another official, Śärṣ́ä Yosef, were sons of Nägädä Iyäsus.

Although there have been (and still are) several districts called Hagärä Maryam (lit. 'the land of [St.] Mary'), in different provinces, S.'s realm was most probably the "Agere-Mariam" – Hagärä Maryam in ↗Bulga (later a sub-district in Käsäm *wäräda*; s. also Mesfin Wolde-Mariam 1991: 25, 199; and EMML no. 7346, fol. 36v). Furthermore, the sources testify that S. had built a church called Hagärä Maryam, with the lime transported from ↗Wäläqa (EMML no. 5083, fol. 196r). But it could also be that he had renovated an already existing church and built another, adjacent one.

S. was the *poeta laureatus* of the day when the community of Hagärä Maryam celebrated annually the Feast of Simeon or the Presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple (*Yäkkatit* 8). The governor had given a special significance to the feast because he was named after Simeon who took the Child in his arms at the Presentation (Lk 2: 25–29): "S. enters (the church) and stands in their midst, dressed in brocade and wearing a seal ring of gold and silver to tell them a ↗*śəllase*". In his lengthy description of the feast, S. says, "The number of the wick(s) for the lamp(s) amounts to 10,000, which is ten thousand. (Only) God knows if the number is more or less. And the number of wax candle(s) is about 70 hundred, that is, 7,000" (Getatchew Haile 2005: 55–59).

A rare case in the works of Gəᶜəz literature and a glimpse into the old Ethiopian manuscript culture, S. describes with great affection his own ↗Psalter, once stolen and then retrieved: “The whiteness of its velum looks like Egyptian linen cloth which a fuller has whitened. Its ink is like the colour of black glass, like soot. The redness of its ink is like the colour of glowing charcoal. The cover of its boards is a badger skin, like the beauty of European red wool. Each miniature is covered with scarlet silk” (Getatchew Haile 2005:80). The Psalter was richly illustrated by “Märqoryos Afrəngawi” (possibly ↗Brancaleone).

The last miracle (EMML no. 3872, fol. 173rv) implies that S. had survived the Muslim wars (1527–43; ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī) and had built other churches in several places, including Wäläqa and ↗Damot. But his church of Hagärä Maryam did not survive (“In the month of *Miyazya*, [the *imām*] put on fire the country of *ras* S.”, cp. EMML no. 941, fol. 4v).

Src.: BassÉt I, 325 (text) = II, 99 (tr.); EMML nos. 941, 3873; nos. 5083 (*Mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat*), 7346 (*History of Däbrä Libanos*), not catalogued.

Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, “The Works of *Ras* Səmʿon of Hagärä Maryam”, *JES* 33, 1–2, 2005, 5–95; MESFIN WOLDE-MARIAM, *Suffering Under God’s Environment*: *a Vertical Study of the Predicament of Peasants in North-Central Ethiopia*, Berne 1991, 25, 199; TADDESSE TAMRAT, “The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq (1248–1535)”, *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 114–17.

Getatchew Haile

Səm^{c}on

Abunä S. (**ስምዖን**, “Simam” in Portuguese sources; b. Egypt, d. 11 May 1617, Dämbəya) was a metropolitan of the Ethiopian Church. Towards 1607 he arrived in Ethiopia to succeed *abunä* ↗P̣eṭros and on 28 March 1609 he anointed *aṣe* ↗Susənyos as *nəguś* of Ethiopia in Aksum. Shortly after, he sojourned for some days with the ↗Jesuits in ↗Fəremona (BecRASO III, 336; VI, 218).

In the course of 1613 and 1614, S. participated in the religious disputes held at the court in Dämbəya and ↗Ačäfär between the Orthodox and Catholics. He became a strong advocate of the official Orthodox dogma of the unique nature of Christ and forbade anybody from joining the Catholic faith and entering Jesuit churches. He also enjoined the governor of Təgray ↗Yolyos to persecute the Luso-Ethiopians (↗Portuguese). Susənyos, however, sponsored a freedom of choice that could only benefit the Jesuits (BecRASO II, 379f., 385ff.; VI, 283ff.).

In May 1617, following an abortive plot to assassinate Susənyos (BecRASO VI, 298), S. and other major figures of the state, such as ↗Yämanä Krəstos, Yolyos and ↗Kəflo, organized a military coup. The rebels were confident of their superior military force but an ill-planned strategy brought them to a rapid defeat at Ṣädda, Dämbəya. S. himself was killed and beheaded (BecRASO II, 393ff.; III, 357f., 496; VI, 299–304; XI, 385, 432). At his death, apparently at the request of court officials, the Patriarchate in Cairo sent a new metropolitan, Yəsḥaq. In 1619, however, Yəsḥaq died on the way to Ethiopia in ↗Sinnār as a captive of King Rubat, thereby opening the way for the nomination and dispatch of a Catholic Patriarch from Europe (PerChr 154; BecRASO XI, 432, 472).

The Jesuits presented S. as a greedy and ignorant person, who had several wives and children and who lived in luxury (e.g., BecRASO II, 435, 472f.; III, 355f.). According to Jesuit sources too, he was involved in an financial dispute with the Patriarch of Alexandria (ibid.).

Src.: BecRASO II, 379f., 385ff., 393ff., 435, 472f.; III, 336, 355–58, 496; VI, 218, 283ff., 298–304; XI, 385, 432, 472; PerChr 126ff., 154 [tr.].

Lit.: TedEthPrel II, 1021–22; TEWELDE BEYENE, *La politica cattolica di Seltan Sägäd I* (*1607–1632*) *e la missione della Compagnia di Gesù in Etiopia*: *Precedenti, evoluzione e problematiche*, Ph.D. thesis, Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Roma 1983 (Excerpta), 69ff., 90ff.

Andreu Martínez d’Alòs-Moner

Śənä fəṭrät

Ś.f. (**ሥነ፡ ፍጥረት**, conventionally translated as the ‘Beauty of Creation’) is an Ethiopian version of the history of Creation.

At least one of the several versions of the Ś.f. was originally composed in ↗Gə^{c}əz (at an unknown date). It started to spread widely in ↗Amharic since the 17th cent., possibly against the background of Christological discussions of the time (cp. ↗Christology). Today, it is one of the four widespread Amharic catechisms of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC), along with the ↗*Amməstu a^{c}əmadä məśṭir* and ↗*Mängädä sämay*. Attempts have even been made, it seems, to make the text part of the *A^{c}əmadä məśṭir* (cp. mss. BN Éth. 192, 622; BN d’Abbadie 6, etc.). The use of Amharic for Ś.f. and the other catechisms, possibly motivated by the need to make them accessible to a broader public, in turn contributed greatly to the acceptance of Amharic as a literary language. As this is one of the first Amharic texts to be found in relative abundance, older copies (cp. Getatchew Haile – Misrak Amare 1991:2f.; s. EMML) provide an important glimpse into the language history. Most of the work's numerous witnesses come from the 18th–20th cent.

The Ś.f. draws heavily on Gen 1, ↗*Aksimaros*, and the Book of the Miracles of Jesus or *Mäṣḥafä əlᵓatqärfa (↗Täᵓammərä Iyäsus)*. The Ethiopian version of the story of Creation is also found in such texts as the *Gädlä ↗Addam*, the ↗*Qäleməntos*, the *Mäṣḥafä ↗məśṭirä sämay wämədr*, and the *Zena nägäromu läśəllase* (cp. ↗*Täᵓammərä śəllase*).

The fact that the Ś.f. is preserved in various lengths indicates that the traditional scholars freely expanded it in order to explain various points (cp. also Cowley 1988: 125–28).

Two Amharic versions and one in Gəᶜəz have been edited. The first Amharic version is the commentary on Gen 1 (Cowley 1988: 144–227); the second is untitled (Getatchew Haile – Misrak Amare 1991: 4–51); the Gəᶜəz version is called **ሥነ፡ ፍጥረታቲሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር** (*Śənä fəṭrätatihu läᵓəgziᵓabəḥer*, 'The Beauty of Creations of God', ibid. 52–87).

According to the Ś.f., Creation begins on Sunday, on 29 *Mäggabit*. The date is of special importance in the Ethiopian Orthodox ↗calendar as it is the day of the Annunciation, the Resurrection, and the expected Last Judgment. On this day, God created eight creatures: the seven – heaven, earth, water, wind, fire, darkness, and angels – in silence, as "there were no listeners," and the eighth, light, in speaking, that is, by saying, "Let there be light", because there were then angels to listen.

The creation of light and man are closely related to the arrogance of the ↗Devil (whose name, Saṭnaᵓel, is explained as 'confidant, retainer [of God]'). But because he did not sanctify God like the other angels, he "was wrapped with the darkness" of the past and hurled down an abyss. Since Saṭnaᵓel did not repent and claimed his place back, God created man in his image and likeness to take the place of the Devil. With this, an everlasting enmity between the Devil and mankind was established.

The text provides an explanation as to why God created the world after having been without it since the time that has no beginning. He wanted to demonstrate that he is omnipotent (*kähali*), wealthy (*baᶜəl*), a (just) judge (*fätaḥi*), and comprehensible but incomprehensible (*rəkub zäᵓiyyəträkkäb*), i.e. He is available to listen to prayers and give help, but creatures cannot conceive his divinity.

There is symbolism in virtually every creation. E.g., darkness and light are likened, resp., to this present world and the Kingdom of God which will come after this world. God created all, except man, in the evenings. He created only Adam "in the bright morning hour", to make him later "rule over the bright Kingdom of Heaven" (Getatchew Haile – Misrak Amare 1991: 82). Man's upright position is to tell man that he is heavenly and will not remain on earth while the others will. "Eve, who was created from the right side of Adam, brought death upon us, the hot blood and water, which came out of the right side of Our Lord Jesus Christ brought us life" (ibid. 83). And the sleep that befell Adam when God created Eve was a half-waking state: "As Jesus Christ brought out hot blood and pure water to say, 'I am alive' in his divinity, while dead in his humanity, (Adam) also had feeling, as in a vision, while he was asleep" (ibid. 48).

Two explanations are suggested for God's not creating anything on the seventh day. First, He wanted to demonstrate that there did not remain for him anything to be created. Secondly, he made it a model for the Kingdom of Heaven, making the seventh day a day of rest after six days of work (ibid. 50f.).

Src.: CRAbb 164, no. 146 [ms. BN d'Abbadie 6]; EMML; GETATCHEW HAILE – MISRAK AMARE (ed., tr.), *Beauty of the Creation.* **ሥነ፡ ፍጥረት**, Manchester 1991 (JSS Monograph 16); HamTana II, 146, ms. Ṭānāsee 103 – Rēmā 14; *liqä mäzämmməran* MOGÄS ᶜƎQUBÄ GIYORGIS, **መጽሐፈ፡ ሥነ፡ ፍጥረት፡ ምስለ፡ አምስቱ፡ አዕማደ፡ ምሥጢር** (*Mäṣḥafä śənä fəṭrät məslä amməstu aᶜəmadä məsṭir*, 'The Book of the Beauty of Creation with the Five Pillars of Mystery'), Asmära 1957 A.M. [1964/65 A.D.]; SixTana III, 221f., ms. Ṭānāsee 171 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 60; 330f., no. 113 [ms. Aeth. 154]; RaiCer 87f., no. 121; 211, no. 272; StrBritLib 78f., no. 50 [Or. 8818] (Lit.); StrGriaule 192, ms. Éthiopien 617 (Griaule 309); 195, ms. Éthiopien 622 (Griaule 314).

Lit.: CerLett 153; ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: a Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38), 125–28, 144–227, 246, 290; KaneLit 4; RicLett 852.

Getatchew Haile

Sənəddu Gäbru

S.G. (**ስንዱ፡ ገብሩ**, b. 13 January 1916, Addis ᶜAläm, d. 19 April 2009, Addis Abäba) was a prominent politician and author. She was one of eleven children of *käntiba* Gäbru (↗Gäbrä Əgziᵓabəḥer Dästa) and *wäyzäro* Kaśaye Yəllämtu.

In 1920 S.G. became enrolled in the Swedish Mission School in Addis Abäba. In 1928 S.G. and her sister Yäwəbdar went on to continue education in ↗France (Montreal) and ↗Switzerland (St. Crischona and Lausanne). In 1933 the sisters returned to Ethiopia and S.G. started teaching at the St. George primary school in Addis Abäba. In 1934 she married ↗Loränso Taᵓəzaz.

At the beginning of the Italian occupation, S.G., with her knowledge of foreign languages, helped her husband, who rose to particular prominence as head of the information and news services in Addis Abäba. Later, she separated from him and joined an impromptu women's Red Cross Unit west of the capital, caring for ↗resistance fighters and injured civilians. She also joined the ↗*Ṭəqur Anbäsa* patriotic association. After the ↗Graziani massacre, during which one of her brothers, Mäšäša, was killed, she was captured and imprisoned in 1937 on the Italian island of Asinara, together with her sister and father. In late 1939 S.G. was repatriated. She married *däǧǧazmač* Amäde Wäle, but this marriage was also short-lived.

After the Liberation in 1941, S.G. was appointed Director of the Wäyzäro Səḥin School in ↗Däse. In 1943 she moved to Addis Abäba, becoming Assistant Director of the Ǝtege Mänän Girls' School and, in 1945, the School's first Ethiopian Director. In 1953 she married her third and last husband, Major Asäffa Lämma, by whom she had three children.

S.G. began writing short poems and stories for her school students in Däse. In 1946 she began to write plays for her students to perform. A collection of her plays and poems, published in 1964/65, bears witness to the persecutions which followed the attack on Graziani and expreses S.G.'s patriotic and idealistic feelings. While encouraging modern western education S.G. also promoted in her students a love of Ethiopian culture and Amharic.

The only woman to be elected to Ethiopia's first ↗Parliament (1956–60), S.G. was elected Vice-President of the second (1960–62). She became President of the Ethiopian ↗Red Cross Society (1960) and served as Secretary of the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association. In 1965 she was appointed Secretary-General of the Ethiopian Ministry of Social Affairs. She followed her husband to Germany when he was appointed Ambassador in 1961-64 and 1970-74, getting a position of Educational Attaché at the Embassy.

Following the outburst of the ↗Revolution (1974), S.G. returned to Ethiopia, retired and devoted her time to writing. She received honorary doctorate in Law from Addis Ababa University in 2005.

S.G.'s son Samuᵓel Asäffa was a Vice-President of ↗Addis Ababa University and has been serving as the Ethiopian Ambassador to the ↗United States of America starting from 2006. S.G.'s sister Yäwəbdar (b. 12 December 1923), known under the monastic name *əmmahoy* Ṣəge Maryam (which she had assumed in 1943 at Amba Gəšän Maryam), is a renowned violinist, pianist and composer; she is a nun in ↗Jerusalem.

Src.: SƎNƎDDU GÄBRU, **የልቤ፡ መጽሐፍ** (*Yäləbbe mäṣḥaf*, 'The Book of my Heart'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1964/65 A.D.]; EAD.,"Girls' Education", *EthObs* 1, 2, 1957, 76–80; IES mss. 1697–1710.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, "The Italian Occupation of Ethiopia: Records, Recollections and Ramifications", in: ID. (ed.), *Society, State and History*, Addis Ababa 2008, 375–90, here 381; FanTarik 224ff.; ERIK LEIJONHUFVUD, *Kejsaren och hans hövdingar*, Stockholm 1948, 116–34; REIDULF MOLVAER, "Sinnidu Gebru: Pioneer Woman Writer, Feminist, Patriot, Educator, and Politician", *NEASt* n.s. 4, 3, 1997, 61–75; RITA PANKHURST, "Senedu Gabru: a Role Model for Ethiopian Women?", in: TSEHAI BERHANE-SELASSIE (ed.), *Gender Issues in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1991, 71–87; SYLVIA PANKHURST, "A Day with the Daughters of Kantiba Gabru", *New Times and Ethiopia News*, 27 January 1945, 4.

Jack Fellman – Rita Pankhurst

Ṣənfä Arᶜad

Aṣe Ṣ.A. (**ጽንፈ፡ አርዐድ**; r. 1284/85–1293/94) was probably one of the sons of *aṣe* ↗Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon.

The majority of the "short chronicles" maintain that, after the death of Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon, his five sons succeeded him and reigned for five years. As in the case of *aṣe* ↗Nəwayä Maryam, the report for the period concludes with the words "*ṭäf naččäw*" which seem to indicate that the brothers died childless (Kropp 1981:269f.).

One of the versions of these "short chronicles" (ms. Tānāsee 106, s. DombrChr 153) stipulates, however, that only three sons of Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon reigned, i.e. Ḥəzbä Asgäd, Qədmä Asgäd and Ṣ.A. According to the oldest "kings lists" (s. EAE vol. 5; s. also ↗Historiography) in mss. BritLib Orient. 818 (fol. 48) and in Paris, BN Éth. 146 (fol. 60v), the rulers who succeeded Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon were not brothers at all, and there were only four. In the traditions recorded by Antoine d'↗Abbadie from the words of *däbtära* ↗Aṣqu, the five rulers mentioned in the "short chronicles" are sons of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak and not these of Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon.

The latter tradition may correspond to historical facts as it is supported by data from the Vita of ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓel. In this hagiographical text, *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I denies being a son of his predecessor, *aṣe* ↗Wədəm Räᶜad, himself a son of Yəkunno Amlak, and presents himself as

Wədəm Rä^{c}ad's nephew, the son of his brother, Qədmä Sägädä, who might be the Qədmä Asgäd mentioned in the chronicles.

These contradictions may well be an indication of the power struggle which occurred at this time.

Src.: BassÉt I, 10 (text) = II, 99 (tr.); BegCron 5; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum I. Acta S. Basalota Mika'el, S. Anorewos (seu Acta Sancti Honorii)*, Louvain 1905 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe 11,12]), 20 (text) = 29 (tr.); DombrChr 153 (tr.); WrBriMus 297-314, no. 391 [ms. Orient. 718]; ZotBNat 222–49, ms. Éth 146.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell'ecciaghè Filpos", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 26, 1917, 699–718, here 709; Id., "Su due frasi della Cronaca Abbreviata dei re d'Etiopia", *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 3, 1949, 283–90, esp. 283f.; Manfred Kropp, "*Ṭäf we'etu* und *ṭäf naččäw* in den äthiopischen Chroniken", *JSS* 26, 1981, 267–71; Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 92f.; Id., "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 502f.

Marie-Laure Derat

Sənkəssar

The S. (**ስንክሳር**, from Gr. *synaxárion*, in turn from *sýnaxis*, 'religious service', with reference to the memorial section of it) is a hagiographic work consisting of commemorations in the form of short Vitae, or mentions of name and death day only, of ↗saints and martyrs of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. Each notice is listed under the respective death day of the saint in calendric order and is to be read in the daily Divine Office (cp. Noret 1968).

The Ethiopic S. depends on the *Synaxarium* of the ↗Coptic Church, completed in the 13th cent. by Michael, bishop of Atrīb and Malīg, who largely compiled from Copto-Arabic hagiographical sources.

The first Gə^{c}əz translation of the Copto-Arabic S. dates from the end of the 14th cent., following the translation in the Post-Aksumite period of various hagiographical texts, later merged into the collection of the 'Acts of Martyrs' (↗*Gädlä säma^{c}ətat*). The translation was conducted under the initiative of Səm^{c}on (fl. 1400), either a Coptic or an Ethiopian monk of the Egyptian Monastery of St. Anthony (also credited with other translations of hagiographical texts, cp. Conti Rossini 1912), who produced a version strictly calqued upon the Arabic. Of this primitive recension three manuscripts are known, all of them dating from the 15th cent.: Paris, BN d'Abbadie 66–66bis, a two-codices manuscript which is the only complete one; BN Éth. 677 (*olim* Trocadéro 5), very mutilous, with readings for the first half of the year; EMML no. 6458, also with readings for the first half of the year. A different tradition, much closer to the Copto-Arabic text published by Basset (1904ff.) and still dating to no later than the end of the 14th cent., is represented by one defective manuscript witness only, i.e. ms. EMML no. 6952, mutilous at present, but originally with readings for the whole year. These translations, however (as it appears from the scarcity of manuscript witnesses), do not seem to have enjoyed a broad diffusion. Their scarce number is probably due, not so much to spoiling out of frequent use and to destruction of church goods during ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's campaigns, as to the urgent need of updating the language (well abounding in Arabisms, cp. Colin 1993), and to the introduction of additional commemorations, following the emergence of local saints and the flourishing of Ethiopian hagiographic literature.

Between 1563 and 1581, a thorough revision of the S. was undertaken, affecting both language (especially the syntax) and contents. The new recension, probably arranged in the Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos monastery (where ms. EMML no. 2054 is preserved, actually the oldest and best manuscript witness of the so-called "Vulgate" recension), came to replace the older one as the reference S.-text of the Ethiopian Church. However, some decades later monks from the rival monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos issued a revised recension that thereafter enjoyed widespread diffusion. This version presented some minor additions: the commemoration of the abbots of Däbrä Libanos, as well as short encomia (from probably already existing compositions) of five rhiming verses in form of ↗*sälam* that were added to most of the notices. The S. has remained unchanged since the early decades of the 17th cent. Only some manuscripts add the commemoration of one or two abbots of the monastic centre where they were copied.

As far as the contents are concerned, the first recension of the S. mainly considers saints of the universal church (e.g., ↗George of Lydda) and especially martyrs and patriarchs of the Egyptian one (e.g., martyrs under Diocletian's persecution, such as Fasilädäs, patriarchs of Alexandria such as Peter I, etc.). Yet, the first recension hardly makes any mention of Ethiopian metropolitans.

The second recension of the S. betrays perusal of a variety of sources in addition to the primitive text. One main source are the 'Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles' (↗*Gädlä ḥawaryat*), early

Page of a *Sənkəssar*, Qʷäraro Maryam church, Təgray, 20th cent.; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

translated into Ethiopic in the 14th cent. Other notices are taken from ancient hagiographical texts in the *Gädlä sämaᶜətat* (such as those on Arsenophis, or bishop Phileas of Thmuis, cp. Bausi 2002: 12ff., that were not considered in the first recension), as well as from texts dedicated to saints of the universal church (especially from the Orient: Syria, Palestina, Cappadocia, Arabia, e.g., the martyrs of ↗Nağrān). Yet the most original additions are those commemorating Ethiopian saints, resuming longer ↗*Gädl*, but sometimes also recalling older traditions not elsewhere recorded. Commemoration days and characters (including Jesus Christ, the Virgin, etc.) from the O.T. and N.T. narratives (with strong influence of apocryphal traditions) are also included.

The S. is one of the most important literary works of the Ethiopian Church. It offers an almost complete catalogue of saints and holy men commemorated by the Church and is one of the most widespread texts, almost every church possessing a copy of it. Catalogues mention at least 100 extant manuscripts of the S. (cp. Colin 1988: 294f.). The reading of major episodes from the life of the daily saints is traditionally done before the priest pronounces the closing words of the service. Likewise, in the Ethiopian tradition there is hardly any other text of the same length, the S. normally appearing in the form of two or four codices.

After first attempts (notices from the S. were published, e.g., by Sapeto 1857, in DillmChr and by many others) and the first complete translation by Budge (BudSaint, basing on mss. BritLib Orient. 660 and 661), the full edition and translation of the S. for the series *Patrologia orientalis* was undertaken by Guidi (GuiSyn), prosecuted by Grébaut (GréSyn) and finally brought to completion by Colin (ColinSyn). Editions for liturgical use have been recently published in Ethiopia and Eritrea (cp. Colin 2001; Habtemichael Kidane 2000–01).

Sometimes assimilated to the S., there are other Ethiopic texts for saints commemoration, essentially in the form of names lists: although they have sometimes been referred to as *mēnológia* (cp. Grébaut 1914–32, 1920–21, 1922–23), actually they are "lists" according to proper terminology (cp. Noret 1968: 21f.).

Src.: BudSaint; ColSyn VI–XIV; GréSyn IV–V; GuiSyn I–III; GIUSEPPE SAPETO (ed., tr.), *Viaggio e missione cattolica fra i Mensâ, i Bogos e gli Habab con un cenno geografico e storico dell'Abissinia*, Roma 1857; DillmChr 16–37; BritLib Orient. 660, 661 [mss. WrBriMus 232, 233]; EMML nos. 2054, 6485, 6952; Paris, BN d'Abbadie 66–66bis; BN Éth. 677. Copto-Arabic S.: RÉNÉ BASSET (ed., tr.), *Le synaxaire arabe Jacobite* (*rédaction copte*), vol. 1: *Les mois de Tout et de Babeh*, Paris 1904 (PO 1/3 [fasc. 3]); ID., vol. 2: *Les mois de Hatour et de Kihak*, ibid. 1907 (PO 3/3 [fasc. 13]); ID., vol. 3: *Les mois de Toubeh et d'Amchir*, ibid. 1916 (PO 11/5 [fasc. 56]); ID., vol. 4: *Les mois de Barmahat, Barmoudah et Bachons*, ibid. 1922 (PO 16/2 [fasc. 78]); ID., vol. 5: *Les Mois de Baounah, Abib, Mésoré et jours complémentaires*, ibid. 1924 (PO 17/3 [fasc. 84]); ID., vol. 6: *Additions et corrections. – Tables*, ibid. 1929 (PO 20/5 [fasc. 100]); IACOBUS FORGET (ed., tr.), *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, vol. I.1, Beiruth 1905 (CSCO III.18.1 [repr. CSCO 47–49, Scriptores Arabici 3–5]); vol. I.2, Leipzig 1906 (CSCO III.18.2 [repr. 67, 78, 90, Scriptores Arabici 11–13]); ROBERT SUTER – LILLY SUTER (tr.), *Das Synaxarium. Das koptische Heiligenbuch mit den Heiligen zu jedem Tag des Jahres. Hrsg. vom Koptisch-Orthodoxen Patriarchat, St. Antonius-Kloster*, Waldsholms – Kröffelbach 1994.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La versione etiopica degli* Acta Phileae *nel* Gadla samāᶜtāt, Napoli 2002 (Supplemento n. 92 agli Annali), 12ff.; OSWALD HUGH EWART BURMESTER, "Date and Authorship of the Arabic Synaxarium of the Coptic Church", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 39, 1938, 249–53; GÉRARD COLIN, "Le Synaxaire Ethiopien: état actuel de la question", *ABoll* 106, 3–4, 1988, 273–317 (Lit.); ID., "Une particularité de la langue du synaxaire éthiopien: l'emploi inchoatif du verbe ኮነ (*kona*) (un parallèle à une

valeur de *ḫpr*)", *Revue d'égyptologie* 44, 1993, 195–98; Id., "L'édition indigène du synaxaire éthiopien", *ABoll* 119, 1, 2001, 48–58; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Piccoli studi etiopici", *ZA* 27, 1912, 358–78, here 371f. (§IV. "Sull'età della versione abissina del Sinassario"); René-Georges Coquin, "Le Synaxaire des Coptes. Un nouveau témoin de la recension de Haute Égypte", *ABoll* 96, 1978, 351–65; Id., "Le synaxaire éthiopien: note codicologique sur le ms. Paris, BN d'Abbadie 66–66bis", *ibid.* 102, 1984, 49–59; Id., "Synaxarion, Ethiopian", in: *CE* VII, 2190–92; Id., – Aziz S. Atiya, "Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic", *ibid.* 2171–90; Hugo Duensing, *Liefert das äthiopische Synaxar Materialien zur Geschichte Abessiniens*?, Göttingen 1900; Georg Graf, "Zur Autorschaft des arabischen Synaxars der Kopten", *Orientalia* n.s. 9, 1940, 240–43; Sylvain Grébaut, "Un fragment de ménologe éthiopien", *ROC* 19, 1914, 199–208; *ibid.* 20, 1915–17, 201–06; *ibid.* 22, 1920–21, 95–99; *ibid.* 28, 1931–32, 417–40; Id., "Ménologes éthiopiens à propos du Synaxaire", *ROC* 22, 1920–21, 100–08; Id., "Quelques ménologes éthiopiens", *Aethiops* 1, 1922, 40–43; 2, 1922, 25–27; Id., "Le 'propre' du Synaxaire", *Aethiops* 1, 1922, 28–29; Id., "Un nouveau classement des manuscrits du Synaxaire éthiopien", *JA* 211, 1927, 129–34; Id., "Mémento des commemorations mensuelles et de quelques fêtes de l'Église éthiopienne", *Aethiopica* 3, 1935, 182–86; *ibid.* 4, 1936, 19–22; Ignazio Guidi, "The Ethiopic Senkessar", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1911, 739–58; *ibid.* 1912, 261–62; Habtemichael Kidane, "Il 'Mäsehafä Senkessar'", *Adveniat regnum tuum* (Asmara) 73–74, 2000–01, 24–29; François Nau, "Le synaxaire éthiopien", *ROC* sér. 2, 8, 1913, 328–30; SimDillmChr 287–97; Jacques Noret, "Ménologes, Synaxaires, Ménées: Essai de clarification d'une terminologie", *ABoll* 86, 1968, 21–24.

Gérard Colin – Alessandro Bausi

Senodos

The S. or *Mäṣḥafä S.* (Gəᶜəz **ሴኖዶስ**, or **ሲኖዶስ**, 'Sinodos', probably the older form, from Gr. σύνοδος, 'assembly, meeting, council') is the most important canonico-liturgical collection of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. It includes a large body of writings dealing with various aspects of ecclesiastical practice, such as appointment and functions of the hierarchy (from the reader to the patriarch), liturgy (esp. ↗baptism and mass), prayer, Biblical canon, moral teachings and disciplinary rules, often attributed to the authority of the Apostles (these texts of the S., together with the ↗*Didəsqəlya* and the ↗Testamentum Domini [*Kidan Zäʾəgziʾənä Iyäsus Krəstos*], constitute the "Pseudo-Apostolic literature") or to influential characters, such as St. Clement (↗*Qälemənṭos*, a disciple of St. Peter), or ↗Hippolytus of Rome. The S. also comprises writings of Church fathers and canons of ecumenical councils and regional synods of the 4th cent. As it happens with canonico-liturgical collections peculiar to other Churches, the purpose of the S. is that of establishing upon the basis of authoritative legal sources – not without contradictions and inconsistencies – the so-called "received Christian tradition" on the right organization of the Church and Christian practice.

Transmitted by several tens of codices (the S. often constitutes a codex by itself, or is combined with other pseudo-Apostolic writings), the typical S. is already traceable in mss. starting from the 15th cent. at the latest. The work largely consists of translations from Arabic, in turn relying on Coptic and/or Greek texts, and betrays the contribution of more Arabic collections through complex transmissional processes: in particular, a Melkite and a Copto-Arabic collection seem to have merged in the S. not later than the 14th cent., as it is apparent from documents extant in the textual tradition (a *Melkite Index* and a *Coptic Index*, respectively).

The standard S. is composed of the following texts:

the two *Indexes* (ed., tr. BauSen; the latter, only in some mss.); the *71 canons* or *Statutes of the Apostles*, which correspond to the so-called *Synodus Alexandrina* (ed., tr. Horner 1904) and includes, in turn, the *Ecclesiastical canons* (cans. 1–20), the ↗*Traditio apostolica* (i.e., the most important canonico-liturgical text, cans. 21–47, ed., tr. Duensing 1946), a section *On the charisms* plus minor passages (cans. 48–51) and a *Parallel section* to book VIII of the *Apostolic constitutions* (cans. 52–71); the *Canons after the Ascension of Our Lord* (ed., tr. BauSen), a short narration of the preaching of the Apostles in the different regions of the world, followed by 30 orders agreed between the Apostles concerning prayer, observance of the feasts, clergymen and their moral impediments, commemoration of the dead, role of the king in the mass, and Eucharist; two recensions of the *Canons of Simon the Canaanite* (ed., tr. BauSen: again, a parallel text to book VIII of the *Apostolic constitutions*); four recensions of the *Apostolic canons* (ed., tr. BauSen: *81 canons*, *56 canons* and two recensions of the *Abṭəlisat* [↗*Abṭəlis*], in 81 and 80 canons, respectively; the *71 canons* plus the *56 canons* constitute the so-called *127 canons* in Arabic collections, cp. also *Clavis Patrum Copticorum* nos. 0088, 0091); a *Letter of Peter to Clement* (ed., tr. BauSen), against the simony, on forgiveness and generally on moral behaviour and offices of the clergy, respect for the elders, observance of the feasts, consecration of the altar, Communion service, vestments of the ministers; a version of the *Teaching of the 318 Nicene Fathers on the right faith and the monastic life* (ed., tr. Bausi 2004), composed of a first part on the heresies and a second part on rules for the regulation of monastic life; an *Interpretation of the Decalogue* attributed to ↗John Chrysostom; a number of other moral treatises, patristic documents, and penitential canons (most of them still unpublished; cp. Furlani 1925; Guerrier 1918–1919); as well as a set of synodal and conciliar canons (most of them also unpublished): 24 canons of Ankyra (314), 14 of Neokaisareia (314/319), 20 of Gangra (343: ed., tr. Grébaut – Guerrier 1922–23), 21 of Serdika (342/343), 25

Senodos, fol. 60r, 15th/16th cent., Gundä Gunde, Təgray; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

of Antioch (330/341), 59 of Laodikeia (end of the 4th cent.); two sets of 20 and 84 of ↗Nicaea (325: the latter being the so-called "pseudo-Nicene canons", ed., tr. Mauro da Leonessa 1942).

Linguistic evidence corroborated by recent discoveries still under study (cp. Bausi in PICES 15) definitely demonstrates that more sections of the S. certainly depend upon a Greek *Vorlage* and date to a much older (probably Aksumite) period, when an archaic *corpus canonum* was early translated into Ethiopic, thus forming an *Aksumite collection* of canonico-liturgical character that included also historical and patristic texts. Some of them were variously transmitted in manuscripts of the S.:

one can list the *Epistle 70* by Cyprian of Carthage (ed., tr. Bausi 1998; cp. also Id. 2005); an archaic list of *Apostles and disciples* (ed., tr. Bausi 2010, in preparation); two synodal epistles for the *Council of Gangra* and the *Council of Antioch*; the *Canonical answers* by Peter of Alexandria (ed., tr. Bausi 2006a: attributed in Greek to Timotheus I patriarch of Alexandria, 380–385); the *Baptismal order* and a long collection of *Prayers*, from within the *71 canons* (can. 39: ed., tr. Horner 1904, Duensing 1946; tr. Salles 1958). The *Traditio apostolica* of the S. too represents a complex combination of old (Greek-based) and recent (Arabic-based) textual layers (cp. Bausi 2009). In turn, the *Aksumite collection* also preserves an almost complete set of the *Collectio Antiochena*, i.e. a counciliar collection where canons were arranged in a continuous series, to which also canons of the councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon (followed by patristic refutations of the same) were added (cp. Bausi 2006b).

Prescriptions and passages from the S. of the most various contents are quoted in the hagiographical literature since the second half of the 14th or early 15th cent. (cp. Conti Rossini 1941). The normative and reference character of the S. is also sanctioned by its frequent quotations in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir* (1424) by Giyorgis of Sägla. In the works of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob the S. enjoyed its highest success: together with the *Didəsqəlya* and the *Kidan*, it was assumed and quoted as the paradigm of the true Christian law (cp. Getatchew Haile 1981; Bausi 1992). The Ethiopian traditional interpretation as reflected in the textual tradition of the S. shows that along the time and not later than the early 18th cent. there were attempts at fixing a canon of the texts composing the S. and at arranging it according to the model of the variously understood "Clementine ↗Octateuch", what had also influence on the varying definition of the Biblican canon. Finally, in some manuscripts of the 19th cent. a concordance between the articles of law of the S. and those of the ↗*Fəṭḥa nägäśt* was also arranged (cp. *ibid.*).

↗Law: Canon law

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed., tr), "L'*Epistola 70* di Cipriano di Cartagine in versione etiopica", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 101–30; ID. (ed., tr.), "La versione etiopica della *Didascalia dei 318 niceni* sulla retta fede e la vita monastica", in: ENZO LUCCHESI – UGO ZANETTI (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 225–48; ID. (ed., tr.), "La versione etiopica delle *Risposte canoniche* di Timoteo I attribuite a Pietro di Alessandria (*CPG II*, nr. 2520)", *Scrinium* 2, 2006a, 41–57; ID. (ed., tr.), "Una 'lista' etiopica di apostoli e discepoli", in preparation; BauSen (Lit.); *Clavis Patrum Copticorum* [http://cmcl.let.uniroma1.it/]

nos. 0088, 0091; Hugo Duensing (ed., tr.), *Der äthiopische Text der Kirchenordnung des Hippolyt*, Göttingen 1946 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse III, 32); Giuseppe Furlani (ed., tr.), "Un trattato etiopico sulla Trinità", *RSO* 10, 1925, 48–57; Sylvain Grébaut – Louis Guerrier (ed., tr.), "Les canons du concile de Gangres", *ROC* 3ème sér., 3 (23), 1922–23, 303–13; Louis Guerrier (ed., tr.), "Canons pénitentiels", *ibid.* 3ème sér., 1 (21), 1918–1919, 5–24, 345–55; George Horner (ed., tr.), *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici*, London 1904; Mauro da Leonessa (ed., tr.), "La versione etiopica dei canoni apocrifi del concilio di Nicea secondo i codici vaticani ed il fiorentino", *RSE* 2, 1942, 29–89; Antoine Salles (tr.), *Trois antiques rituels du baptême*, Paris 1958 (Sources chrétiennes 59).

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, "Alcune considerazioni sul «Sēnodos» etiopico", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 5–73 (Lit., mss.); Id., "San Clemente e le tradizioni clementine nella letteratura etiopica canonico-liturgica", in: Philippe Luisier (ed.), *Atti degli Incontri di Roma, 29 marzo e 22 novembre 2001*, Roma 2003 (OrChrA 268), 13–55 (Lit., mss.); Id., "Note aggiuntive sull'*Epistola 70* di Cipriano: versione etiopica e versione siriaca", in: Michele Bernardini – Natalia L. Tornesello (eds.), *Scritti in onore di Giovanni M. d'Erme. Saggi di colleghi e amici in occasione del suo compleanno*, vol. 1, Napoli 2005 (Series Minor LXVIII), 99–109; Id., "The Aksumite Background of the Ethiopic 'Corpus Canonum'", in: *PICES* 15, 532–41; Id., "La *Collezione aksumita* canonico-liturgica", *Adamantius* 12, 2006b, 43–70; Id., "The 'So-called *Traditio apostolica*': Preliminary Observations on the New Ethiopic Evidence", in: Heike Grieser – Andreas Merkt (eds.), *Volksglaube im antiken Christentum*: *Prof. Dr. Theofried Baumeister OFM zur Emeritierung*, Darmstadt 2009, 291–321; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il 'Sēnodos' etiopico", *RRALm* ser. 7a, 3, 1941, 41–48; Roger W. Cowley, "The Identification of the Ethiopian Octateuch of Clement, and its Relation to Other Christian Literature", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 27, 1978, 37–45; Alexandre Faivre, "La documentation canonico-liturgique", in: Jean-Claude Fredouille – René-Michel Roberge (eds.), *La documentation patristique. Bilan et prospective*, Quebec – Paris 1995, 3–41; Ignazio Guidi, "Der äthiopische 'Sēnodos'", *ZDMG* 55, 1901, 495–502; Ernst Hammerschmidt, "Das Pseudo-apostolische Schrifttum in äthiopischer Überlieferung", in: *PICES* 2, 114–21, here 116ff.; LusStud 23–27; Bruno Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis. Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen*, Berlin – New York 1992 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift fur die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 63), 134–40.

Alessandro Bausi

Sənsul

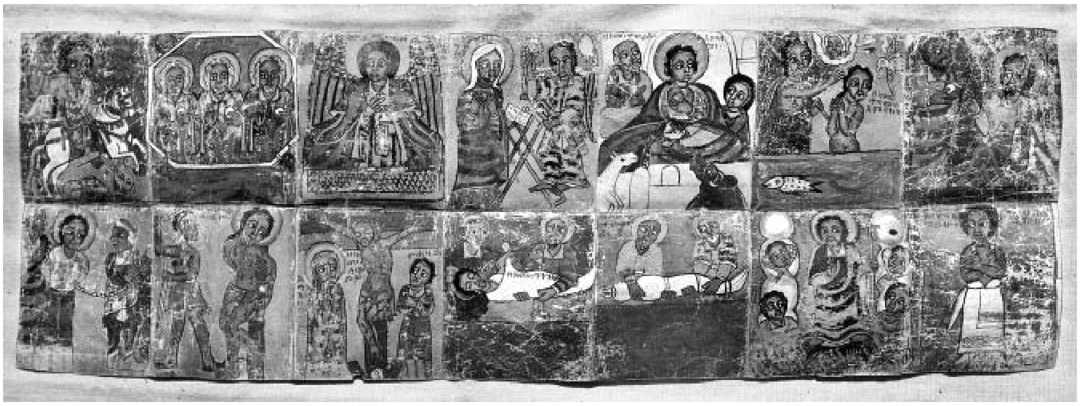
S. (**ሰንሱል**, Gəᶜəz, lit. 'chained') is a set of religious pictures painted horizontally on a long parchment strip folded like a concertina. Some pieces are enclosed between wooden or parchment boards. For very long S., two or more connected parchment strips are used. There are also examples made of single parchment sheets stitched or sewn together. Rarely, a large piece of parchment is first bent in the middle and then folded. Recently, S. made on paper have emerged. The size of a S. ranges from 6–7 to 35–40 cm in height and from 50–60 cm to 7–8 m in length. Each fold or sheet creates a panel occupied by one painted subject. Generally, pictures are supplied with captions identifying the scenes and figures. Some S. also have written supplications and short prayers including the name of the ↗donor or owner.

The S., which seem to be an original creation of Ethiopian spirituality, are used in private devotion and have an apotropaic function. Both factors influence the choice of pictures reflecting the personal preferences of the donor and can be seen as a kind of "painted litany". The series usually contains a selection of holy figures particularly venerated in Ethiopia: the Archangels, ↗Prophets, ↗Apostles, ↗Evangelists, martyrs (esp. the ↗equestrian saints, cf. ms. IES 3554, 17th cent., with eleven riders) and, some popular motifs with iconic function: St. ↗Mary with Child, ↗St. George, ↗Täklä Haymanot, ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus and, from the 18th cent. on, ↗*Kʷərʾatä rəʾəsu*. The latter may be put in the middle of the set, the place where S. most often opens, creating a kind of diptych.

The oldest known examples of S. date to the end of the 15th/beginning of the 16th cent. These are the pieces kept in the *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV's palace-museum in ↗Mäq̱älä (11 x 13 cm, full length 2.86 m, 22 painted panels: Christ with ↗John the Baptist, Apostles, Archangels), IES 5965–5966 (9 x 10 cm, length 2.85 m, 48 panels, painted unusually on both sides: the ↗Trinity, Archangels, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, martyrs including the equestrians, monks including the Egyptian, ↗saints including several female figures) and Peabody, Museum of Salem [Langmuir Collection] where St. Mary with Child, the Apostles, and the equestrian Saints George and ↗Gälawdewos are represented.

Judging from the known examples, S. enjoyed particular popularity in the 17th–18th cent., and a large group of S. is painted in the then prevailing First or Second Gondärine style of ↗painting.

A stylistically distinct group originates in the 17th cent., most probably from ↗Lasta: the pictures display figures treated extremely conceptually, created from geometrical forms and using three colors only: that of parchment, red and black (items in the ↗Lalibäla churches of Betä Giyorgis and ↗Ǝšätän Maryam, in Juel-Jensen collection [UK] and Schweisthal collection [Germany]).



Sənsul with Christological scenes and saints, 18th cent., church of Ǝnda Abba Mamas, Təgray; photo 2005, courtesy of Michael Gervers

At the end of the 17th cent., a new subject is added, perhaps with an educational purpose: a synopsis of the life of Christ. A particularly richly produced example is Fogg 38 (27 x 18 cm and 7.92 m long, 44 panels), with the main theme depicting the life of Christ preceded by O.T. scenes and followed by the long suite of martyrs, which even includes such less popular figures as Jacob "the Mutilated". The donors in *proskynesis* are also depicted and the apotropaic character of the piece is indicated by the eyes with cross-formed pupils given to the Archangel Raphael, St. Mary, Christ, the Saints Zena Marqos and Täklä Haymanot.

The popularity of S. seems to decrease in the 19th cent.; later their character is often changed with addition of magical texts and pictures typical for ↗magic scrolls (e.g., Appleyard 1999, no. 79).

↗Manuscripts

Lit.: AfrZion 244, no. 103; DAVID APPLEYARD, *Ethiopian Manuscripts*, London 1999, 111–19, nos. 71–73, 76–81, 83, 84; *L'Arche Éthiopienne. Art Chrétien d'Éthiopie, 27 septembre 2000–7 janvier 2001*, Paris 2000, 138f., 142f.; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "Gouverner et définir un territoire: géopolitique, art et production manuscrite au Lāstā entre 1667 et 1768", *AE* 24, 2009, 87–148, here 127–31, fig. 2; ARCADIA FLETCHER (ed.), *Art of Ethiopia* [catalogue of Sam Fogg's collection], London 2005, nos. 38, 42; DAVID BUXTON, *The Abyssinians*, London 1970, 151, fig. 81; ChojPaint 490ff., figs. 235a–c, 236; BEATRICE PLAYNE, *St. George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 49, 142 pl. D; GETATCHEW HAILE – JACQUES MERCIER (eds.), *Ethiopian Art*: *The Walters Art Museum*, foreword by GARY VIKAN, Baltimore, MD 2001, 116f.; OTTO JÄGER – LISELOTTE DEININGER-ENGELHART, "Some Notes on Illumination of Manuscripts in Ethiopia", *RSE* 17, 1961, 45–60, here 55, 60, fig. 5; ELIZABETH LANGMUIR (ed.), *Ethiopia. The Christian Art of an African Nation*, Salem 1978, no. 2, pp. vif., pl. pp. 10f.; BENT JUEL-JENSEN, "The Ground Hornbill Artist of the 17th-century Ethiopic Manuscript", *The Book Collector* 26, 1, 1977, 61–74; ANNEGRET MARX (ed.), *Steh auf und geh nach Süden. 2000 Jahre Christentum in Äthiopien*, Frankfurt a.M. 2007, 148, 289, no. 21; JACQUES MERCIER, "Magie et tradition. Les rouleaux protecteurs", *Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie* 8, 1975, 121; ID., *Vierges d'Ethiopie*, Montpellier 2004, 74f., 78f.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Ṣəraᶜ

Ṣ. (**ጽራዕ**, also **ጽራእ**, Ṣəraᵓ, **ፅራዕ**, Ṣ́əraᵓ, **ፅራእ**, Ṣ́əraᶜ, or [ᶜAd] Ṣ.) is a historical province roughly corresponding to today's *wäräda* ↗Wəqro in Eastern ↗Təgray, formerly a part of the Kələttä Awlaᶜəlo *awrağğa*. It is divided into Laᶜəlay Ṣ. ('Upper Ṣ.'), to the north, with mountains, and Taḥtay Ṣ. ('Lower Ṣ.'), to the south. It used to include the mountainous area of ↗Nägaš in the north, and to extend up to ↗Mäqälä in ↗Ǝndärta in the south, to Aṣbi in the east, its western portion bordering upon the massif of Ḥaramat (for location s. map for Ṣəraᶜ Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa).

The name Ṣ. may be linked with a South-Arabian root *ḍr*ᶜ (attested as *ḍr*ᶜ*n*, a toponym in Sabaic ↗inscriptions of Sirwaḥ, Yemen; and *ḍr*ᶜ meaning 'West' in Minaic, s. Sima 2000: 204, n. 111; it may also be related to the Ethiopic term for ↗Greece, used first for Hellenized Egypt). This link would be in accordance with the strong archaeological evidence of South-Arabian presence in the region (cp. the newly found inscriptions of Abba Gärima ᶜAddi Akawəḥ). Troops (?) called Ṣ. are mentioned in two Aksumite royal inscriptions (RIÉ nos. 187.34 and 189.30, 35).

Like nearby ↗Aṣbi, Ǝndärta, ↗Wäğğärat etc., the district was ruled by a ↗*šum*, the *śəyyumä* (*šum*) *Ṣəra*ᵓ, attested since the 18th cent. at least (CRAxum no. 67). The lordship of *šum Ṣəra*ᵓ existed until the 1970s. The *šum* was traditionally based in ↗Agula^{c}. The region was linked to both the ↗salt trade with the ^{c}Afar plains and the north-south Red Sea ↗trade route that was controlled by Muslim communities in post-Aksumite times (one of them in Wəqro). The rock-hewn church of Wəqro preserves a medieval Muslim Kufic ↗inscription. There are also a few outstanding rock-hewn churches such as ↗Ṣəra^{c} Abrəha wä-Aṣbəha, Tämsəḥul Ǝnda Kidanä Məḥrät (Tewelde Medhin Joseph in PICES 3, vol. 1, 22, 54).

In the 14th cent., Ṣ. became the cradle of the Ewosṭatean religious movement; both the birth place of *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos and of some of his prominent followers and the monastery Däbrä Ṣärabi, mother house of the ↗Ewosṭateans – and probably a pre-13th cent. foundation – are in Ṣ. Under *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl Ṣ. was given as a fief to the Emperor's father confessor Tənsaᵓe Krəstos (CRAxum nos. 26, 44). Ṣ. appears on the 1662 map by ↗Almeida and others (PerrZarY, annex) as a circumscription lying north of Ǝndärta and south of ↗Ḥawzen "which is Təgre"; it was then a part of the ↗*baḥər nägaš*'s realm (cp. LudHist I, 3, § 27). According to ↗Barradas's report, Ṣ. was "the district of the Queen" (Barradas 1996: 7). In the late 17th cent., however, it was severely threatened by the ↗Oromo (cp. GuiIohan 28). Owing to its location, Ṣ. became a corridor for raids to and from the ^{c}Afar lowlands, e.g., by ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul in ca. 1760.

Later, Ṣ. was to be temporarily disintegrated. Under *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis, its parts – Dängʷällo (↗Dängolo), Agʷəla^{c} (Agula^{c}), Ḥawza – were given to other rulers (CRAxum no. 68); under *däǧǧač* Säbagadis some parts were given to Aṣbi Ǝnda Śəllase church (ibid. no. 82; cp. also Nosnitsin 2006: 28, 30). In 1867 the ↗Napier expedition passed through Ṣ. safely, thanks to the help of the local lords (Acton 1868).

In the early 1870s Ṣ. was the seat of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, who was the sixth descendent of *šum Ṣəraᵓ* ^{c}Amdom on his mother's side. He set up his residence in Agula^{c}, but it stayed there for a short time only, probably because the area could not provide enough supplies. Therefore, the royal camp was moved further south, to the ancient salt-market of ↗Mäqälä. On leaving Agula^{c}, Yoḥannəs donated his *gəbbi* (with the today half-ruined *addaraš*) to the Church, which established on the premises a small monastery called Getesemani.

Agula^{c} still shows traits of a former political centre, with its population of diverse origins, far from the uniformity of other rural settlements; e.g., there is a small community of traditional singers, "*čära wäṭa*" (corresponding to the Amharic ↗*azmari*), reminiscent of the former royal residence. Today, Muslims prefer to settle along the "main road" of Ṣ., which is the road from ^{c}Addigrat to Wäldəya, while Christians (mostly farmers) live more in the interior.

The former residence of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, later the seat of the Getesemani monastic community (today deserted), near Agula^{c}; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Src.: interviews with: *ato* Käbbädä Bärhe, Agula^{c}, June 2004; monk Gäbru, Getesemani, Agula^{c}; *fitawrari* Iyasu Aṣ́bəḥa, Mäqälä, 86 years, July 2004; Muluwärq Kidanä Maryam, March 2008; ROGER ACTON, *Abyssinia*, London 1868, map; MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici* (*1634*), *a Seventeenth Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 7; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta s. Baṣalota Mikāᵓēl et Anorewos* (*seu Acta sancti Honorii*), Louvain 1905 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe 11, 12]), 47 (text) = 41 (tr.); CRAxum 12, no. 7; 15, no. 11 [text]; nos. 26, 44, 67, 68, 82; FESSEHA GIYORGIS, *Storia d'Etiopia*, ed. by YAQOB BEYENE, Napoli 1987, 137, 239; GuiIohan 28 (text) = 28 (tr.); HuntGeogr, s. index; LudHist lib. I, cap. 3, § 27 (no. 25), map; PerrZarY, annex; RIÉ nos. 187.4, 189.30, 35 [cp. DAE IV, 25, 28, 34, 40];
Lit.: *abba* TEWELDE MEDHIN JOSEPH, "Introduction générale aux églises monolithes du Tigrai", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 83–98, here 22, 54; LusStud s. index; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "Historical Records from Ethiopia: a Trilingual Document from Aṣbi Däbrä Gännät Səllase, Təgray", in: *Proceedings*

of the Workshop "European Schools of Ethiopian Studies; Poland & Germany" October 18–20, 2006, Warsaw 2008 (= *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures* 41), 17–47; ALEXANDER SIMA, *Tiere, Pflanzen, Steine und Metalle in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften*, Wiesbaden 2000, 204, n. 111.

Wolbert Smidt – Denis Nosnitsin

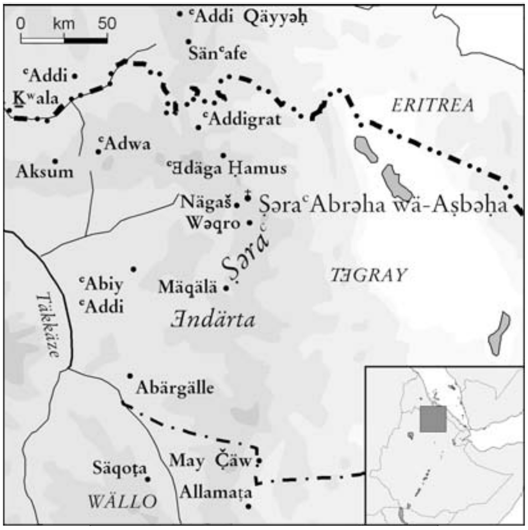
Ṣəra^{c} Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa

Ṣ.A.A. (**ጽራዕ፡ አብርሃ፡ ወአጽብሐ**) is a ↗rock-hewn church in ↗Ṣəra^{c}, Eastern ↗Təgray, situated ca. 15 km north-west of Wəqro (1,934m A.S.L.). Originally a monastic church, Ṣ.A.A. is dedicated to the mythical Aksumite kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa and to *abba* ↗Guba.

A local tradition noted in the *Gädlä Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa* connects the site with a locality called Gämad, where the kings, in order to chase away demons, built a chapel dedicated to the Archangel Michael, and later a sanctuary in which they were eventually buried.

Carved out of a red sandstone mountain, this oriented to the east, semi-monolithic structure (the western and central bays are free from the rock) is one of the largest churches in Təgray (ca. 22 m long, 16.2 m wide and 5.1 m high). Its multi-section plan is of the cross-in-square type similar to those of ↗Mika^{ɔ}el Amba, and Wəqro Qirqos (↗Dängolo). A note in the Gospel book of Mika^{ɔ}el Amba allows us to surmise that all three churches were excavated in the early 12th cent., as a result of building activity of the patriarch ↗Mika^{ɔ}el I.

The principal body of the ↗church building has five aisles divided into three bays. The sections marking the shape of the cross are higher than the others. The south-north axis of the treansept is barrel-vaulted and resting on flat beams. The central crossing point (7.2 m high) is distinguished by four slender cruciform pillars connected by arches and the ceiling marked with carved imitation of crossed beams reposing on carved bracket capitals. The bay in front of the sanctuary is covered by a dome. The remaining eight sections, which form a square, have flat ceilings and are divided by pillars with chamfered shafts supporting flat beams. The engaged pillars with bracket capitals along the north and south walls raise from about 50 cm high plinths which also serve as benches. This part of the structure (today *qəne maḫlet*) is accessible to all, with the exception of the central domed bay, which, elevated by a two-stepped platform, functions as a sacred area (*qəddəst*). This area is now screened from the west side by a constructed wall (about 1 m high) and a modern wooden chancel which replaced the original, of which only a few fragments (three posts topped with pine cone) have been preserved (Lepage 1972: 85). Similar chancels are still intact in three churches in Aṣbi Dära: ↗Zärema Giyorgis, Mika^{ɔ}el Amba and ↗Däbrä Sälam.



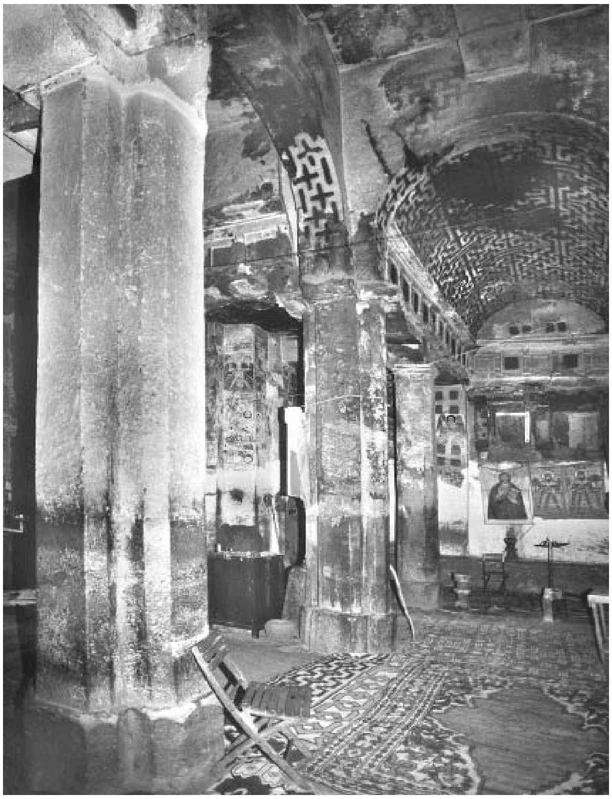
The eastern part of the church, which functions as the sanctuary (↗*Mäqdäs*), was never properly explored by scholars. Judging from the photographs taken from a distance, it has a central room which opens to the church by a triumphal arch and two side-rooms (*pastophoria*) which communicate with it by openings with high thresholds. The central room ends with horse-shoe formed apse covered by a semi-dome. Along the basis of the apse runs a bench with a rectangular niche in the centre (*synthronon*?; Lepage 1972: 86). Both side-rooms are square, covered by a cupola, each connected with the aisle by a pair of doors and a window. The smaller northern room has two niches in the western wall; the southern, much larger and presently empty, might have been used as a funeral chapel. Local priests claim that it contained the coffin with the bones of ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa which is presently found elsewhere. The sanctuary and both side-rooms house three modern *mänbärä* ↗*tabot*s.

The western part of the church is limited to the central higher nave and two aisles. Through twin wood-framed arched doors it communicates with a similarly large vestibule recently rebuild and re-roofed in timber. It seems that originally it was monolithic with two pillars (Buxton 1970: 107).

The vestibule is preceded by an elevated porch built by the Italians in the 1930s.

There are three entrances to the church, all from the West: the main leads to the vestibule, the two others, the southern and the northern, are placed symmetrically in the first external bays. The interior is only illuminated by the double windows (0.7 m high, 1.8 m wide) at the ends of the north-south "transept" axe, and by the windows above the side entries. All have wooden frames of Aksumite type and wooden decorative traceries.

The architectural decoration is elaborate. The cruciform pillars have bracket capitals, the others have stepped "Aksumite" capitals. The walls are articulated by pilasters with brackets. The frieze of Aksumite type runs above lintel level along the walls, marking the south, west and north arms of the cross, and along the central part of the sanctuary including the apse. The barrel vault, flat ceilings, intrados of the arches and the wall above them are ornamented with complex, geometric patterns, painted inversely white and ochre. The central cupola is decorated with interlaces and stylized palmettes. The two engaged pillars, near the south and the north entrances, respectively, are decorated with long, shafted crosses carved in stone, one of them topped by affronted dolphins. In the southern side-room, a frieze composed of arched niches runs below the cupola, and the walls are covered by an intricate star and octagon design, the origin of which can probably be traced to Islamic art tradition.



Ṣəraᶜ Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa, Təgray, barrel vaulted "transeptal" bay facing north; 12th cent. (?); photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The wall ↗paintings in the vestibule and on the west and north-west walls of the three western bays were executed during the time of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. They are painted in *al-fresco* technique with the exception of scenes on the eastern walls of the vestibule which are executed on canvas and glued to the wall. Stylistically, the whole set follows the Second Gondärine school of painting and displays a shortened version of the programme which, from the second half of the 18th cent. onward, appears in circular churches with squared *mäqdäs*. In the vestibule, besides the ↗Trinity and 24 Heavenly Priests placed centrally above the doorway, one finds the Christological cycle, the ↗equestrian saints, O.T. figures and a group of the most popular Ethiopian ↗saints. In addition, there are scenes from the life of kings Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa portraying them with suppliants. Recently, some of these murals have been heavily repainted.

Inside the church, the western wall is decorated with the Mariological cycle based on such apocrypha as the ↗*Nägärä Maryam*, ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam*, ↗*Fəlsäta lämaryam*, the story of Adam and Eve and the martyrdom of the ↗Apostles. There is also a depiction of the Second Coming of Christ (cp. ↗*Dagəm məṣᵓatu läkrəstos*) and historical scenes with Yoḥannəs IV, in a religion procession and with *wag šum* ↗Gäbru, *ras* ↗Arᵓaya Dəmṣu and *ras* ↗Alula. There are also paintings representing St. Mary with Child on two pillars close to the main entrance and around the window in the wall dividing the southern side-room from the aisle (two archangels and a faded St. George). The paintings were sponsored by a noble lady, Amätä Śəllase, who is portrayed several times together with members of her family and attendants.

Src.: Paolo Marrassini, “Il *Gadla Abreha waAṣbeḥa*. Indicazioni preliminari”, in: *MiscAethKur* 159-79, esp. 164-67, 170ff.; SawHist vol. 3, 90f.; SerHist 104f. (pl.), 203, n. 117, 233; George Annesley Viscount Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*, London 1809, vol. 3, 370ff.; Henry Salt, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, London 1814, pl. xviii; *abba* Tewelde Medhin Joseph, “Introduction générale aux églises monolithes du Tigrai”, in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 83–98, here 97.

Lit.: David Buxton, *The Abyssinians*, London 1970, 106ff., pl. 61; Id., *The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia,* Oxford 1971, 43–46, pl. xxiva–b, xxva–c; Id. – Ruth Plant, “Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province”, *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–267, here 214f.; Otto Dale, “The Rock-hewn Churches of Tigre”, *EthObs* 11, 2 1968, 77–151, here 121ff.; Mario di Salvo – Stanisław Chojnacki – Osvaldo Raineri (eds.), *Churches of Ethiopia*: *the Monastery of Nārgā Śēllāsē*, Milano 1999, 95; Maria-José Friedlander – Bob Friedlander, *Ethiopia’s Hidden Treasures*: *A Guide to the Paintings of the Remote Churches of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2007, 134–47; Emmanuel Fritch – Michael Gervers, “Pastophoria and Altars: Interaction in Ethiopian Liturgy and Church Architecture”, *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 7–51, esp. 13; Georg Gerster, *Churches in the Rock*: *Early Christian Art in Ethiopia,* London 1970, 133f., pl. 182–86; Claude Lepage, “Premières recherches sur les installations liturgiques des anciennes églises d’Ethiopie (X^{e}–XV^{e} siècles)”, *Abbay* 3, 1972, 77–114, here 84–87, figs. 4, 4a; Jacques Mercier, *Les églises historiques du Tigray. Art éthiopien*, Paris 2005, 72–81; MHAlex I, 139, 161–70; Ivy Pearce, “Pearce’s Pilgrimage to the Rock-Hewn Churches of Tigre”, *EthObs* 11, 2, 1968, 77–120, here 80–84; David Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*: *Fourth-Fourteenth Centuries*, New Haven – London 2009, 93f.; Ruth Plant, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia,* Worcester 1985, 94f.; Beatrice Playne, *St. George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 80ff., 187; Roger Sauter, “Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d’Éthiopie”, *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 256; Id., “Les églises rupestres au Tigré”, *ibid.* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 165; TedEthPrel II, 1006f.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Ṣərag masäre

Ṣ.m. (**ጽራግ፡ ማሰሬ**, also *ṣärag*, *ṣäragi*, *ṣəragi*, *ṣərağ*, *masäre/mäᵓasäre* etc., also *raq masäre*) was one of the highest official ↗titles of the royal court. The title is of unclear origin; its first part is probably derived from the root *ṣärägä* (Gəᶜəz: ‘to sweep, clean [the way]’, LesCDic 563 [also in Amharic, Təgrəñña; cp. KWKDic 769]); *raq* is supposed to be the Šäwan Amharic form for *ṣərag* (GuiVoc 72). Its second part is derived from *asärä* (‘bind’, LesCDic 44), *masäre* being explained as ‘whip’ or ‘staff’ (for keeping the order, i.e. keeping the people at a distance; cp. also Guidi 1922: 69, n. 2; cp. KaneDic 208). The term appears in documents starting at least from the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (cp. GuiVoc 72; Kropp in VarAeth). It is mentioned in the ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt* which links its origin to the legend of ↗Mənilək I and hints at the Ṣ.m.’s role in the ↗coronation rituals (Varenberg 1915–16:11: ‘Ṣ.m. with a horn of ointment’).

The role of Ṣ.m. appears more prominent in the court culture and politics of the ↗Gondärine kingdom. In a few documents, he is equated to the *wəsṭ* ↗*azzaž*, i.e. ‘the *azzaž* of the internal part of the court’ (GuiIohan 145, 293 [text]; cp. Varenberg 1915-16:9; s. also Munro-Hay in StudAeth). Appointed by the emperor, the Ṣ.m. was a palace official whose function was similar to the position of “chief of protocol”. He was responsible for activities including the planning, hosting, and presiding of ceremonial events for visiting chiefs of regions and heads of monasteries and parishes, as well as coordinating logistics for the visits (cp. BlunChr 509). He arranged itineraries for foreign dignitaries visiting Ethiopia and accompanied the emperor on all official travel. During the coronation, he was supposed to offer oil to the Metropolitan and to invest the new emperor with the crown and royal vestments (Guidi 1922: 74; THMDic 1352; GuiVoc 862). The participation of a Ṣ.m. in the coronation ritual is thus attested for a number of emperors (only indirectly for Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, PerrEsk 338; cp. also, e.g., *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I, GuiIohan 5 [text]; and ↗Mənilək II, GueCopMen 272). In addition, the Ṣ.m. was also one of the supreme judges.

The same title was occasionally also functional in ecclesiastical circles. Ṣ.m. was the honorific title of the ↗*aläqa* of the Addäbabay Iyäsus church of ↗Gondär (GuiVoc 72). Appointed by the head of the monastery, the Ṣ.m. was the fourth top official of a monastery (MahZekr 652) who had the task of mastering ecclesiastical ceremonies and introducing strangers to the abbot.

Src.: Bairu Tafla, “Titles, Ranks and Offices of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahdo Church: a Preliminary Survey”, *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 76, 1986, 293–306, here 298; BeckHuntAlm 94; BeckHuntAlvar 553f., 558–61; BlunChr 287, 509; CRAxum nos. 24b, 29, 30 etc. [s. Alessandro Bausi, “Un indice del Liber Aksumae”, *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 102–46, here 134, 138]; CRHist 190 (tr.); DombrChr 303; GueCopMen 272 n. 2, 340, 346 (Lit.), s. index 771; Ignazio Guidi, “Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia”, *RRALm* ser. 5a, 31, 3–4, 1922, 65–89 [“Il ‘Serᶜata Mangest”], here 60ff., 74f., 77, 79, 81f., 89; GuiIohan 5, 145f., 293 (text) = 3f., 152f., 313f. (tr.); GuiVoc 72, 862; Manfred Kropp, “‘Antiquae restitutio legis’. Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als *imago imperii* und *notitia dignitatum* in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zär’a Ya‘qob im Condaghe der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154”, in: *VarAeth* 115–47, here 119f., 134f.; HuntLand 16; KaneDic 201, 208, 386; THMDic 1352;

KWKDic 769; LesCDic 563; MahZekr 652; PerrEsk 338 (text) = 352 (tr.); PerrZarY 15f., 24, 38, 86, 101, 122; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerᶜata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 5, 9, 11, 12 (I), 13 (II.8), 22 (III.18).

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Civil Titles and Offices in the Reign of Emperor Menilek II, 1889–1913", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 596–612, here 602; LAVERLE BERRY, *The Solomonic Monarchy at Gonder, 1630–1755: an Institutional Analysis of Kingship in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University 1976, passim; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "The Coronation of the Emperors of Ethiopia at Aksum", in: *StudAeth* 177–201, here 182f., 189f., 193.

Mersha Alehegne

Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan

Ś. (**ሥርዓት**[/**ሥርዐት**]**፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን**, 'Church Order', or 'Structure of the Church') is the title applied to a number of different texts in both Gəᶜəz and Amharic. The first was identified by Dillmann in ms. London, BritMus Add. 16,205, fols. 19–23 as *Regulae de Hierarchia ecclesiastica*, with the full title:

ሥርዓታተ፡ [ቤተ፡] ክርስቲያን፡ ወማዕርጊሃ፡ ዘአንበሩ፡ አበው፡ ቅዱሳን. [*Ordines Ecclesiae, ejusque gradus, a Patribus sanctis constituti*.] 'Orders of the Church and its Grades Established by the Holy Fathers'.

Following him, Conti Rossini (1900:630f.) refers to ten manuscripts containing a work under this title (but BN d'Abbadie 65, 78 should probably be excluded from his list). This Ś. (*Regulae* …) seems to be a writing in Gəᶜəz which frequently appears in collections of canonical-liturgical works, as one of the three texts which typically accompany the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*fäws mänfäsawi* (which Dillmann considered parts of the latter, but s. Kleiner 2000, vol. 1, 36–40). Apart from the *Regulae* …, the other two, in Dillmann's (DillmLond 39) rendering, are:

– *Ceremoniale sacerdotum*: **ዘይደሉ፡ እምሥርዓተ፡ ቅኔ፡ መልእክተ፡ ክህነት፡ ዘይትፌቀድ፡ በውስተ፡ ጸሎታት፡ ወቅዳሴያት**. [*Regulae de ministerio sacerdotali, quae ad preces et liturgias rite administrandas pertinent*], 'What is Due from the Order of the Service, Duty of the Clergy, What is Required in Prayers and Liturgies';
– *Quaestiones de rebus ecclesiasticis subtiliores, cum solutionibus*: **ተኅሥሣታት፡ ወስእለታት፡ ዘአበው፡ ወፍካሬሆሙ**. [*Quaestiones et interrogationes Patrum, earumque solutio*], 'Inquiries and Questions to the Fathers, and Their Responses'.

From the catalogue descriptions it is not quite clear if these three texts are parts or sub-chapters of one work, or not (cp. mss. London, BritLib Orient. 549, fols. 65r–98v; Orient. 799, fols. 70v–80v); they are not always three (cp. ms. VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 81), and not always identified by the full titles (cp. Ṭānāsee 169, fols. 50ra–81vb). In some cases the title **ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወማዕርጊሃ** can probably appear as heading for all of them (cp. Orient 550, fols. 84r–98r; Orient. 788, fols. 102–25r). Of specific interest is ms. EMML no. 1941 (probably the oldest witness, dated to 1664) fols. 26r–43r, where the title **ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወማዕርጊሃ** is applied to a text of somewhat different content, but the *Regulae* … are contained on fols. 26r–27v (cp. also EMML no. 1952, fols. 9b–11b, both from ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos).

The Gəᶜəz Ś. may indeed be a treatise regarding the structure of an individual church and the organization of the clergy, based on the translated writings of the Church Fathers (cp. EMML vol. 5, 437, 467). However, the text may also be an Ethiopian one; the existence of a foreign (Arabic?) *Vorlage* has been doubted since the work – an allegorical description of the church – seems to refer to an Ethiopian round church (Kleiner 2000, vol. 1, 40).

Apart from the Gəᶜəz text, there are Amharic texts under the generic title Ś. describing the "structure of the (building) of the church" (some of them ed., tr. in Griaule 1932; Schneider 1988). Characteristically, a large part of many Ś.-texts is made up of nominal sentences: the material parts of a church and other structures within the church compound, paraphernalia or even church ministers (priests, deacons, *däbtära* etc.) are referred to one by one and metaphorically equated to sacred things and phenomena or divine personages (Christ, St. Mary, Angels etc.), i.e.: "its (the church's) palisade is the watching angels; its binding is the Holy Spirit; its cords are *Pater noster* ..." etc. (Schneider 1988: 80, 82). In some texts, the equation is done by means of such words as *malät*, 'that is', or *məssale*, 'image, likeness', etc. Sometimes the metaphors and similes are supported by references to the Scriptures and other Christian works. Exploring the hidden divine character of the church structure, some Ś.-texts include theological expositions; they also contain didactic passages admonishing the faithful to learn "the order of the church" (in the extended sense, also the "regulations and organization" etc.) and not to be like "↗*Galla* and ↗*Šanqəlla*, the pagans" (Griaule 1932: 12, 16). On the whole, the Amharic Ś.-treatises seem to be akin to the tradition of ↗Bible interpretation, i.e. the ↗*Andəmta* and ↗*Tərgʷame*, using partly similar methods and expressive means.

As Cohen (1932:2) underlined, the Amharic Ś.-treatises represent teaching which was not comprehensive and rather unofficial, thus leaving space for variations and expressions of personal theological views. Certainly, the author(s) were working within certain (theological and literary) frames, but the known texts hardly show attempts at revision and/or standardization. The unofficial character of these writings is demonstrated also by the fact, that in many cases a Ś. is written on the opening or closing (blank) leaves of the manuscripts, i.e. "added" to its main content.

Manuscripts containing the Amharic Ś. are numerous; perhaps the most remarkable are an extensive one in mss. Paris, Éthiopien 637, fols. 14v–26r; or the one in St. Petersburg Papad.-Keram. 7, fols. 64v–69r. All the manuscripts with the Amharic Ś. are of 19th–20th cent. date.

The origin of the Amharic Ś.-treatises is still to be clarified. The Ethiopian sources have many references to the church structures and use an elaborate terminology; a few symbolical interpretations can also be found (Griaule 1932:3). The Amharic texts of the Ś. differ very much, although one common source cannot be excluded, and some texts share passages (cp. Schneider 1988:74f.; text 93f. [ms. Paris, BN Éth. 661] and Proverbio 2000:540f. [mss. VatLib Raineri 80, Comboni 16]). An original version might have been inspired by, based on or even translated from one or several Gəᶜəz texts. Indeed, ms. Paris, BN d'Abbadie 26 (s. Griaule 1932:37ff.) contains a text in Gəᶜəz exactly in the style of the Amharic Ś.-treatises: it is listed by Conti Rossini (1910:630f.), but it is not sure that the text in question is identical to the *Regulae*. BN d'Abbadie 247 contains one Gəᶜəz and one Amharic text unrelated to each other (Schneider 1988:75ff. [cp. Proverbio 2000:539f.], 85f.). One could consider the *Regulae* as one of the possible sources of the Amharic Ś. Significant cases to consider may be in mss. Berlin, Peterm. II Nachtr. 32, fols. 1v–2 (cp. Paris, BN Éth. 581, fols. 15r–21r) where Ś. is "an Amharic explanation of different terms and names, used in the church" (DillmBerl 38) apparently taking the place of similar Gəᶜəz texts accompanying the *Mäṣḥafä fäws mänfäsawi.* The 18th cent. may be considered as the time when this kind of treatises started to appear, along with intensified church construction and the emergence of the traditional exegesis schools during the ↗Gondärine kingdom.

Mss. London, BritLib Orient. 549, 550, 788 contain, besides the *Regulae* another text with a similar title, for the rite of the "introduction of the ↗*tabot* into the church" (*Śərᶜat zäᵓagbəᵓo tabotä wəstä betä krəstiyan*), which can also be referred to as Ś. For the moment it is impossible to clarify whether this is identical to the *Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan amä qəddaseha*, also "the ritual for consecrating a church and the *tabot*" (EMML nos. 2537, 2588, 3111 etc.); cp. also *Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan läᵓəgziᵓabəḥer* in Cerulli Etiop. 81, fols. 89v–112r.

↗Amharic literature; ↗Church architecture; ↗*Mäqdäs*

Src.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Manoscritti ed opere abissine in Europa", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1900, 606–37, here 630f.; DillmBerl 38, no. 45 [ms. Peterm. II Nachtr. 32]; DillmLond 39f., no. 35 [ms. Add. 16,205]; Marcel Griaule, "Règles de l'Église (Documents éthiopiens)", *JA* 221, 1932, 1–42; Delio Vania Proverbio, *Inventario sommario dei manoscritti arabi, ebraici, etiopici – con notizia dei turchi – conservati presso la Biblioteca della Badia di Grottaferrata*, Roma 2000 (= MRALm s. IX, 12 [4]) 467–570, here 481–88, esp. 484 [Crypt. Aet. 3 (R. 9)], 539ff. (Appendice I); Osvaldo Raineri, *Codices comboniani aethiopici*, Città del Vaticano 2000, 13f., ms. Comboni 16 – A 16; 81ff., ms. Comboni 81 – C 11; RaiCer 71, ms. Cerulli Etiop. 81; 75, ms. Cerulli Etiop. 93; Roger Schneider, "Nouveaux témoins du texte éthiopien des *Règles de l'Église*", *JA* 276, 1988, 71–96; SixTana III, 217ff., no. 58 [ms. Ṭānāsee 169 = Dāgā Esṭīfānos 58]; StrGriaule 170f., ms. Éthiopien 581 (Griaule 273); 204f., ms. Éthiopien 637 (Griaule 329); Boris Turaev, *Efiopskie rukopisi v Sankt Peterburge* ('Ethiopian Manuscripts in St. Petersburg'), St. Petersburg 1906 (Pamjatniki efiopskoj pismennosti 3), 64, no. 18 [ms. Papad.-Keram. 7]; WrBriMus 93f., no. 137 [ms. Orient. 550]; 94, no. 138 [ms. Orient. 788]; 94f., no. 139 [ms. Orient. 549]; 278ff., no. 365 [ms. Orient. 799].

Lit.: Michael Kleiner, *Maṣḥafa faws manfasāwi. Die Gəᶜəz-Übersetzung des arabischen Kitāb aṭ-ṭibb ar-rūhānī ("Buch von der geistlichen Medizin") des koptischen Bischofs Michael von Aṯrīb und Malīǧ* (*13. Jh.*). *Teiledition und Kommentar*, 2 vols., Ph.D. thesis, University of Hamburg 2000 [available at www.sub.uni-hamburg.de/disse/250/Disse.pdf].

Denis Nosnitsin

Śərᶜatä mängəśt

The Ś.m. (**ሥርዓተ**[/**ሥርዐተ**]**፡ መንግሥት**, also *Mäṣḥafä śərᶜatä mängəśt*, lit. '[Book] of the Order of the Kingdom) is a generic title for a group of "secular" writings concerning court rituals and life, royalty (cp. ↗Kingship, divine), hierarchy, appointment and privileges of dignitaries. Both the language – ↗Gəᶜəz, with a large number of (old) Amharic words – and the rather compressed style of these texts make their understanding quite difficult.

The "standard" version, in four parts (the words "Ś.m." appearing in the titles or *incipits* of some of them), has been edited by Varenbergh (1915–16; Ital. tr. Guidi 1922) based on four

18th/19th-cent. manuscripts that also include historiographic materials linked to *liq* ↗Aṣqu and *däğğazmač* Ḫaylu (↗Ḫaylä Mikaᵓel Ǝšäte). The edited text consists of four parts:

Part I speaks of the origin of the "Order of the Kingdom", which came from Jerusalem with ↗Mənilək I – a clear connection with the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*. It lists titles and insignia of the 12 "owners of the law" (*bäᶜalä ḥəgg*) from the tribe of Levi who were made judges (*fätaḥəyan*, cp. ↗*Daññа*) under *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (cp. the same text in DillmZarY 78, d).

Part II provides an extensive list of the dignitaries' titles and "their parts" (regions or districts), though the relationship between the latter and the dignitaries is not clearly indicated. The placenames mentioned are mostly relevant to the inner highlands (↗Märḥabete, ↗Wäläqa etc.), vassal provinces (↗Ifat, ↗Ǝnnarya etc.) or churches and monasteries.

Part III, *Wäg wäśərᶜatä mängəśt* ('Custom[s] and Order of the Kingdom'; s. ↗*Wäg* [s. EAE vol. 5], cp. also KaneDic 1577; GuiVoc 594), describes the formal elements of such important rituals as: the promulgation of a new king (↗*Nəguś*) after the death of his predecessor (III.1); the ↗coronation of a new king in ↗Aksum (III.2); the coronation of the ↗*ətege* (III.3); funeral of the "sons of the king" (III.5); the wedding of the princesses (↗*Wäyzäro*); the wedding of the 'royal daughter' (*wälättä nägäśtat*) (III.7); the setting up of the ↗*dämära* (III.12); the nomination and functions of the ↗*bitwäddäd* (III.10); the nomination and insignia of the ↗*däğğazmač* (III.11), of the ↗*əč̣č̣äge* (III.14), the ↗*baša* (III.19), the ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* (III.20). It sets up the regulations concerning the royal retinue during a campaign, as well as the rules for establishing the royal camp and dwelling (III.22–25; ↗*Kätäma*). Some paragraphs concern judicial matters: e.g., the privileges of the ↗*ətege*, that she be visited by the judges (III.4), and of the *əč̣č̣äge*, that supplies be brought to him (III.15). The high court meeting should be opened with a religious ritual (III.16); fees should be paid by governors upon nomination (III.25–26).

Part IV regulates the selection of judges if the case is between the king and the *əč̣č̣äge* or the ↗*abun* (IV.1, re-enforced after *abunä* ↗Marqos III, Guidi 1922: 24 n. 5). Divorce and expelling from clerical office (↗*Kəhnät*) should be the prerogative of the *abun*. The participation of ecclesiastical judges, the *əč̣č̣äge* and the *abun* in settling issues outside the ↗Canon law is limited (IV.3); all *rəst* and *gʷəlt* issues are to be directed to the *nəguś* (IV.4).

Part V is "the order of the precedence" (not a hierarchical list of ranks or "*Rangliste*") according to which officers and dignitaries (starting from ↗*šaläqa*) were to express their opinion before the *nəguś* on a particular (political, legal etc.) issue. Reflecting the current situation, the "precedence" was the object of subsequent revision and corrections that resulted in diverging written "orders": another version is known (Varenbergh 1915–16: 9f.) that repeats, with substantial difference for the *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*, the "order" established under *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I (GuiIohan 145f.) and confirmed under *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa (ibid. 293; on the legal praxis, s. Kropp 2004). Generally, the variation in Ś.m. texts may be due to major changes in the political system, i.e. to events of great historical importance.

Guidi (1922: 66) divides the Ś.m. texts into two categories:

1) those found in the manuscripts with royal ↗historiography, the oldest being Oxford, Bodl. Aeth. 29 (of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos's time); others are, e.g., BN d'Abbadie 118, fol. 43v–48r (not the beginning, fol. 13v–15r?) and BN d'Abbadie 52. In a text of ms. Bodl. Aeth. 29 the claim is made that the "custom(s) and law of the Kingdom" were established by ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (DillmBodl 78); in another one, reference is made to Mənilək I and ↗Jerusalem (ibid.; this is the piece printed in DillmZarY 78). The published Ś.m. have but a minor share with these texts (Guidi 1922: 67). The only scholarly investigated fragment is the so-called *Śərᶜatä gəbər* ('Order of the banquet'; s. ↗*gəbər*);
2) the texts appearing in manuscripts with the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, e.g., Paris, BN d'Abbadie 97 and 225 (CRAbb nos. 203, 204). The published Ś.m. are mostly from this category, while mss. London, BritLib Orient. 821 and 817 (WrBriMus nos. 392, 393) may contain passages of both types 1) and 2). Ms. Bodl. Aeth. 28 (DillmBodl 74f.) seems to offer a Ś.m. text close to that published.

The complex character of the printed version is proved, e.g., by allusion to the invasion of the ↗Oromo under Mäläk Sägäd (i.e. *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl; Varenberg 1915–16: 21, 37; Guidi 1922: 83f.), *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob, *əč̣č̣äge* Zäwängel and ↗Abrəham, and especially *abunä* Marqos III (cp. Varenberg 1915–16: 22, 26, 38, 43; Guidi 1922: 86f.), indicating that the portions were written or revised at different times. Despite the apparent value of this version, one should underline its character as a "secondary" compilation, as all the witnesses used were either *liq* Aṣqu's manuscripts or copies of the so-called Chronicle of *däǧǧazmač* Ḫaylu, both with Ś.m. texts from unknown sources.

More manuscripts with Ś.m. texts have since come to light: Cambridge Or. 1873, fols. 3r–11r; Ṭānāsee 34, fols. 20rb–23rb, 28vb–rb; Ṭānāsee 106, fols. 65va–b, 68va–73va; ANLin Conti Rossini 27, pp. 264f., 286–91; cp. also Conti Rossini 44, fol. 2 (the same as in DillmZarY 18ff.?), etc.

There may be more Ś.m. testimonies, not always clearly distinguishable in the catalogues. Ms. Bodl. Aeth. 26 (given to ↗Bruce by *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Səhul), with the *Kəbrä nägäśt* and the documents forming the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum*, embraces a number of Ś.m. texts of which the coronation ritual ("renewed by Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob") and the "order of the palace" have been published (DillmZarY 18ff. [a very similar ritual is translated in DAE I, 37f.], 74ff. and 77a; s. DillmBodl 72). It seems that coronation, in the broad sense, was also referred to as "Ś.m." (s., e.g., BTafY 130f.), i.e. '[establishing/renovation of] the state order', whereby portions of Ś.m. texts could be read (with or without emendations or changes) during the ceremony (ibid. 138f.).

A few other manuscripts transmit the Ś.m. as related to the *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* documents: e.g., mss. Ṭānāsee 34; Vat. Cerulli Etiop. 25; Vat. Aeth. 114; and also BN d'Abbadie 97 and 225, both used for the the *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* edition (CRAxum), but with the omission of the Ś.m. portions (as having no direct relationship to ↗Aksum Ṣəyon). In some cases Ś.m.-texts are linked with the tradition of the "short chronicles" (e.g., Caquot 1957: 191).

Likely to reflect more ancient customs, the nucleus of the Ś.m. might have emerged under ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (GuiSLett 32, 92) and been elaborated later (Guidi 1932: 48, 92). Notwithstanding the evident importance of the Ś.m. for the reconstruction of Ethiopia's past, the research on the relevant texts is still far from satisfactory.

↗Gəᶜəz literature

Src.: BAIRU TAFLA – HEINRICH SCHOLLER, "Ser'ata Mangest. An Early Ethiopian Constitution", *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee* 4, 1976, 487–99; BTafY 130f., 138f.; CRAbb no. 194 [BN d'Abbadie 52]; no. 197 [ms. BN d'Abbadie 118], 203, no. 203 [ms. BN d'Abbadie 97], 204f., no. 204 [ms. BN d'Abbadie 225]; DAE I, 37f.; DillmZarY 18, 74ff., 77f.; GuiIohan 145f., 293 (text) = 151f., 314 (tr.); GuiVoc 594; KaneDic 1577; HamTana I, 159 [ms. Ṭānāsee 34 = Kebrān 34]; HamSixBerl 306, no. 163 [ms. orient. fol. 4096]; HamTana II, 154f. [ms. Ṭānāsee 106 = Rēmā 17]; StrANL 101f. [ms. Conti Rossini 27], 134 [ms. Conti Rossini 44]; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 31, 3–4, 1922, 65–89 ["Il «Serʿata Mangest»"]; RaiCer 198 [ms. Cerulli 252]; GréTisVat I, 443f., ms. Aeth. 114; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerᶜata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45; EDWARD ULLENDORFF – STEPHEN WRIGHT, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library*, Cambridge 1961, 63, no. 63 [ms. Or. 1873].

Lit.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Les chroniques abrégées d'Éthiopie", *AE* 2, 1957, 187–92; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 58f.; ID., "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1899, 197–285, here 213; GuiSLett 32, 92; MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung Däǧǧazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – Paris 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalische Studien 13), 297, 306 [nos. 029, A and A52]; ID., "Das gute alte Recht. Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit in der Praxis des äthiopischen Königrechts", in: MARTIN TAMCKE (ed.), *Blicke gen Osten. Festschrift für Friedrich Heyer zum 95. Geburtstag*, Münster 2004 (Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 30), 293–310; MARIA-GEORGIA STYLIANOUDI, *Droit et société en Éthiopie médiévale*: *Ser'ata Mangest: analyse sémiotique d'un texte juridique éthiopien*, Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris I–Sorbonne 1996.

Denis Nosnitsin

Śərᶜatä mənkʷəsənna

Ś.m. (**ሥርዓተ** [/**ሥርዐተ**]**፡ ምንኵስና**, lit. 'The Order of the Monastic Profession') is a generic title given to a number of works of Ethiopian ↗monastic literature containing the ritual of receiving the monastic habit by the novice. Although these are important elements of Ethiopian monastic tradition, the texts and the ritual have not yet been sufficiently studied.

The Ś.m is a collection of prayers and passages set in rubrics, and as such is similar in its arrangement to the *Mäṣḥafä ↗qəddase*. The ritual of receiving the monastic habit also ends with the Eucharistic communion. A number of texts can be described as a "monastic ritual":

I. The text, commonly referred to as the Ś.m. which was published in Grébaut 1940 [hereafter GŚm]), preserved in an ancient ms. Paris BN Éth. 79, fols. 3r–22v (ZotBNat no. 85; late 14th–middle 15th cent., UhPal 287f.).

It opens with an introductory prayer pronounced by the priest (GŚm 226), followed by: prayer of the novice (*wätəbəl … lämənkʷəsənna mänfäsawit* ibid. 226f.), two prayers said by the community in which the novice's name is explicitly mentioned (*nəsəᵓəläkä … wäläᶜalämä aläm*, ibid. 227f.; *nəsəᵓəläkä wänastäbäqqʷəᶜ … wäläᶜalämä ᶜaläm, amen*, ibid. 227f.), prayer of thanksgiving over the monastic habit (*ṣälotä akkʷätet* *kaᶜəbä laᶜəlä mälbäs*, ibid. 229f.), prayers of the novice said while putting on the parts of the monastic habit (tunic and girdle), and a prayer for the monks (*ṣälot lämänäkosat*, ibid. 232f.).

The title Ś.m. appears once more in the middle of the text. Again, an introductory prayer (ibid. 233f.) is followed by a prayer said while putting on the girdle (*ṣälot sobä yaqännətu mänäkosat* …, ibid. 234), and a prayer while (the monks) bow their heads [before God] (*sobä yadännu…*). The ritual is completed by 1 Cor 7:26–35, 1 Pet 1:13–18 and Acts 21:10–12.

GŚm also includes the monastic ritual for females. After an introductory prayer (ibid. 236), there is a monastic prayer read over "the virgins" (*ṣälotä mənkʷəsənna zäyətnäbbäb laᶜəlä dänagəl*, ibid. 237f.), a passage describing the cutting of the hair of the future nun (executed by a monk; ibid. 238) and a few prayers: "over the virgins", "over the monks", rearranged Ps 17 performed in ↗*gəᶜəz* mode, and the "prayer of ↗penance".

The edited text is of great value due to the age of the manuscript, yet its proper place in the tradition of Ethiopian monastic ritual is unclear.

II. Some manuscripts contain a text entitled Ś.m. or **ሥርዓተ፡ አሲረ፡ መነኮሳት**, *Śərᶜatä asirä mänäkosat* (incipit: *zəntu śərᶜatä asirä mänäkosat bäʾaskema qəddus*, 'this is the order of putting on the holy ↗*askema* on the monks …'). This monastic ritual is different from GŚm, though related to it. It is contained, e.g., in mss. Ṭānāsee 154, 18th cent.; Ṭānāsee 81, fols. 6ra–57vb, 20th cent. (the text of GŚm seems to be incorporated in it, cp. SixTana III, 187; HamTana II, 100); maybe Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ethiop. 16 (17th cent., cp. Strelcyn 1974, no. 16). As compared to GŚm, this text appears to be more elaborate and includes some regulations regarding spiritual and everyday practical monastic life (e.g. the manner of interrogation of the novice, the duration of the noviciate [3 years], etc.).

III. A monastic ritual entitled **ሥርዓተ፡ ሢመተ፡ ምንኵስና** *Śərᶜatä śimätä mənkʷəsənna* ('The Ritual of the Monastic Profession'), ascribed to ↗Jacob of Serug and preserved in ms. BN d'Abbadie 71 (CRAbb no. 78; 18th cent.), EMML no. 449, fols. 55r–76r; no. 1203, fols. 62r–90r (probably also EMML nos. 669 and 1012). Referring to a quotation from this text, reportedly found in the Vita of ↗Abäkäräzun (s. CRAbb 115), Conti Rossini argued that this text was translated from Arabic in the 14th/15th cent. (cp. also Conti Rossini 1899:209), yet the quotation has never been verified.

There are many other texts of monastic rituals or their portions in different rearrangements. Some are not easily identifiable, bearing different titles such as *Mäṣḥafä mänäkosat*, *Śərᶜatä mänäkosat* etc. Many other texts are registered in the catalogues as monastic rituals, without further specification (cp. the list EAE III, 997a; for EMML 2093 and 2168 cp. Zuurmond 1989, I, 149). Old manuscripts of the monastic ritual are: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. aeth. 42 (*Śərᶜatä mänäkosat*; SixBay 73); London, British and Foreign Bible Society no. 174, fols. 28r–75r, 15th cent. (most probably of type I. or II., s. Roger Cowley in Falivene 1982:84), and perhaps VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 269 (*Śərᶜatä ḥəggä mənkʷəsənna*), 15th cent. Fragments: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz orient. quart. 877; Rome, ANLin Conti Rossini 131, 134.II–III.

The origin of the monastic ritual texts may go back to the introduction of ↗monasticism (s. EAE vol. 5) in Ethiopia, with the core ritual possibly translated (cp. Evetts 1906; GrafLit vol. 1, 647ff.), but later revised and enlarged, and preserved in a number of versions: from a relatively short one in the ancient Paris, BN éth. 80 to elaborate and well-arranged rituals in EMML no. 2168 or esp. no. 2093. The transformation of the textual tradition must have gone along with the development of the ideology and praxis of Ethiopian monasticism, whose decentralized character favoured the emergence of multiple versions. The full understanding of the place of the Ś.m.-texts in the monastic tradition as well as the study of the monastic ritual itself are necessary to clarify the value of many other – in the first place hagiographical – sources (where the receiving of the habit is a recurrent topic; cp. ↗Iyäsus Moʾa).

Src.: EMML; Sylvain Grébaut, *Rituel éthiopien de prise d'habit*, Paris 1940; GrafLit vol. 1, 647ff.; RaiCer 210 [ms. VatLib, Cerulli Etiop. 269]; HamSixBerl 197f., no. 103 [ms. orient. Quart. 877]; HamTana II, 100f. [ms. Ṭānāsee 81 = Dabra Māryām 23]; M. Rosaria Falivene, *Historical Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Bible House Library*, London 1982, 84f., no. 26 [ms. BFBS 174, XXVI]; Stefan Strelcyn, *Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, Manchester 1974; SixBay 73, no. 42 [ms. aeth. 42]; SixTana III, 187 [ms. Ṭānāsee 154 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 43]; StrANL 23f. [ms. Conti Rossini 131], 327f. [Conti Rossini 134.II–III (plance IV)]; ZotBNat 85, ms. Éth. 79.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1899, 197–285, here 209; Basil T. Evetts, "Le rite copte de la prise d'habit et de la profession monacale", *ROC* 11, 1906, 60–148; KapMon; Denis Nosnitsin, "*Wäwähabo qobᶜa wäʾaskema*. Reflections on

an Episode from the History of the Ethiopian Monastic Movement", in: *VarAeth* 197–47, here 204–10; ROCHUS ZUURMOND, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: the Synoptic Gospels*. I. *General Introduction*, II. *Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27), I, 149; UhPal 287f.

Denis Nosnitsin

Sərᶜatä qəddase ↗Qəddase

Śərgəw Ḥablä Śəllase

Ś. (**ሥርግው፡ ሐብለ፡ ሥላሴ**; b. 29 June 1929, Addis Abäba, d. 7 January 2003, Munich) was an Ethiopian historian. The son of *märigeta* Hablä Śəllase Zäwde, he was sent to a church school at the Lədäta church in Addis Abäba. He then followed higher-level church education (↗*zema bet*) in the Taᵓəka Nəgəśt Bäᵓata Monastery. Later, he joined the Holy Trinity School from where he moved to the ↗Holy Trinity Theological College. Ś. obtained a scholarship to study theology at the National University in Athens where he received his first degree. Then he moved on to the University of Bonn where he studied the ancient history of Ethiopia and the Middle East for his doctorate degree, which he received in 1960.

Ś.'s first employment was at the Institut Éthiopien d'Archéologie. Shortly after, he was recruited into Addis Ababa University College (↗Addis Ababa University), becoming the first Ethiopian to teach Ethiopian history there. At the Institut Éthiopien d'Archéologie he started a journal entitled *Tarik*.

Ś.'s most important publication was *Ancient and Medieval History of Ethiopia to 1270* (SerHist). There he made extensive use of all published literature on ancient and medieval Ethiopian history, including the rich hagiographic corpus. He also produced a small but significant monograph, *Bookmaking in Ethiopia* (1981) in addition to articles in various scientific journals.

Ś.'s most enduring contribution to ↗Ethiopian studies lay in the microfilming of Ethiopian ↗manuscripts. When the ↗Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML) was established in Addis Abäba, Ś. represented Haile Selassie I University on the committee and in 1972 became its first director. In 1977, he resigned his teaching position and took up his task at the EMML as a full time job. He travelled to several monasteries and to the principal churches of the country to look for, identify and microfilm manuscripts. Ś. himself took advantage of this project to consult a large number of manuscripts that he used to compile a 14-volume *Amharic Church Dictionary* (AmhChurchD), which he was unable to finish. Nevertheless, the work offers a comprehensive coverage of the practices of the Ethiopian Church, its objects and rituals and technical terms (copies are kept at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies and the National Library). Members of his family also state that he had written an extensive biography of ↗Mənilək II.

With the rise of the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) Ś. left Ethiopia and settled in Germany, where he spent the last years of his life.

Src.: AmhChurchD; "Dr. Sergew Hable Selassie, June 15, 1929 – January 7, 2003", pamphlet prepared by his family for his commemorative service held in Addis Abäba about 40 days after his death; SERGEW HABLE SELASSIE, *Bibliography of Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History*, Addis Ababa 1969; ID., *Bookmaking in Ethiopia*, Leiden 1981; SerHist.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "In memoriam Sergew Hable Selassie (1929–2003)", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 211–12.

Shiferaw Bekele

Serpent(s)

Snakes are highly laden with symbolism in most cultures of the African Horn. Comparative research reveals that the cultural conceptualization of the S. ranges from demonization to veneration. While among Christians the S. is considered as a representation of evil, it plays an ambivalent or even positive role as an "animal of power" or symbol of procreation in many autochtonous religions (↗Religions, traditional) and mythologies.

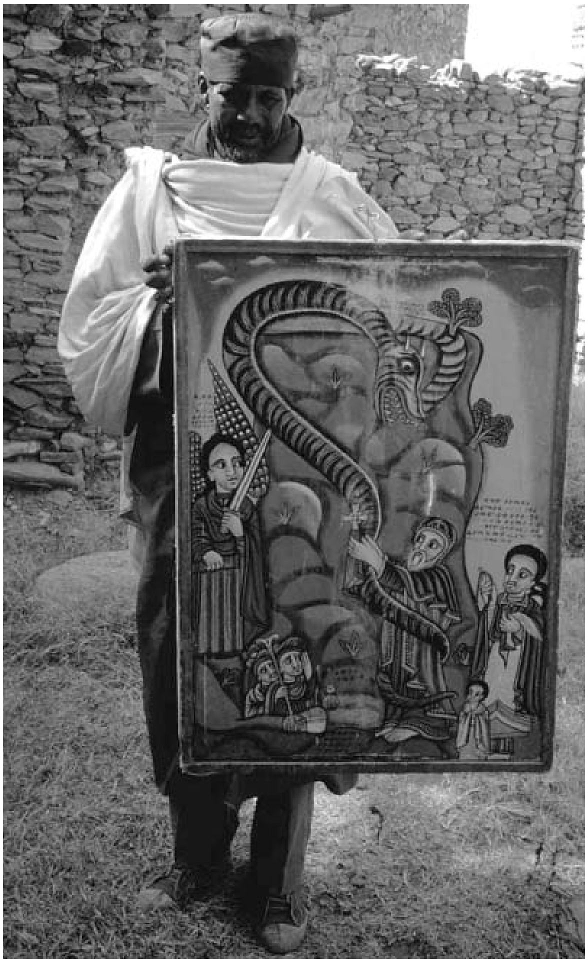
According to Gəᶜəz myths, found in a number of texts, the S.-king ↗Arwe ruled Ethiopia for centuries prior to the foundation of the so-called ↗Solomonic dynasty. He is depicted as a man-eating demonic creature that was finally killed by a certain ↗Angäbo who became his human successor as a ruler. This legend as well as its many variants (cp. Marrassini 2006), besides its apologetic impetus, reflects the probable centrality of the S. in many pre-Christian religions of the region. Reference to "snake cults" is also given in many folk legends (cp., e.g., a legend of the ↗Idda) and hagiographic narratives which often tell about holy men, such as, e.g., ↗Samuᵓel of Däbrä Wägäg and Märḥa Krəstos, who killed snakes that were held in great esteem by the local population and cut down the ↗trees in which they lived (KapMon 120).

However, there are legends influenced by Christianity in which S. play a symbolically positive role. The oral tradition of the ↗Ǝndägañ, for example, tells of a large S. that guarded the *tabot* of Bušurro Maryam, which is said to have hidden in a cave since the time of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"; Bustorf in VarAeth 27). ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi was able to climb up ↗Däbrä Damo with the help of a S. (Guidi 1894: 68).

S. play a role in several myths of origin and serve as a symbolic animal for many groups in southern Ethiopia. According to a ↗Burǧi legend, the Baambala clan descends from a python that is said to have spit its saliva on a girl or to have bitten her. As a result of this the girl became pregnant. Her son, whose grave is said to be guarded by a python, became the ancestor of the clan. Similar myths are known among the ↗Konso and ↗Boorana (Kellner 2007: 174, 182ff. 313, 317, 329, 334f.). A myth of origin of the "pure" Oromo (*boorana*) relates them to a marine snake (Ficquet 2002: 55–71; VSAe II, 130, 379).

The S. is often perceived as a symbol of procreation and blessing. According to old Käfa cosmology, for example, a sacred black snake, *Meš tato* ('king of Mese'), represented the animal world. It was believed to live in a water hole, called Mese, and, by vomiting "milk", it brought prosperity to Käfa (Lange 1982: 271, 285f.).

It is reported from ↗Arsi and ↗Guǧǧi that the appearance of a snake was interpreted to mean good fortune. The Guǧǧi honoured a snake visiting a compound by hanging the fatty tissue of a slaughtered animal around its neck. To prevent it from biting somebody, it was fed with milk, butter or meat. The Arsi believed that snakes lived in pairs and, when one was killed, the other would take revenge. However, a snake that had bitten was killed to avoid the death of the bitten person (VSAe II, 405, 483, 505).


The serpent transporting Zämikaʾel Arägawi to mount Däbrä Damo, 20th-cent. traditional painting displayed at Däbrä Damo; photo courtesy of Alula Pankhurst

The Alabdu Oromo traditionally avoided killing a S. Especially for the *boorana* it was ↗taboo to kill a snake. Those who did were believed to be punished by the death of a relative or by disease. The members of the Akako clan even symbolically went into mourning when they saw a dead snake (VSAe II, 343f.).

Like other "animals of power" (↗Leopards, ↗Lions), S. are associated with ritual experts and tribal chiefs. Among, e.g., the Boorana, snakes played an important ritual role during the ↗*muuda* ceremony in the fifth year of the ↗*gadaa* period. On this occasion the ↗*qaalluu* of the Sabbo and Goona moieties, both wearing lion-skin masks, released poisonous puff adders and cobras as representations of their spiritual power. It was prohibited to kill them during the ceremony (AsmGada 91, 216, 226). After having transferred his office to his successor in the *bali* ceremony, a retiring ↗*abbaa gadaa* of the Guǧǧi had to kill and burn a snake. The blood of a sacrificed oxen was mixed with the ashes of the snake and smeared onto the forehead of the new officeholder who was now believed to have the ability to kill by staring (VSAe II, 393). The Muslim saint *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale, whose cult integrated many of the sacerdotal traditions of the pre-Islamic Oromo religion, is said to have had control over S.

A wide-spread feature in many cultures in southern Ethiopia was the keeping of snakes in the house. While in some cultures, keeping a snake in the homestead was a custom restricted to priestly families or to certain clans, elsewhere it was common among ordinary people. Ritual S. keeping is reported, among, e.g., the Wälaytta, Zala, Sidaama, Dizi (CerPeople 91, 113f., 129f.), Burǧi, Konso, Hadiyya, Gurage, Gawwada, Diraašša and Oromo. Like the *qaallu* of the Oromo, the *ganni* priests of the Burǧi and the *poqalla* priests of the Konso were believed to have strong ties to S. and to sometimes let some live in their house (HabKön 297; Kellner 2007: 178f.; VSAe II, 306).

In traditional medicine the meat of snakes was considered helpful in the treatment of leprosy. According to a tradition told to the German traveller Mueller, the meat of a S. was considered to be related to the element "fire" and to have the ability to dry out the "watery" body of the leper. In order to "cool down" the snake meat before consumption, it was said to have been given to a goat, which again was given to a young oxen. The leper had to eat from the oxen in order to be cured (Mueller 1935: 20f.).

Src.: Ignazio Guidi, "Il 'Gadla 'Aragâwî'", *MRALm*, ser. 5^{a}, 2, 1894, 54–96.

Lit.: AsmGada 91, 216, 226; Dirk Bustorf, "Some Notes on the Traditional Religious System of the Ǝndägañ Gurage", in: *VarAeth* 12–34; Girma Moges, "Negus & Serpent Cult in Ethiopia, India and the Far East", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 128–32; CerPeople 91, 113f., 129f.; HabKön 131f., 285, 297f.; Michel Denais – Michel Perret, "La mort du serpent", in: Joseph Tubiana (ed.) *Guirlande pour Abba Jérôme*, Paris 1983, 117–52; Eloi Ficquet, "La fabrique des origines Oromo", *AE* 18, 2002, 55–71; Marcel Griaule, "Mythes, croyance et coutumees du Bégamder (Abyssinie)", *JA* 212, 1928, 19–124, here 57ff.; KapMon 120; Alexander Kellner, *Mit Mythen denken: Die Mythen der Burji als Ausdrucksform ihres Habitus,* Münster 2007, 174, 178f., 182ff., 313, 317, 329, 334f.; Werner J. Lange, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 271, 285f.; Paolo Marrassini, "Ethiopian and Near-Eastern Dragons", in: Pier Giorgio Borbone – Alessandro Mengozzi – Mauro Tosco (eds.), *Loquentes linguis. Studi linguistici e orientalistici in onore di Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti*, Wiesbaden 2006, 459–68; Wilhelm Mueller, *Erlebtes und Erlauschtes in Abessinien*, Hamburg – Wien – Zürich 1935, 20f.; VSAe II, 130, 306, 343f., 379, 393, 405, 483, 505 and s. index.

Dirk Bustorf

Śərwä Iyäsus

Ś.I. (**ሥርወ፡ ኢየሱስ**, regnal name Məhərka Nañ; r. 1433) was, according to some versions of the "short chronicles", a son and successor of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Maryam (Ḥəzbä Nañ), and only reigned for four months.

The "short chronicle" of ms. Ṭānāsee 106 (DombrChr) does not mention Ś.I., naming another son of Täklä Maryam, ↗^{c}Amdä Iyäsus (Bädəl Nañ), as his immediate successor. The "kings list" dating from the reign of *aṣe* ↗Na^{c}od (Conti Rossini 1940: 48) also omits Ś.I. The omissions are probably due to the brevity of Ś.I.'s reign and to the power struggle between him and his younger brother and successor ^{c}Amdä Iyäsus and even his own son. The 15th-cent. Arab historian al-↗Maqrīzī mentions that, in the year following Täklä Maryam's death, four kings ruled in succession. Ś.I. may not have been recognized as king by all his subjects.

Src.: BassÉt 12 (text) = 102 (tr.), nn. 242f.; BegCron 12; Carlo Conti Rossini, "I. Pergamene di Debra Dammò. II. I Galla Raia. III. Il libro della rivelazione dei misteri attribuito a Tolomeo", *RSO* 19, 1940, 45–80, here 48; DombrChr 155; MaqIlmam^{2} 35f., 39.

Lit.: TadTChurch 280f.; Taddesse Tamrat, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 511–15.

Marie-Laure Derat

Sese ↗Gumuz

Setit ↗Täkkäze

Severianos of Gabula ↗Qerəllos

Severos of Antioch

S. (Eth. **ሳዊሮስ**, Sawiros; b. ca. 465, Sozopolis, Pisidia [Asia Minor], d. 8 February 538, Chois, Upper Egypt) was an anti-Chalcedonian theologian and patriarch of Antioch 512–18.

Born to a Greek family, S. studied philosophy in Alexandria and law and rhetoric in Beirut, but then joined a monastery near Maiuma, Gaza. In 509 he went to Constantinople to protest against the harsh treatment the monks experienced at the hands of Elias I, the Chalcedonian patriarch of Jerusalem (494–516), and his agent Nephalios. After the successful mission, S. stayed in the capital, acting against the Chalcedonian hierarchs. In 512 at the synod in Laodicea, S. was elected patriarch of Antioch. The years of his patriarchate marked the highest achievement of ↗Monophysitism within the imperial Church, the same time anti-Chalcedonian patriarchs were officiating in the three other patriarchal sees of the East (Alexandria, Constantinople, Jerusalem). S. was deposed in 518 when Justin I ascended the throne. He fled to Egypt and settled in the monastery of Enaton near Alexandria. He was still recognized as the main anti-Chalcedonian theologian; when

Justinian tried to reunite the Church he invited S. in 535 to Constantinople for discussions, but the unification attempt failed. S. was banished in 536, his works were condemned, destroyed and never recopied in Greek, surviving mostly in their Syriac translations. S.'s theological inheritance became the dogmatic base for the theology of the non-Chalcedonian churches (the "verbal monophysitism"), esp. the Syrian Orthodox Church.

S.'s main anti-Chalcedonian writings are the *Orations to Nephalios* (ca. 508) and *Philalethes* (509–11), a florilegium of sentences attributed to ↗Cyril of Alexandria. S. also wrote against such extreme Monophysite theologians as Sergius the Grammarian and against the aphthartodocetism of Julian of Halicarnassos (cp. ↗Julianism). 125 of his *Cathedral Homilies* (512–18) are extant, as well as over 200 letters, and some liturgical writings.

Some of S.'s writings (but none of his major dogmatic works) were translated into Arabic (GrafLit vol. 1, 418) and subsequently into Gəʿəz. In Ethiopia, the following compositions are attributed to S.:

1) *The Homily on the Archangel Michael*, included in the ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel* (in some manuscripts for the month of *Ḫədar*, in others for *Mäggabit*). Its attribution to S. is uncertain, the author is mostly referred to only as 'bishop of Antioch' (*liqä ṗaṗṗasat zäʾanṣokiya*), or, more seldom, 'of Alexandria' (*zäʾaləskändärəya*) (Marrassini 1984–86: 83). Other manuscripts (and the printed edition) attribute the text to Yoḥannəs, probably the 15th-cent. bishop of Aksum. The *Homily* appears, however, in earlier manuscripts outside the *Dərsanä Mikaʾel*, e.g., EMML no. 1833 (14th cent.), and thus must have been translated (or composed) earlier, transmitted first separately and subsequently integrated into the *Dərsanä Mikaʾel*.
2) *The Prayer of Blessing of Baptismal Water for the Feast of the Epiphany*, attached to the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ṭəmqät* (e.g., EMML nos. 2235, 2661, 18th cent.). This may be S.'s genuine composition, as among the *Cathedral Homilies* there are seven (nos. 10, 37, 63, 66, 101, 103, 117), which are concerned with the Epiphany.
3) *The Prayer for the Peace of the Soul of a Deceased Person*, a part of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät*, is extant in only a few manuscripts: ANLin Conti Rossini 71, 19th–20th cent., VatLib Aethiop. 115, 20th cent.
4) *The Homily on the Virgin Mary for the Rainy Season* [*kərämt*], is known only from two manuscripts: BritLib Orient. 8192, 14th cent., EMML no. 1763, 1336/37 or 1339/40. It is attributed to S. "the Orthodox" [*rətuʿa haymanot*], "bishop of Antioch". This may correspond to the Syriac *Homily* no. 67, devoted to Mary.
5) Nine extracts in the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*: the credo addressed to Emperor Anastasius; the letter to Julian of Halicarnassus (cf. Hespel 1964, 1968–69, 1971); the homily on Jesus's words "My God, my God why hast Thou forsaken me" (Mt 27: 14; cf. Syriac *Cathedral Homily* no. 22, PO 37:1); the homily addressed to the Emperor, originating in the Life of S. by Athanasius (Youhanna Nessim Yousif 2001); two fragments of a letter to the Emperor (Mai 1840: 728f.); two fragments of the Letter to John II, patriarch of Alexandria (ibid. 722–28); the Letter to ↗Theodosios of Alexandria (the second successor to John II).

Short quotations from S.'s works can also be found in some other compositions, e.g., in the ↗*Tərgʷame wängel*.

Four Lives of S. are known in Syriac; one is extant in Gəʿəz. Ascribed to Athanasius Gammala, the Syrian Orthodox patriarch of Antioch (594/95–630/31), it was perhaps originally written in Greek, and translated into Coptic, fragments of which have been preserved (Crum in Goodspeed 1907: 10–22), and later into Arabic (GrafLit vol. 1, 420), from which the Gəʿəz version is derived. The *terminus ante quem* of the translation is provided by ms. EMML no. 1840, of ca. 1400 (s. GuiSLett 79).

S. is commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar*, with two different stories for 2 *Ṭəqəmt* and 10 *Taḫśaś*. S.'s talks with Chalcedonians in Constantinople are mentioned in the text for 13 *Yäkkatit* dedicated to ↗Timotheos of Alexandria.

S. is depicted in some manuscripts, the oldest being the 14th cent. EMML no. 2064 (fol. 112r).

Src.: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge (ed., tr.), *Saint Michael the Archangel*: *Three Encomiums by Theodosius, Severus, Eustathius*, London 1894; BudSaint 108ff., 354f., 627f.; ColSyn VII, 9ff.; **ድርሳነ፡ ሚካኤል። ግዕዝና፡ አማርኛ** (*Dərsanä Mikaʾel. Gəʿəzənna amarəñña*, 'The Homily of Michael. In Gəʿəz and in Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D.], 188–259; EMML; Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, *Conversão de um rey da India do Christianismo. Homilia do Archanjo S. Michael por Severo, arcebispo de Antiochia*, Lisbõa 1900; GréSyn IV, 701ff.; X, 536f.; Edgar J. Goodspeed (ed., tr. [Eth.]), *The Conflict of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch by Athanasius*, Paris 1907 (PO 4:6 [= 20]), 1–158 [569–726]; GréTisVat I; Angelo Mai (ed., tr. [Arab.]), *Spicilegium Romanum*, vol. 3, Romae 1840; Sévère d'Antioche, *La polémique antijulianiste* I, II A–B, III, ed., tr. by Robert Hespel, Louvain 1964, 1968–69, 1971 (CSCO 244–45, 295–96, 301–02, 318–19 [Scriptores Syri 104–05, 124–27, 136–37]); [Id.,] *Les* Homiliae cathedrales *de Sévère d'Antioche*, Paris, Turnhout 1906–76 (PO 4: 1, 8: 2, 12: 1, 16: 5, 20: 2, 22: 2, 23: 1, 25: 4, 26: 3, 29: 1, 35: 3, 36: 1; 3–4, 37: 1, 38: 2); [Id.,] *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch*, ed. by Ernest Walter Brooks, Paris 1915–20 (PO 12:2, 14:1); [Id.,] *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus* …, ed., tr. by Ernest Walter Brooks, 2 vols., London 1902; StrANL.

Lit.: GrafLit vol. 1, 1944, 418; GuiSLett 79; Paolo Marrassini, "I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze", *RSE* 30, 1984–86, 81–116; Vincenzo Poggi, "Soggiorno alessandrino e reminiscenze classiche di Severo d'Antiochia", in: Gianfranco Fiaccadori (ed.), *Autori classici in lingue del Vicino e Medio Oriente. Atti del* VI, VII *e* VIII *Seminario sul tema «Recupe-*

ro di testi classici attraverso recezioni in lingue del Vicino e Medio Oriente» …, Roma 2001, 357–72 (Lit.); YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF, "The Cult of Severus of Antioch in Egypt", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 115, 2001, 101–07; PAULINE ALLEN – C.T. ROBERT HAYWARD, *Severus of Antioch*, London 2004; WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "Severus of Antioch in Ethiopian tradition", in: *StudAeth* 115–25.

Witold Witakowski

Severos of Ašmunayn

S. (Arab. Sawīros [or Abū Bišr] b. al-Muqaffa^{c} [lit. 'son of the cripple'], Gə^{c}əz: **ሳዊሮስ፡ ዘእስሙናይን**, *Sawiros zäʾəsmunayn*; fl. 10th cent.) was a Christian author and an outstanding personality of the ↗Coptic church.

Born to a devout Christian family, S. lived during a period of cultural transition, when Coptic was losing ground to Arabic. S. was employed as a clerk in the Arabic speaking administration, but left it and entered monastic life, gaining a thorough acquaintance with the Bible as well as with the history and exegesis of the Alexandrian church. He is credited with the introduction of Arabic into Coptic ecclesiastical literature. Patriarch Macarius I (932–52) appointed S. bishop of al-Ašmūnayn, the old Hermopolis Magna. In 950 and 955 S. produced two commentaries on the Nicene Creed (↗Nicaea). In 975 he disputed with the Jewish Rabbi Moses, in the presence of the Fatimid *ḫalīfa* al-Mu^{c}izz. S.'s signature appears second, after the Patriarch's, in a synodal letter dispatched in 987 or 988 to Athanasius IV of Antioch (987–1003). S. probably died during the patriarchate of Philotheus (979–1003).

Abū l-Barakat (d. 1324) attributes 26 works to S. (cp. GrafLit vol. 2, 306–17). Some of them had been declared lost, but were later retrieved in manuscript collections. More recently there has been a re-assessment regarding the authorship of the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* (SawHist) which was traditionally associated with S. Whilst it may have been inspired by S., the *History* is the work of Mawhūb b. Manṣūr b. Mufarriǧ and his followers (Den Heijer 1989: 115f.). S.'s writings are mostly apologetic in character, often with a sharp polemical overtone. They represent his unequivocal stand vis-à-vis the Muslims, the Jews and the Chalcedonian Christians. His first commentary on the Creed is explicitly written against the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, Euthychius. Here, S. passionately professes the Jacobite Creed, the Syrian brand of ↗Monophysitism, in contrast to the Chalcedon Christology. S.'s writings reflect his erudition but are also characterized by wit and a sense of humour.

Some of S.'s works were translated into Gə^{c}əz and widely circulated:

- the Gə^{c}əz version of his commentary to the Nicene Creed, *Discourse* [*Nägär*] *about the Assembly of the 318* [Nicene Fathers] *of abba Sawiros son of Maqfi* [Muqaffa^{c}], sometimes called the *History of the Councils* (e.g., ms. London, BritLib Orient. 691, fols. 106r–55v), and also known as the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Ḫədar*, since it was read on 9 *Ḫədar*; its oldest manuscript (EMML no. 1833, fols. 84v–123r) dates to the 14th cent.;
- the *Homily* [*in Honour*] *of the 24* [*Heavenly*] *Priests*, "an admonition [*Tägśaṣ*] to priests" (Paris, BN d'Abbadie 92, fols. 140r–45v; BritLib Orient. 691, fols. 193r–98v), to be read on 24 *Ḫədar*, the oldest copy found in the same ms. EMML no. 1833 (fols. 150v–155v);
- the *History of the Wood on which Christ was Crucified*, supposedly told by S., recorded in EMML no. 2063, fol. 81r;
- the *Homily by Sawiros the Orthodox on St. Mary*, the same S. possibly being meant, attested in the ancient (1336/37 or 1339/40) homiliary EMML no. 1763, fols. 270r–272v;
- the *Mäṣḥafä Sawiros* (**መጽሐፈ፡ ሳዊሮስ**, 'The Book of Severos'; hereafter M.S.), also known as *Kəbrä haymanot* ('Glory of the Faith') or simply *Sawiros zäʾəsmunayn*. Occasionally it is also mistakenly called *Mäṣḥafä ↗ḫədar* (cp. EMML nos. 2145, 2149).

It is to the M.S. that S.'s fame in Ethiopia is linked. It is the translation of S.'s Arabic *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ*, or 'The Book of Exposition' (no critical edition is available as yet), originally written to reverse the state of religious stagnation, due to ordinary people's ignorance of the language of religious books.

The M.S. is composed as a dialogue between master and disciple and consists of twelve homilies (*dərsanat*). It is difficult to see a logical sequence in the treatises: they deal with fundamental elements of faith, such as the ↗Trinity and Incarnation (*dərsan* 1, 2) but there are also topics of a more parenetic nature, such as "the war that demons wage against the believers" (5) or "on the consolation of the faithful" (12). The author's main sources are the O.T. and the N.T., which are interpreted "allegorically" or spiritually. In line with scholars like ↗Origen, S. adopts a synchronic or "unitary" reading of the whole Bible, which was seen in its entirety as corresponding to the One Logos. It is a hermeneutic method that has characterized Ethiopian ↗exegesis. One of the many items of the M.S. which have become part and parcel of Ethiopian theology is, for example, the neo-platonic analogy, employed by S., of the "heart, word and life", used to describe the Trinity; another is the elaboration of the early Judeao-Christian concept of the "hidden descent" of the Son of God; yet another is the way "original sin" is transmitted. S. has also shaped Ethiopian angelology (cp. ↗ Angels), demonology (cp. ↗ Demons) and ↗ eschatology. A few passages from the M.S. were taken into the ↗ *andəmta* to explain parts of the N.T.

The time and authorship of M.S.'s translation into Gəʿəz are unknown. It is attested in at least 15 manuscripts (Tedros Abraha in PICES 15, 629) from the 17th–20th cent. (with the exception of a manuscript in the library of ↗ Qoma Fasilädäs, which, according to Wion [in PICES 14, vol. 1, 287f.], can be dated to at least the 15th cent.). The translation would fit well into the religious context in the aftermath of the failed Catholic mission (1555–1634). There are thematic and methodological affinities with such works produced at the time as, e.g., *ʿAśärtu täsʾəlotat* (Cerulli 1960: 187–236). The book would have supplied the tools to counter the "opponents of the Jacobite creed".

The book is also read in several churches during liturgical assemblies. Finally, parts of the M.S. have been used by critics of the ↗ Coptic Church (e.g., Kidanä-Wäld Kəfle) and religious nationalists who claimed emancipation of the ↗ Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church from Alexandria. They quoted from the introductory part of the first Homily which complains about the disappearance of the Coptic language, thus leaving the Egyptians without the means to get religious education (cf. Conti Rossini 1916: 458).

The M.S. is still unpublished. There is also a typewritten anonymous Amharic version of the work (Tedros Abraha in PICES 15, 629).

Src.: Enrico Cerulli (ed., tr.), *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII,* II: *La Storia dei Quattro Concili ed altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (Studi e testi 204); Carlo Conti Rossini, "Fonti storiche etiopiche per il secolo XIX, I. Vicende dell'Etiopia e delle missioni cattoliche ai tempi di ras Ali, deggiac Ubié e re Teodoro secondo un documento abissino", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 425–550, here 458; CRAbb 151, no. 129 [ms. BN d'Abbadie 92]; WrBriMus 163, no. 255 [ms. Orient. 691]; EMML nos. 1763, 1833, 2145, 2149; Sévère Ibn al-Moqaffa, évêque d'Aschmounaïn, *Histoire des conciles* (*seconde livre*), I: Arab. text ed., tr. by L. Leroy; II: Eth. version ed. by Sylvain Grébaut, Paris 1911 (PO 6, 4 [= 29]), 465–640, [1–176]; GrafLit vol. 2, 306–17; René-Georges Coquin, "Langue et littérature arabes chrétiennes", in: Micheline Albert et al., *Christianismes orientaux. Introduction à l'études des langues et des littératures*, Paris 1993, 35–106, here 75f.; SawHist.

Lit.: Aziz S. Atiya, "Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ", in: *CE* 7, 2100a–02a; Johannes Den Heijer, *Mawhûb Ibn Manṣûr Ibn Mufarriğ et l'historiographie copto-arabe. Étude sur la composition de l'«Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie»*, Louvain 1989 (CSCO 513, Subsidia 83); Rachid Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes* (*750–1050*), Paris 1985; C. Detlef G. Müller, "Severos ibn al-Muqaffaʿ", in: Hubert Kaufhold (ed.), *Kleines Lexikon des Christlichen Orients*, Wiesbaden ²2007, 441f. (Lit.); Samir Khalil, "Severos ibn al-Muqaffa", in: Michael Buchberger – Walter Kasper (eds.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 7, ³2000, 504 (Lit.); Tedros Abraha, "The Ethiopic Version of the Mäṣḥafä Sawiros", in: *PICES* 15, 628–37; Anaïs Wion, "The Manuscript Library of Qoma Fasilädäs", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 275–300, here 287f.

Tedros Abraha

Severos of Synnada ↗ Qerəllos

Səwwuran

The Gəʿəz word S. (**ስውራን**, lit. 'the hidden ones', sg. *səwwur*) refers to a type of ↗ hermits (*baḥtawəyan*), who are believed to be "invisible" due to the exceptional purity and grace of God they achieved in the course of their ascetic life. The phenomenon of S. is a specific feature of Ethiopian ↗ monasticism (s. EAE vol. 5)

S. are those monks and nuns who are believed to be no more in need of food and not affected by desires of the flesh. Living in caves, forests and deserts, frequently on the margin of monasteries, they are believed to remain invisible to the people; indication of their presence may be pieces of garments, ↗ crosses, the smell of ↗ incense or the sound of bells and voices chanting in the early morning. The state of S. is thought to be "between life and death", and can last for a long time. People may see S. momentarily reciting the ↗ prayers with rosary, before they disappear. The S. do not speak; yet those seeking their assistance receive comfort and inspiration.

S. are believed to constitute sometimes large communities. Some 1,500–5,000 S. are thought to hide in the gorge and forest of ↗ Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. Those S. who are said to live at ↗ Däbrä Asäbot have achieved particular fame; the abbot *mämhər* Ṭəbäbä Śəllase reported that their number exceeded 2,000. Three S. are reported to have saved the monastery from destruction during the ↗ Ogaden war (1978). After the Mass on 7 *Ḥamle* 1979, *abba* Wäldä Mikaʾel Bälay is said to have disappeared in front of the monks of the monastery. A few other locations for S. (called *mäkanä səwwuran*) are reportedly such monastic centres as Näčč̣ Sar Gädam, ↗ Rama Kidanä Məḥrät, ↗ Waldəbba.

The idea underlying the concept of S. seems to be also applicable to church buildings and paraphernalia. There is a belief that a few churches or monastic communities exist in an invisible state. Every now and then one of these "hidden monasteries" is said to have been revealed becoming a religious centre; a striking example being Boräda Dənke Waša in ↗Gamo Gofa. 44 *tabotaṯ* are said to be found here by a certain Hata Č̣əlalo, a Protestant Oromo. He related that the Holy Virgin appeared and revealed the cave to him; she told him to repent and convert to the Orthodox Christianity. The place became an important ecclesiastic centre where many miracles reportedly occurred.

S. feature in a few works of Ethiopic ↗hagiography where they are depicted with exceptional reverence, at least equal to or even superseding the protagonists of the Vitae in spiritual power. *Abunä* ↗Sämuʾel of Waldəbba had to deal with S. (s. Turaiev 1902: 26, 28, 33); they appear in the Vitae of ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus (Marrassini 2003: 263, here called [*baḥtawəyan*] *ḫəbuʾan*, coming to witness the death of the saint) and Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi (Marrassini 1981: 303f., "hidden saints from the Scetis"). *Abunä* ↗Märḥa Krəstos received a ↗prophecy (s. EAE, vol. 5) from such a hermit (Kur 1972: 14f.); *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot is said to have been greeted by S. during his travelling in Waldəbba.

Src.: interview with *abba* Deacon Kəfle Asäffa, Addis Abäba 22. 11. 2000; ANON., "The Monks Who Have Gained the Spiritual Level of Bilocation Have Reached over 2000", *Maʾədot* [Addis Abäba], *Ṭərr* 1993 A.M., 6; DillmLex 384f.; KWKDic 854; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 14f. (text) = 13f. (tr.); PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes L'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di Semitistica 10), CIV–CV, 302f.; ID., "*Vita*", "*Omelia*", "*Miracoli*" *del Santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus*, Louvain 2003 (CSCO 597, 598 [SAe 107, 108]), 200, 263 (text) = 65, 85 (tr.); BORISSUS TURAIEV, *Vita Samuelis Valdebani*, Petropoli 1902 (Monumenta Aethiopiae Hagiologica 2), 26, 28, 33.

Joachim Persoon

Sexuality

S. is a difficult subject to research given its extremely private character, and the obvious dangers of ethnocentrism, prurient interest, stereotyping and many ↗taboos (cp. Getnet Tadle 2006: 7). Most literature on the subject is comparatively recent and stresses current biomedical, public health, or epidemiological perspectives in selected urban areas (↗HIV/AIDS), rather than long-term cultural attitudes and practices from a variety of peoples. In general, it has to be emphasized that in S. there can be a wide gap between official moral discourses and everyday practice.

Any discussion of S. in Ethiopia must consider that the dominating Christian culture has an ideal not only of sexual morality, but in the case of its most revered and celebrated figures, celibacy and virginity. While there is no expectation that the general population would live according to these monastic ideals (↗Monasticism [s. EAE vol. 5]), the repeated images of saintly virgins, celibate saints, as well as the exclusion of woman of childbearing age (particularly immediately after child ↗birth and during ↗menstruation) all convey messages about S. and gender. Thus, even the avowedly secular may view homosexuality not merely as deviant, but as 'sodomy' (**ግብረ፡ ሶዶም**, *gəbrä sodom*) or sin (s. also ↗Theology), and conflate masturbation with onanism (which refers to coitus interruptus) and spilling the seed. However, in daily life among the lay people the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church's code of sexual behaviour is often honoured more in the breach than in practice.

In contrast to Christianity, ↗Islam begins with the underlying assumption that, within the context of ↗marriage (s. also ↗Matrimony), S. is a positive, natural aspect of human behaviour. Its pleasurable aspects are noted, and it is not limited to instances of procreation. Given the comprehensive character of ↗*šarīʿa* it is not surprising to find S. regulated in quite some detail. However, in practice Muslims are often far more flexible in their behaviour than legal codes would dictate. The imposition or adoption of stricter forms of Islam is often manifested in the intensification of codes of morality and attitudes toward S. especially as these apply to women.

Incest taboos between persons of differing degrees of ↗kinship are found throughout Ethiopia (cp. also ↗Genealogy). As elsewhere, not all violations are viewed with the same seriousness. When it comes to marriage, however, exogamy is strictly observed, especially in the countryside.

Female genital mutilation (↗Circumcision) is widespread in Ethiopia in a variety of forms including clitoridectomy, excision and infibulations. Such practices have deep social and cultural meanings and can be viewed both as symbolically transforming the victim into a "true woman" and at the same time suppressing her sexual urges. To be an uncircumcised girl or woman in the cultural understanding of the ↗Amhara implies promiscuity or being "over-sexed". In general, it is difficult to find written sources which view sexual desire on the part of a woman favourably. Even in those cases in which women are not condemned for having multiple partners, the emphasis appears to be more on her beauty and desirability, than on her sex drive. A ↗Boorana folktale acknowledges female sexual desire, but depicts it as dangerous to her and ultimately the source of her subjugation to a man (Sahlu Kidane 2002: 120).

Societies vary tremendously with regard to the importance they place on pre-marital virginity, especially for women. Among many groups, including the Amhara, ↗Təgrəñña-speakers, ↗Betä Ǝsraˀel, ↗Kəmant etc., there is a strong expectation that a woman will be a virgin when she first marries. The blood-stained sheet displayed on her ↗wedding night, which proves both her virginity and her husband's virility, assume considerable importance. Reminick notes (1976: 754) no less than 25 Amharic terms for the defloration of a bride. He suggests that the act encapsulates many of the core values of Amhara society, and in particular masculinity. Indeed, the fact that in many of these and other terms and elsewhere sexual intercourse is depicted as a violent act imposed on a resistant woman says much about the Amhara concept of S. Among the ↗Oromo as well there are proverbs which stress the importance of the groom taking his bride's virginity. These examples notwithstanding, among a number of groups including the Surma and the ↗Konso, virginity is not considered particularly important.

Many groups, including, e.g., the Konso and Sidaama, share the idea that sexual intercourse weakens men and should be avoided by warriors, hunters or those preparing to do heavy work. Often this is connected to the idea that the release of sperm drains the body of vital fluids and thus the deleterious effect applies to masturbation as well.

Polygamy is common at least as an idea among many peoples of Ethiopia, although religious and economic considerations limit the actual practices. Given the many possible ways for men to acquire multiple sexual partners (contract marriages, concubines, extra-marital affairs, ↗Prostitution etc.), it would be misleading to view polygamous households as exclusively, or even primarily an issue of S.

Taboos against sexual relations when women are pregnant, menstruating, and nursing (Hallpike 1972: 153) all create situations in which a man with only one wife may look elsewhere for companionship.

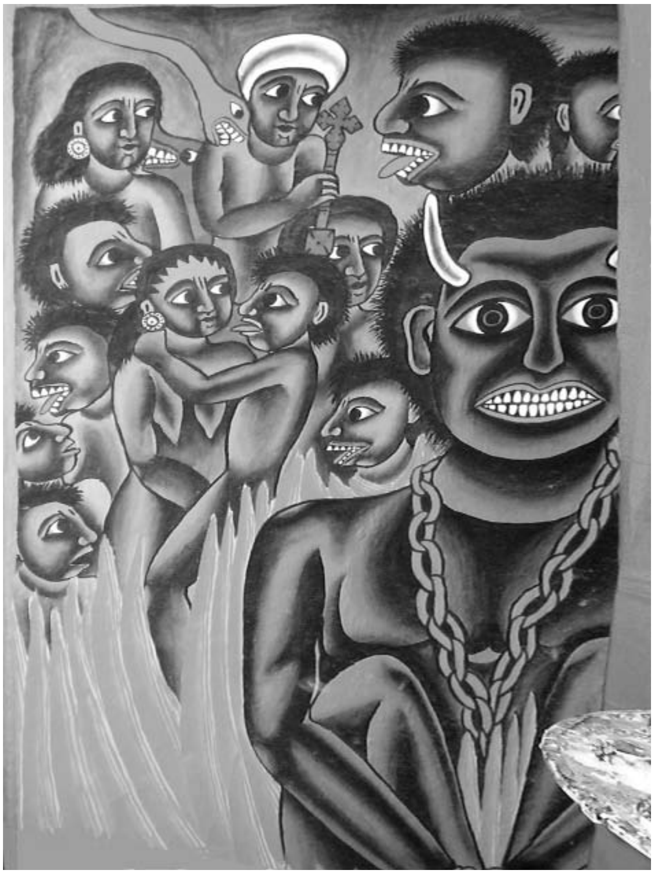
While among some people adultery, especially of the women, is treated with seriousness and is a reason for divorce, e.g., among the ᶜAfar, Somali and Kunama, it can usually be resolved if the guilty party pays a fine. Several Oromo tales treat women's adultery with understanding and imply that it reflects the husband's failure to be sufficiently manly in matters of hunting or war.

There is little literature on S. and aging in Ethiopia, although the general impression is that women who have reached menopause are considered to be no longer sexually active. Among the Konso, it is said a woman should not engage in intercourse after her first son has married. Boorana traditions condemn an old man who leaves his bed for another woman (Sahlu Kidane 2002: 28). Indeed, several age-grade and generational-grade systems (↗Age group system) would appear to symbolically suggest that men who have passed into "retirement" are no longer fully men and hence assumed to be no longer sexually active.

As in most societies, there is a broad familiarity with different sexual positions. Getnet Tadle's research in Däse indicates (Getnet Tadle 2006: 107) that the "missionary position" and **ጎን፡ ለጎኔ** (*gon lägone* 'side-by-side', i.e. both partners facing each other lying on their sides) are considered the "normal" positions by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, while other positions are not only considered deviant or sinful, but also "dangerous". In this context, it should be noted that some Muslim traditions permit a wide variety of positions, but explicitly prohibit the female superior position.

Certain practices including oral sex (both male and female) and anal intercourse, homosexuality and transvestism are widely considered to be customs practised by Westerners and are projected onto the "other". However, comparable practices have existed in Ethiopia in different periods and among different groups (s. Murray – Roscoe 2001: 21–26).

Setaset (**ሴታሴት**) in Amharic refers to a womanly man. Among the Konso there are several terms including *sagoda*, *miteeza* and *palandeza* used to refer to men who act in a "feminine" manner, including homosexuality and transvestism. Such men are said to engage (in the passive role) in "sodomy". Indeed, unpublished ethnographic data from rural areas (e.g., Təgray) indicates that sexual behaviour of adolescent boys, such as sexual contacts among each other or even with animals, can be considered as just playful experimentation so long as the participants are immature youths (on the Kəmant cp. also Gamst 1969: 106).



Hell, with the depiction of sexual intercourse, wall painting, 20th cent., Abunä Gärima church, ᶜAddi Käwəḥ, Təgray; photo 2008, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Masturbation (Amh., ሰጎ, səgo) is for many boys and girls their first sexual experience. Although it generally does not necessarily carry the weight of sin, it is often the subject of misunderstandings and myths.

Griaule (1929:316–19) records the story of a man who masturbates into an aloe leaf, which then bears a child, who becomes the founder of a group of people. Apparently this story existed in several versions regarding several peoples. Although this story refers to masturbation, it obviously belongs to the larger genre of myths of origin which attribute the origins of groups to supernatural or "unnatural" practices. Such stories should not necessarily be read as reports of actual practices or beliefs but as mythological charters in which normal categories and boundaries including those of S. do not exist.

Given the largely dominating view of S. which emphasizes the aggressiveness of male S. and the passiveness of women, it is not surprising that women in various circumstances are vulnerable to sexual exploitation. In some cases, such as rape, this may be the result of individual vulnerability, particularly in times of social-political turmoil. Often, however, this vulnerability is part of an institutionalized form of sexual exploitation. Unattended girls and women, particularly walking in sparsely inhabited areas are often liable to be harassed and even assaulted by men. Among the Oromo a widow who refused the protection of a male relative through a levirate marriage was considered to be a *gorsumati* ('prostitute'), with the social stigma and vulnerability this term implied.

Although rape is treated more seriously than previously in the legal codes, in practice successful prosecutions are comparatively rare. Especially in the rural context victims will often be pressured by both the perpetrator and her own family to marry her assailant, since her loss of virginity seriously damages her chances of contracting a good marriage. If the woman was not a virgin prior to the crime, prosecutions are even rarer. Moreover, there is no legal concept of rape within a marriage. Marriage by capture or abduction is still practised in Ethiopia. However, as in the case of rape, if the parties marry, the crime is erased.

Women and girls who go to work in wealthier household are frequently expected to provide sexual services for their masters and their sons. Indeed, servant girls might be brought into a household implicitly for this purpose. In earlier times, in extreme cases, female slaves were constantly at the mercy of their masters and other men. Such sexual vulnerability was moreover not merely an internal societal issue. As with many colonial regimes, such as it was the case in colonial Eritrea and also in the 1930's ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, there was fertile ground for sexual relationships between occupiers and local women. The handing over of the ↗Qaññäw air base to the Americans brought only slight changes into this dynamic.

Lit.: GIULIA BARERRA, *Dangerous Liason*: *Colonial Concubinage in Eritrea 1890–1941*, Evanston, IL 1996

(Program of African Studies, Working Papers 1); DAVID BRAKKE, “Ethiopian Demons: Male Sexuality, the Black-Skinned Other, and the Monastic Self”, *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10, 3, 4, July/October 2001, 501–35; FRIEDRICH J. BIEBER, *Kaffa. Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster in Westfalen 1920, 265–69; FREDERIC C. GAMST, *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969; GETNET TADLE, *Bleak Prospects: Young Men, Sexuality and HIV/AIDS in an Ethiopian Town*, Leiden 2006 (African Studies Centre Research Report 80); MARCEL GRIAULE, “Croyances et coûtumes du Begamder”, *JA* 212, 1928, 22–24; ID., “Totémisme Abyssin”, in: *Documents. Archéologie, Beaux-arts, Ethnographie, Variétés* 6, 1929, 316–19; CHRISTOPHER R. HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia: a Study of the Values of a Cushitic People*, Oxford 1972; KEBEDE HORDOFA JANKO, “Women in Oromo Proverbs”, in: *PICES* 14, vol. 2, 855–75; LAKETCH DIRASSE, *The Commoditization of the Female Sexuality: Prostitution and Socioeconomic Relations in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*, New York 1991 (AMS Studies in Anthropology 11); STEPHEN O. MURRAY – WILL ROSCOE (eds.), *Boy-Wives and Female-Husbands*, New York 2001, 21–26; JOACHIM PERSOON, “The Ethiopian Monk: a Changing Concept of Masculinity”, *JES* 35, 1, 2002 (Special Issue on Gender and Christianity), 43–65; REIDULF K. MOLVAER, *Socialization and Social Control in Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 44), s. index; *Pount, Cahier d’études sur la Corne de l’Afrique et l’Arabie du Sud* 2: *Éros en mer Rouge*, 2008; RONALD A. REMINICK, “The Symbolic Significance of Ceremonial Defloration among the Amhara of Ethiopia”, *American Ethnologist* 3, 4, 1976, 751–63; SAHLU KIDANE, *Borana Folktales: a Contextual Study,* London 2002; *abba* SAMUEL, *Sodomites and the Wage of Sin*, Addis Ababa 2007; MARTA CAMILLA WRIGHT, “At the Limits of Sexuality: the Femininity of Ethiopian Orthodox Nuns”, *JES* 35, 1, 2002 , 27–41.

Ruth K. Westheimer – Steven Kaplan

Ṣəyamo

Ṣ. (unvocalized Gəᶜəz ṢYM, South Arabian script ṢYMm and ṢYM, Gr. Τιαμῶ, Τιάμαα, Τιάμα, Τιαμά and Τζιαμῶ) is the name of an ethnic group attested among the peoples and tribes subjugated by an unknown king of ↗Aksum, whose acephalous Greek ↗inscription on a marble throne at ↗Adulis (*Adulitana II* of the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum) was copied by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes, as well as in the titulature of ↗ᶜEzana, ↗Kaleb Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa and Kaleb’s son ↗WᶜZB.

Its localization is not established with certainty. An attempt to connect this name with the district of Ṣana (rendered as Tzama) in Təgray (to the south of Aksum) undertaken by Bernard de Montfaucon in 1707 in the *Collectio nova patrum et scriptorum graecorum* and supported in the 19th cent. by Henry Salt and Louis Vivien de Saint Martin proves to be unfounded. Another hypothesis is based on a gloss to Cosmas’s text, in which Τζιαμωα are associated with Γάμβελα and on the identification of the latter ethnonym with the name of a fertile valley in ↗Ǝndärta (south-east of Aksum). However, according to the gloss, both peoples were living “beyond the Nile”, which in this context is commonly interpreted as ↗Täkkäze, a tributary of ↗Atbara, while Ǝndärta is not separated from Aksum by the Täkkäze. The text of *Adulitana II* states that the king subdued a number of peoples, including Τιάμαα, after having crossed the river. It should be noted that the population of ↗Səmen is also mentioned among them, and it seems reasonable to localize Ṣ. not far from this mountainous region, on the same side of the Täkkäze.

It is not clear whether the occurrence of Ṣ. in the titles of three Aksumite rulers, in the mid-4th cent. and in the first half of the 6th cent. A.D., corresponds to their effective control over this people, since, e.g., the enumeration of South Arabian lands and royal palaces in the titulature of ᶜEzana reflects his mere pretentions and not his real hegemony in Yemen.

Src.: COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTÈS, *Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 1 (Livres I–IV), ed., tr. by WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS, Paris 1968 (Sources chrétiennes 141), 374, 375 (= II, 60); [ID.], *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk*, ed., tr. by J.W. MCCRINDLE, London 1897 (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society 93), 61, nn. 2, 4; WILHELM DITTENBERGER, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1903, 199f., n. 8; DAE I, 43 and IV, 7; RIÉ nos. 185 I/2, 185 II/2–3, 185 bis I/2, 186/3, 187/[3], 188/4, 189/3, 191/10, 192/6, 270/4, 270 bis/3, 271/9, 277/6. **Lit.**: FRANCIS ANFRAY – ANDRÉ CAQUOT – PIERRE NAUTIN, “Une nouvelle inscription grecque d’Ézana, roi d’Axoum”, *Journal des savants* 1970, 260–74, here 264ff., 274; RIÉ III, 7, 36; LOUIS VIVIEN DE SAINT MARTIN, “Éclaircissements géographiques et historiques sur l’inscription d’Adulis, et sur quelques points des inscriptions d’Axoum”, *JA* 6e sér. 2, 1863, 329–75, here 351f.

Serguei A. Frantsouzoff

Seyki ↗Aari

Ṣəyon Mogäsa

Ṣ.M. (**ጽዮን፡ ሞገሳ**, d. ca. 1462) was a wife of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and perhaps the mother of *aṣe* ↗Bäᶜədä Maryam I and *aṣe* ↗Tewodros I. She is only mentioned in historical sources in connection with a revolt against the Emperor in the 1460s, when *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob accused her of planning, with the help of clergy and monks, to enthrone her alleged son Bäᶜədä Maryam. As a consequence, she was beaten with rods and died shortly thereafter (BassÉt 44; BruNile II, 82ff.). She did not live to witness Bäᶜədä Maryam’s accession to the throne in 1468. After Ṣ.M., Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob took ↗Ǝleni.

Ṣ.M. was buried secretly by her children at a cemetery near ↗Däbrä Bərhan, the residence founded by her husband. When Bäʿədä Maryam brought incense to her grave on the anniversary of her death (ca. 1463) he was captured and detained by his father's men, but soon released again.

Src.: BassÉt 12, 244; BégCron; BruNile II, 82ff., 599–611; LudHist 76–102; PerrEsk; PerrZarY 4f., 53–57, 94f., 105ff., 125.

Lit.: DerDom; Getatchew Haile, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns. Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, 369–75; PankSoc 68; Michael Kleiner, "Zu den mit ሰገድ (*sägäd*) gebildeten Namen äthiopischer Kaiser sowie anderer hoher Würdenträger des Reiches", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 54–73, here 62f.; Sergew Hable-Selassie, "The Geʿez Letters of Queen Eleni and Libne Dingil to John, King of Portugal", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 547–66; TadTChurch 243, 284ff.; Taddesse Tamrat, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of Documents", *ibid*. 501–35, here 519–27.

Verena Böll

Śəyyum ↗Šum

Śəyyum Mängäša

Ləʿul ras Ś.M. (**ሥዩም፡ መንገሻ**, horse name Abba Yərga, b. 22 June 1887, Agäw Mədər, Goǧǧam, d. 16 December 1960, Addis Abäba), was a governor of ↗Təgray. He was a son of *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs and *əmmäbet* Täwabäčč Wäldä Gäbrəʾel, and a grandson of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV.

As a representative of northern nobility and the northern branch of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, Ś.M. was always in opposition to Šäwan hegemony over the Empire (cp. ↗Šäwa). In 1896/97, Ś.M. received the title of ↗*däggazmač*, together with Tämben and Abärgälle to govern, and soon entered the rivalry between the northern lords. By 1902 he was in rebellion, but was soon defeated by ↗Abrəha Arʾaya and then submitted to *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər. As early as 1909, Ś.M. joined the unsuccessful rebellion of *däǧǧazmač* Abrəha Arʾaya against ↗Abatä Bʷayaläw, the governor of Təgray, who had been nominated by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. In 1914, Ś.M. was appointed *ras* and made governor of Təgray by *nəguś* ↗Mikaʾel Ali and was given Mikaʾel's daugther, Täwabäčč, in marriage, and remained loyal to *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu during his short reign. In 1914 he fought against Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər who had rebelled against Iyasu after Mənilək's death. From 1919 till 1935, Ś.M. held the governorship of western Təgray. After the Italian occupation, starting in 1947, Ś.M. was governor of the whole province untill his death in 1960.

Ś.M.'s attitude towards Iyasu and the Addis Abäba government after the 1916 ↗coup d'état (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081) was not clear. He was sympathetic to Iyasu, but also tried to remain loyal to the new Šäwan rulers. In 1916 Ś.M. was among the guests at ↗Zäwditu's coronation. When Iyasu sought his protection, Ś.M. did not want to act against Zäwditu and the government of Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), nor did he plan to help them by seizing Iyasu. Thus, Ś.M. allowed Iyasu to escape and hide in the ↗ʿAfar desert as a guest of the ↗Awsa sultanate. As a result, Ś.M. was summoned to Addis Abäba and the governorship of ↗ʿAdwa, i.e. central Təgray, was taken away from him and given to *däǧǧazmač* Gäbrä Śəllase. In 1920 Ś.M.'s son, *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Mängäša, rebelled against the rulers in Addis Abäba and planned to join Iyasu. This resulted in Ś.M. taking action against his own son. Kaśa Mängäša was caught by his father and sent to Addis Abäba, where he was kept in custody.

In terms of Ś.M.'s politics in his own province, he was a constant rival of another line of Yoḥannəs IV's family: *ras* ↗Gugsa Arʾaya and his son, *ras* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa. In part, this was a result of Täfäri Mäkʷännən's policy of counterbalance in order to weaken potential northern opposition. Making Ś.M. a part of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən's entourage during his trip to Europe in 1924, was not only an honor, but also a sign of a lack of trust, i.e. the need to keep an eye on the Təgrayan *ras*.

However, on several occasions Ś.M. acted in support of the Šäwan government, e.g., by taking part in an expedition against the ↗Rayya-Oromo revolt in ↗Wällo in 1928. Täfäri appointed him *ləʿul ras* just before his coronation as Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1930. Ś.M. was also nominated a member of the Senate in the first ↗Parliament.

During the Italian invasion (↗Italian war 1935–36) Ś.M. fought on the northern front and then joined the army in the south. He led his troops to win some of the battles, such as the first Battle of ↗Tämben. He also fought in the battle of ↗May Č̣äw. He formally surrendered to the Italians at ↗Säqoṭa, symbolically offering to General Ettore Bastico his sword, which was returned to him.

During the Italian period, Ś.M. stayed in fairly good terms with the Italians, however was never regarded by them as being fully trustworthy. He spent the first years of the occupation in confinement in Italy, starting from 1937. After his return to Ethiopia in 1939 he lived in Addis Abäba under Italian supervision. On 26 February 1941, Ś.M. was appointed ↗*nəguś* of Təgray by the Italians and was allowed to move from Addis Abäba to ᶜAdwa. Despite his seemingly good relations with the Italians, Ś.M. was secretly offering help to the Patriots (↗Resistance). His daughter ↗Käbbädäčč Śəyyum was activly involved in the partisans' networks.

Later, Ś.M. joined the British, fought to liberate the country from Italian occupation, and then rendered homage to *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I after his return to Ethiopia in May 1941. After the Liberation, however, Ś.M. was perceived as an even greater threat to Šäwan hegemony, and while nominally appointed governor of Təgray (on 15 November 1941), he was only allowed to stay in the capital. He was a member of the ↗Crown Council on various occasions. Ś.M. was one of those shot in the Green Salon during the 1960 ↗coup d'état (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081f.). His body was taken by airplane to ↗Aksum and buried there.

One of his sons, *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Mängäša died in 1920/21, shot while escaping from confinement in Addis Abäba. Another son of his and a Wällo lady, *wäyzäro* Tayyäčč, *ras* Mängäša Śəyyum, became his successor as governor of Təgray and married Ḫaylä Śəllase's granddaughter, Ayda Dästa. A daughter of Ś.M. and *wäyzäro* Däbərnäš Mäkʷännən from Gondär, Wälättä Ǝsraˀel, was married to *däǧǧazmač* Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər, his former rival, and was the mother of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Zäwde Gäbrä Śəllase. After her divorce she married again and was the first wife of the young ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase whom she divorced in ca. 1944. They had one daughter Ǝǧǧəgayyähu. Ś.M.'s daughter Käbbädäčč Śəyyum, whose mother was a Təgrayan lady, married *däǧǧazmač* Abärra Kaśa Ḫaylu, a son of *ləᶜul ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu. Among the wives of Ś.M. was also *wäyzäro* Aṣ́ädä Asfaw from Šäwa.

Śəyyum Mängäša, governor of Təgray; photo from the collection of the IES (805-1)

Src.: Fäntahun Ǝngǝda, **ታሪካዊ፡ መዝገበ፡ ሰብ፡ ከጥንት፡ እስከ፡ ዛሬ** (*Tarikawi mäzgäbä säb käṭənt əskä zare*, 'A Historical Dictionary of Biographies; from the Ancient Time until Today') Addis Abäba 2000 A.M. [2008 A.D.], 199f.; GueCopMen 495 and n. 6, 598, 627, s. index; GebMolIyas 347, 411, 414, 429, 444; Luigi Fusella, "Le Biografie del Blātengētā Ḫeruy Wålde Sellāsē (I parte)", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987], 16–104, here 34; HSLife 56, 61f., 84, 179, 209, 234f., 247, 257, 265ff., 273, 277ff., 282; KTMast 52, 74, 138, 144f.; MahHorse 225; Mersˀé Hazen Wolde Qirqos, *Of What I Saw and Heard*: *the Last Years of the Emperor Menelik II & the Brief Rule of Iyasu*, Addis Ababa 2004 (Ethiopian Studies 1), 145; ZerÉth 394.

Lit.: Bairu Tafla, "The Political Crisis in Tegray, 1889-99", *Africa* (Roma) 34, 1–2, 1979, 105–28; BZHist 137, 143, 146f., 154ff., 167; Andrzej Bartnicki – Joanna Mantel-Niećko, *Historia Etiopii*, Wrocław 1971, 399, 405, 413, 442ff., 455, 457, 465, 482; Gebru Tareke, "Peasant Resistance in Ethiopia: the Case of *Weyane*", *JAH* 25, 1984, 77–92; Richard Greenfield, *Ethiopia*: *a New Political History*, London 1967, 116, 136f., 143, 145, 151, 158, 166, 193, 195f., 200ff., 208ff., 212ff., 237, 260, 277, 282, 300, 383f., 394, 430; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913,* Oxford 1975, 240, 263; Id., *Haile Sellasie I*: *the Formative Years 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987, 47, 60, 119, 140, 142, 161f., 167, 172, 176; MockWar 9f., 28, 56f., 61f., 76, 85, 146, 155, 177, 200, 331f., 373ff., 382, 396; PerGov 64, 82f., 84, 88f., 96, 271, 356f.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Śəyyum Täklä Haymanot ↗Haylu Täklä Haymanot

Shack, William Alfred

William Alfred S. (b. 19 April 1923, Chicago, d. 31 March 2000, Berkeley) was an American anthropologist who greatly contributed to ↗Ethiopian studies and, in particular, to the study of the ↗Gurage (esp. 1966 [= ShGurage], Shack – Habte-Mariam Marcos 1974 [focussing on the sub-group of ↗Čaha]) and the central Ethiopian peoples (1974) and the central Ethiopian ethnic groups (1974). A further research focus of S. was African American culture.

S. started his academic career at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1955 where he received a B.A.E. degree in art history and art education. In the same year he started studying anthropology at the University of Chicago.

After receiving an M.A. degree in 1957, S. went to Ethiopia for two years to carry out field research among the Gurage. He then continued his academic education at the London School of Economics and completed his Ph.D. in 1961. Between 1962 and 1965, S., accompanied by his wife Dorothy, again stayed in Ethiopia where he did further research amongst the Gurage and taught at the University College of Addis Abäba (later ↗Addis Ababa University). Appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology, S. founded, and then chaired, the Department of Sociology of Ḫaylä Śəllase I University. He revisited Ethiopia during the years 1972, 1973 and 1986. The persecution and murder of many of S.'s colleagues by the *Därg* regime detered him from any further visits to the country.

Back in the United States in 1965, S. joined the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. In 1970 he was appointed full professor at the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley. Apart from his high scholarly commitment there, he served in various leading administrative positions until his retirement in 1991. Between 1987 and 1996 S. was chairman of the International African Institute in London. S. paid a number of scholarly visits to other African countries, such as Uganda, Swaziland and South Africa.

In the tradition of British social anthropology, and influenced by the Chicago school of sociology, S.'s theoretical interests were focussed on the analysis of social processes and social structure and ranged from topics such as urbanization, ↗ethnicity, judicial mechanisms, religion, status and social change, to the cultural significance of food and diet. His monograph on the Gurage (ShGurage) became a classic of African anthropology and, together with his book on Gurage oral tradition (Shack – Habte-Mariam Marcos 1974) and various articles, laid the basis for an ethnology of the (Western) Gurage.

S. died of cancer. The William A. Shack Memorial Fund at Berkeley was founded in his honour.

Src.: ShGurage; William A. Shack, *The Gurage: a People of the Ensete Culture (1966). With a New Introduction by Worku Nida*, Addis Ababa ^{2}1997; Id., *The Central Ethiopians: Amhara, Tigrina and Related Peoples*, London 1974; Id. – Habte-Mariam Marcos, *Gods and Heros: Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974.

Lit.: Donald Crummey, "In Memoriam William Alfred Shack", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 200–01; University of California, Berkeley, Department of Anthropology, *Alumni Newsletter*, Fall 2000, 6; University of California, *In Memoriam*, Berkeley, CA 2000, 248–51; Elizabeth Colson – Suzanne Calpestri, "Bill Shack, 1923–2000", *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 70, 4, 2000, 683–85; Id., "Obituary", *Anthropology News 41*, 5, 2000, 46–47.

Dirk Bustorf

Sheba, Queen of ↗Makədda

Shenute of Atripe

S. (Šenoute in Sahidic Coptic, also known as Shenouda; Gəᶜəz: **ሲኖዳ**, Sinoda, also Sinodyos, Sənudyos, Sunutuyus, etc.; b. ca. 350, d. ca. 464/65), archimandrite of a federation of monastic communities coordinated by the so-called White Monastery of Atripe, a small village not far from Panopolis/Akhmim (Upper Egypt), was the most prominent and prolific author of Coptic literature.

Information on his life can be found in S.'s own works, in the *Vita Sinuthii*, attributed to his disciple Besa (cp. Lubomierski 2007), and in such other works as the *In Macarium episcopum Tkou*, ascribed to Dioscorus of Alexandria, the *Vita Abraham archimandritae*, the *Vita Moysis archimandritae* and the *Historia Ecclesiastica Alexandrina*, besides some inscriptions found in the White Monastery (Crum 1904: 555f.; for synthesis of S.'s life s. Behlmer 2001; Kuhn in CE).

S.'s authority as a monk and archimandrite extended far beyond the boundaries of the White Monastery, especially after the Council of Ephesus (↗Ephesus, Councils of), when he distanced himself from the positions of Constantinople and Pachomian ↗monasticism – so much so that he became a point of reference for the whole Thebais. He was particularly active in his struggle against pagans and the heretics, including the last Gnostic groups.

S.'s extensive literary production was preserved in the rich library of the White Monastery (Orlandi 2002); its circulation was apparently not allowed outside the monastic federation. Like other codices of this library, S.'s works were eventually dismembered, sometimes down to single folios, and dispersed to different public and private libraries. They remained unknown to the scholarly world until the end of the 18th cent., when the first fragments of the White Monastery manuscripts came into the hands of

Cardinal Stefano Borgia, secretary of the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, and were published by Georg Zoega (1810). The real importance of S.'s textual production became fully perceptible only with the reconstruction of his literary corpus by Emmel (2004). It consists of two main categories: the *Canons* (9 vols., mostly letters inspired by special occasions and considered useful for moral training of the monks) and the *Discourses* (probably 8 vols., mostly public sermons composed by S. for a heterogeneous audience, including common people, monks from other communities and local administrators; s. Emmel 2004).

Whilst S.'s literary production appears to have been completely ignored by the Greek and Latin tradition (no mentions of S. are to be found either in the works of Palladius and John Cassian, or in the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, to mention but a few examples, and the absolutely first notices on him in scholarly literature date from Wansleben 1677: 370–76, and Ludolf 1691: 398, 619 s.v. "Sinodius"), various echoes of S. are found in the Ethiopic literature.

S.'s Vita (named either *Gädlä Sinoda* or *Täʾammərä Sinoda*, as it is in the form of 52 miracles) by Besa (Awsa in Gəʿəz, through Arab. Wīṣā) was edited by Colin (1982) on the basis of three mss.: EMML no. 1834, 16th cent. (in 48 chapters); Ṭānāsee 44 = Kebrān 44, 15th cent. (same recension); and Paris, BN d'Abbadie 126, 15th cent. (basic ms. of Colin's edition).

One can add ms. EMML no. 7602, 1379/1380–1413 A. D., fols. 8ra–38rb (52 miracles as in Colin's edition), with an illumination representing S. on fol. 7v (cp. Hammerschmidt – Jäger 1968, pl. 20: the dating of the ms. to the 16th cent. [*ibid.* 49f.] cannot be accepted, cp. Bausi 2002: 6), as well as one more unpublished miracle of S. from the *Gädlä Bäkimos*, fols. 122vb–23rc.

Translated from an Arabic *Vorlage*, the Vita seems less developed than the known Arabic versions (Amélineau 1888; Galtier 1905), and more similar to the Coptic Bohairic text. The possibility that all Oriental recensions depend upon a Greek original (cp. Colin 1982: viii [tr.]) is hardly tenable (cp. Lubomierski 2007).

A long commemoration of S. (the only one known as *abba* or *arsay mätryadəs*, 'archimandrite'), is found in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 7 *Ḥamle*, while the other occurrences (on 18 *Säne*, 2 *Ḫədar*, 9 and 24 *Miyazya*, 23 *Ḥamle*, 14 *Mäggabit*, 6 *Gənbot* and 17 *Ḫədar*) refer to different characters of the same name (e.g., patriarch S. II, whose writings are found in the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, cp. SixBay 60).

The Ethiopic tradition attributes to S. an apocalypse (*Raʾəyä Sinoda*, 'Vision of S.'), already quoted by ↗Giyorgis of Sägla in his *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir*, and therefore dating *ante* 1424 at the latest (cp. YaqMist II, 125–29 [text] = 76f. [tr.]). The text was critically edited by Grohmann (1913) on the basis of seven manuscripts, the oldest of which is in a fascicle of a different hand added to ms. Paris, BN Éth. 113, of the 16th cent.

One can add, e.g., EMML no. 1157, 20th cent., fols. 257r–59r (excerpt); EMML no. 1351, 1950, fols. 2r–14r; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. or. oct. 4078, 18th cent., fols. 36va–38vb (fragment).

The text mentions ten visions, of which the last one only is described in detail: Jesus answers to S.'s questions concerning the end of the world and the Last Judgement (↗Eschatology). Two more visions follow: one concerns the building of a church, where Christ himself will celebrate the Mass; the other tells of the reconciliation of the king of "Rom" (whose name is missing) with the king of Ethiopia, "Teyoda" (probably an allusion to the "Tewodros" of the ↗*Fəkkare Iyäsus*), of the patriarchs of Alexandria and "Rom", and the conversion of Jews, Muslims and pagans to the Christian faith, up to the establishment of peace everywhere for 40 years. Since neither the only partially known Coptic *Vision of S.* nor the vision quoted in an Arabic homily by ↗Cyril (probably of Alexandria; cp. Grohmann 1914) show any affinity, the Ethiopic *Vision* might be an original composition built up of different materials (esp. apocryphal texts); in particular, the meeting of the kings of Ethiopia and Byzantium seems to allude to the famous passage in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, ch. 116 (cp. ZotBNat 248; GuiSLett 43f.).

Short readings from writings of S. are included in the ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat* (hereafter GH, as *tägśaṣ*, 'admonition', cp. Proverbio 1998:102, where four passages with their Coptic correspondences are in evidence), respectively: on Monday, (1) 'On soul searching', cp. GH 1989/90: 62ab, and ms. EMML no. 1765, 15th cent., fols. 22rb–vb; (2) 'On distinguishing good and evil deeds', cp. GH 1989/90: 88ab, the same as that indicated as 'On respecting holy places' for ms. EMML no. 1765, fols. 36ra–vb; on (3) Tuesday, 'On joy', ms. EMML no. 1765, fols. 43vb–44ra, or 'On matters that please God', cp., e.g., ms. EMML no. 2140, fol. 30r; (4) 'On the need for commentary on biblical scriptures', ms. EMML no. 1765, fols. 54vb–56ra. One additional passage is attributed to S. on Thursday, (5) 'On the washing of the feet', cp. GH 1989/90: 217b–18a, and ms. EMML no. 1765, fols. 92r ff. Some manuscripts also attribute to S. the admonition 'On disobedience', e.g., ms. EMML no. 2140, fols. 23v ff., seemingly not attributed to him in ms. EMML no. 1765, fols. 33r ff. 'On the need of expelling the sinner from the church' is also attributed to S., cp. EMML no. 3571, 1730–55, fols. 28v ff. Yet, in the absence of a critical edition of the GH, any identification is highly hypothetical.

In the ↗*Wəddase Amlak*, there is one prayer of S. (sometimes reported as *təräyäd arsay*, a corruption of *arsay mätryadəs*) on Friday (together with prayers of Basil for Monday, John Saba for Tuesday, 2 prayers of Efrem for Wednesday and Thursday, Athanasius for Saturday, and Cyril of Alexandria for Sunday), also incorporating a prayer of ↗Pachomius, cp., e.g., EMML no. 2213, 18th cent., fols. 110r ff. The same collection of prayers for seven days is also transmitted separately, c.p., e.g., Paris, BN Éth. 89, fols. 76ff., 90, fols. 91ff. (in a different recension), and 91, fols. 89ff. (similar to Éth. 89, cp. ZotBNat 89ff.).

In the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, the famous episode of Absadi, "the gardener who was accused before the old man (*abba* Sinoda?) of giving away vegetables to the poor", in fact, an episode of the *Vita*, takes place in the monastery of S. (cp., e.g., ms. EMML no. 1606, fols. 137r ff., 166v ff.; CerMaria 210f.), where Ethiopic texts were also translated in the 14th/15th cent. (e.g., the *Martyrium* of Theodor the Oriental, written by the Egyptian priest Mikaʾel or Zämikaʾel, during the reign of Gäbrä Mäsqäl, probably either *aṣe* ʿAmdä Ṣəyon or Yəsḥaq, cp. Bausi 2002: 12).

Src.: AbbCat no. 126 (= CRAbb no. 174); Émile Clément Amélineau (ed., tr.), *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IV^{e} et V^{e} siècles*, Paris 1888 (Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire IV), 289–478; Id. (ed., tr.), *Les moines égyptiens. Vie de Schenoudi*, Paris 1889; Id. (ed., tr.), *Oeuvres de Schenoudi*: *Texte copte et traduction française*, 2 vols., Paris 1907–14; BudSaint 1079–82; CerMaria 210–11; Gérard Colin (ed., tr.), *La version éthiopienne de la vie de Schenoudi*, Lovanii 1982 (CSCO 444, 445 [SAe 75, 76]); Walter Ewing Crum, "Inscriptions from the White Monastery", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 5, 1904, 552–69; Stephen Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, Louvain 2004 (CSCO 599, 600 [Subsidia 111, 112]); EMML nos. 1153, 1351, 1606, 1765, 1834, 2140, 2213, 2337, 3571, 7602; Paul J. Frandsen – Eva Richter-Aerøe, "Shenoute: A Bibliography", in: Dwight W. Young (ed.), *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, East Gloucester 1981, 145–76; Émile Galtier, "Fragments de la vie arabe de Schenoudi", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 4, 1905, 105–12; Johannes Leipoldt – Walter Ewing Crum (eds.), *Sinuthii archimandritae Vitae et Opera Omnia*, I (*Sinuthii Vita bohairice*), III, IV, Louvain 1906, 1908, 1913 (CSCO 41, 42, 73 [Scriptores Coptici 1, 2, 5]); Adolf Grohmann (ed., tr.), "Die im Äthiopischen, Arabischen und Koptischen erhaltenen Visionen Apa Schenute's von Atripe", *ZDMG* 67, 1913, 187–267 ("I. Die im Äthiopischen erhaltenen Visionen"), *ibid.* 68, 1914, 1–46 ("II. Die arabische Homilie des Cyrillus"); GuiSyn II, 262–67; HamTana no. 44; Ernst Hammerschmidt – Otto A. Jäger, *Illuminierte Äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968 (VOHD 15); Nina Lubomierski, *Die Vita Sinuthii* … (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 45), Tübingen 2007; Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (ed.), **ግብረ፡ ሕማማት** (*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*, 'Acts of the Passion'), Addis Abäba 1982 A.M. [1989/90 A.D.]; SixBay 60; SixTana III, no. 54; Hermann Wiesman (tr.), *Sinuthii archimandritae Vitae et Opera Omnia*, III, IV, Louvain 1931, 1936 (CSCO 96, 108 [Scriptores Coptici 8, 12]); Id. (tr.), *Sinuthii Vita bohairice*, Louvain 1951 (CSCO 129 [Scriptores Coptici 16]); YaqMist II, 125–29 [text] = 76f. [tr.]; Georg Zoega, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Romae 1810; ZotBNat 89–91, 131, 248 [ms. Éth. 89, 90, 91, 113, 146].

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi (ed., tr.), *La versione etiopica degli* Acta Phileae *nel* Gadla samāʿtat, Napoli 2002 (Annali IUO, Supplemento 92); Heike Behlmer, "Shenoute", in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt,* vol. 3, New York 2001, 279–80; GrafLit vol. 1, 365, 461–64; GuiSLett 43f.; Emmanuela Grypeou, "'The Visions of Apa Shenute of Atripe'. An Analysis in the History of Tradition of Eastern Christian Apocalyptic Motifs", in: Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala (ed.), *Eastern Crossroads. Essays in Medieval Christian Legacy*, Piscataway, NJ 2007, 157–67; Hiob Ludolfus, *Ad suam historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 398, 619; Karl H. Kuhn, "Shenute, saint", in: *CE* vol. 7, 2131–33; Bentley Layton, "Nouvelles recherches sur la vie au monastère de Chenouté", in: Anne Boud'hors et al. (eds.), *Actes des Onzièmes Journées d'Études Coptes, Études coptes IX*, Strasbourg 2006 (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte 14), 233–37; Tito Orlandi, "Un projet milanais concernant les manuscrits coptes du Monastère Blanc", *Le Muséon* 85, 1972, 403–13; Id., "The Library of the Monastery of Saint Shenute at Atripe", in: Arno Egberts et al. (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis …*, Leiden – Boston, MA – Köln 2002, 211–32; Delio Vania Proverbio, *La recensione etiopica dell'omelia pseudocrisostomica* de ficu exarata *ed il suo* tréfonds *orientale*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 50), 102; Harald Suermann, "Koptische arabische Apokalypsen", in: Rifeat Ebied – Herman Teule (eds.), *Studies on the Christian Arabic Heritage*: *in Honour of Father Prof. Dr. Samir Khalil Samir S.J.* …, Leuven – Paris 2004 (Eastern Christian Studies 5), 25–44, here 39–42; Johann Michael Wansleben, *Nouvelle rélation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Égypte*, Paris 1677, 370–76.

Paola Buzi – Alessandro Bausi

Sheol ↗Eschatology

Shield(s)

The S. (Amh.: **ጋሻ**, *gaša*, also **መከላከያ**, *mäkkälakäya*, 'protection'; Gəʾəz and Tgn.: **ዋልታ**, *walta*) was the only significant protective weapon to be traditionally found in Ethiopia. In prehistory the S. cannot be attested because of its perishable material. Nevertheless, together with the ↗spear it was already documented in late antiquity on ↗stelae (s. reverse of "Stele of Lances", MHAksum 140, 218, fig. 58). The Aksumite king ↗MḤDYS is shown on a coin carying a S. and a spear; this coin is, however, most probably a medieval forgery (s. Hahn 1996a, fig. 10; Munro-Hay 1995; 1999: 17; Overbeck 1997).

Until the 20th cent. magnificent S. figured as national emblems but these were only of decorative importance and showed the dignity of their owners and their membership of the dominant class (cp. ills. EAE vol. 1, 11, 449; VSAe I; VSAe III, 129, 207; Pankhurst – Ingrams 1988: 57, 87). Already in the Middle Ages the S. was described as part of the basic equipment of any Ethiopian warrior and of the imperial army (Munro-Hay 2004: 180; cp. ills. EAE vol. 2, 694, 818). At least up to the time of ↗Mənilək II S. were used in battles as a protection against aggressive attack (s. PankIntro fig. p. 126 top, figs. p. 127; VSAe III, 202, 327).

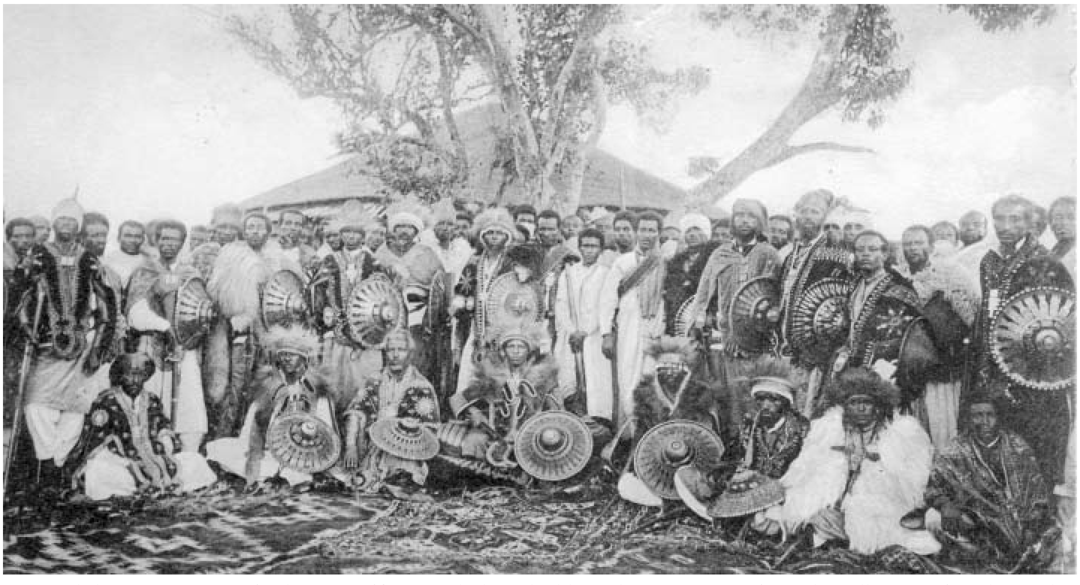
In addition they used to be, and sporadically are still today, an important ritual utensil full of symbolism (e.g., dance S. in ↗funeral rites and as grave objects s. VSAe I; III; cp. ills. EAE vol. 2, 82, 1033). S. have been articles of trade or exchange (PankEcon; Plaschke – Zirngibl 1992: 66, 68), and are the province of a special branch of craftsmen (↗Handicrafts).

In every Ethiopian region, round carrying-S. of different sizes were known, with one or two leather grips through which the forearm is placed (Amborn 1990: 153; VSAe I, fig. 38).

Northern and central Ethiopia: the "Amhara" type is a round S. (*gašša*) with a conical boss made from leather, 45–60 cm in diameter, with a rounded centre and a raised rim (Amborn 1990: 153f.), which is thought to prevent a spear, sword or sabre blade from sliding off in battle. These S. have punched, scratched or engraved geometrical patterns which radiate out from the centre or are arranged in concentric circles, sometimes on both sides of the S. They were produced by skilled leatherworkers. This type was also used in the East, in the areas of the ↗ʿAfar and ʿIssa (Plaschke – Zirngibl 1992: 65), and in the South, as testified by the Zala (VSAe III, 258).

For prestige S. the punched ornaments were completed by various geometrical precious metal fittings, according to the rank of the owner; they were also chased in an elaborate manner, and the S. points were decorated with animal hair set in silver (e.g., hairs from a ↗lion's mane, the fur and tails of servals and ↗monkeys; s. Plaschke – Zirngibl 1992: 70f., fig.; s. Spring 1993: 101, fig. 97; cp. ill. EAE vol. 2, 1061). Such S. were normally lined with red morocco leather and wrapped in coloured velvet for preserving.

A common S. in central and southern Ethiopia is a big round leather boss S., 50-70 cm (possibly up to 100 cm and more) in diameter, conically or



Postcard showing a group of Ethiopian officers with their shields, early 20th century; from the collection of André Evalet bulbously arched, with a raised rim of a different strength, with punched, traditionally geometrically patterned bands, concentrically arranged (e.g., ↗Tuulama of Šäwa, ↗Dorze, ↗Käfa, ↗Šeko: *giásn*, ↗Konso: *kassina*, ↗Burǧi: *gaazee*, ↗Dullay: *kaasanko*, *konkolo*, ↗Ṣamakko: *^{c}unto*) which is partly added to the "Amhara" type.

There are also S. with a sturdy midrib and a large number of irregularly wart-shaped protrusions (e.g. the ↗Amaaro) or with punched lines radiating from the middle rib-like rays. In the space between the lines they are regularly decorated with bigger and smaller warts (this is testified among the ↗Gurage, ↗Zay, ↗Sidaama, ↗Wälaytta, ↗Arsi lowland and ↗Walläga Oromo, s. VSAe II, figs. 17, 39; Benitez-Johannot – Barbier 2000: 102–05).

The S. were often provided with a sturdy semicircular handle and often with a leather string fixed in the raised rim through two pierced holes (s. VSAe III, fig. 25.5b). The colours of their leather fronts range from bright red-brown to a glossy deep black.

A small round boss S. of natural or coloured leather, 30–40 cm in diameter, is known from the highland Arsi (s. VSAe II, fig. 17), ↗Boorana, ↗Guǧǧi, ↗Dime, Bodi and Zala; however, it is also ascribed to the ^{c}Afar as well as the ^{c}Issa in south-east Ethiopia. These small S. with a raised rim, are decorated on the outside (with punched lines) and inside (with burnt-in lines) with geometrical motifs in concentric circles.

The especially small round S. of the ↗Oromo is made of thick rhinoceros hide, 24 cm in diameter, with brass fittings, and seems to be of South-Arabian origin. It can also be found in ↗Kenya and ↗Somalia (s. Plaschke – Zirngibl 1992:58, fig. 42; Rohrer 1932: 147, fig. 51). The hides of rhinoceros, buffalo, ↗hippopotamus, ↗elephant, antelope (Oryx) and gazelle as well as of oxen and cows were used for these round carrying S. as the essential base material (with a few exceptions: e.g., a wicker S. used by Oromo, Plaschke – Zirngibl 1992: 13, a wooden S. used by the ^{c}Afar, Rohrer 1932: 147).

However, there are also long elliptical, rectangular and pointed oval parrying S. (height 80–150 cm, e.g., among the ↗Aari and ↗Maale, s. VSAe I, 310, fig. 38; the Konso: *kontaleeta* and Dullay: *kondole*, Amborn 1990: 153f.) which were held vertically; mostly a wooden basic framework with an integrated handle was covered with cow or ox hide, and sometimes the hide of zebra (cp. ill. EAE vol. 2, 1033) or wickerwork was possible. The parrying pole, suitable as a close fighting and attacking weapon, and as well as a protection, is said to be the preliminary stage of the parrying S. (e.g., *kuerr* of the ↗Dinka in the area neighbouring the east of the upper White Nile, Plaschke – Zirngibl 1992: 74f.; VSAe I, 404).

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration*: *Vergleichende Untersuchung zu Spezialisten und Handwerkern in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990, 153f.; PURISSIMA BENITEZ-JOHANNOT – JEAN-PAUL BARBIER, *Shields. African, Southeast Asia and Oceania,* Munich – London – New York 2000, 102–05; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Münzen, Naturgeld und Banknoten in Äthiopien von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart", *Ausstellungskatalog der Oesterreichischen Nationalbank*, Wien 1996a; ID., "Eine axumitische Typenkopie als Dokument zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 46, 1996b, 85–99; WALTER HIRSCHBERG (ed.), *Neues Wörterbuch der Völkerkunde*, Berlin 1988; MHAksum 140, 218; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "A New Gold Coin of King MHDYS of Aksum", *Numismatic Chronicle* 155, 1995, 275–77; ID., "The Coronation of the Emperors of Ethiopia at Aksum", in: *StudAeth* 177–201; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 17; BERNHARD OVERBECK, "Eine außergewöhnliche Goldmünze von Axum", *Numismatisches Nachrichtenblatt* 12, 1997, 599–600; PankEcon 348, 350, 355f.; PankIntro 126f.; RICHARD PANKHURST – LEILA INGRAMS, *Ethiopian Engraved*, London – New York 1988, 57, 87; DIETER PLASCHKE – MANFRED A. ZIRNGIBL, *Afrikanische Schilde*: *Graphische Kunstwerke aus dem Schwarzen Erdteil*, München 1992, 13, 58, 65–70, 74; ERNST F. ROHRER, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur der Amhara*, Bern 1932, 147; WILLY SCHILDE, "Die Afrikanischen Hoheitszeichen", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 61, 1929, 46–152; CARL A. SCHMITZ, *Technologie frühzeitlicher Waffen*, Katalog, Basel 1963; CHRISTOPHER SPRING, *African Arms and Armor*, Washington, DC 1993, 101; VSAe I, 310, 404; II, figs. 17, 39; III 129, 202, 207, 258, 327.

Ursula Hellwag

Short chronicles ↗Historiography

Sibyl, Wisdom of

The W.S. (Eth. **ጥበበ፡ ሳቤላ**, *Ṭəbäbä sabela*) is an apocalyptic text translated from Arabic, in which it was composed on the pattern of the Latin *Sibylline Oracles*.

In Classical Antiquity Sibyls (of unknown etymology) were women regarded as possessing the gift of ↗prophecy (s. EAE vol. 5), whose utterances were put down and preserved, e.g., in Rome, since the republican epoch, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. In the 3rd cent. B.C. the "pagan" literary genre of Sibylline oracles began to be used by the Jews in Alexandria for their religious propagandistic purposes, often hostile to Rome in general, or to some emperors (Nero).

The genre was adopted by the Christians, too, since they found in them prophecies announcing Christ. Consequently, both Jewish and Christian parts can be found in the Latin collection of the *Sibylline Oracles*. Although the Sibylline books were destroyed in Rome at the beginning of the 5th cent. A.D., the genre survived until the Middle Ages, when new Sibylline oracles were composed, such as the Latin *Tiburtine Sibyl*.

The Ethiopic W.S., or rather its Arabic *Vorlage*, derives perhaps from a text that may be called "Proto-Tiburtine Sybil", since it seems to be also the source of the Latin *Tiburtine Sibyl*. Three Arabic and one Karšūnī recensions are extant. The Arabic text was probably composed in Syria, to which the existence of the Karshuni version points, which, together with the first Arabic version, is the earliest. This hypothesis seems strengthened by some motifs and geographical references. The composition should be probably dated to the 11th cent., after the Byzantine re-capture of some of its former possessions in Syria from the Muslim hands.

The Ethiopic W.S. was translated from the third Arabic version (Schleifer 1910: 78). The full title is "The Wisdom of the woman whose name is Sibyl, the daughter of Heraclius, the chief of the wise man of Ephesus, and explanation of the dream that 100 wise men saw in the city of Rome, (all) in one night, and on the same hour".

According to the W.S., 100 nobles of Rome had simultaneously the same dream. They saw nine suns in the sky with various attributes (Schleifer 1908, §2: 1–9). For explanation, they were advised to consult the 187-years-old Sibyl. She revealed that the suns are the nine epochs, which symbolize continuous moral worsening of the humanity, until the sixth epoch when the light of the light of the Most High will appear, born by a virgin (ibid. §3: 7a). People of Judah will crucify him, yet many will believe in him. In the seventh epoch a king and his queen from "Berenṭəya" (Byzantium), as well as their successor, will persecute the believers. Later, a man from the south called "Mäfqəd" (↗Muḥammad) will rule for some time (ibid. §3: 11). The prophecies continue for the Muslim epoch; the historical allusions that are recognizable are references to the caliphs Muḥammad al-Amīn (809–13) and ᶜAbdallāh al-Maᵓmūn (813–33; ibid. §3:16f.). A fall of morality will follow. In the ninth epoch, a "lion cub" from the west will appear and will restore everything that was destroyed (ibid. §3: 24a, perhaps a hint to emperor Nicephorus and the Byzantine reconquista of the 10th cent., although the Crusades cannot be excluded). A 40-year long period of prosperity will follow, but then the eschatological calamities will begin, including the attack of the peoples of Gog and Magog, and the arrival of the Antichrist (the word itself does not occur). The end of the world will follow (conflagration of the earth for 40 years, fall of the sun and the stars), but people who did good (in their lifetime) will have nothing to fear.

Guidi placed the Ethiopic translation in the 15th cent. It is not a very popular text: at least seven manuscripts are known (Schleifer 1908: 3f., StrBritLib 100), of which the earliest date from the 17th cent. (ZotBNat mss. Éth. 146 and 157), others from the 18th cent. In some 20th-cent. manuscripts of the Amharic ↗*Baḥrä ḥassab* (e.g., EMML nos. 1104, 1087) a 7-year cycle (**ሱባዔ**, *subaᶜe*) is attributed to S. The W.S. influenced the *Apocalypse of* ↗*Baruch* of the Betä Ǝsraᵓel (perhaps 15th cent.; Beylot 1980).

↗Eschatology; ↗Pseudoepigrapha and apocrypha

Src.: RENÉ BASSET (ed., tr.), *La Sagesse de Sibylle*, Paris 1900 (Les apocryphes éthiopiens 10); JOHANNES GEFFKKEN (ed.), *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, Leipzig 1902 (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 8); JOEL SCHLEIFER (ed., tr.), *Die Erzählung der Sibylle*: *ein Apokryph nach den karschunischen, arabischen, und äthiopischen Handschriften zu London, Oxford, Paris und Rom*, Wien 1908 (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philologisch-historische Klasse 53:1); ERNST SACKUR, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*: *Pseudomethodius, Adso und die Tiburtinische Sibylle*, Halle an der Saale 1898, 115–87.

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "Sur deux textes apocalyptiques éthiopiens", *Semitica* 30, 1980, 89–92; GuiSLett 41; JOEL SCHLEIFER, "Die Weisheit der Sibylle", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 24, 1910, 33–50.

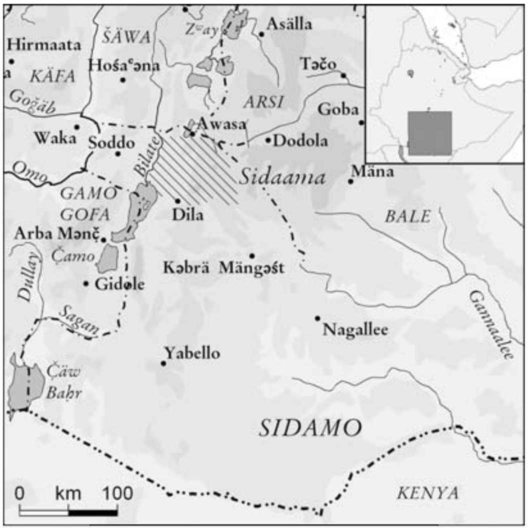
Witold Witakowski

Sidaama

Sidaama language

S. (Sidamo, Sidama; self-name: *Sidaam-u afoo/qaale*, lit. 'mouth/word of S.'; Amh. **ሲዳምኛ**, *Sidamiñña*) is a ↗Cushitic language belonging to the ↗Highland East Cushitic group. The number of S. mother tongue speakers is 2,925,171 (CSA 2010: 200) in south-central Ethiopia between ↗Awasa in the north and Dila in the south, Arbe Gona in the east and the Bilate River and Lake ↗Abbayya in the west.

According to Hudson (in BendNonSLang 235), the earliest codification of S. is the publication of St. Mark's Gospel by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1933. Written in Ethiopic



↗script, S. was one of the languages used during the National ↗Literacy Campaign in the 1980s. The complete New Testament in S. (**ሃሮ፡ ጎንዶሮ**, *Haaro Gondooro*, lit. 'new oath') was published in 1990. After the fall of the *Därg* regime, a Latin script based on the ↗Oromiffaa orthography was adopted. On 19 *Näḥase* 1985 A.M. [25 August 1993], S. was officially proclaimed as a language of primary education and administration in the Sidaama Zone. Since then, numerous school primers and books have been printed (notably, the N.T. *Haaro Gondooro*, published in 2001 by the Bible Society of Ethiopia), and a radio station in ↗Yərga ᶜAläm has started broadcasting in S.

The phonemic system comprises five vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u* with their long counterparts, and 25 consonants: labials *b, p̣, f, m, w*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *ɗ*, *s*, *z*, *n*, *l*, *r*; palatals *č*, *ğ*, *č̣*, *š*, *ñ*, *y*; velars *k*, *g*, *q*; glottals ᵓ, *h*. Stress (sometimes referred to as tone or pitch accent) has a grammatical significance, e.g. *kubb-i-nó* 'he has jumped' vs. *kubb-i-no* 'let us jump'.

Nominals can be marked for number, gender, and case. Plural formation is complex and involves more than ten morphological patterns. The category of gender comprises masc. and fem. The gender of inanimate nouns is arbitrary: *hayṭe* 'barley' (masc.), *qamade* 'wheat' (fem.). Gender is overtly marked only on few nouns (e.g., most nouns which end in *-e* are fem.), but is apparent in agreement with the verb and demonstrative as well as in the type of case markers.

There are three basic cases in S.: nominative (nom.), absolutive (abs.) and genitive (gen.). The absolutive (accusative) is not marked and is identical with the citation form. Nominative is marked by *-u/-i* in masculine nouns and remains unmarked in feminine nouns. Genitive is marked by *-u* (masc. common noun), *-i* (masc. proper noun), *-te* (fem.). Oblique case relations are encoded by postpositions encliticizing to a noun stem: dative is marked by *-ho* (masc.), *-te* (fem.), *-ra* (pronouns and proper nouns); in ablative/instrumental, *-nni* is suffixed after the gender markers *-u* (masc.) and *-te* (fem.).

Pronouns make gender distinctions in 3rd pers. sg., and distinguish between nominative and absolutive. Nominative is marked by an unstressed final vowel; in sg. (except 3rd pers. fem.) it is additionally marked by the suffix *-i*. In absolutive, the final syllable is stressed.

pers.		sg. nom.	sg. abs.	pl. nom.	pl. abs.
1st		*an-i*	*áné*	*ninke*	*ninké*
2nd		*at-i*	*áté*	*kiᵓne*	*kiᵓné*
3rd	masc.	*is-i*	*ísó*	*insa*	*insá*
3rd	fem.	*ise*	*isé*		

The demonstratives have three gradations: near (proximal), far (distal) and very far (remote): *kun-i* 'this', *kuuᵓ-u* 'that' (distal), *kuᵓᵓ-u* 'that' (remote). They are also marked for case, number and gender. E.g., in the above list *-u*/*-i* marks nominative. Many of the interrogative pronouns have both absolutive and nominative forms:

	abs.	nom.
'who?'	*ayé*	*ay-i*
'what?'	*maa*	*may-i*
'how many?'	*meᵓe*	*meᵓ-u*

All verb stems end in consonants; they range from mono-consonantal to tri-syllabics. A verbal form consists of a number of morphemes in the following sequence: verb stem, (number marker), tense/aspect marker, person marker, gender marker. The main tense/aspect forms are perfect (perf.: *kubb-í* 'he jumped'), present perfect (pres. perf.: *kubb-ino* 'he has jumped') and imperfect (impf.: *kubb-anno* 'he will jump/he jumps'). Verbs are also inflected for mood (jussive/imperative: *kubb-i* 'jump!' [sg.]). The person markers are 1st pers. sg. *-mm-*, 1st pers. pl. *-n-*, 2nd pers. sg./2nd pers. hon. *-tt-*, 2nd pers. pl. *-tin-*, 3rd pers. masc./3rd pers. hon. -ø-, 3rd pers. fem./3rd pers. pl. -*t*-. A non-finite verbal category known as converb consists of the verb stem plus subject-marking suffixes: *beett-u dod-e eᵓ-i* (boy-nom. run-3rd pers. masc. sg. converb enter-3rd pers. masc. sg. perf.) 'The boy entered running'.

Negation in main verbs and other word classes is indicated by the prefix *di-*, and in subordinate verbs by *-kki*.

The copula has three grammatically conditioned alternants: *-ho* 'he is', *-te* 'she is' and *-ti* 'it is'. Plural forms take either *-ho* or *-te* (the selection appears to be arbitrary). *-ti* is restricted to genitive structures and cleft sentences. E.g., *mine-nke-ti* (house-our-is) 'it is our house', *sirb-ino-hu Samaago-ti* (sing-3masc.-pres.perf.-who Samaago-is) 'it is Samago who has sung'.

Adjectives are inflected for case, gender and number. "True adjectives" are few, the majority being formed via verbal derivation or by means of relativized verbs. Similarly, S. has only a handful of "true adverbs" (mostly temporal). Most adverbial functions such as manner and place are expressed by means of postpositional phrases or subordinate clauses.

S. is a configurational language with a default Subject–Object–Verb word order: *beetto tima it-tú* (girl bread eat-3fem.perf.) 'The girl ate bread'.

The ten-word list is: 'one' *mite*, 'two' *lame*, 'three' *sase*, 'moon' *agana*, 'sun' *arriššo*, 'blood' *mundee,* 'fire' *giira,* 'tongue' *arrawo*, 'water' *waa,* 'tooth' *hinko.*

One interesting aspect of S. is women's avoidance lexicon known as *ballišša*, employed by married women out of respect for their fathers-in-law. However, this practice is rapidly declining.

Src.: Central Statistical Authority (ed.), *The 2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Statistical Report for Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region*, Addis Ababa 2010, 200; Raymond G. Gordon (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005.

Lit.: Abebe Gebre-Tsadik et al., "The Verb Morphophonemics of Five Highland East Cushitic Languages Including Burji", *AAP 2*, 1985, 1–146, here 64–81; Anbessa Teferra, *A Grammar of Sidaama*, Ph.D. thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 2000; CerStud II; Armido Gasparini, *Grammatica pratica della lingua sidamo*, Awasa 1978; Id., *Sidamo–English Dictionary*, Bologna 1983; Grover Hudson, "Highland East Cushitic", in: *BendNonSLang* 232–77; Id., *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*, Hamburg 1989 (Cushitic Language Studies 7); Martino Mario Moreno, *Manuale di Sidamo,* Milano 1940; Klaus Wedekind, *Generating Narratives*: *Interrelations of Knowledge, Text Variants, and Cushitic Focus Strategies*, New York 1990 (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 52).

Anbessa Teferra

Sidaama ethnography

S. (also Sidamo, Sidama; Sg.: Sidaančo), is the self-name of an ethnic group in southern Ethiopia. Their language belongs to the Highland East ↗Cushitic language group. The S. inhabit the highlands on the edge of the Ethiopian Rift Valley, between the town of ↗Awasa in the north and Dilla in the south, Harbegoona in the east and River Bilate and Lake ↗Abbayya in the west.

The neighbours of the S. are the ↗Arsi in the north, the ↗Guǧǧi in the north and east, the ↗Gideʾo (Gedeʾó, Amh. Därasa) in the south and the ↗Wälaytta in the west. The population of the towns in Sidaamaland (e.g., Awasa, Alätta Wändo, ↗Yərga ʿAläm), however, is multiethnic. Today's S. administrative zone belongs to the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State and comprises 19 *wärädas*. According to the 2007 national census of Ethiopia the total population of the S. zone was 2,966,652 (CSA 2008: 76f.).

The S. territory is dominated by a vast plateau which is interrupted by small valleys and rivers. The elevation ranges between 1,500 m and 3,500 m A.S.L. The area has three ↗ecological zones: *gammooǧǧe* ('lowland'), *woriččo* ('midlands') and *aliččo* ('highland'). Vegetation is sufficiently lush to support cattle grazing, ↗*ənsät*, and ↗maize. At higher elevations there is rainfall throughout the year. The year is roughly divided into the dry season (November–March) and a rainy cycle (April–October; s. also Hamer 1987: 12–19). Some of the best known natural attractions of S. territory are the Wändo Gännät hot water spring and recreation centre, the Loggita waterfalls and the Gidaabo hot water spring.

Ethnogenesis

The forefathers of the present day S. were probably part of an ethnically heterogeneous cluster of groups which belonged to the sultanate of ↗Hadiyya existing in the ↗Bale region between the 13th and 16th cent. Some S. elders, similar to Hadiyya oral traditions (cp. BrHad 429), claim that the S. came from *baara widinni* ('across the sea'), settled in various places in ↗Təgray, ↗Šäwa and ↗Harär and then moved south to settle in Bale. Other oral sources oppose this view and posit that the S. came from the south. Moreover, S. oral tradition relates that the original home of the S. was the River Dawa area and, in particular, beyond a big forest known as Bahaare. It is assumed that they stayed in this place till the second half of the 16th cent. whence they were pushed to a north-western direction by the ↗Oromo expansion. According to Braukämper (BrHad 431) the ancestors of the S. settled in present Sidaamaland after 1600. Their two main ethnic components, both called after their apical ancestors, were the Maldeʾa who are said to have come from ↗Däwaro, north of the ↗Wabi Šäbälle bend, and the Bušše who originated in Dawa, west of the upper Ganaale. According to some oral sources Malde°a was a descendant of *imām* ↗Śidi.

As oral tradition relates, the ancestors Bušše and Malde°a moved gradually into what was to become Sidaamaland, the Bušše taking the lead (Hamer 1987: 21–30). Both were pastoralists, though Bušše may have been acquainted with horticulture and found the land in the highlands suitable for both grazing and gardening. The land, however, was already occupied by a people called Hoofa by oral tradition. S. historical memory recalls that they became their subjects and were repressed, in particular by the Hoofa king Gololča Orde. It is believed that the S. adopted *ənsät* cultivation from the Hoofa.

The Gidabo River became a dividing line between the Malde°a in the south and the Bušše in the north. Both fractions adhered to an uneasy truce with the Hoofa. However, as demands for tribute increased by the latter, the Bušše called on the Malde°a to cross the Gidabo and help release them from Hoofa hegemony. The joined groups succeeded in defeating the Hoofa who later on were assimilated to the S.

S. oral tradition claims that decades later conflict arose between the Bušše and Malde°a with the former claiming tribute from the latter because of their earlier presence north of the Gidabo River. Eventually the Malde°a requested the Bušše to respect their rights to all of the land south of the river. Though followed by their enemies they managed, with the help of the ↗Guǧǧi, to drive the Bušše further north. The peace that followed was based largely on marriage exchange, a common language, and a culture that has held them together ever since.

Economy

While in the highlands most S. traditionally are subsistence farmers, in the lowlands also pastoralism is practiced. The number of pastoralists, however, decreases rapidly because of overpopulation and the concomitant lack of open grazing lands. Even farming is becoming less productive because of population pressure and decreasing plot sizes. This, and the occasional drop of coffee prices results in chronic poverty and malnutrition.

The S. mainly cultivate ↗*ənsät* (S.: *weese*). Its products, in particular *waasa* (fermented *ənsät* pulp), is the main staple food which is supplemented by dairy products, vegetables and the occasional meat. In addition to *ənsät*, ↗maize, barley, ↗sorghum, sugar cane, pulses, vegetables and various fruits are also grown. The S. live in small hamlets (*qačča*) clustered at the edges of plateaus. Their *ənsät* gardens surround their board and thatched houses. Cattle graze on the plateau which is held in common by the hamlet families. Each household owns the gardening land which is divided among the sons of the male head from one generation to the next.

After World War II the ↗coffee trade which had begun as early as the 1920s was developed further by S. producers in cooperation with the Ethiopia Coffee Board. Coffee is the main cash-crop since the 1950s. By 1970 the coffee produced in Sidaamaland constituted 25 % of Ethiopian exports (Hamer 1987: 148). Today, S. is one of the major coffee-producing areas and provides 45 % to 50 % of washed coffee to the Ethiopian market. The S. coffee is one of the famous and premium coffee brands in the world. The other important cash-crop is ↗*č̣at*.

There are also craftsmen such as 'tanners' (*awaččo*), 'potter' (*haadiiččo*), 'blacksmith' (*tuntičča*) and 'weavers' (*šimaane*, from Amh.: *šämane*). Traditionally, these professions have been despised and intermarriage between the common S. and the three artisan groups was prohibited. A portion of the educated population is engaged in government jobs while others are involved in trade.

Social and political organization

The S. are divided into exogamous patrilineal clans (*gare*). The Bušše are the largest S. group comprising nine sub-clans: Malgaa, Yanaase, Šabadiino, Haadiiččo (Daarra), Woriidi ('Lower') and Aliidi ('Upper') Garbiččo, Holloo, Asaarado, Harbegoona and Harbe. The Malde°a fraction consists of Haweela, Alatta, Sawoola and Qeweena. Other minor clans such as Dafina, Gisa, Banqaano, etc. claim supernatural descent. The Banqaano, for example, claim to have descended from the sky together with a 'lightening' (*banqo*). Although each clan claims its own territory, intermarriage and migration are slowly disguising settlement patterns. Among each clan two status groups are discerned, the *wolawiččo* ('free man') and *ṭalatiččo* ('foreigner, one who lives on the land of others'). The *yemereero* are free men with the highest social status observing special social and food taboos according to a system of ritual purity (*anga*).

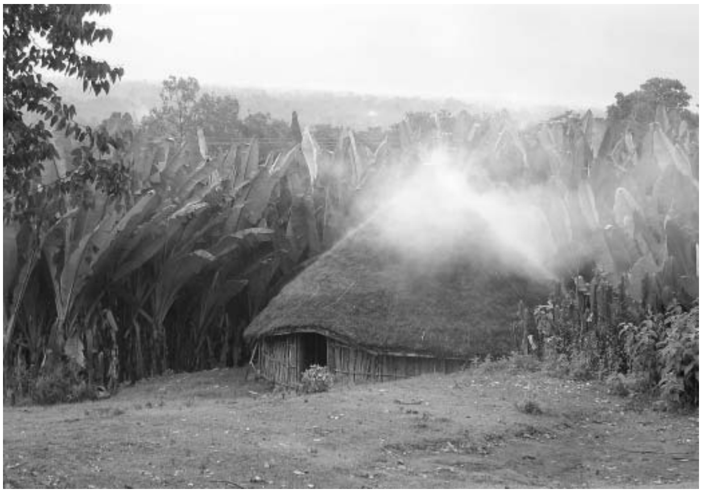


Fig. 1: House and *ənsät* garden in Sidaama; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

The *aydde* (‘family/household’) forms the lowest nucleus of the S. social organization. Since the S. have a patriarchal system the *ayddaanna* (‘husband’) is the one who administers and is responsible for the family. He supports his family by farming and cattle raising. The *ayddaama* (‘housewife’) is responsible for feeding, bringing up the children and all household chores. A group of *aydde* form a *qačča* or *činančo* (‘village’). The village collective forms the *ollaa* (‘neighbourhood’). The *ollaa* cooperate in various tasks such as house building, farming, well digging, pond maintenance, mourning and wedding ceremonies, etc.

The village (*ollaa*), the tribe (*gare*) and the clan are administered by the council of *ç̣imeeyye* (‘elders’, Sg.: *ç̣imeessa*) who by virtue of their age have entered the ruling *luwa* grade (s. below). The elders handle local affairs and resolve from minor up to major conflicts. Their judgments and considerations are based on *halaale* (‘truth’) which emphasizes kindness, honesty and respect for elders.

The intermediate council is known as *gare-te songo* (‘tribal council’) and the next higher level of council is that of *moote-te songo* (‘council of the chief’). The S. did not have one elected leader who ruled over them. Instead each clan was administered by a traditional leader known as *moote* (‘chief’, cp. ↗*Mooti*) who was elected by the general assembly. When he died he was succeeded by his elder son/daughter. The *moote* ruled in consultation with the council of people’s representatives (‘*songo*’). The *moote* is assisted also by the *gadaanna* (s. below) who is responsible for defence matters. Most of the *moote* became ↗*balabbat* during the feudal period. The highest level of all councils is that of the *womu songo*. The *woma* is equivalent to a king in his status and usually the oldest person is elected for this post. In some S. clans the *woma* post is hereditary and hence even a youngster can become a *woma* but will be assisted by an elder advisor.

The S. system is patrilineal with males being the traditional inheritors. The S. socio-political structure is based on a system of generation grades called *luwa* (↗Age group systems; cp. ↗*Gadaa*). The *luwa* has five *luwa* sets: *wawaasa*, *fullaasa*, *hirboora*, *moggisa* and *daraara* which alternate every eight years. Hence the *luwa* system enabled the S. to select their leaders every eight years. The *luwa* only includes male members. They may range from infants to the very old ones and also can be a member of a different clan. The *gadaanna* (‘father of the *gadaa*’) leads the *luwa*. He is assisted by a vice-*gadaanna* or *ǧaˀlaawa*. There are two main obligations of a *luwa* set. The first is invading the enemy territory and pillaging their cattle. If a *luwa* fails to perform cattle rustling, then that *luwa* set will lose its prestige. The second one is circumcision of all the *luwa* set members within the period of eight years.

Religion and rituals

The autochtonous religion of the S. is based upon honouring Magano (also known as *kalaqa*, ‘Creator’ or *kaliiqa*, ‘Almighty’) and the belief in ↗spirits of powerful clan founders and deceased elders as well as nature spirits which may bring illness and possess individuals. One of the main ways of respecting Magano is by clinging to *halaale* (‘truth’) which emphasizes kindness, honesty and respect for elders.

↗Ancestors, in particular a deceased father, act as a medium for interaction between Magano and the family. In order to elicit the assistance of ancestors, a ritual of feeding the spirit is performed. It involves pouring honey and milk (*ṭoršira*) on the tomb or pouring the blood of a slaughtered bull to pay respect to the *annu ayyaana* (‘father’s spirit’). Some clans, e.g., the Buše, slaughter a number of bulls and pour the blood on the tomb

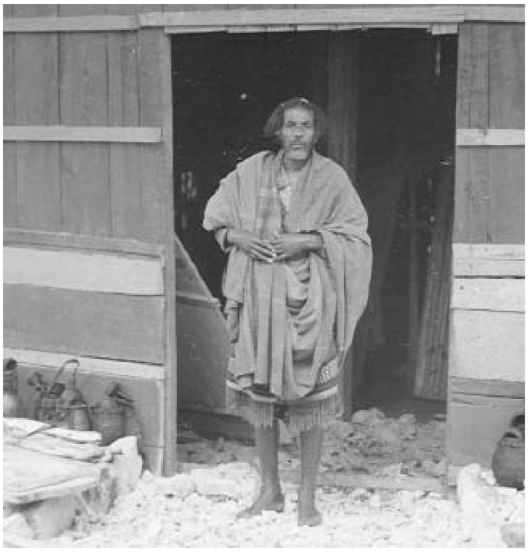


Fig. 2: A Sidaama elder in front of the tomb of Ṭummaano (the ancestral father of Sidaama), Teellamo, Šabadiino *wäräda*; photo 1988, courtesy of Anbessa Teferra

of their common ancestor or *akaaku ayyaana* ('ancestral spirit').

Magano is noted for originally giving people a choice between eternal life and reproduction. Choosing the latter they have continued ever since to grieve over the finiteness of life. A 'mourning ceremony' (*wiˀlišša*) usually takes place within a month or two and lasts for several days. If the deceased is a male a pole (*dore*) of podocarpus or ↗juniper will be erected. If he was a valiant who has killed an enemy or a wild animal the pole will be painted with *sorsa* ('red clay'). In addition, his wife will wear the skin of a wild animal which he has killed. For deceased women from three up to five sticks are stuck to the ground. Then a pot will be placed on top of the sticks and the pot is eventually covered by a *bulukko* ('heavy cotton blanket'). The mourning is accompanied by songs. Some may glorify the deceased, but most are concerned with the moral code (*halaalu*) condemning people who violate the norms, as well as consoling grieving relatives.

The rich system of S. tradition and customary practices is gradually changing because of various forces. For instance during the *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) traditional songs were discouraged and young boys and girls were even beaten up for performing *faaro*, a traditional dance. In addition, missionaries, in particular fundamentalist Evangelical churches which expanded quickly since the fall of the *Därg*, are responsible for the near-extinction of many traditional customs such as *kakkal-a* ('presenting a sacrifice'), *ṭoršira* ('ritual of feeding the spirit of a deceased father'), *ballišša* ('women's avoidance language') etc. Traditional dresses and cultural songs are becoming a rarity and are encountered mostly in *aliččo* ('the highlands').

Src.: CSA 1996; Armido Gasparini, *Sidamo–English Dictionary*, Bologna 1983.

Lit.: A. Asfa – M. Feleke, *Alternative Dispute Resolution Mechanisms in the Southern Region*, Addis Ababa 2004, ms.; Beetana Hott'eesso, ሲዳማ፡ ህዝብና፡ ባህሉ (*Sidaama həzbənna bahəlu*, 'Sidaama, the People and its Culture'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990 A.D.]; BendNonSLang; Ulrich Braukämper, "The Ethnogensis of the Sidāma", *Abbay* 9, 1978, 123-31; BrHad; Jan Brøgger, *Belief and Experience Among the Sidamo*: *a Case Study towards an Anthropology of Knowledge*, Oslo 1986; CerPeople; John Hamer, "Sidamo Generational Age Classes: a Political Gerontocracy", *Africa* 40, 1970, 50–70; Id.; *Human Development*: *Participation and Change among the Sadāma of Ethiopia*, Tuscaloosa, AL 1987; Id., "The Sidāma of Ethiopia and Rational Communication Action in Policy and Dispute Settlement", *Anthropos* 93, 1998, 137–53; Id., "The Mother's Brother: Kinship and Community among the Sidāma of Northeast Africa", *ibid.* 100, 2005, 560–67; Id., *Decentralization as Solution to the Problem of Cultural Diversity*: *an Example from Ethiopia*, n.d. n.p.; Bruno Lonfernini, *I Sidamo, un antico popolo cuscita*, Bologna 1971; ShGurage; Stanislaw Stanley, "The Political System of Sidama", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 3, 215–28; Arne Tolo, *Sidama and Ethiopian*: *the Emergence of the Mekane Yesus Church in Sidama*, Uppsala 1998.

John Hamer – Anbessa Teferra

Sidamo

The name S. (ሲዳሞ) was applied to a province in southern Ethiopia which covered a broad and culturally diversified region including the territories of ethnic groups such as ↗Sidaama, ↗Boorana, ↗Gučči, ↗Gideˀo, ↗Burği, ↗Konso, ↗Wälaytta and ↗Somali. It was bordered by the provinces of Bale in the east, Gamo Gofa in the west, Šäwa in the north, Somalia in the south-east and Kenya in the south (for location s. map for Sidaama).

The region was conquered between 1893 and 1897 and then integrated into the Ethiopian empire. The northern districts Sidaama and Ğämğäm were ruled by *däğğazmač* Baššah, *ras* ↗Ləˀul Sägäd and *däğğazmač* ↗Balča Safo and defined as S. province. Balča Safo, who founded the provincial capital of ↗Hagärä Sälam, governed this province with short interruptions until 1928. The southern part, "Konso-Boräna" or "Boräna" province, situated between the Dawa Parma River (further east called the ↗Ganaalee River) and Çäw Baḥər, was first ruled by *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis whose troops had subdued the area in

March–October 1897. He established the outpost of Mega in order to secure the frontier to Kenya.

S. underwent several reforms of its administrative boundaries. During the Italian occupation the S. area was administered by the *commissariati* of "Sidamo-Yirgalem" (with a *vice-residenza* "Sidama-Hula") and "Boran-Javello" that were subdivisions of the *governatorato* "Galla e Sidama" which covered a great part of southwestern Ethiopia.

After the Liberation the northern and the southern part were combined to form Sidamo-Boräna province. The former province of ↗"Wällamo" joined this new formation which was later renamed as "S.". Since then S. consists of six *awrağğa* (administrative centres in brackets): ↗Arero (↗Yabello), Boräna (↗Nagallee), Därasa (after 1974 called Gideᵓo; Dilla), Ğämğäm (Kəbrä Nägäśt), Sidaama (↗Yərga ᶜAläm) and Wällamo (↗Soddo). In the "federalist" administrative reform of the early 1990s S. province was abolished and divided between the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region and Oromiyaa *kəlləl*.

The northern part of the region as well as the southern highlands are characterized by a high population density. The majority of the people are agriculturists, the cultivation of ↗*ənsät* playing a central role for many (Sidaama, Gideᵓo, Burği; ↗sorghum among the Konso). The spread of ↗coffee as a cash crop has already been initiated by Balča Safo (s. above). Until today coffee, grown between 1,800 m and 2,000 m A.S.L., is the most important crop in S. In the Boorana areas of the south, ↗pastoralism is the predominant subsistence strategy. Cultivated land is rare and the population is sparse. The main product is skins and hides. Ğämğäm and northern Boräna are rich in mineral resources.

Src.: CSO 1964; CSO 1971; EMAtlas 56.

Lit.: *Guida* 558–63; Wolfgang Kuls, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeographie der südäthiopischen Seenregion*, Frankfurt am Main 1958 (Frankfurter Geographische Hefte 32), passim; PerGov 293ff., maps; Chris Prouty Rosenfeld, *A Chronology of Menilek II of Ethiopia, Emperor of Ethiopia, 1889–1913*, East Lansing, MI 1976, 182, 184; ZerÉth 389–92.

Dirk Bustorf

Śidi

Ś. (ሢዲ [፡ መሐመድ], also ሲዲ, possibly from Arab. honorary title, 'master, lord') is remembered as Sidee in the oral traditions of groups which consider themselves as heirs of the ancient ↗Hadiyya state, particularly by the ↗Allaaba and the ↗Səlṭi. Ś. is mentioned in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Susenyos (PerChron) and by Aṣmä Giyorgis (BTafA) as leader of the "Hadiyya" and opponent of the Christian ruler. However, oral tradition suggests that he was an important leader during the time of *amīr* ↗Nūr b. Muğāhid's *ğihād* against the Christian empire until 1568, since Ś. is reported to have been a father's brother's son of *ḥāğğī* ᶜAlī(ye), one of the most famous ancestors of the "Adäre" cluster in eastern Gurage (Səlṭi, ↗Wəlbaräg, etc.), whose grave is situated at Umnan in the territory of the Azärnät. Ś. or Sidee is said to have been slain in the course of internal disputes and was buried at Dangawura in ↗Ənnäqor. Similar to the mausoleum of his paternal uncle *ḥāğğī* ᶜAlī his grave has been a place of pilgrimage and veneration up to the present (BrHad 122ff., 179f.).

Ś. is reported to have fathered many descendents who became founders of leading clans in Allaaba and different parts of Gurageland. Their members were subsequently styled Sidee. The bulk of this people joined the Allaaba and achieved the position of the ↗*woma*, the political and spiritual chief of this group. They have usually claimed a particular nobility derived from an alleged Šarific descent and differentiated themselves from the rest of the group called *ağğer* (in a sense of commoners). Ağaamo, the clan of the chiefs in ↗Qabeena, refers to a close genealogical relationship with the Sidee. According to a popular legend two of Ś. illegitimate sons, who had been exposed and then saved under intricate circumstances, became founders of important Gurage clans, the Mogämänna of the ↗Čaha and the Ənäkʷamt of the ↗Gumär. The Sudee clan of the Arsi-Oromo in Arba Gugu east of the Rift Valley preserved the tradition of a common origin with the Sidee as descendents of Ś.

Src.: BTafA 210–13, 240f., 250f., 970; PerChron 32ff [text], 25ff. [tr.].

Lit.: BrHad 122–24, 179–80, 414.

Ulrich Braukämper

Šihābaddīn Aḥmad b. Abdalqadir ↗Futuḥ al-Ḥabaša

Šihābaddīn Aḥmad Badlāy b. Saᶜdaddīn ↗Aḥmad Badlāy

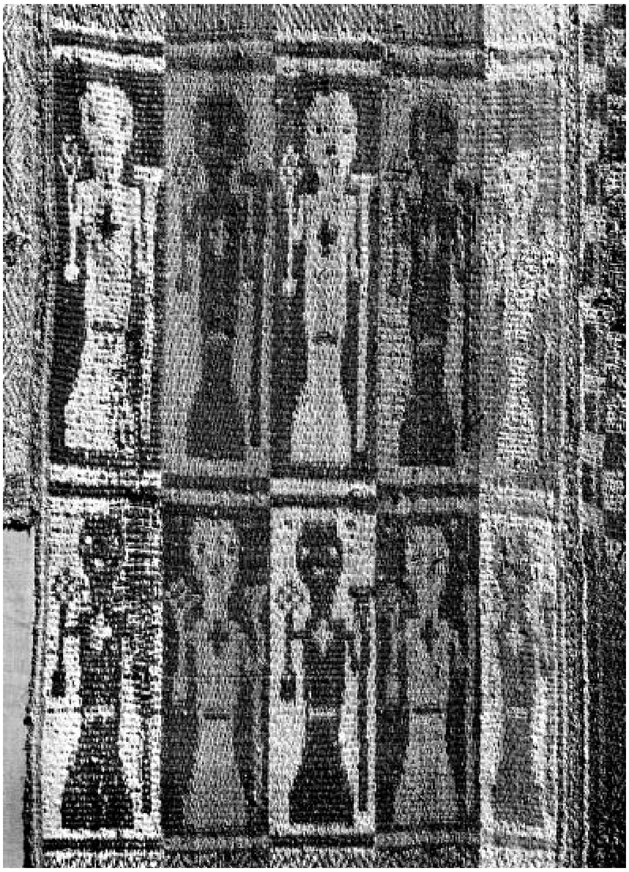
Šihābaddīn al-Qalqašandī ↗Qalqašandī

Silk

Ethiopia's geographical position, at the Indian Ocean and the ↗Red Sea, opened its shores from the earliest times to the S. ↗trade. The acquisition, distribution and use of S., from the 16th cent. and probably for centuries before, was a royal prerogative. Already in the 1st cent. A.D., Roman trade with ↗India gave growing importance to the sea route which had become the primary commercial link between the Mediterranean and the East. In the mid-6th cent., Procopius of Caesarea reports that Emperor Justinian proposed to King ↗Kaleb that Ethiopian [traders] bypass their Persian counterparts by selling S. from India directly to the Byzantines. They were unsuccessful, however, as the Persians "ever come first to the havens, where the Indians unlade, being their next borderers, and buy up all" (Procopius [tr. Holcroft] 24). It has been argued that the Ethiopian war against the Jewish ↗Himyar kingdom in the ↗Yemen arose because of the Byzantine attempt to control the S. trade. Apparently Ḏū Nuwās (↗Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar) started the war by killing Christian merchants travelling the S. route which passed through the region (Procopius [tr. Holcroft] 1–8; Starensier 1982: 61f.; Xinru Kiu 1998: 75f.). This close association with the S. trade led to its widespread use in Ethiopia, such that a thousand years later, when European travellers visited the country, they filled their accounts with references to textiles made from it. Alvares writes of the enormous quantities used for the decoration of churches (BeckHuntAlvar 89, 125), of S. tents serving as churches and communion houses (ibid. 188, 296), of S. curtains (↗*Mägaräǧa*) behind which the "Prester" sat and which, in churches, hung before the ↗*mäqdäs* (ibid. 75, 283), of S. ↗clothing for the Prester and the wealthy (ibid. 116, 143n, 304), of a S. covering for the ↗*tabot* (ibid. 84) and for the royal tombs beside the church of ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (ibid. 203). Alvares describes taxes or tribute (↗Tributes and taxation) of S. from nobles and Muslim communities (ibid. 117, 173f., 228, 429), and royal gifts of S. (ibid. 248, 434), the most lavish of which was *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl's donation in 1516 to the church of the Holy Sepulchre in ↗Jerusalem of enough S. to cover its walls (ibid. 448). The royal inventory, kept in baskets and stored in caves, fell under the administration of the governor of ↗Šäwa, who held the title "keeper of the silk caves" (ibid., 448 and n. 1). While the Portuguese knew the protocol and themselves offered S. to king and churches (ibid. 63 n. 2, 289, 306f.), the principal suppliers were Muslim traders (ibid. 251), particularly Turks. Further evidence from the 16th cent. is provided by ↗Zorzi (CrawItin 95, 153), and d'↗Almeida (BeckHuntAlm 55, 180), who confirms the eastern origin of the material and the Emperor's lavish use thereof (ibid. 43, 59, 61, 81). For the 17th cent., the quantities of S. imports from India and ↗China recorded by the Ethiopian ambassador *ḫoǧa* ↗Murād are equally impressive (DonMurad 49, 109). ↗Lobo comments on the preference given by members of the royal court to "Turkish brocades, velvets, and every other kind of silk" (da Costa 1984: 172).

↗Prutky remarks that the Emperor's ↗headrest "was covered with silk" (Arrowsmith-Brown 1991: 154). Little has survived from the period, other than occasional swatches incorporated into the inside covers of Ethiopian ↗manuscripts. The earliest of these date to the 16th cent. (Pankhurst 1980: 43–55). Earlier examples still can be recognized in the striped garments represented in 15th-cent. manuscript ↗painting (Gervers in PICEA 5, 127).

The majority of S. was imported as woven fabric, or apparently as short staple (undoubtedly from broken cocoons) to be spun (CrawItin 171). Reference to the ↗weaving of S. is rare, however, although there must have been a considerable industry among the artisans of the royal court, who would have been Muslims or Jews. Alvares describes the Muslim-turned-Christian wrestler Gäbrä Maryam, "who is clever with his hands (he works silk and [↗]gold) and makes braid and tassels on cloths" (BeckHuntAlvar 319). The most remarkable of the survivals from the 18th cent. are the enormous (5 m x 2.2 m), heavy, thick-spun, S. tablet-woven sanctuary curtains, possibly woven in Gondär (with a continuing tradition in ↗cotton apparently produced in ↗Tämben, Təgray) under the direct patronage of *aṣe* Bäkaffa, Queen Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) and their successors, and preserved today at ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima monastery (s. ill.) and in the collections of the British Museum, London, and the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Balicka-Witakowska – Gervers 1996: 375–84; Gervers 2004: 588–601). D'Almeida records the ceremonial reception of ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl at Aksum in 1580 when "The ecclesiastics, priests and deacons received him with the golden cross, the silver censer, and about twelve parasols, while they displayed hangings of silk" (CRHist 89, as quoted in BeckHuntAlm 96f. n. 1), which may be a yet earlier reference to such tablet-woven exam-



Heavy spun silk curtain, detail showing *däbtära* with *mäqqʷamiya* and crosses, 18th cent., Ǝnda Abba Gärima, Təgray; photo 2007, courtesy of the author

ples. That those presently to be found in Tämben are all made of cotton suggests that the 19th cent., the time of their fabrication, has shown a decline in the availability of spun S. thread. Decreasing supplies notwithstanding, Ethiopians continue to admire and use S. widely for ecclesiastical vestments and ↗*dəbab*, and for church furnishings. The Christian ↗*matäb* is invariably made of twisted or braided S., while the Muslim women of the ↗Harär region regularly wear the S. *atlas*, made of fine cloth imported through Djibouti.

When, under Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, the ↗coffee crop was compromised by the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), British agricultural advisors suggested that the country consider sericulture as an alternative. Under the *Därg*, a small group of North Koreans working at the ↗Zʷay State Farm are said to have produced S. secretly, but in recent years the industry has been openly considered by government and private enterprise alike. Experiments have been carried out at the Awaš Agricultural Research Centre in Malkaasaa and the Agricultural, Technical and Vocational Education Training College at Alage using worms raised on Gulo (*Castor-Eri* S.) and Enjory (mulberry – *Bombix Morris*). In 2004 the Canadian company Sabahar established a compound in Mäkanisa for spinning, weaving and finishing S. products, using cocoons from S. worm farms in Kombolča and elsewhere supported by the Japanese aid organization, Japanese International Cooperation Agency. The shortage of cocoons is to be alleviated by an intensification of S. worm cultivation and a S. processing factory is being constructed in ↗Mäq̱älä.

Src.: James Henry Arrowsmith-Brown (ed., tr.), *Prutky's Travels to Ethiopia and Other Countries*, London 1991 (Hakluyt Society Works, 2nd ser. 174), 154; BeckHuntAlm 55, 96f. n. 1, 180; BeckHuntAlvar, passim; Wanda Wolska-Conus (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 1, Paris 1968 (Sources chrétiennes 141), 48f., 366; CrawItin 95, 153, 171; CRHist 89; DonMurad, passim; Manuel Gonçalves da Costa (ed.), *The Itinerário of Jerónimo Lobo*, tr. by Donald M. Lockhart, London 1984 (The Hakluyt Society Works, 2nd ser. 162), 172; Procopius, *The History of the Warres of the Emperor Justinian in Eight Books written in Greek by Procopius of Caesarea tr. by Henry Holcroft*, London 1653, Book I 20, 1–8, 24; Craven Howell Walker, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933, 5, 16, 26, 55, 82f., 110.

Lit.: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska – Michael Gervers, "Monumental Ethiopian Tablet-woven Silk Curtains: a case for Royal Patronage", *Burlington Magazine* 138, 1119, June 1996, 375–85; Michael Gervers, "The Portuguese Import of Luxury Textiles to Ethiopia in the 16th and 17th Centuries and their Subsequent Artistic Influence", in: *PICEA* 5, 121–34; Id., "Shamma, Gábi, and Kamis", *Rotunda* 16/2, 1983, 38–44; Id., "The Tablet-woven Hangings of Tigré (Ethiopia): from History to Symmetry", *Burlington Magazine* 146, 1218, September 2004, 588–601; PankBord 47f., 103, 137, 174, 185, 200, 350, 369; Richard Pankhurst, "Imported Textiles in Ethiopian Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Manuscript Bindings in Britain", *Azania* 15, 1980, 43–55; PankSoc 55, 187, 236, 299; Christopher Spring – Julie Hudson, *North African Textiles*, London 1995, 119–30; Iid., *Silk in Africa*, Seattle, WA 2002; Adele La Barre Starensier, *An Art Historical Study of the Byzantine Silk Industry*, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University 1982, 61f.; Xinru Kiu, *Silk and Religion: an Exploration of Material Life and the Thought of People, AD 600–1200*, London 1998, 75f.

Michael Gervers

Simeon of Beth Arsham

S. (Syr. Šemᶜōn də-B̠ēṯ Aršam; b. 5th cent., d. before 548), also known as the Persian Debater (*Dārōšā Pārsāyā*), was a Syriac Jacobite bishop and author.

S. was active in Mesopotamia (Persian at the time), where he fought against all other religions or versions of Christianity, especially "Nestorianism" (↗Nestorius). After a successful dispute in which the East Syrian Patriarch Babay was his opponent, he was consecrated bishop of Beth Arsham, a village near Seleucia/Ctesiphon. He travelled extensively within Mesopotamia, but also to Armenia, Hirta and Constantinople. He died during one of his visits to the capital.

We are informed about his life by ↗John of Ephesus, who knew S. personally and devoted a chapter in his *Lives of the Eastern Saints* (ed. Brooks 1983: 137–58) to him. According to this source (ibid. 153), the Persian king Khusro I imprisoned S. (together with other Jacobite hierarchs) for seven years at Nisibis, but the king of Ethiopia (unnamed, probably ↗Kaleb), through his envoys, managed to get S. released.

S. composed a liturgical text (anaphora), and two historically important letters. The first, the *Letter on Bar Sauma and the Heresy of the Nestorians*, is a valuable, although quite hostile, account of the spread of dyophysite theology in Persia. The other *Letter*, addressed to Simeon, archimandrite of Gabbula, is a primary source for the persecution of the Christians of ↗Nağrān, which stimulated the military intervention of king Kaleb of ↗Aksum.

Dated to 523/24, i.e., soon after the martyrdom of Nağrān, this *Letter* is extant in two forms, a longer, possibly original (ed. Guidi 1881), and an abbreviated, transmitted in historiographic works, e.g., in the *Miscellaneous history* of Pseudo-Zachariah the Rhetor (6th cent.), and the *Chronicle* of ↗Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Maḥrē (8th cent.).

Irfan Shahîd (1971) attributed another letter ("*Second Letter*") to S. with more details on the 520s in South ↗Arabia. This attribution has not been accepted by other scholars (Ryckmans 1987: 297; Shitomi 1991: 223), and neither has Shahîd's (1963) attribution to S. of the *Book of ↗Ḥimyarites* (Brock 1997).

In the "first" *Letter* the account of the persecution is presented as a quotation of a letter sent by the Jewish king-persecutor (↗Yūsuf Asᵓar Yaṯᵓar) to an Arab king of al-Ḥīra, supplemented by other sources (an account of a messenger, survivor of the persecution, and S.'s personal knowledge based on his acquaintance with another survivor, who as a child was spared during the persecution). The *Letter* shows literary elaboration, with lengthy speeches pronounced by the martyrs. It is also tainted with Monophysite propaganda (Van Rompay 1982).

The *Letter* became the main source of information on the martyrdom of the Nağrān Christians for the whole of Christendom. It also became the main source of the Greek *Martyrium of ↗Arethas* (Detoraki 2007) from which the Arabic and eventually Ethiopic (Bausi – Gori 2006), as well as the Armenian and Georgian, versions are derived.

Src.: s. bibliography under Nağrān; ALESSANDRO BAUSI – ALESSANDRO GORI (ed., tr.), *Tradizioni orientali del «Martirio di Areta»*, Firenze 2006 (Quaderni di Semitistica 27); MARINA DETORAKI (ed.) – JOËLLE BEAUCAMP (tr.), *Le martyre de Saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons* (*BHO 166*), Paris 2007 (Le massacre de Nadjran 1); JOHN OF EPHESUS, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, [part] 1, ed., tr. by ERNEST WALTER BROOKS, Turnhout 1983 (PO 17:1 [= 82]), 137–58; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), "La lettera di Simeone vescovo di Bêth-Arśâm sopra i martiri omeriti", *RRALMm* ser. 3ª, 7, 1880–81, 471–515; PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS OF TEL-MAHRE, *Chronicle* (*Known also as the Chronicle of Zuqnin*) *Part III*, tr. by WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, Liverpool 1996 (Translated Texts for Historians 22), 50–64; [ID.], *Incerti auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, ed. I[OHANNES]-B[APTISTA] CHABOT, Paris 1933 (CSCO Scriptores Syri 3: 1, 3: 2 [CSCO 91, 104, Scriptores Syri 43, 53]); [ID.], *Chronicon anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum, II*, tr. by ROBERT HESPEL, Lovanii 1989 (CSCO 507, Scriptores Syri 213), 40–51; [ID.], *The Chronicle of Zuqnin, parts III and IV, A.D. 488–775*, tr. by AMIR HARRAK, Toronto 1999 (Mediaeval Sources in Translation 36), 75–86; [PSEUDO-ZACHARIAH RHETOR] *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, vol. 2, ed. by ERNEST WALTER BROOKS, Paris 1921 (CSCO Scriptores Syri 3:6), 63–74; [ID.], *Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor*, ed., tr. by KARL AHRENS – GUSTAV KRÜGER, Leipzig 1899 (Scriptores sacri et profani 3), 142–53; IRFAN SHAHÎD (ed., tr.), *The Martyrs of Najrân. New Documents*, Bruxelles 1971 (Subsidia hagiographica 49).

Lit.: ANTON BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, repr. Berlin 1968, 145f.; SEBASTIAN BROCK, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*, Kottayam (Kerala) 1997, 43f.; ARTHUR VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, vol. 3, Lovanii 1988 (CSCO 500, Subsidia 81), 240–46; IRFAN SHAHÎD, "The Book of the Himyarites: Authorship and Authenticity", *Le Muséon* 76, 1963, 249–62; LUCAS VAN ROMPAY, "The Martyrs of Najran: Some Remarks on the Nature of the Sources", in: JAN QUAEGEBEUR (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster oblata, II: Orientalia antiqua*, Leuven 1982 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 13), 301–09; JACQUES RYCKMANS, "Les rapports de dépendance entre les récits hagiographiques relatifs à la persécution des Himyarites", *Le Muséon* 100, 1987, 297–305, here 302–05; ID., "A Confrontation of the Main Hagiographic Accounts on the Najrān Persecution", in: MOAWIYAH M. IBRAHIM (ed.),

Arabian Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Ghul, Symposium at Yarmouk University, Irbid, December 8–11, 1984, Wiesbaden 1989 (Yarmouk University Publications, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Ser., 2), 113–33; Yūzo Shitomi, “Réexamen des deux lettres attribuées à Siméon de Bēth-Aršām, relatives à la persécution de Nağrān”, in: *Études sud-arabes: recueil offert à Jacques Ryckmans*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1991 (Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 39), 207–24.

Witold Witakowski

Šinašša

Šinašša language

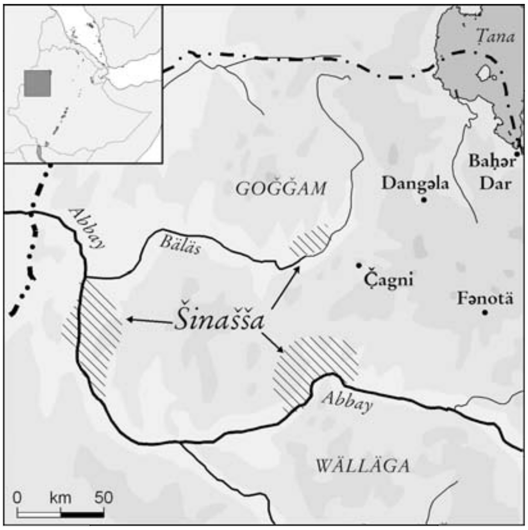
Š. (also known as Boro, self-name: Bòrná) is an ↗Omotic language (↗Gonga language family) spoken by ca. 20,000 people (1998 Census) in the south-west Amhara region. The contact languages are ↗Gumuz, ↗Awŋi, ↗Oromiffaa and ↗Amharic. It distinguishes between highland (Garibora/Gayibora) and lowland (Taribora/Worwibora) dialects, which are mutually intelligible and have ca. 85 % basic lexicon in common. In recent years, a number of brochures in Š. have been published, in Latin script.

Š. consonantal phonemes are (Wedekind – Lemma Alga 2002): plosive *b*, *d*, *t*, *g*, *k*, ᵓ; ejective *p̣*, *ṭ*, *ṣ*, *č̣*, *q*; implosive *ɗ*; affricate (*ʣ*), *ts*, *ğ*, *č*; fricative: *f*, *z*, *s*, *š*, *h*; nasal *m*, *n*, (*ñ*); liquid *r*, *l*, aspirate *r*^{h}; semivowel *w*, *y*.

Vowels are (ibid.): *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, with long correlates, plus short *ï* (high central) and *ə* (mid central; the phonemic status of the latter vowel is not certain). Vocalic length is phonemic: *gàwá* ‘witness (n.)’ – *gàawá* ‘wound (n.)’.

Š. distinguishes between high (´) and low (`) tonemes. The transcription of Lamberti (1993: 46f.), where a mid tone (unmarked) appears, probably reflects phonetic tones (s. allotonic rules in Ashenafi Tesfaye – Wedekind 1990: 364). The three tones are mostly marked within the present entry, following Lamberti’s transcription. Tones are used for lexical and morphological distinction: *šaawà* ‘sweet’ vs. *šaáwà* ‘expensive’, *bí* ‘he’ vs. *bì* ‘she’.

Most nouns have the structure CVC(C)V (where C = consonant, V = vowel). The gender system consists of semantically unmarked masculine and feminine genders, expressed cumulatively with case markers (e.g., absolutive marker is *-a* for masc. and *-i* for fem.). Most nouns have default masculine form, but those with biologically feminine referents are marked for feminine when their sex has to be stressed: ‘mother’ *índà* (masc.) or *índì* (fem.). There are two numbers, singular (unmarked) and plural (marked by the suffix *-(w)ootsï*): *maáttsà* ‘woman’ vs. *maáttsù-woótsí* ‘women’. The case system according to Lamberti (1993: 64–68) includes absolutive, nominative, accusative, genitive, dative/benefactive, directive, locative, ablative, instrumental, comitative, vocative, with different markers which depend on the gender and number of the noun. However, the difference between nominative and accusative appears only in the plural (ibid. 64); Griefenow-Mewis (1996: 494f.) argues that Š. has one unmarked “basic” case which is used both for subject and object. In fact, case system may consist of absolutive, basic and genitive cases, while other case markers may be re-analyzed as postpositions (Rottland 1990: 193). Definite subjects are marked by the suffix *-ni*, which follows the case marker: *na*ᵓ*-o-ni* ‘the son’ (nominative). The morphology of adjectives is similar to that of nouns.



Personal pronouns are *tá* ‘I’, *néé* ‘you (sg.)’, *bí* ‘he’, *nòò* ‘we’, *íttì/ít*(*tà*) ‘you (pl.)’, *bóó* ‘they’. Š. possesses three series of demonstratives: *hanni* ‘this’ (proximal), *mani* ‘that’ (middle) and *ekkewi* ‘that, far away’ (distal). Interrogatives are *koonní* ‘who?’, *eeg-/eeb-* ‘what?’, *awr-* ‘when?’, *aqwó* ‘how? how much?’, *aak-* ‘where?’, *ambtsá* ‘how many?’, *aaw-* ‘which?’, all of them used with special focus markers.

Cardinal numerals either follow the noun (and take its case ending), or precede it (in this case, they are marked for genitive, and the nouns can take the plural ending): *toohï̀ keez-ók* ‘to three friends (directive)’; *uttsï baarùwoótsï̀* ‘five girls (nominative)’.

The Š. verbal system is rich and complex. It has five moods: indicative, conjunctive, gerundive, subjunctive, jussive/imperative, conditional, irreal, relative, potential, desiderative. In indicative mood, it distinguishes between preterite, present, aorist, and future; within each of these categories, further aspect and modal distinctions are made (perfective, ingressive, dubitative, progressive etc.). Negative paradigms differ considerably from the affirmative ones. The infinitive is formed by the suffix *-o*.

Verbs agree with their subjects in person, gender and number (expressed either through a set of prefixes or suffixes).

Š. uses postpositions rather than prepositions, such as *šuttsá* 'behind' in *míttï̀ šuttsá* 'behind the tree'.

The neutral word order is Subject–Object–Verb: *aššùwoótsï̀*$_1$ *meetsò*$_2$ *šikkóó-nï̀*$_3$ *kààrí*$_4$ *qùṭṭï̀rnóó*$_5$ 'The people$_1$ rapidly$_4$ cut$_5$ the meat$_2$ with the knife$_3$'.

The Ten-word list is (after Lamberti 1993; in brackets the variants from Wedekind – Lemma Alga 2002): *íkkà* 'one' (*ˀìkkà*), *gíttà* 'two' (*gìttá*), *keezá* 'three' (*kèèzà*), *tawà* 'fire' (*tàwà*), *aátsà* 'water' (*ˀààtsà*), *aáwà* 'sun' (*ˀààwà*), *aašittsà* 'moon' (*ˀàytsà* in highland Š./*ˀààntsísà* in lowland Š.), *sattsá* 'blood' (*tétsà/ṣáṣà*), *albeerá* 'tongue' (*ˀàlbéérà*), *gašá* 'tooth' (*gášà*).

Src.: Raymond G. Gordon (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 114.

Lit.: Ashenafi Tesfaye – Klaus Wedekind, "Characteristics of Omotic Tone: Shinasha (Borna)", *Studies in African Linguistics* 21, 3, 1990, 347–68; Herma Plazikowsky Brauner, "Schizzo morfologico dello šinaša", *RSE* 9, 1950, 65–83; Catherine Griefenow-Mewis, [review of Lamberti 1993], *Anthropological Linguistics* 38, 3, 1996, 593–95; Fekadie Baye, *Shinasha Noun and Verb Morphology*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1988; Gabre Bizuneh, *The Phonology of Shinasha*: *a Generative Approach*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1986; Vinigi L. Grottanelli, "Gli Scinascia del Nilo Azzurro ed alcuni lessici poco noti della loro lingua", *RSE* 1, 3, 1941, 234–70; Andreas Joswig, *A Brief Grammar of the Borna Language*, Addis Ababa 2008; Marcello Lamberti, *Die Shinassha-Sprache*: *Materialien zum Boro*, Heidelberg 1993; Franz Rottland, "A Sketch of Shinasha Morphology", in: Richard Hayward (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990, 185–209; Charlotte Wedekind – Klaus Wedekind, "A Note on Amuru [Amuru, Boro of Bulen and Mambuk, Boro of Wombera]", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Report* 29, April 1995; Micha Wedekind – Lemma Alga, "Sociolinguistic Survey Report of Boro (Shinasha)", *SIL Electronic Survey Reports* 2002–057, 2002.

Klaus Wedekind

Šinašša ethnography

The Š. (also known as Borna, self-name: Boro) are an ancient ↗Gonga people, historically and linguistically related to the Käfiččo (↗Käfa), Boša and ↗Šäkačo, but isolated from them by the Oromo expansions since the mid-16th cent. (s. Almeida's map, in BeckHuntAlm, facing xcvii). As a result they developed their own particular cultural profile, which has not been well-studied. The Š. speak a North Omotic language, but many are also fluent in Oromo and Amharic.

The current number of people identifying themselves as Š. is 60,587 (CSA 2007; the 1994 CSA figure was 32,698) and they live north of the Blue Nile (Abbay) River in the southern part of ↗Mätäkkäl zone of the Beni Šangul–Gumuz regional state. Several Arabic-speaking Š. communities live across the border in ↗Sudan. Their current lowland habitats are not the Š. historical homeland, highland areas south of the Blue Nile; from which they were largely displaced by ↗Oromo and highland Ethiopian raiding since the 17th cent. (e.g., *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl waged war on them and their neighbours in the 1580s). Sudanese raids also regularly occurred. The Š. likely had a state, at least an independent polity, south of the Abbay River already in the early 16th cent., but which declined in the early 18th cent. Š. fortifications on Kitar hill near Wänbära can still be seen (ChTana 340). While the Š. were briefly mentioned earlier (BeckHuntAlm 17, 145), one of the first western travellers to describe the Š. was Juan Maria ↗Schuver in the 1880s (James et al. 1996: 181–85), who noted their distinct group features among the other people in the area, and saw that they (Schuver: the "Sinetjo") were the main local blacksmiths/craftsmen.

Š. today are part of a multi-ethnic society and have to some extent intermingled with adjacent groups like ↗Gumuz, Oromo, ↗Agäw and later ↗Amhara over several centuries. Many were "adopted" into Oromo society through the ↗*meediča* and *luba basa* rituals (Tsega Endalew 2002: 9), while others have in the past century moved out of the area and settled and assimilated elsewhere in Ethiopia. With the Oromo and Gumuz there have historically been tensions, mainly due to resource competition (land). An inter-ethnic mediation procedure – called the *miču* – was partially adopted to settle group disputes (Tsega Endalew 2002).

The economy of the Š. is poor and predominantly consists of the subsistence cultivation of ↗maize, ↗sorghum, ↗*ṭef* and beans. The hoe was used rather than the ↗plough. Cotton, ↗coffee and oil seeds are cash crops. They also keep livestock: cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys, and produce honey. In the 20th cent. the Š. were also involved in the trade in animal skins and civet (↗Zibeth), and in ↗gold panning.

The religious picture is mixed, as among the Š. one finds many followers of Orthodox Christianity, but also of Islam, of traditional religion and some of Evangelical Christianity.

Š. have patrilineal clans and a social hierarchy of status groups, including craftsmen. Elders are still influential. The specific cultural traditions of the Š. around lifecycle events, their folklore, rituals, and song and dance distinguish them from their neighbours, and seem to have gone through a revival in the past 15 years. In Mätäkkäl the Š. are also known to be good traditional herbalists and healers, with an intricate knowledge of the local flora and its alleged medicinal properties (Desalegn Desissa 2000; Mirutse Giday et al. 2008). Part of these are sold in the markets, e.g., in Bullen, the main Š. town, others are given during treatment. In general, Š. society is little known from an ethnological and social point of view and needs more study.

In the post-1991 ethno-federal state, the Š. became part of the Beni Šangul–Gumuz regional state (they are 7 % of its population). Power was largely divided between the ↗Berta and the Gumuz elites, but the Š. had 11 representatives in an 99-member state council.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 17, 145; CSA 1998, 66; ChTana 340; Wendy James et al. (eds.), *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North East Africa*, London 1996, 181–85; Micha Wedekind – Lemma Alga, *Sociolinguistic Survey Report of Boro* (*Shinasha*), Addis Ababa 2002, 3.

Lit.: Desalegn Desissa, *Uses and Conservation Status of Medicinal Plants used by the Shinasha People*, internet source; Eike Haberland – Helmut Straube, "Nordost Afrika", in: Hermann Baumann (ed.), *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen*, Wiesbaden 1979, vol. 2, 115; Hermine Plazikowski-Brauner, "Die Shinasha in West Äthiopien", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 95, 1, 1957, 29–41; Mirutse Giday et al., "Medicinal Plants of the Shinasha, Agew-awi and Amhara Peoples in Northwest Ethiopia", *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 110, 2007, 516–25; Tsega Endalew, *Conflict Resolution through Cultural Tolerance: an Analysis of the Michu Institution in Metekkel Region, Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2002; Id., "Christian Influences on Shinasha Oral Traditions", *Hamburger Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 3, 2005, 1–12; Wodisha Habtie, "*Neme*" – *Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms of the Boro-Shinasha People: North-western Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba 2009.

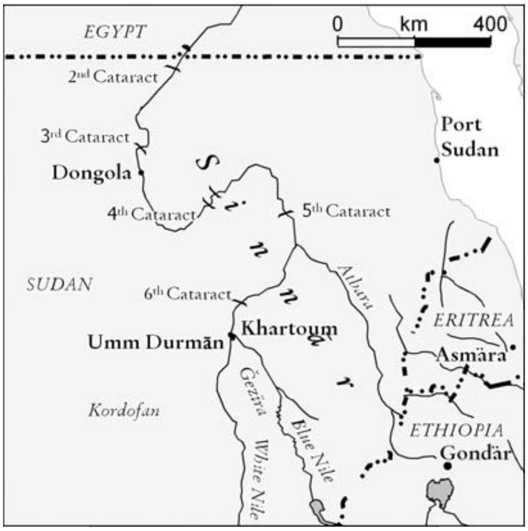
Jon G. Abbink

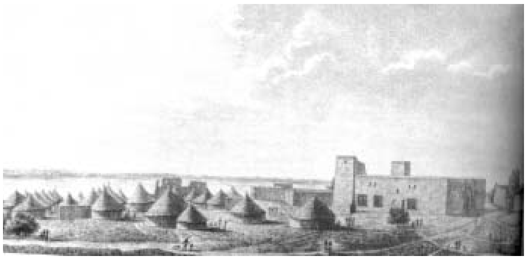
Sinnār

S. (Amh.: ስናር, Sənnar), sometimes also known as ↗Funǧ after the dominant ethnic group, was a Sudanese kingdom on the western and north-western borders of Ethiopia, extending up to today's Eritrea. The Christian Ethiopian empire had various connections with it, through trade, political alliances and military conflict. At times, Ethiopia claimed suzerainty over S., without ever exercising any permanent control.

S. was situated in the north-eastern Sudan, approximately in the territory of the defunct Nubian states of ᶜAlwa with its capital Soba (annexed in 1504 by the Funǧ shortly after its conquest by ᶜAbdullah Ǧammāᶜ in ca. 1500), and, partially, of Makouria with its capital ↗Dongola (s. Nubia, EAE vol. 5). In the 17th cent. Dongola was given as an autonomous province to rebellious descendants of the rulers of ᶜAlwa, the ᶜAbdallāb, in order to integrate them into S.

The territory of S. covered a wide region of the northern ↗Nile valley, over the whole Ǧazīra up to southern Kordofan (in the 16th cent.), in the north bordering on Egyptian–Ottoman territory. In the south, S. was in steady conflict with Shilluk and Dinka; the kingdom of Taqali in the Nuba Hills was tributary. In the Gondärine period the lowlands west of ↗Bägemdər were often disputed between S. and Ethiopia; in the late 16th cent. S. expanded into the neighbourhood of the weak Ottoman province ↗Habeš into north-western Eritrea (↗Ottoman Empire). S. was organized as a confederacy of semi-autonomous states, whose rulers bore the titles *manǧīl* or *makk*.





The mosque of Sinnār in ca. 1821; from Cailliaud 1819–22, Atlas pl. 7

S. was named after its capital, which was situated on the Blue Nile (it corresponds to today's S. Junction, not to be confused with the new town S. al-Madīna 5 km to the south-east). The Funǧ, an ethno-political term rather than a pure ethnonym, were a sedentary population, converted from a syncretistic Christian religion (with elements from local traditions) to Islam already in the early 16th cent. S. encompassed numerous ethnic groups. In territories immediately bordering on Ethiopia, these were scattered ↗Gumuz groups (often victims of slave-raiding [↗Slavery]), ↗Berta und their rulers, and the ↗Waṭawiṭ *šayḫs*. Several populations dependant on S. were nomadic, such as the Təgre- and Beǧa-speaking ↗Beni ᶜAmər in the northern lowlands of today's Eritrea (on relations between them and S., s. MunSt 291ff., 299). The dominant language of S. was Arabic.

The power of the monarchs of S. was based on the control of trade routes. Trade linked S. with Christian Ethiopia, ↗Oromo and ↗Gonga kingdoms to S.'s south-east, Sudanese kingdoms such as Darfur, with Egypt and the Ottoman Red Sea coast, mainly ↗Sawākin (Foster 1949: 107). Trade routes into Ethiopia went through Bägemdər and Fazoġli and were only closed in times of conflict, e.g., in 1700 when a S. subject had died in Ethiopia, despite the informal protection traders usually enjoyed in both countries (PankIntro 320; cp. Foster 1949:101, 103, 107, mentioning cordial relations with Ethiopia in 1698). Originally the main currency of S. was gold (O'Fahey – Spaulding 1974: 55; Triulzi 1981: 62); currencies used in S. in the 17th cent. were a small piece of iron in the form of a T, small silver coins of the Ottoman Empire and, according to ↗Poncet (Foster 1949: 105), Spanish silver dollars (↗Spain).

S. and Ethiopia were regularly linked by diplomatic alliances. *Makk* (king) Adlan I of S. (r. 1606–1611/12) sent fine horses as a ↗gift to the new Ethiopian ruler *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, who responded with gifts of gold sent to his successor Bādī I (r. 1611/12–1616/17), in accordance with the rules of traditional diplomacy (BlunChr 530). Shortly afterwards, however, S. under Rabat I (r. 1616/17–1644/45) attacked Ethiopia, in response to slave-raids into the lowlands west of Ethiopia claimed by S. The Funǧ invaded Bägemdər, but were repelled by Susənyos (1618–19). A previous ruler of S., ᶜAbdalqādir II (r. 1603/04–06), at around that time lived in exile in Ethiopia as the governor of ↗Č̣əlga in Dämbəya, a region and a market town important for Ethiopian trade with S. In the 17th cent., the rivalry between both kingdoms increased, e.g., over Fazoġli (which was a semi-independent *makk*-dom, but submitted by S. in 1685, Triulzi 1981: 61f., 66f.) and the Beni Šangul and other western borderlands.

In the 18th cent. *makk* ↗Bādī IV scored a great victory against Ethiopian forces led into S. by *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II (1744). He was the last powerful *makk* of S., according to the Funǧ Chronicle. When deposed in 1762 by his own officers, Bādī was granted asylum in Ethiopia and appointed Ethiopian governor of ↗Ras al-Fīl on the border with S. (in a territory previously belonging to the Muslim kingdom of ↗Mäzäga). The last *sulṭān* Bādī VII was defeated by Ottoman Egypt in 1821. Already in the late 18th cent., S. had allied itself to an Ottoman governor south of Egypt through marriage, followed by increased Ottoman presence in S.

In western Ethiopia and Eritrea there are still traces of the presence of S. in local ethnonyms and terminology. For example, the ethnonym used by the ↗Gumuz inhabitants of Gubba (the former Sudanese sultanate of ↗Qubba) is Fuñawi, besides Gubawi. Claims of Funǧ ancestry are found in the whole region from Roseires in the Sudan to Fädäsi in ↗Wälläga (Triulzi 1981: 57), which reflects former links as vassals and the influence of S. rather than real genealogical connections. The rulers of S. bestowed the title *diglal* upon the leader of the Beni ᶜAmər in Eritrea. It is still used until today. The S. title *manǧīl* ('territorial ruler') was in use recently in Gubba. As late as 1944 a "Funǧ king" (*manǧīl*) was crowned in Fazoġli (ibid. 58, 70). In addition, it is possible that S.'s classification of its population by colours such as "black" and "red" (Triulzi 1981:63) influenced ethnonyms in western Eritrea and Ethiopia, where such classifications are widespread, such as the Ḥomrah (i.e. *al-Aḥmar* 'the Red'; ↗Ḥamrān).

Src.: BlunChr 530; JAMES BRUCE, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, ed. by CHARLES FRAZER BECKINGHAM, Edinburgh 1964, 239; FRÉDERIC CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Méroé, au Fleuve Blanc, au dela de Fâzoql dans le midi du Royaume de Sennar, à Syouah et dans cinq autres Oasis*, Paris 1819–22, Atlas pl. 7 (ill.); WILLIAM FOSTER (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century as Described by Joseph Pitts, William Daniel and Charles Jacques Poncet*, London 1949, 102–07; MunSt 291ff., 299; RubActa I, 101.

Lit.: BudHist 373; OSBERT GUY STANHOPE CRAWFORD, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar; with a Geographical Account of the Middle Nile Region*, Gloucester 1951 [repr. New York ^{2}1978]; REX SEAN O'FAHEY – JAY L. SPAULDING, *Kingdoms of the Sudan*, London 1974 (Studies of African History 9); MANFRED KROPP, "Äthiopisch–sudanesische Kriege im 18. Jhdt.", in: ROLF GUNDLACH – MANFRED KROPP – ANNALIS LEIBUNDGUT (eds.), *Der Sudan in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart,* Frankfurt am Main – New York 1996, 111–31; PankIntro 320; PankBord 369; JAY SPAULDING, *The Heroic Age in Sinnar,* East Lansing, MI 1985 (Lit.); ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy*, Napoli 1981, 56–74 (Lit.).

Wolbert Smidt

Sinoda

Abunä S. (ሲኖዳ; d. 1699) was an Egyptian metropolitan of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church from 1671/72 to 1692 (cp. ↗*Pappas*).

S. was sent to *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I by the Coptic patriarch Matthew IV (1660–75) to replace *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu II, imprisoned after a third and particularly tumultuous synod (BassÉt II, 292; Perruchon 1899: 173; BegCron 54; DombrChr 207 [tr.]). He arrived in Gondär on 19 October 1671 after having spent a few months in Čəlga, waiting for the religious and political troubles to cease. The royal armies welcomed him (GuiIohan 13f. [tr.]).

In 1678, S. held a council in his house in ↗Yəbaba, at which ↗Zäᵓiyäsus opposed *aṣe* Yoḥannəs, particularly his marriage to his relative, ↗Säblä Wängel. Yoḥannəs had already tried around Easter 1678 to have the metropolitan and the newly appointed *əččäge* ↗Qalä ᶜAwadi validate his wedding, but their power could not compete with the influence of the monks. It was therefore only in September that *aṣe* Yoḥannəs as enough arguments to convince his opponents (GuiIohan 25, 36f. [tr.]). This council shows clearly that the Coptic metropolitan had, at this time, almost no authority for the Ethiopian clergy and was only supposed to serve the royal politics. The incarceration of Krəstodolu, who died in his Ethiopian prison ca. 1678, might have convinced S. to respect this contract.

During the rainy season of 1679, a ↗relic of St. ↗Ewosṭatewos was brought from Armenia through Egypt to Ethiopia, and S. was the first prelate to open the ceremony reading a letter of the Coptic Patriarch. Later on this same year, S. opened a council against a heretic statement issued by the clergy from ↗Lasta (GuiIohan 39f., 41ff. [tr.], resp.).

The Chronicle of Yoḥannəs narrates that in 1680, when the Emperor's son Iyasu (future *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I) for the first time rebelled against his father, he forced S. to swear that he would not liberate Yoḥannəs from an excommunication that the *əččäge* would pronounce in case the Emperor tried to hurt his son. As the Chronicle might have been revised by Iyasu, this information must be considered with much care. It shows that S. might not have taken the same decision as the *əččäge* and that the Metropolitan was considered as the ultimate ally of Iyasu (GuiIohan 53 [tr.]). In 1681, while Yoḥannəs was already near death, S. presided over the last council (whose issue is not clear in the unfinished Chronicle of Yoḥannəs).

Shortly after his ascension to power, Iyasu held a council which stipulated that both S. and the *əččäge* had to transfer all their power of decision to the ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* and the father confessor of the Emperor (*qes aṣe*, GuiIohan 61f. [tr.]; cp. ↗*näfs abbat*).

In *Ṭəqəmt* 1684, a council was convened to settle the dispute between the ↗*Täwaḥədo* and the ↗*Qəbat* followers. The latter wanted to return to the pro-*Qəbat* decisions taken under Yoḥannəs, and insisted that they would approve the only authority of the *abun*. Iyasu postponed the council (GuiIohan 81ff. [tr.]). S. ended up in a difficult situation: on the one hand, the monks expected his support against the policy of Iyasu; on the other, Iyasu, under the threat of replacing him with a new metropolitan, ordered him to obey, to join him in ↗Aringo, and to unify the Ethiopian clergy into the unionist doctrine. All this happened before Easter. The patriarchal house was at this time in Žända, not far from ↗Gorgora (ibid. 84ff.). The council was eventually held in the house of the *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* and it was concluded in favour of the *Täwaḥədo* party. The metropolitan and the *əččäge* were rewarded for their loyalty to the throne (ibid. 90–98). The *Qəbat* monks could not forgive this treachery; the Chronicle states that the monks of ↗Däbrä Wärq tried to hurt the metropolitan when he was crossing their area (ibid. 105).

In 1688, S. left Däbrä Maryam for Yəbaba where he presided over a synod deciding on the excommunication of the *Qəbat* party (GuiIohan 121f. [tr.]).

In spite of S.'s loyalty, Iyasu asked for a new Coptic metropolitan. *Abunä* ↗Marqos arrived in Gondär in *Mäskäräm* 1689 and was first sent to Särka (GuiIohann 143ff. [tr.]). S.'s health was decaying at least since 1691 (ibid. 162). His last official travel was when he accompanied Iyasu to Aksum in *Yäkkatit* 1693 (ibid. 170). A few months later, on 26 *Ḥamle*, the commemoration day of *abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan, Marqos was officially appointed metropolitan (ibid. 174f.).

In August 1699, a few days before S.'s death, the French traveller ↗Poncet visited the former metropolitan in his residence in Tənkät, northwest of Gondär. According to Poncet, Iyasu preferred S. to Marqos, but had had to deposit S. for the fear of the *Qəbatočč* (Poncet 1713: 66–70).

The legacy of S. as one of the major metropolitans was used by both the *Täwaḥədo* and the *Qəbat* movement. In 1681, the lists of Coptic metropolitans compiled by the *Qəbat* adherents have S. under number 100, modifying the reality to obtain this result (e.g., ms. Paris, BN d'Abbadie 116, fol. 11v). The lists produced by the *Täwaḥədo*, when they keep S. as the 100th metropolitan, often add a derogatory comment on his faith when it comes to his follower Marqos (ms. BN éth. 245, fols. 6r–30v). S. was quoted as a reference of orthodox faith by the *Täwaḥədo* monks of ↗Waldəbba during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, in 1725/26 (GuiIohann 330 [tr.]).

Src.: BassÉt 292; BegCron 54; ChMonV 38, no. 58 [ms. Éth. 245]; CRAbb 222f., no. 231 [ms. BN d'Abbadie 116]; DombrChr 207; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 6, 1899, 1–17, here 5, 12; GuiIohan 13–15, 25, 36–39, 41ff., 56, 61, 65f., 81, 90, 92, 98, 105, 113, 121, 126, 144, 162, 170, 174f., 330 [tr.]; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes … Le règne de Yohannes (Ier), roi d'Éthiopie de 1667 à 1682", *RevSem* 7, 1899, 173; CHARLES JACQUES PONCET, "Relation abregée du voyage que M. Charles Jacques Poncet, medecin françois, fit en Ethiopie en 1698, 1699 & 1700", in: *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 4, Paris 1713, here 66–70.
Lit.: MHAlex II, 91–96; TedEthPrel I, 1025f. (Lit.).

Anaïs Wion

Sinoda

S. (ሲኖዳ; d. 1726, Gondär) was an 18th-cent. royal historiographer. Nothing is known of his early career. In February 1704 *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I went on a dangerous campaign in Goǧǧam and sent home his ↗*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* secretaries, ↗Zäwäldä Maryam and Akalä Krəstos (GuiIohan 236 [text]), and some other dignitaries. Being in the entourage of Iyasu, S. refused to go home and thereafter was apparently retained to continue to write the Chronicle. He penned the last six chapters (ibid. 230–63) for the events until 5 June 1704 and a short 'Second Account' (*Zena kaləʾ*) about Iyasu I's entering ↗Gondär (ibid. 263–67). It is unclear why S. stopped writing the Chronicle.

In April 1706 Iyasu I was dethroned by his son ↗Täklä Haymanot and soon killed. Shocked by the patricide and the murder of Iyasu, a person dear to him, S. did not offer his services to Täklä Haymanot, the new Emperor, and lived as a cleric at ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase cathedral. However, in the same year *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot was killed while hunting, and *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos, Iyasu's brother, was enthroned. On the second anniversary of Iyasu's death, Tewoflos decided to execute the murderers of both his brother and nephew and canonize Iyasu I. It was S. who wrote for this occasion *aṣe* Iyasu's Vita (Conti Rossini 1942, after the manuscript from Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase; Chernetsov 1989: 255–82). Though the work is called ↗*gädl* in the *incipit*, S. remained very much a historiographer in style, describing the foundation of the churches of Täklä Haymanot (construction begun in 1683) and Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase in ↗Gondär, Iyasu's great campaign to ↗Gibe, his ↗funeral etc. (another, recent copy of this work, ms. 693 IES, has an Amharic title ያጼ፡ ኢያሱ፡ አድያም ፡ሰገድ፡ ታሪክ [*Yaṣe Iyasu Adyam Säggäd tarik*, 'History of *aṣe* Iyasu Adyam Säggäd']). However, the work is followed by the traditional hagiographic ↗*mälkəʾ* in honour of Iyasu.

S. was an adherent of the ↗*Täwaḥədo* doctrine, while *aṣe* Tewoflos was an adherent of the ↗*Qəbat*. This was probably the reason why S. did not become the historiographer of Tewoflos. S. resumed his pen as historiographer only in the reign of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, in 1721, and was granted the official title of *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* (having been appointed ↗*azzaž* in the meantime) as late as 1723. S. wrote the first 27 chapters of the Chronicle of Bäkaffa, ch. 28 containing the notice on his death and a short list of his works (a ↗*säwasəw* being one of them; GuiIohan 313f. [text]). The Chronicle was continued by the "son" or disciple of Sinoda, ↗Kənfä Mikaʾel, who wrote the last chapters of the Chronicle.

S. was a talented author and perfectly mastered different types of writing; his works, beautiful in language and style, and full of historical information, may be rightly considered the apex of Ethiopian royal ↗historiography.

↗Gəᶜəz literature

Src.: SEVIR CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskije hroniki XVII–XVIII vekov* ('Ethiopian chronicles of the 17th–18th centuries'), Moscow 1989; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Iyasu I, re d'Etiopia e martire", *RSO* 20, 1, 1942, 65–128; GuiIohan 230–63, 263–67, 271–314 (text) = 245–84, 284–88, 289-336 (tr.).
Lit.: GuiSLett 89; RicLett 844–48.

Sevir Chernetsov – Denis Nosnitsin

Šire

Š. (ሺሬ, also Šəre, old: Sire, Sirä, Səre) is a large region in northern Ethiopia. It was an important *awrağğa* of ↗Təgray province, and comprised four/five *wärädas* in the 20th-cent. imperial ↗administrative division, with the capital ↗Ǝnda Śəllase in the Qorraro *waräda*. Today Š. is incorporated into Western Təgray zone.

The districts which traditionally constituted the core of Š. are Qorraro, Asgäde, Ṣämbäla (Ṣəmbäla), Sämäma (Sämäna), and Ṣällim Bet (EllLusAnt 29). Š. was bounded by the ↗Täkkäze and ↗Märäb in the north/north-east and south-west. It bordered on ↗Adyabo in the north-west and Zana with ↗Aksum behind in the east. Säläk̲lak̲a was its farthest border point in the north-east; southern Š. adjoined ↗Mädäbay. As an *awrağğa*, Š. included Adyabo, formally independant from Š., on the border with Eritrea (↗Säraye).

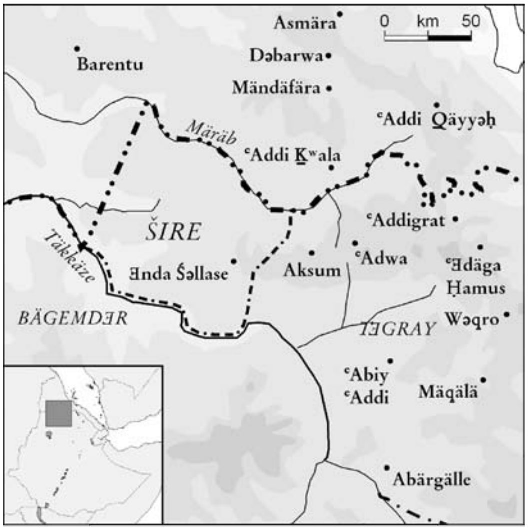
In the north-west, the landscape of Š. is dominated by the mountain massifs of Qʷäyäṣa (ca. 2,300 m) and Ṭiʾesu (ca. 2,000 m.). The average altitude of the Š. plateau is 1,900 m; west and south-west from Ǝnda Śəllase it descends slightly to the Täkkäze gorge, and it is cut by canyons of the tributaries of the Täkkäze (and by the tributaries of the Märäb in the north-east). The climate varies from warm to hot; Š. is relatively well-watered, with the rainy season from April to September, many rivers, and sources of underground water.

Research has revealed traces of the earlier population in Š. At the site of ᶜAddi Adẖano/Daẖno (ca. 5 km north of Ǝnda Śəllase) some traces of lithic industry and a rough stela have been found (Puglisi 1941: 101ff.; Godet 1977: 35); a pre-Christian burial site has been discovered at Säläk̲lak̲a (Cossàr 1945; Godet 1977: 55; probably belonging to the early period of the ↗Aksumite culture, cp. Fattovich in PICES 8, vol. 1, 90); Aksumite period structures are known at Wəbla Maryam, Sämäma (Finneran et al. 2005: 10). More sites have been discovered in the course of the recent "Shire District Archaeological Survey Project": pre-historic sites of lithic production have been recorded (Finneran 2003a, 2003b; Id. et al. 2005: 15–20), as well as both prehistoric and historic sites such as May Adraša, Hirətay, Ǝnda ᶜOna Libanos (Sämäma), ᶜAddi Näk̲asi ᶜAdgi (Finneran 2003a; Finneran et al. 2005; cp. Asamerew Desie et al. 2002).

The position of Š. explains its importance as a region connecting the highlands, specifically the region of Aksum, with the valley of the ↗Atbara and trade routes to ↗Egypt. The archaeological evidence suggests that the ↗obsidian "trade network" might have included Ethiopia in very remote times; scanty evidence proves links between the Ethiopian highlands and the Nile valley and Sudanese lowlands and its cultures during the 2nd–3rd millennium B.C. (s., e.g., Fattovich 1996; cp. ↗Nubia s. EAE vol. 5). At a later period, the Red Sea trade overshadowed the Nile valley route, but the region of Š. must have been a scene of both exchange of goods and movements of Aksumite armies, especially under ↗ᶜEzana, against the ↗Noba and Kasu, and ↗Meroë (when the Täkkäze was reached, s. RIÉ no. 189). However important Š. might have been as a linking region in pre-Aksumite and Aksumite times (cp. Phillips in AfrHorn), the archaeological evidence which proves this is still not large.

The role of the region was more conspicuous in post-Aksumite times. After the re-establishment of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, monasticism flourished in Š. According to traditions collected by Ellero, the oldest ↗monasteries of Š. are Ǝnda Abunä Märᶜawi Krəstos (↗Ṣäᶜada Ǝmba), established under *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak, and Ǝnda Abunä Zäkaryas, under *aṣe* ↗Wədəm Räᶜad, in Dämbe ᶜArqay (EllLusAnt 14ff., 25f.). Many more were established later, such as the historically important Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa of *abunä* ↗Samuʾel, or ↗Däbrä Abbay. Others are Ǝnda Abunä ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl (of Gutämala) in Ṣämbäla, Ǝnda Abunä ↗Ləbdəyos, Ǝnda Giyorgis in Laqamba (ibid. 9f.; Finneran 2003), Ǝnda Abunä Mänadlewos in Qorraro (EllLusAnt 13; cp. Raineri 1998). The monastic colonization of ↗Waldəbba was certainly launched from Š. transmitting the Christian influence from Aksum. Churches are also numerous in Š. (EllLusAnt 40 and n. 4). The local ecclesiastical libraries, reportedly rich, are barely explored.

The toponym Š. (Sirä) appears in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* in the documents traditionally ascribed to the half-legendary *aṣe* ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl



(CRAxum 19, no. 3); and later in a charter of *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arᶜad (ibid. 22, no. 8r). *Aṣe* ↗Dawit II donated some lands in Š. to ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ in Säraye (Conti Rossini 1904:46). Such documents as the charter of Dawit II to Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa (ibid. 22, no. 10), or to Däbrä Ḫərmo (ibid. 22, no. 9; Ǝnda Abunä Aron, s. EllLusAnt 13f.) are important for the historical geography of Š.

Local traditions open the history of Š. with the arrival of *ras* Degäna (Degänay), who is said to have come from ᶜAgamä and, proceeding into the lowlands of Adyabo, pushed back the ↗Kunama. Degäna is said to have been buried in the Č̣ərqos (Qirqos) church of Ǝnda Śəllase (Gäbrä Iyäsus Abbay 1961:168). Degäna's descendants became the local rulers and the eponymous founders of a few local lineages and the political elite (listed in EllLusAnt 37; cp. Gäbrä Iyäsus Abbay 1961:168). The line of the first-born – Ḥad[äg]ä Anbäsa, Zärᵓaburuk, Rädaᵓi (ibid.) – inherited supreme power in the region in the office of the 'governor of Š.' (*śəyyumä sirä/ šire,* or *šum šire*). Degäna must have arrived in the late 14th cent., as he is mentioned in the Vita of Bänadlewos, one of the local saints (Raineri 1998:46f.; the dating in the tradition collected by Ellero [EllLusAnt 34–37; cp. CrawItin 208f.] must be corrected). Rädaᵓi's son Täklay is said to have founded the old centre of Š., ᶜAddi Gədäd, a custom post near Ǝnda Śəllase (EllLusAnt 37; Gäbrä Iyäsus Abbay 1961:168; HuntGeogr 259). The Christians constituted the *ᶜalet Degäna* ('the lineage of Degäna') and the migrants from the ↗Märäb Məllaš *ᶜalet Ḥadägti* ('the generation of Ḥadägti [area in ↗Akkälä Guzay]'); until the 1940s the existence of small groups of ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel in Š. was reported (s. EllLusAnt 41f.).

The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob relates that the governor of Š. was put under the authority of the ↗*baḥər nägaš* (PerrZarY 47f.), a situation which continued until the time of ↗Alvares (BeckHuntAlvar 115). Later, Š. was within the realm of the ↗*təgre mäkʷännən* (cp. LudHist L. I, cap. 3, 27), but the local rulers were usually exempted from his authority; enjoying high prestige and having direct links to the court, the governors of Š. were appointed in keeping with the local tradition and were only approved by the emperor (Barradas 1996:2ff.).

The documents collected in the *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* report that under *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, the governors of Š. were Rädaᵓi (CRAxum 27, no. 21) and Tewodros (ibid. 28, no. 23).

During the invasion of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, a governor of Š. was killed in battle at ↗Šämbəra Kʷəre in 1529 (BassHist 126), and his successor Samuᵓel, at Ayfärs in March 1531 (BassHist 202; KrLebD 13). The population of Š. is reported to have accepted the Muslim power, but the destruction inflicted upon Š. was considerable (Däbrä Abbay was burnt in 1534; ibid. 14; DombrChr 161; BegCron 18, 23). A governor from the local nobility was appointed by the Muslims (BassHist 451; cp. BegCron 27). The Muslim population of Š. (called *ᶜalet Abdalla*, 'the lineage of ᶜAbdallāh') may have emerged in the region since that time (cp. EllLisAnt 41f.).

Azmač Täklä Śəllus was the governor of Š. over a long period under *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl (cp. CRAxum 44 and a footnote to no. 53, the document of 1578/79; CRHist 58, 90, 100 [text]); his son, who perhaps inherited his office under *aṣe* Susənyos, died in battle in 1608 (cp. PerChron ch. 36). Under Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl, Ṣəmbäla was given to another *śəyyum* (CRAxum 84, 92); Laᵓəkä Maryam, ᶜAqba Mikaᵓel, Gäbrä Śəllase, Gäbrä Maryam, Mäzraᶜətä Krəstos are also mentioned as governors of Š. before 1616 (ibid. 75).

During the ↗Gondärine kingdom Š. became important as the "gate" to Aksum, to be reached from Gondär through Wägära, Däbarq, Lämäləmo (Limaləmo) and crossing the Täkkäze (cp. GuiIohan 165f. [text]; PankEcon 352f.; the modern "Lämäləmo road" goes along this old route).

Under *aṣe* Susənyos, a conflict arose in Š. when the governor *azmač* ᶜƎbäyä Dəngəl (entitled

ውሉደ፡ ውሉዱ፡ ለአሐዱ፡ ዓንበሳ፡ ወረዳኢ, *wəludä wəludu läʾaḥadu ᶜAnbäsa wärädaʾi*, ‘[from] the son[s] of sons of Aḥadu Anbäsa and Rädaʾi’) and other local rulers (*däqiqä Degäna*, ‘the children of Degäna’) increased tributes causing the people to flee. The local monastic leaders led by *abba* Asaᶜənä Maryam of Däbrä Abbay appealed to the Emperor and managed to reverse the situation (CRAxum 75f.). Under *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs the office seems to have been called “the governor of Š. and Asgäde” (ibid. 48, no. 62).

As the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I reports, in 1689 the ↗*Šanqəlla* (here Kunama) exterminated the Däwe-settlers (cp. ↗Ğawe) in Š. (GuiIohan 124 [text]). In 1691, Iyasu was in Š. and compelled the people of “the house of Degäna” to return the land they had taken from ↗Aksum Ṣəyon. In late 1692, he was again in Š. launching a major attack against the “*Šanqəlla*” and apparently extending it beyond the Märäb (ibid. 152, 158f. [text]; BruNile II, 451–56). In 1693 he severely punished “the children of Degäna” and cancelled their privileges, formally for their abuses and their inability to check the raids of the “*Šanqəlla*” into Waldəbba (GuiIohan 165 [text]; BegCron 65). Š. was given to the *təgre mäkʷännən*. Later the power of the local elite weakened, and in the mid-1750s Š. probably fell under the authority of *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul, added to the lands which his son *abeto* Wäldä Ḥawaryat received when he married *wäyzäro* Ǝleni (GuiIyas 217 [text]; reading uncertain). In the late 18th cent., Š. was given to Wäldä Śəllase upon his nomination as ↗*ras* by *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam II. Under *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, Š. was formally under the authority of the governor of Təgray, though probably ruled by local nobles. In 1867, *däğğazmač* Kaśa (the future ↗Yoḥannəs IV) defeated Tewodros’s forces under *däğğazmač* ᶜAynšät of Š., his father *däğğazmač* Täklä Giyorgis and *ras* Baryaʾu Ṗawlos, the governor of Təgray (ZewYohan 26, 274; different in BTafY 64f.; 72f.). In 1894 the governor of Š. *ras* Ḥagos followed his master ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs and submitted to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II (GueCopMen 354).

The emergence of the Colonia ↗Eritrea, the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa and the unclearly demarcated ↗boundaries changed the status of Š. to a frontier province. For a while, the internal situation in Š. was more stable than in the rest of Təgray, despite the fact that the governor ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər was ousted from his office in 1914 after a conflict with *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša. However, in 1928–29 the Italians “rectified” the de facto border, coming closer into Adyabo in accordance with the 1902 treaty, including all Kunama territories within the colony (Zoli 1936: 135, map 3; ↗Treaties and conventions, s. EAE vol. 5).

Š. witnessed major battles during the ↗Italian war of 1935–36. The province took its final shape after the termination of ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation and shared all the problems of Imperial Ethiopia, despite being governed by the “progressive” *ras* Mängäša Śəyyum.

After the ↗Revolution, the region was ready to start to battle the *Därg’s* repressive policy, as the first members of ↗Tigray People’s Liberation Front launched their first operations in February 1975 from Dädäbit. It again was the site of decisive battles in 1988–89 (Tekeste Melake in PICES 12, vol. 1).

Src.: MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici* (*1634*). *A Seventeenth Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABET FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 2ff.; BassHist 126, 202, 451; BeckHuntAlm 14, 20, 30f., 39, 72, 96 n. 1, 187, 243; BeckHuntAlvar 115, s. index; BegCron 18, 23, 27, 65, s. index; BTafY 64f., 72f., s. index [BAIRU TAFLA, “A Supplement to a Chronicle of Emperor Yoḥannes IV”, in: SIEGBERT UHLIG – BAIRU TAFLA (eds.), *Collectanea Aethiopica*, Wiebaden 1988 (AeF 26), 23–49]; BruNile II, 451–56; CRAxum; CRHist 58, 89, 100 (text) = 68, 102, 114 (tr.); CrawItin 208f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta Mārqorewos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 36, 46 (text) = 49, 59 (tr.); DombrChr 339, s. index; GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS ABBAY, **መሠረት፡ ዓሌት፡ ሕዝቢ፡ መረብ፡ ምላሽ** (*Mäśärät ᶜalet ḥəzbi Märäb Məllaš*, ‘The Foundation of the Generation of the People of Märäb Məllaš’), Aśmära [1961], 166ff.; GueCopMen 354, s. index; *Guida* 247–51, map; GuiIohan 124, 152, 158f., 165f. (text) = 128, 159, 165, 172f. (tr.); GuiIyas 217 (text) = 227 (tr.); HuntGeogr 259, s. index; KrLebD 13f. (text) = 13f. (tr.); OSVALDO RAINERI, *Atti di Banādlewos* (*1303–1400*), Brepols 1998 (PO 48, 1 [213]), 46f.; LudHist L. I, cap. 3, 27; PerChron ch. 36; PerrZarY 47f.; RIÉ no. 189 (= DAE no. 11); EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1838–40; CORRADO ZOLI, *Etiopia d’oggi*, Roma 1936, s. index.

Lit.: AREGAWI BERHE, “The Origins of the Tigray People’s Liberation Front”, *African Affairs* 103, 2004, 569–92; ASAMEREW DESIE et al., “Combatting the destruction of Ethiopia’s Archaeological Heritage”, *Antiquity* 76, 2002, 955–56; BRUNO COSSÀR, “Necropoli precristiana di Selaclacà”, in: *CRStud* 7–16; ERIC GODET, “Répertoire de sites pré-axoumites e axoumites du Tigré”, *Abbay* 8, 1977, 19–58, here 35, 55; EllLusAnt 5–26 [GIOVANNI ELLERO, “I conventi dello Scirè e le loro leggende”]; ID., “Una regione etiopica: lo Scirè”, *ibid.*, 29–52; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, “Remarks of the Late Prehistory and Early History of Northern Ethiopia”, in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 85–104; ID., “The Afro-Arabian Circuit. Contacts between the Horn of Africa and Southern Arabia in the Third-Second Millenia BC” in: LECH KRZYZANIAK et al. (eds.), *Interregional Contacts in the Later Prehistory of Northeastern Africa*, Poznan 1996 (Studies in African Archaeology 5), 395–402; NIALL FINNERAN, "The Monasteries of Shire, Northern Ethiopia", *Ecclesiology Today* 30, 2003, 3–10; ID., "Defining the Shire Archaeological Landscape, Northern Ethiopia: Towards a Strategy of Cultural Resource Management and a Workable Sites and Monuments Record", in: PETER J. MITCHELL – ANNE HAOUR – JOHN H. HOBART (eds.), *Researching Africa's Past*: *New Contributions from British Archaeologists*, Oxford 2003a (Oxford University School of Archaeology Monograph 57), 139–44; ID., "The Prehistoric Settlement of the Shire Region, Western Tigray, Ethiopia: Some Preliminary Observations", *Nyame Akuma* 59, 2003b, 25–33; ID. et al., "The Archaeological Landscape of the Shire Region, Western Tigray, Ethiopia", *AE* 22, 2005, 7–29; PankEcon s. index; JACKE PHILLIPS, "Go West, Young Man, Go West", in: *AfrHorn* 79–86; SALVATORE PUGLISI, "Primi risultati delle indagini compiute delle missione archeologica di Aksum", *Africa Italiana* 8, 3–4, 1941, 95–153; TEKESTE MELAKE, "The Battle of Shire (February 1989): a Turning Point in the Protracted War in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 963–80; ZewYohan 26, 274.

Denis Nosnitsin

Sisgayo

S. (**ሲስጋዮ**, also known as Arutaano/Erutaano, r. 1620–32, Lange [1982: 35]: r. 1619–30) was a ruler of the then Gonga-speaking Hinnaryo (s. ↗Ǝnnarya) in the time of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. S. has been identified with a mid-16th-cent king of allegedly Portuguese descent, Sigaro (BTafA 970), but for chronological reasons and due to weak evidence from the sources this is doubtful (cp. also Lange 1982: 30ff., 35; for Sigaro s. ↗Säpänhi).

S. came to power as *Hinnare* ↗*tato* after ↗Benäro, who in 1611 had overthrown the ruling house to whom S. probably belonged, and was killed "by treachery" (BeckHuntAlm 150; MHasOr 75f.). In order to parry Oromo incursions Benäro subordinated to *aṣe* Susənyos to whom the country paid a tribute of one thousand ounces of gold annually (BeckHuntAlm 152). After his death this relation was to be continued and S.'s party pleaded Susənyos in a letter to confirm the appointment of their candidate, blamed Benäro and justified his killing with the "cruelty" (severe corporal punishments) and "injustices" (high taxes) the population had suffered from during his nine years of rule. Susənyos vituperated the killing and demanded high tributes but accepted S. since he had not taken active part in the attempt against Benäro and had the backing of a large part of the people. This message he sent by his officer Mustafa *baša* and his "Turkish" regiment (PerChron 240f. [text] = 184f. [tr.]; MHasOr 76f.).

However, in order to meet popular aspirations S. abolished both the tribute to Susənyos and the obligation of war against the Oromo. S. concentrated on the defence of his highland territory and probably abandoned some of Benäro's fortifications in the surrounding areas. This facilitated the advance of the Sadača Oromo up to the edges of the Hinnaryo highland. As a result, in 1632 the party of Benäro's son Yämanä Krəstos prevailed and killed S. and all his followers. Yämanä Krəstos, who during S.'s reign had stayed at Susənyos' court (where he was converted to Catholicism), took over control of the Hinnaryo kingdom (BeckHuntAlm 150).

Src.: BTafA 381, 715, 896, 970; BeckHuntAlm 150ff.; PerChron 240f. (text) = 184f. (tr.).

Lit.: WERNER J. LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia)*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 30ff., 35; MOHAMMED HASSEN, *The Oromo of Ethiopia, 1500–1850*: *with Special Emphasis on the Gibe Region*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1983, 364–68; MHasOr 75ff.; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *Southern Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom, 1508–1708, with Special Reference to the Galla Migrations and their Consequences*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1971, 491; PankBord 337.

Sevir Chernetsov – Dirk Bustorf

Siso ↗Land tenure

Skinner, Robert Peet

S. (b. 24 February 1866, Massillon, Ohio, d. 1960, Belfast, Maine) was the first ↗United States (US) envoy to Ethiopia. He entered the US diplomatic service, eventually becoming Ambassador to Turkey in 1933. During his first posting as consul in Marseilles in 1903, he was chosen to undertake America's first mission to Ethiopia. This was a time when America was exporting considerable quantities of cotton goods, the greater part of which went to Abyssinia (cf. Skinner 1906: 79f.) and the US Government felt that this commerce needed official support.

S. and his party, which included 25 American soldiers, landed at Djibouti and then travelled by rail to Dərre Dawa. They then went on to Harär, to meet its progressive governor, *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, who presented them, at their request, with two zebras. In Addis Abäba the American party received a warm welcome from ↗Mənilək II, and was housed in the palace of *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis. S. was much impressed by Mənilək's commitment to modernization (cf. Skinner 1906: 102, 122).

S. brought with him an Ethio-American Treaty, drafted by Enno ↗Littmann, then at Princeton University. This was signed in Addis Abäba on 27 December 1903, and ratified by President Theodore Roosevelt on 17 March 1904. It provided for the opening of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and afforded US citizens favoured status as accorded to nationals of other countries with which Mənilək had concluded agreements (Skinner 1906: 228–37). The treaty was followed in 1906 by the establishment of an American Consulate in Addis Abäba. Full diplomatic relations followed in 1909.

Src.: ROBERT PEET SKINNER, *Abyssinia of To-day: an Account of the First Mission Sent by the American Government to the Court of the King of Kings, 1903–1904*, London – New York 1906.

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "Robert Skinner's Unpublished Account of the First American Diplomatic Expedition to Ethiopia", *EthObs* 13, 31–36; ZerEth 428ff.

Richard Pankhurst

Slavery

1. Slave trade from ancient times to 19th century
3. Red Sea slave trade in the 19th century
4. Slave raiding in the 19th century
5. Domestic slaves and court slavery
6. The slavery question in politics

Slave trade from ancient times to 19th century

The slave ↗trade from the Ethiopian region, like S. itself, is of great antiquity. Queen Hatshepsut's inscription at Thebes (ca. 1495 B.C.) suggests that adults and children from the Land of ↗Punt were then exported. Almost one and a half millennia later ↗Pliny mentioned slave exports from the Aksumite port of Adulis, while the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* noted the shipment of slaves from the more easterly Gulf of Aden ports of Malao (modern ↗Berbera), Mondus (Bandar Hais) and Opone (Ras Hafun). Most slaves exported from the Ethiopian region came, according to the Egyptian traveller ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes in the early 6th cent., from Barbaria, i.e. the above-mentioned Gulf of Aden coast, and Sasu, perhaps the inland country south of the Blue Nile. One of the effects of this long ongoing trade in slaves was that by the time of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad there was a significant Ḥabäša ('Abyssinian', cp. also Ḥabašāt) presence in Arabia. Prophet Muḥammad was nursed as a child by an Ethiopian woman, and he later appointed ↗Bilāl b. Rabāḥ al-Ḥabašī, the son of an Abyssinian slave girl, as his first muezzin.

Testimony to the extent of Ethiopian slave exports to Arabia is provided by 10th- to 12th-cent. Arab writers. Ibn Ḥawqal tells of Ḥabäša slaves being received by the king of the ↗Yemen; al-Maqrīzī reports that such slaves constituted some of the principal merchandise of Aden; and al-Idrīsī states that ↗Zaylaᶜ was one of the principal ports from which they were shipped. Report has it that around this time one of the ruler of the Yemen, Saᶜīd Ibn Nağah, purchased no less than 20,000 Ḥabäša slaves.

S. as an institution was accepted in the ↗*Fətḥä nägäśt*. This code held, on the basis of Biblical writ, that slaves could be captured in war (↗Warfare), or inherited from generation to generation. The text nevertheless attempted in some measure, to control the trade in slaves – by forbidding the sale of Christians to non-believers. This prohibition restricted, but by no means completely prevented the trade. This was because (1) the code legislated only for Christians, and in no way governed the conduct of Muslims who represented a significant section of the population. The latter, in part on account of their contacts with nearby slave-importing Muslim countries, constituted the majority of slave traders. (2) The code applied only to the sale of Christians, and therefore did not affect that of adherents of traditional ↗religions who probably constituted most of the slaves sold. The religious law thus allowed Christians to sell Christian slaves among themselves, as well as to purchase slaves of any denomination. The code also accepted – and reinforced – a division of labour in which slave raiders and traders mainly seized and sold slaves from communities other than their own. Many persons of traditional faith were thus captured as slaves and sold by Christians or Muslims, while most slave traders, like other merchants, were predominantly Muslim. *Aṣe* ↗Susənyos was reputedly opposed to the sale of Christians as slaves (PankEcon 88).

Some of the slaves sold were captured in war; others in slave-raiding expeditions; others again were descendants of slaves. Some were sold within Ethiopia. Other slaves were exported, through the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden ports, or the overland route to ↗Sudan; and were taken immense distances from their original homeland. They went mainly to ↗Arabia, ↗Egypt and the ↗Middle East, the ↗Ottoman Empire, ↗Sudan, ↗India and even a few to Europe. Most slaves taken to the East were speedily converted to Islam, in some cases on board ship, and on reaching their destination were often obliged to adopt entirely new occupations and life-styles. Male Ḥabäša slaves, many of whom served as soldiers, and even military leaders, tended to fetch a higher price than those from other parts of Africa, while slave-girls were preferred as wives or concubines.

In Bengal alone "Habši" (today's ethnic group mostly called Siddi), or slaves from the Horn of Africa, were reported in the 15th cent. to number 8,000 (cp. "India, relations with"). ↗Castration for the production of eunuchs, which involved high mortality, was reportedly carried out for a time at a place called Waslu (?) in the vicinity of the ↗Hadiyya sultanate, but was banned by the Christian monarchy.

The extent of slave exports depended significantly on conflicts in the Horn of Africa, and appears to have peaked in the early 16th cent. as a result of expeditions of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, which involved the gift and sale in the East of numerous Abyssinian slaves.

Early 19th cent. evidence, which is far richer than that for previous years, suggests that the slave trade from Ethiopia was still considerable. Pearce records that in 1812 – a not unusual year – 160 eunuchs, 700 young children, and 2,000 prisoners captured in war passed through ᶜAdwa market on the way to ↗Massawa and the coast. In the ensuing decades Krapf estimated that 3,000 slaves were taken annually from the Gurage country (PankEcon 82ff.); and Cecchi that 4,000 slaves a year were sold at the ↗Hirmaata/Ǧirän market. The principal ports handling Ethiopian slave exports were Zaylaᶜ and ↗Taǧūra, which between them reportedly exported around 6,000 slaves a year, mainly from the Šäwa area; Baylūl, which was said to export 1,500 slaves annually, from the same general area; and Massawa, around 1,750 slaves passing mainly through Təgray. Exports by the overland route to Sudan seem often to have been even greater, perhaps as much as 15,000 a year. Total slave exports through all routes could have been in excess of 25,000 annually. Slave prices, which tended to rise throughout the 19th cent., varied significantly from region to region, varied significantly from region to region, and according to the laws of supply and demand.

Typical prices at Aləyyu Amba market around the mid-century, as cited by Beke, were 10 to 15 Maria Theresa dollars for a boy and 13 to 20 for a girl, or 25 to 30 in the case of the most pleasing (PankEcon 82–87).

Src.: GueCopMen II, app.; PerGov 479, index; PankIntro 22 (map), 372–88.
Lit.: PankEcon, ch. 3.

Richard Pankhurst

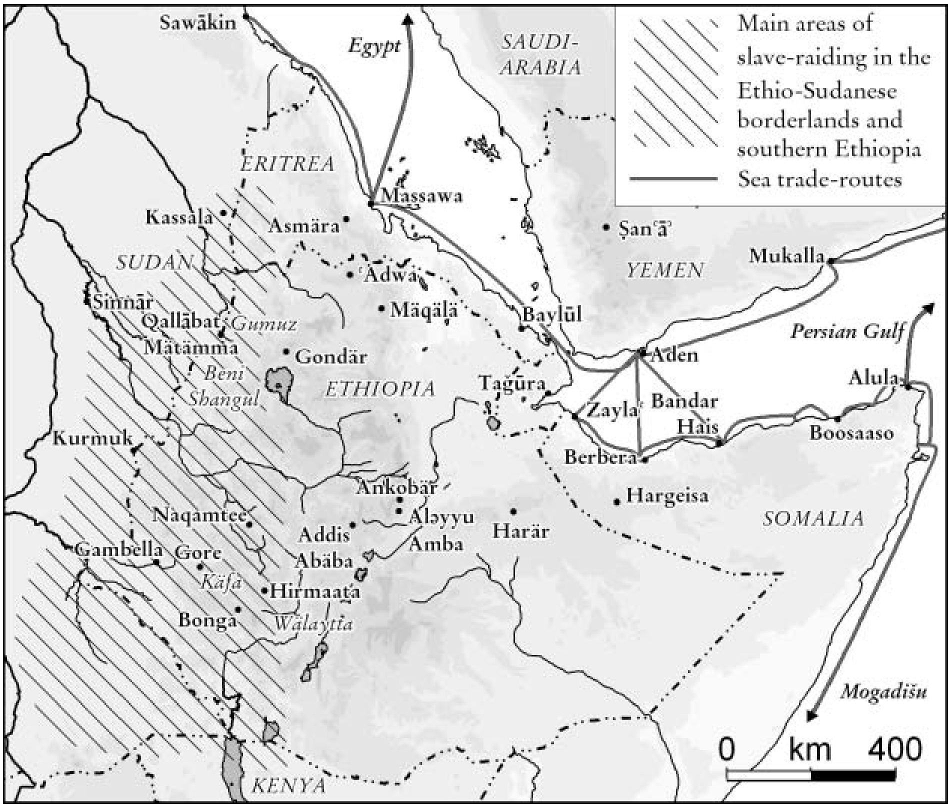
Red Sea slave trade in the 19th century

Although S. across the ↗Red Sea has been extant for millennia, no other period has seen more slaves move across this body of water than during the 19th cent., when the region became more closely and dynamically integrated into global commercial structures. The general expansion of global trade spurred the export boom in the broader area of the western Indian Ocean, including the slave trade.

The lack of detailed and reliable quantitative evidence, the frequently clandestine nature of the slave trade, the unaccounted for fluctuations of patterns and intensities of slave exports, and politically biased reporting designated either to spur governments to struggle against the trade, on the one hand, or to prove that slave trade activities have been choked off, on the other, all account for the difficulty to provide an accurate quantitative and qualitative assessment of the phenomenon in the Red Sea area. Nevertheless, scientifically and rigorously calculated (yet self-consciously tentative and cautious) estimates put the total number of slaves exported across the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden during the 19th cent. at 492,000 (Austen in PICES 5b, 33).

The Red Sea and Gulf of Aden slave trade constituted part of a broader commercial system in which slaves were moved from Africa to the Arabic, Turkish and Persian-speaking areas of the Middle East mostly by way of the Indian Ocean. But it was also closely linked to the greater Nile Valley commercial system which constituted an overland conduit moving slaves from the eastern and north-eastern African interior towards Egypt and beyond. Patterns of exportation either through the ↗Nile Valley or the Red Sea ports could depend on security along routes, specific conditions in port towns, shipping considerations, the cycles of seasonality, as well as a host of other commercial, political and logistical variables.

Notwithstanding periodic and frequent fluctuations, the slave trade was especially brisk between the 1820s and the 1880s. And unlike the Atlantic slave trade system, where slave cargoes were commonplace, slaves were most often moved and traded across the Red Sea and Indian Ocean on regular sailing boats together with other commodities. The growing demand for labour in Arabia, Persia, Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean clearly propelled the slave trade. The supply of cheap slaves and captives generated by Egyptian and Ethiopian expansionist drives and state formation in Northeast Africa during that period was also on the rise, meeting labour demands in the commercialized economies of the Middle East.


Main areas of slave-raiding in the Ethio-Sudanese borderlands and southern Ethiopia
Sea trade-routes
Sawākin
Egypt
SAUDI-ARABIA
ERITREA
Massawa
Kassalā
Asmära
SUDAN
ʿAdwa
Ṣanʿāʾ
YEMEN
Mukalla
Sinnār
Qallābat
Gumuz
Mäqälä
Baylūl
Mätämma
Gondär
Beni Shangul
ETHIOPIA
Aden
Persian Gulf
Taǧūra
Zaylaʿ
Bandar Hais
Alula
Boosaaso
Berbera
Kurmuk
Ankobär
Hargeisa
Naqamtee
Addis Abäba
Aləyyu Amba
Harär
SOMALIA
Gambella
Gore
Käfa
Hirmaata
Bonga
Wälaytta
Mogadišu
0 km 400
KENYA

Among the major slave supplying areas were the Oromo and ↗Sidaama regions as well as ↗Käfa, ↗Mağі, ↗Gamu, ↗Gimira, ↗Gofa, ↗Wälaytta, ↗Kullo and ↗Konta in what is today southern and south-western Ethiopia (Abdussamad Ahmad 1989: 93). A significant number of slaves exported through the Red Sea ports also originated in the Sudanese region where extensive and often brutally violent slave-raiding and trafficking took place. In the 1820s Muḥammad ʿAlī’s expansionist army launched massive slave-raiding expeditions. In the following decades Sudanese and Egyptian traders handled the trade, expediting slaves either through the overland routes to Egypt or via ↗Massawa or ↗Sawākin, across the Red Sea. Some slaves remained in the Sudan where their labour was exploited in agricultural enterprises.

The main destinations of Red Sea exports were first and foremost the Ḥiğaz in western Arabia, the Yemen, and the Persian Gulf, with re-exports mainly to Egypt, Anatolia, the Levant and, until mid-century, a small number to north-western India. Slave prices between southern Ethiopia and the coast could increase tenfold or more, while between exporting ports and overseas destinations they would again rise dramatically.

Slaves were exported on traditional sailing boats carrying a variety of other commodities through the major African ports of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden (s. sub-article above). The often clandestine nature of slave-shipping also meant that a significant number were expedited to Arabia from dozens of small and/or unidentified sites along the Sudanese, Eritrean and ↗Somali shorelines. This was especially the case since the mid 19th cent., as anti-slave trade activities were amplified. On the Arabian coasts too, landing often took place clandestinely at night, usually in the vicinity of major ports. Some slaves were then re-expedited from Jiddah, Hudaydah, and other Arabian Red Sea Ports, sometimes on steamships transporting Muslim pilgrims.

According to Austen’s tentative census (which also incorporates data from Arabian receiving areas), most Red Sea slaves in the 19th cent. were expedited via the Gulf of Aden (250,000). Taǧūra, Zaylaʿ and Berbera were the outlets of the slave trade, which to a large measure, sustained the formation and centralization of several Oromo

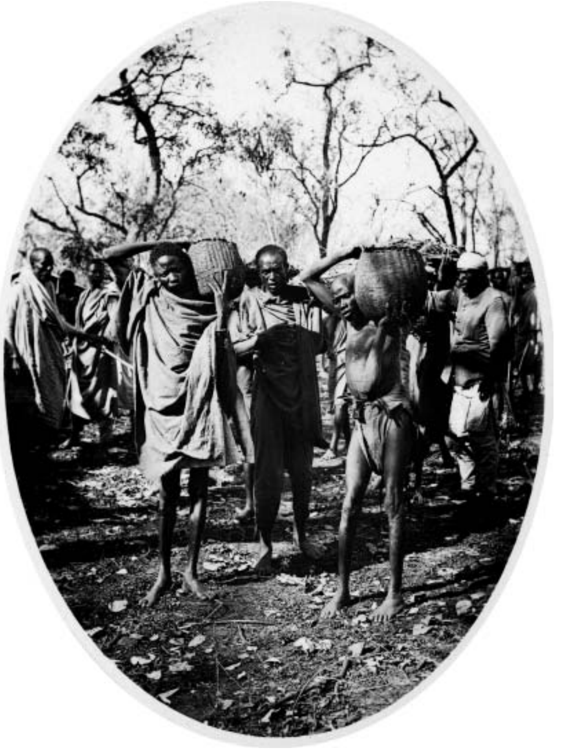


Fig. 1: Slaves in the Ethiopian highlands; photo 1917, collection of Maurice de Coppet, Helsinki University Library, Finland

polities in the south-western highlands (Gibe and Omo valleys) such as ↗Guduru, ↗Ǧimma, ↗Limmu-Ǝnnarya and ↗Geeraa, as well as Käfa (Fernyhough 1989: 106). The southward expansion of the kingdom of ↗Šäwa from the 1870s also abetted the trade feeding the Gulf of Aden ports (often in collaboration with ↗Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šaḥīm of Zayla^{c}). Next in quantity comes Massawa, the major outlet of the northern caravan routes, with 111,000 for the entire century; Sawākin, which, following the decline of ↗Funǧ (↗Sinnār), received caravans diverted from the traditional Nile routes, with 107,000, and the northern ^{c}Afar coast with a mere 24,000 slaves. The numbers clearly show a sharp decline around 1880, with the advent of European colonial rule and more strenuous suppression efforts, at least in the major ports. Other evidence suggests that European anti-slave trade efforts were only partly successful and that the trade did not die out altogether, even if it was reduced and less visible. All figures remain somewhat tentative.

In general, the vast majority of slaves exported through the Red Sea were in their teens, and the sex ratio heavily favoured females. Slaves from the Ethiopian region were exploited in a host of occupations, varying from "luxury" slaves such as eunuchs and concubines on the one hand, to the most labour intensive and physically trying occupations such as pearl divers in the waters around the Arabian Peninsula, on the other. Ethiopian concubines occupied an intermediary position between "white" and "black" slaves and were highly prized among those who were sufficiently well-off but who could not afford white Circassian or Georgian slaves, especially in Istanbul and in Egypt, but also in Arabia. A significant number of female slaves exported to the Middle East worked as domestic servants in both high and middle-standing households. Slaves were also employed in urban economies, in harbours, in transportation, artisanship, construction enterprises as masons, and as employees in trading and business outfits. Some male slaves were mariners with sea vessel crews in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. It is possible that some slaves from the Ethiopian region laboured in agricultural enterprises, perhaps date plantations.

Lit.: MORDECHAI ABIR, "The Ethiopian Slave Trade and its Relation to the Islamic World", in: JOHN RALPH WILLIS (ed.), *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, London 1985, 123–36; RALPH AUSTEN, "The Islamic Red Sea Slave Trade: an Effort at Quantification", in: *PICES* 5b, 433–68; TIMOTHY FERNYHOUGH, "Slavery and Slave Trade in Southern Ethiopia in the 19th Century", in: CLARENCE-SMITH 1989, 103–30, here 106; WILLIAM GERVASE CLARENCE-SMITH (ed.), *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century*, London 1989, passim; EHUD TOLEDANO, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression, 1840–1890*, Princeton, NJ 1982.

Jonathan Miran

Slave raiding in the 19th century

The 19th-cent. slave trade of the Ethiopian interior was an integral element of the overall system of trade of the Horn of Africa. It used the same system of trade routes and was in the hands of the same category of entrepreneurs, i.e. predominantly Muslim merchants. Slaves together with ivory, gold, civet amber etc. were the most valued commodities for export. Virgin girls and the young in general reached the highest prices. With every resell the price of a slave increased, e.g., in Käfa (in 1905) one slave cost eight ↗Maria Theresia thalers but increased in price to 30–40 thalers in Šäwa (Bieber 1923: 43). The male slaves served in the transport of goods from the interior to the coast to be sold afterwards; sometimes together with their cargo.

In the 19th cent. one of the most important sources of slaves for the Ethiopian as well as the eastern Sudanese market was the Ethio–Sudanese periphery in all its extension from north to south. In this wide geographical sphere the lower grass- and bushlands as well as the partially forested uplands with their richness in game and abundant flora were mostly inhabited by hunter-gatherers who, to a limited scale, also practised hoe agriculture. In their oral traditions, some of these groups (e.g., ↗Gumuz) claim to have lived on higher altitudes before they sought refuge from slave raids in the lowlands, which were infested with ↗malaria and unattractive to cattle keepers due to the dispersion of the tsetse fly.

The northern Ethiopian highlanders considered hunter-gatherers and people of darker complexion as ↗*šanqəlla* or ↗*barya* respectively. They were, as such, preferred as targets of slave raids. The Sudanese Arabs had a similar attitude to the non-Muslim peoples of the lowlands east of the River Nile. However, to a lesser extent, the enslavement of captives from neighbouring groups was also common among the lowland groups themselves. This was boosted by the fact that after the Christian empire had taken formal control over the peripheries, they were expected to pay tribute not only in ivory and gold but also in slaves (Triulzi 1981).

South of ↗Mätämma the victims of slave-raiding came from the different Gumuz groups scattered over the Mätäkkäl region and the Ethio–Sudanese borderlands down to River Didessa in Wälläga. Mätämma, and al-↗Qallābat respectively, were the central trading post for slaves raided in the surrounding lowlands and beyond. It was the main gate for human trafficking from northern Ethiopia via the Nile and Khartoum to Egypt. In the north, the main area for slave raiding stretched out from ↗Gaš Setit to ↗Mäzäga. Here, slaves were mainly raided among the ↗Nara and ↗Ṣällim Bet groups.

In 19th-cent. ↗Beni Šangul, slave trade predominantly was in the hands of the ruling families of the ↗Waṭawiṭ. They systematically raided slaves among the Nilo-Saharan-speaking peoples, including ↗Berta, Gumuz, ↗Uduk, ↗Mao, ↗Komo, ↗Kwama, ↗Opuuo and Mabaan (today Sudan). The Waṭawiṭ used to mark slaves with six vertical scars on the cheek. Girls and women were preferred and more expensive (Theis 1995: 29). Raids, combined with forced gold mining labour, enabled the Waṭawiṭ šayḫdoms (Qebeš, ↗Asosa, Dul [↗Kurmuk] and Begi) to develop into important trading centres for north-western Ethiopia as well as Nubia.

The Waṭawiṭ paid tributes in slaves, ivory and gold to Ottoman Egypt and, since 1898, to the Ethiopian emperors. The most notorious slave trader in Beni Šangul probably was *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷāğalī of Asosa. In ca. 1910 he even introduced a regular tribute in children to be paid by the neighbouring peoples (Theis 1995: 19–22).

During the ↗Mahdist rule, the Sudanese *ansar* raided slaves along the borderlands to Ethiopia until they were defeated by *ras* ↗Gobäna's army in ca. 1886. After this victory Mənilək established his hegemony by the help of ↗Ǧootee Tuullu, the ruler of ↗Qälləm, who himself was an intermediary slave trader and active in slave raiding among the smaller ethnic groups of the region (Theis 1995: 24, 30ff.).

In their history, most ethnic groups in south-western and southern Ethiopia were exposed to enslavement but often also enslaved war captives for domestic usage and trade. Important areas of slave raiding were ↗Illubabor and ↗Käfa. The Nuer enslaved the Komo, the ↗Mağangir were raided by ↗Añwaa, Še (↗Benç̌) and highlanders, the so-called ↗Gimira groups (i.e. Benç̌ [Še], Mer, ↗Šeko, ↗Nayi, ↗Ç̣ara) were victims of Oromo raiders as well as of campaigns of the Hinnario (↗Ǝnnarya) and ↗Käfa kings. The large requirements of the Käfa kingdom in slaves were supplied by captives of war from its vassal states of Konta, Dawro and Kunča.

Slaves in south-western and southern Ethiopia were taken as domestic or royal slaves respectively or trafficked to central Ethiopia via Gore, Bonga, Tiiffa (Käfa; Bieber 1923: 42) or Hirmaata (Lange 1975: 2f.). In the second half of the 19th cent., when the demand in slaves increased considerably, the latter became the most important slave market of the south-west.

The wider Gurage region was another important area for slave-raiding as well as slave trade. Among the many small rivalling groups the enslavement of captives of war for domestic needs was a traditional practice. Additionally, it was common to sell slaves to itinerant Muslim merchants. Slaves from the region, especially Gurage girls who had the fame to be extraordinary beautiful, realised highest prices. According to Cecchi (1888: 92), a young female slave from ↗Čaha or

↗Wəlbaräg was purchased at the ↗Qabeena market for 40 *natter* (ca. 17 kg of copper) while a male youngster was sold for about half of this price.

Slave trade in the region intensified after *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase had established his influence in northern Gurage (↗Soddo). Here, trade routes from the Gibe states in the south-west and from ↗Wälaytta via ↗Kambaata joined to cross Šäwa on the way to the coastal markets. The Šäwan king provided security for the caravans and collected taxes on every slave that crossed his territory.

On the eve of Mənilək's occupation of the region, the ↗Qabeena could establish control over the passage across the Gibe and the trade route from the south-west. Between 1881 and 1889 they rebelled against Šäwan supremacy under their leader ↗Ḥasän Ǝnǧamo. The strength of their petty state was mainly based on an Islamic revitalist ideology as well as trade, especially slave trade.

With the advance of the Christian Ethiopian armies into an area, a considerably high number of people was taken captive. While members of the local leading families were often set free to become intermediaries between Amhara and the local population, many commoners lost their home and freedom forever. The occupation of the Ethio–Sudanese "slave raiding belt" and south-western Ethiopia by the Christian empire had an ambivalent effect on the slave trade. While on the one hand slave traders were increasingly restricted by law, due to the official S. policy (s. "The slavery question" below), they continued their activities covertly, moving the slaves during night-time and selling them in-house. In many cases local Ethiopian administrators were indirectly but decisively involved. Even Ethiopian rulers, however, seem to have been active in slave raiding. *Ləǧ* ↗Iyasu's devastating raids of the "Gimira" country have to be emphasized here as an example of real "slave hunting expeditions"(cp. Lange 1975).

Src.: ANTONIO CECCHI, *Fünf Jahre in Ostafrika*, Leipzig 1888, 92; HarAeth 299–328; THEOPHILUS WALDMEIER, *The Autobiography of Ten Years in Abyssinia*, London 1886, 71 (ill.).

Lit.: ABDUSSAMAD H. AHMAD, "Trading in Slaves in Bela-Shangul and Gumuz, Ethiopia: Border Enclaves in History, 1897–1938", *JAH* 40, 1999, 433–46; FRIEDRICH BIEBER, *Kaffa*: *Ein Altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, vol. 2: *Das Gemeinleben der Kaffitscho oder Gonga*, Wien 1923, 37–43; DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia. Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986; TIMOTHY FERNYHOUGH, "Slavery and Slave Trade in Southern Ethiopia in the 19th Century", in: WILLIAM GERVASE CLARENCE-SMITH (ed.), *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century*, London 1989, 103–30; WERNER J. LANGE, *Gimira* (*Remnants of a Vanishing Culture*), Ph.D. thesis, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main 1975, passim; PankIntro 372–88; TEKALIGN WOLDE MARIAM, "The Slave Trade in the Economy of Jimma", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 309–18; JOACHIM THEIS, *Nach der Razzia*: *Ethnographie und Geschichte der Koma*, München 1995, 19–22 et passim; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy*: *Prelude to the History of a No Man's Land, Bela Shangul, Wallaga, Ethiopia* (*ca. 1800–1898*), Napoli 1981, s. index.

Dirk Bustorf

Domestic and court slavery

A "slave" may be roughly defined as an individual whose personal freedom and dignity is not acknowledged by society and who is treated as a possession or commodity. In Ethiopian societies many different forms of more or less non-free social statuses existed. They ranged from complete denial of any human dignity or rights to various kinds of "milder" servitude and serfdom. They are to be differentiated from other forms of exploitation and degradation imposed on individuals who, in principle, were considered as free, such as, e.g., the ↗*gäbbar*-system, the low status of women among many cultures, and the so-called ↗marginalized people (cp. also ↗*Fuga*; ↗*Manǧo*).

Comparing domestic S. in Ethiopia with the brutality of S. in the European colonies and the USA, European travellers tended to describe it as relatively moderate. Indeed, in consideration of the valuable property they were for their possessors, slaves were often fed well and cared for. Some even received some education (PankSoc 241–44). However, for the slaves themselves, whose perspective is rarely documented, being taken from their homeland and families was a traumatic experience, not to speak of the many hardships of a despised and dependent life in an alien land. The greatest burden was put upon the female slaves who in very many cases were sexually exploited by sellers and buyers already in their early years (PankSoc 245).

There were different ways how people were made slaves. The most common was the enslavement of captives taken in the course of war. They were treated as booty and divided among the warriors who could take them home as domestic slaves or sell them into the local or transregional market. Captives (ምርኮኛ, *mərkoñña*) belonging to a group that was not allowed for S. (e.g., in northern Ethiopia Amhara and Təgrəñña) could be released by payment of a ransom. Those sold were mostly reduced to lifelong S., their children inheriting their status. Slaves could also serve as part of the dowry (s. Walker 1933:40). While in some cases slaves were passed on to an heir, others were "temporary slaves". They stayed with the person who had captured or bought them until his death and then regained freedom. A slaveholder could also manumit his slave arbitrarily or release him after he had bought himself off.

Besides the enslavement of war captives, i.e. of people from alien groups, there were various institutionalized forms of enslavement of persons from the same society. The punitive enslavement of criminals was common among many societies (e.g., Šäwa, cp. EgeClass 134; Kambaata, cp. BrKam 182; Käfa, cp. Bieber 1923: 37; Yäm, cp. VSAe III, 329; Oromo kingdoms, cp. AbPrince 83, 83 n. 3; Wälaytta and Yäm, cp. HabKön 274) and in some cases (e.g., Ǧimma) was even expanded over the convict's family. Especially the poor were in danger to be enslaved by their fellow countrymen. Debt bondage or obnoxiation, e.g., often took the form of temporary S. Furthermore, in some societies poor parents could sell their child, even when still unborn, into S. In case that they were incapable of paying tribute in kind they sometimes were forced to leave their children to the ruler. The king of Käfa could sell poor freemen as slaves (Amh.: *wərs*, lit., 'person whose property has been confiscated') in order to gain some income (e.g., Käfa, s. Bieber 1923: 37–40).

Most slaves in Ethiopia were kept as domestic slaves of ordinary peasants and as court slaves of the nobility or rulers. In some areas, however, slaves were also employed as mine workers or gold washers (e.g., in Beni Šangul). Female slaves, in general, made up the majority of the slave population. Being part of the commodities of trade caravans, slaves also regularly served as carriers of goods. The number of slaves was in proportion to the economic possibilities of their owner. As part of his possessions, they contributed to his prestige and served as a "reserve fund". In case a slave did not meet his master's expectations he could be sold to traders (PankSoc 241–45).

Domestic slaves were un-free maidens and menials who received food, shelter and cloths from their masters. They were part of the household and, as such, were considered as near relations. Some were allowed to marry and to erect their own shelter in the backyard. While enslaved men served in agriculture, female slaves carried the housework, including, e.g., fetching water and rearing children. Sexual exploitation of maidens by their masters was not uncommon (cp. PankSoc 241–45).

In highland Christian Ethiopia slave trade was forbidden for Christians but the buying and keeping was not. A slave could be baptized and afterwards was protected from resale by his godfather. A Christian slave was, in principle, accepted as witness or juror at court, unless his master was the accused. A master who had severely injured his slave was expected to set him free as a recompense (AbPrince 54; Walker 1933: 4, 74, 141).

Court slaves

Slave labour was a major pillar of the socio-economic system of any court, be it noble or royal. Female slaves spun cotton, carried water and firewood, grinded flour and prepared food or drinks such as ↗*ṭälla* and ↗*ṭäǧǧ*. Others were personal servants of members of the court or were made favourites or concubines by their master (cp. PankSoc 241–44).

Male slaves roughly fell into two categories, those who were engaged in different kinds of manual work and those who were employed in administrative and military tasks. Being outsiders deprived from any bonds with their original kin, slaves completely depended on their owner who, thus, became their exclusive object of loyalty. Accordingly, slaves, especially eunuchs (↗Castration), sometimes could reach administrative key positions. Moreover, the military was an important field where they could progress in position. At Ankobär, for example, in the middle of the 19th cent. the ca. 1,000 musketeers of the royal bodyguard predominantly consisted of slaves in most ranks (EgeClass 115–23).

In southern Ethiopia the slaves at the kings' courts often had highest administrative positions. In Wälaytta royal officers, slaves by their nominal status, served as majordomos and treasurers of the *kawa* ('king') and had the privilege to wear red braided cloth. According to Haberland, certain slaves followed the deceased king into his grave (HabKön 266f., 269). Also at the royal court of Käfa male slaves functioned as pages, guards and officers (Bieber 1923: 37–40).

Src.: Charles F. Rey, *Unconquered Abyssinia as it is Today*, London 1923, 181–91.

Lit.: Abbebe Kifleyesus, *Tradition and Transformation: the Argobba of Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 2006 (AeF 66), 107–13; AbPrince 54; Friedrich J. Bieber, *Kaffa. Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, vol. 2: *Das Gemeinleben der Kaffitscho oder Gonga*, Wien 1923, 37–40; EgeClass 57ff., 115–23; HabKön 266f.; Reidulf K. Molvaer, *Socialization and Social Control in Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 44), 263f., 287; PankIntro 372–88; PankSoc 241–45, 247; VSAe III; Theophilus Waldmei-

ER, *The Autobiography of Ten Years in Abyssinia*, London 1886, 71 (ill.); CRAVEN HOWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933.

Dirk Bustorf

The slavery question in politics

Abolition of S. became a subject only hesitantly addressed by Ethiopian leaders when it became a crucial factor in European international politics in the second half of the 19th cent.

The diplomatic envoy Henry ↗Salt, for example, reported regular slave raids against the "*↗šanqəlla*" in the Ethio–Sudanese border regions, considered as "a kind of sport" by the Christian highlanders (SalTrav 307). The metropolitan was blamed for having killed a slave, which led to a complaint against him by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis of Təgray (RubActa I, 26f.). Such observations motivated later European envoys to raise the issue of S. with Ethiopian princes and rulers. *Däǧǧazmač* Kaśa (later *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) was the first who, as part of his radical reforms, issued a proclamation in 1854 forbidding the export of slaves. Its effect was only minimal. Selling slaves to Christians, for example, was still permitted for some time. A proclamation against the trade of Christian slaves followed, ordering the amputation of a foot and a hand of any wrong-doer, as the *↗Fətḥä nägäśt* prohibited the enslavement of Christians (ch. XXXI; s. GueCopMen 600, details: 606ff.). Consequently, enslavement of non-Christian war victims was still legal (PankSoc 328; PerGov 219; GueCopMen 601).

Slaves were continuously used as means of paying tribute. For example, when *nəguś* ↗Mənilək II submitted to *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV in 1878, he agreed to pay an annual tribute including 500 slaves to the Emperor (Marcus 1995:53). Mənilək himself received great numbers of slaves from the south-east as tributes and became Ethiopia's "greatest slave entrepreneur" (ibid. 73). He also received a two thalers tax per slave from slave-markets in 1878 (GueCopMen 603). This was in contradiction to his own decree of 1875 against the slave-trade (text s. ibid. 602), and his letter to the king of Italy of 28 November 1878 in which he claimed to have liberated 25,000 slaves (Nosseir 1928:241). In 1884 Yoḥannəs IV signed a treaty with Great Britain in which he prohibited slave-trading (but not S. as such; s. GueCopMen 601, with reference to the original text). When Mənilək II ascended the throne in 1889, he prohibited S., exempting the enslavement of war captives (ibid. 602f.). Slave-trade, however, continued, and his governors and he himself continued to turn captives of war into slaves (especially from the south, e.g., from ↗Wälaytta in 1894; PerGov 219; GueCopMen 601ff.).

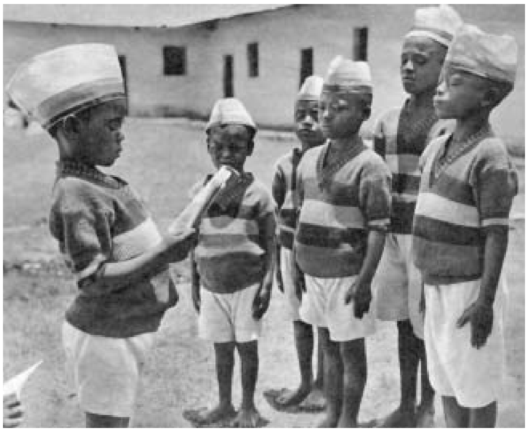


Fig. 2: Former slave boys at the school for liberated slaves in Addis Abäba, early 1930s; from Rikli 1935:27

Neighboring territories also implemented an abolition policy only late, as S. was one of the most important sources of income of governors and economic elites. Only starting from the 1870s slaves were consistently freed in Ottoman ↗Massawa, a major slave market. In ↗Eritrea, clandestine slave-trade was effectively stopped only after Italian colonization, but it still continued on a small scale in neighboring Anglo–Egyptian ↗Sudan and French Somaliland. The last slave caravan reached ↗Djibouti in 1929 (Fontrier 2003:218).

In Ethiopia Empress ↗Zäwditu reaffirmed her father's interdiction of slave-trade in 1918 (Nosseir 1928:241; GueCopMen 609). On 15 September 1923 *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I issued a proclamation against S., followed by the law of 31 March 1924 abolishing the slave trade, but allowing the possession of slaves, in order to avoid alienating his followers, and an economic crisis (PerGov 224ff.; its full text s. ZerÉth; a supplement was issued in 1931, PerGov 227). Slave traders were threatened with the death penalty, which was, in very exceptional cases, imposed against some petty traders. Governors implicated in S. remained untouched, including the Emperor's own cousin, *däǧǧazmač* Tayyä Täklä Maryam of Benesso-Gurafarda, who maintained the country's principal slave market (PerGov 229, 330ff.). Another example is *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷağalī (s. "Slave raiding in the 19th cent." above): Slaves occasionally fled from Ḫʷağalī's territory into the Sudan seeking liberation from S. (ibid. 327). Individual raiders, Amhara and Oromo, found protection and well-established markets also in Oromo provinces such as ↗Ǧimma until the early 1930s (ibid. 221, 229f.).

The abolition law was a condition for the admission of Ethiopia into the ↗League of Nations in 1923. Consequently, state institutions dealing with S. were established. One was the Office for the Abolition of S. of 1932, in Addis Abäba (in the building of today's ↗Holy Trinity Theological College), among whose responsibility was to dispose of freed slaves (PerGov 227f., 230). Freed "slave children" were put into a new school run by the *Fəqər ənna agälgəlot maḥbär* ('association for love and serving'), directed by *hakim* ↗Wärqənäh Ǝšäte, with ↗Märsəʾe Hazän as its secretary. Here they learned Amharic and European languages, mathematics etc., to be prepared for services for the modern state.

Resistance by "marginalized groups", victims of raids, occasionally led to armed conflicts. In 1932 a former slave led a revolt in the Šäwa–↗Gimira province, asking for abolition of S. He defeated the governor in 1934 and declared himself the future king in Addis Abäba (PerGov 329). When Italy prepared for conflict with Ethiopia, writers started to publish on S. in Ethiopia. This provided propaganda for the argument that Ethiopia was not "a civilized nation" as demanded by the League's charter, and therefore, by implication, did not enjoy the same rights as the other members. This seems to have weakened international support for Ethiopia, when the ↗Italian War broke out (1935–36). In October 1935 the commander de ↗Bono issued a decree in Asmära, freeing all slaves in Təgray with immediate effect, followed by a similar decree of April 1936 valid also for Amhara and Goǧǧam and extended later to all territories including Somalia (PerGov 232). After the effective occupation of Ethiopia, Italy claimed to have liberated 420,000 slaves, some of whom were placed into communal settlements (ibid. 221, 232). These decrees did not exclude forced labour (ibid. 233).

After Italy's defeat a new proclamation was issued in 1942 by Ḫaylä Śəllase, abolishing any form of slave-trade and the legal institution of S. itself. Offenders were punished by courts (PerGov 234f.). Many slaves then became servants. Serf-relationships between dominating and marginalized groups, however, continued especially in peripheral regions well into the 1970s (e.g., the "slave status" of the ↗Ṣällim Bet was only abolished by the TPLF), and, exceptionally, even until the 1990s, e.g., in the south-west. The special status of former slaves in diverse Ethiopian societies plays a role often until today; e.g., former slaves ("↗*Barya*") of ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel migrated together with them to Israel, but are usually still socially regarded as *barya*.

Src.: GueCopMen 599–610 (Lit.); RubActa I, 26f.; SalTrav 307; ZerÉth 331ff.

Lit.: MARC FONTRIER, *Abou-Bakr Ibrahim, Pacha de Zeyla – marchard d'esclaves*, Paris 2003; KilHDic 380; HAROLD MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II, Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995, 53, 73; ABDUL-HALIM ELIAS NOSSEIR, *Ityopya, Les richesses de l'Ethiopie*, Nancy 1928, 240ff.; PankSoc 328; PerGov 217–36, 324ff., 330ff. (Lit.); MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935, 27 (ill.); ALAIN ROUAUD, *Le negus contre l'esclavage*: *Les édits abolitionnistes du ras Tafari*, Paris 1997; RubInd, index; HAGAR SALAMON, "Slavery among the Beta-Israel in Ethiopia: Religious Dimensions of Inter-Group Perceptions", *Slavery and Abolition* 15, 1, 1994, 72–88; EHUD R. TOLEDANO, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*, Seattle, WA 1998.

Wolbert Smidt

Sobat ↗Baro

Società Geografica Italiana

The S.G.I. was founded in Florence in 1867 with the aim of promoting "the progress of geographic science in any of its branches". Its original scope, however, was primarily political and it carried out a decisive role in buttressing the development of Italian colonialism, principally via exploratory activities.

The first African expedition of the S.G.I. was led in 1869 by Orazio ↗Antinori to the Eritrean plateau. In 1876, the Society, which in 1872 had relocated to Rome, invested enormous resources in another expedition under the leadership of Antinori to the equatorial lakes and south-western Ethiopia. Although it resulted in a substantial failure, the S.G.I. kept the scientific station of ↗Ləṭ Maräfiya, which also offered the opportunity to form in 1877 an Italian Committee of the International African Association.

In the 1880s, the expeditions organized by the S.G.I. proliferated and the missions led by Pietro ↗Antonelli, Federico Piano, Augusto Salimbeni (↗Salimbeni Expedition) and Vincenzo Ragazzi were sent to Ethiopia. In the 1890s, important missions reached Somaliland (↗Somalia) and the Benadir coast, thus provoking a mounting tension with ↗Mənilək II's government. The expeditions led by Vittorio ↗Bottego in 1892–93 to the course of the Juba (↗Ganaalee) and in 1895–97 to the ↗Omo and the Sobat (↗Baro) aimed at hindering Ethiopia's range of action and defining the zone of Italian influence within the Empire.

The Italian defeat at the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896 and the dramatic outcome of the second Bottego mission brought an end to the age of the great explorations in Italy. However, the Africanist vocation of the S.G.I. did not disappear and the expeditions resumed under the presidency of Antonino di San Giuliano. They were meant to provide intelligence to the Italian colonial administration in ↗Eritrea and ↗Somalia and help prepare the military expeditions in Tripolitania and Cirenaica. In 1908 the S.G.I. sponsored Alfonso Tancredi and Maurizio Rava's mission to Lake ↗Ṭana.

The creation of the "Ministero delle Colonie" in 1912, by means of which the Italian government came to control colonial policy, deprived the S.G.I. of authority in its traditional duties. However, until the collapse of the Italian colonies in 1947 Africa did not disappear from its agenda. During ↗Mussolini's regime, it participated in projects to study Libya and, after 1936, in Ethiopia, where it played only a marginal role.

During the post-war period, the S.G.I. favoured a nostalgic recall of Italy's former present in Africa. More recently, it has resumed its activities as a documentation and research centre. At its headquarters at the Palazzetto Mattei in Villa Celimontana, Rome, the S.G.I. hosts an important library with over 300,000 volumes, 50,000 modern maps and 150,000 images. It also possesses a South Arabian stela acquired in Egypt.

Src.: Archivio storico della Società geografica italiana (Roma); *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, 1868–. **Lit.**: Maria Carazzi, *La Società geografica Italiana e l'esplorazione coloniale in Africa* (*1867–1900*), Firenze 1972; Claudio Cerreti, *Della Società Geografica Italiana e della sua vicenda storica* (*1867–1997*), Roma 2000; Giancarlo Monina, *Il Consenso coloniale*: *Le Società geografiche e l'Istituto coloniale italiano* (*1896–1914*), Roma 2002; Daniele Natili, *Un programma coloniale*: *La Società Geografica Italiana e le origini dell'espansione in Etiopia* (*1867–1884*), Roma 2008; Francesco Surdich, *L'esplorazione italiana dell'Africa*, Milano 1982.

Giancarlo Monina

Soddo

Soddo language

S. (self-name: *Kəstanəñña*, lit. 'Christian language', also known as Aymällät) is an ↗Ethio-Semitic language belonging to the so-called *n*-group of Outer South Ethiopic. It is spoken by ca. 250,000 speakers (1998 census, s. Gordon 2005:116) in the north-eastern part of the ↗Gurage region, between the rivers Awaš in the north and Mäqi in the south; there are also some communities north of the Awaš, including the community in Addis Abäba (for location s. map for Gurage, EAE 2, 927). S., ↗Gogot and ↗Muḫər are referred to as Northern Gurage (Hetzron 1968), which is a typological rather than genetic unit: common features (in the first place, employment of Main Verb Markers *-u*, *-n* and *-t*) are, as Hetzron later states, archaisms or the result of convergence (1977:22ff.). The first materials on S. were collected by ↗Mayer (1878) and analysed by Praetorius (1879).

S. is not used as a language of education or administration. Published texts in S. include those collected by Hetzron (1977:145–64) and Leslau (1968), in transcription, as well as those by Täsfa Gäbräyäs (1994:155–200), in Ethiopic ↗script.

The consonantal phonemes of S. are: labials: *b*, *f*, *m*, *w*; dentals: *d*, *t*, *ṭ*, *z*, *s*, *n*, *l*, *r*; prepalatals: *ž*, *š*, *ǧ*, *č*, *č̣*, *ñ*, *y*; velars: *g*, *k*, *q*, *gʷ*, *kʷ*, *qʷ*; laryngeals: *h*. Palatalized velars (*gʸ*, *kʸ*, *qʸ*) occur sporadically. The vowel phonemes are: *a*, *ä*, *e*, *ə*, *i*, *o*, *u*.

There are two genders: feminine and masculine; gender is not marked on nouns but is indicated by agreement only. Singular number is unmarked; plural is expressed by the suffix *-ačč* or *-očč*, or by reduplication of the last radical (according to the pattern C*a*C*ä*). The definite article is *-i*; indefiniteness is unmarked.

A determined direct object is marked by prefixed *yä-* or *nä-* (which are also markers of indirect object); an undetermined direct object is unmarked.

Independent personal pronouns are *ädi* 'I', *dähä* 'you (sg. masc.)', *däš* 'you (sg. fem.)', *kʷa* 'he', *kʸa* 'she', *əñña* 'we', *dähəm* 'you (pl. masc.)', *dähma* 'you (pl. fem.)', *kənnäm* 'they (masc.)', *kənnäma* 'they (fem.)'. Pronominal possessors and objects are expressed by suffixes attached to nouns and verbs, resp. The applicative suffixes (called mediate in Goldenberg 1968) are object suffixes preceded by applicative markers *-l-* (benefactive) and *-b-* (malefactive, locative, instrumental, temporal). Like other Outer South Ethiopic languages, S. has developed two allomorphic sets of object and applicative suffixes, labelled as "light" and "heavy" (for applicative suffixes a third, "half-heavy" set exists). The distribution of the allomorphs depends on the final affix of the verbal stem they are attached to.

Demonstratives for near and far objects, *zi* and *za* resp., do not inflect for number or gender.

Examples of interrogatives are *ma* 'who', *yäma* 'whose/for whom', *mən* 'what', *yämən* 'why', *yitta, yittat* 'which', *yittani* 'which one'.

There are three basic verbal types of simplex stems distinguished by the vowel following the first root-consonant in the perfect: type *säbbäro*, type *tikkälo* and type *č̣affäro*. From these, various derived stems can be formed: by reduplication of the second consonant (expressing intensive, iterative and other related meanings), by prefixes *tä-* (passive), *a-* and *at-* (different types of causative). In addition, there is a large class of composite verbs, consisting of an invariable element encoding the semantics of the construction and of the inflected auxiliary *balo* 'say'.

The verb is inflected for person, number and gender; characteristic of S. is the employment of an impersonal form (with unspecified subject). Basic verbal categories are perfect (*säbbäro* 'he broke'), imperfect (*yəsäbru*), jussive (*yäsbər*), and imperative (*səbär*). Analytic constructions involving some of these forms and the auxiliary verb *näbbär* can express various aspects.

In the perfect and imperfect, two forms are distinguished: that of the main clause and that of the subordinate clause. The main form is indicated by a set of suffixes (so called Main Verb Markers): *yəbädr-u* 'he advances' (main form) vs. *yəbädər* (subordinate); *säffäro* (< **säffärä+u*) 'he measured' (main) vs. *säffärä* (subordinate).

The negative marker for the perfect is prefix *al-*: *al-säfärä* 'he did not measure'. In the imperfect, two negative markers are employed: *t-* for main clause verbs and *a-* for subordinate and for jussive, e.g., *tiqärs* 'he does not begin' (main) vs. *ayqärs* (subordinate). In negative forms, Main Verb Markers are omitted.

A dependent verbal form (called converb or gerund), used to express an event preceding that of the main verb, is formed by the suffix *-m* (according to Hetzron 1977: 95, also *-nna*) attached to an inflected verb in the perfect, imperfect or jussive/imperative: *täsbässäbmu-m alläfmun* 'They gathered together and went out'. Forms of the perfect with suffix *-m* can be used in the main clause expressing a completed action: *bägäbäya ǧäba säb ažžähu-m* 'I have seen many people at the market'.

The infinitive is formed from the jussive base with a prefixed *wä-* or (*w*)*o-*: (*w*)*osfər* 'to measure'.

The copula is formed of the element (-)*n-* with historical suffix pronouns: 3rd pers. sg. masc. -(*ə*)*n*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *-na*, 2nd pers. sg. masc. *nähä* etc.: *zämmiddi nähä* 'You are my brother'. After personal and demonstrative pronouns the copula is either replaced (mostly in non-final positions) or preceded by *-tt-*: *kənnämu-ttə-näm* 'It is they'. The copula normally occupies final position, but may also be placed immediately after the emphasized constituent, even between a noun and possessive suffix: *ge-ddi-n* 'It is my house' vs. *ge-nnə-ddi* 'It is my *house*'. Goldenberg (1996) postulates a third copula, expressed by a suffixed *-u*.

Word order is Subject–Object–Verb: *aškər-i*$_1$ *guns*$_2$ *bällaw*$_3$ 'The servant$_1$ ate$_3$ bread$_2$'. Modifiers precede the head noun: *maläq-i*$_1$ *ge*$_2$ 'the big$_1$ house$_2$'.

The ten-word list is: *att/quna* 'one', *kitt* 'two', *sost* 'three', *äsat* 'fire', *yiga* 'water', *č̣äbär/yimər* 'sun', *därraqqa* 'moon', *däm* 'blood', *alämät* 'tongue', *sənn* 'tooth'.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue. Languages of the World*, Dallas ^{15}2005, 116; JOHANNES MAYER, *Kurze Wörtersammlung in Englisch, Deutsch, Amharisch, Gallanisch, Guraguesch*, ed. by LUDWIG KRAPF, Basel 1878; TÄSFA GÄBRÄYÄS, **አይመለል** (*Aymällär*), Addis Abäba 1987 A.M. [1994 A.D.], 155–200.

Lit.: GIDEON GOLDENBERG, "Kəstanəñña, Studies in a Northern Gurage Language of Christians", *Orientalia Suecana* 17, 1968, 61–102; ID., "Two Points on Kəstane Grammar", in: GROVER HUDSON (ed.), *Essays on Gurage Language and Culture Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday*, Wiesbaden 1996, 93–99; ROBERT HETZRON, "Main Verb-Markers in Northern Gurage", *Africa* 38, 1968, 156–72; ID., *The Gunnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977; ID., [Review of Leslau 1968], *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90, 4, 1970, 561–68; WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopians Speak. Studies in Cultural Background*, vol. 3: *Soddo*, Berkley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1968; ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (*Ethiopic*), vol. 1: *Individual Dictionaries*, Wiesbaden 1979a, 1033–120; vol. 3: *Etymological Section*, Wiesbaden 1979b, xv–cvi; ID., *Gurage Folklore*: *Ethiopian Folktales, Proverbs, Beliefs, and Riddles*, Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 63), 4–129, 220–24; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, "Ueber den Dialekt von Gurāguē", in: ID., *Die amharische Sprache*, Halle 1878, 507–23.

Maria Bulakh

Soddo ethnography

S. (ሶዶ) was the name of a district of ↗Hayqočč-Butağira province (administrative centre: Buᵓi) in the area south of River Awaš adjoining the ↗Dobbi and ↗Mäsqan. Today, the S. *wäräda* belongs to the ↗Gurage Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region; part

A group of Soddo Gurage, having a break in the shade; photo 1934–35, courtesy of Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (13-KB046-12)

of the old district was assigned to Oromiyaa. The Gurage of S. are also called Kəstane or Aymällät. The term Kəstane reflects their early Orthodox Christian identity (s., e.g., ↗Mədrä Käbd). Another designation of the S. is **አምስቱ፡ ጎርዳና** (*Amməstu Gordänna*, 'the Five Gordanna'), after the sturdy 'wall' (*gordänna*) of a Kəstane house. The S. share features of their material culture, technology and social structure with other Gurage groups. Like them they belong to the ↗*ənsät* cultural complex. Their political organization is generally described as acephalous, although this has not ruled out the emergence of leaders bearing a hierarchy of titles, such as ↗*abägaz*, ↗*azmač*, and ↗*nəguś*.

Territoriality is organized by 22 to 24 *agär* (lit., 'country') which provide the main focus of identification. The most important *agär* are: Adele, Amawte, Angatge, Aratge, Ašgadye, Aygado, Aymällät, Damu, Daragot, Ǝndabuyya, Gayyat, Kanz, Melko, Nuranna, Wačo, Wagaram, Zamute. The *agär* are subdivided into *ṭəb* ('clan'). At the village level, the Kəstane are organized into *sabuññat*, a unit of administration with politico-juridical functions. Transposed into an urban setting, the *sabuññat* evolved into self-help and funeral associations (↗*Ǝddər*).

The pan-Kəstane juridical system is called *Gordanna sera* (↗*Seera*). It is also known as **የንጀሪ፡ ሴራ** (*Yänǧäri sera*) after Ǝnǧäri, a place in Nuranna *agär* where the laws were initially agreed upon. Thus, elders from Nuranna were generally recognized as interpreters of ↗customary law. The *sera* served as a civil and criminal code, with provisions for ↗marriage and divorce, homicide, arson, and land use (including the commons and roads). The sanctions set down by these laws included **ዩካ** (*yekka*), a punitive visitation by a progressively rising number of "guests" for whom the malefactor had to prepare a lavish feast. Sanctions included confiscation of property, ostracism, and, in modern times, monetary fines.

The incorporation of the Kəstane into the Ethiopian state system in the last quarter of the 19th cent. diminished the potency of the *sera*. After the change of regime in 1991, a revitalization of Kəstane culture and language, spearheaded largely by urban Kəstane, could be observed. It resulted in the codification of ↗customary law and, in 1994, the establishment of the S. Gordanna *šängo* ('assembly') in order to enforce and promote customary laws and cultural practices as far as they were not considered as "harmful traditional practices".

Gurage and Oromo relations in the S. area were characterized by continuous warfare, particularly in the 19th cent. At the outset, the Kəstane appeared to have had the upper hand. In time, however, the Oromo, represented by the sub-groups of Abado, Malima, Dula, Geto and Ǧidda, became ascendant, breaking the Gurage defences and inflicting considerable damage. Kəstane oral informants recall a particular encounter when the swift Oromo cavalry overwhelmed the ↗*näfṭäñña* that the Kəstane leader, Oda Lelisso, had managed to secure from *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa. This history of warfare gave rise to the *gota* ('heroes'), whose deeds continue to be recited in Kəstane oral tradition. The most famous among these were Gačo Zage, Roge Baruda, Yadutu Dugda and Oda's brother Buli Lelisso.

One result of the 19th cent. wars was the ↗migration of the Kəstane to Geǧǧa (ca. 30 kn southwest of the capital) and Adᵓa (near Däbrä Zäyt) and, eventually, to major towns including Addis Abäba. Although the Kəstane settled in different quarters (*säfär*) of the capital, some quarters came to be particularly associated with them, such as Geǧǧa, Abba Koran, Gola, Näfṭäñña Säfär and ↗Addis Kätäma (Märkato). Above all, Märkato became a Kəstane preserve, with particular trades being monopolized by particular clans or *agär*.

By the 20th cent., however, Kəstane-Oromo acrimony had subsided considerably and the two peoples have come to be almost indistinguishable through a process of intermarriage. For instance, the Geto, originally Oromo, became a classical case of fused Oromo-Kəstane identity. This harmonious relationship was given a jolt subsequent to the change of regime in 1991, when sections of the Kəstane broke off claiming that they were Oromo. Thus the community split into two sections, S. Gordanna (Kəstane) and S. Ǧidda (Oromo). The drawing of the boundary between the Kəstane and Oromo portions of the territory triggered considerable tension and controversy.

Src.: Gustavo Bianchi, *In Abissinia. Alla Terra dei Galla*, Milano 1896, 310–54.

Lit.: Bahru Zewde, "The Aymallal Gurage in the Nineteenth Century: a Political History", in: Id., *Society, State and History*: *Selected Essays*, Addis Ababa 2009, 44–58; Id., "Systems of Local Governance among the Gurage: the *Yajoka Qicha* and the *Gordanna Sera*", in: Id. – Siegfried Pausewang (eds.), *Ethiopia. The Challenge of Democracy from Below*, Uppsala – Addis Ababa 2002, 17–28; Dənbäru Alämu et al., **ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብሔረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ** (*Gogot*: *yägurage bəḫeräsäb tarik, bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot: the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.], 20–30, 130–33; Eshete Kebede, *A History of the Kistane* (*Aymallal Gurage*) *1800–1941*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1982; Fecadu Gadamu, *Ethnic Associations in Ethiopia and the Maintenance of Urban/Rural Relationships, with Special Reference to the Alamgana-Walamo Road Construction Association*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1970; Id., "Traditional Social Setting of the Kristane "Soddo" in Central Ethiopia", *Paideuma* 32, 1986, 15–44; Gideon Goldenberg, "Northern Gurage-land about 1880 According to Gurage Oral Traditions", in: Maria Caravaglios, *'L'Africa ai tempi di Danila Comboni': Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Africani, Roma, 19–21 novembre 1981*, Roma 1981, 281–83; Wolf Leslau, *Ethiopians Speak. Studies in Cultural Background*, vol. 3: *Soddo*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1968 (Near Eastern Studies 9); John Markakis, "The Politics of Identity: The Case of the Gurage of Ethiopia", in: M.A. Mohamed Salih – John Markakis, *Ethnicity and the State in Eastern Africa*, Uppsala 1998, 127–46, here 140f.; Shimelis Bonsa, *Migration, Urbanization and Urban Labour Undertakings. The Case of the Kistane of Addis Ababa, c. 1900–1974*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1997; Täsfa Gäbräyäs, **አይመለል** (*Aymälläl*), Addis Abäba 1987 A.M. [1994 A.D.], 1–8, 13ff.

Bahru Zewde

Soddo

S. (or Soddu; 2,100 m A.S.L.) is the historical, political and economic capital of ↗Wälaytta (s. also ↗Wälamo provice). Founded in 1894, after the imperial conquest, only ten kilometres from Dälbo, the former palace of the kings of the Wälaytta, S. was built as a ↗*kätäma* and signified the end of the Wälaytta political entity. Given its position, S. was also expected to capture the commercial flows passing through Dälbo, in order to avoid any revival of the Wälaytta kingdom. The town was built at a higher altitude on the lower slope of Mount Damota and hosted the Orthodox churches of Giyorgis, Täklä Haymanot, Yoḥannəs and Maryam and a ↗*gəbbi* garrison of the emperor's representatives. The first of these was the Wälaytta elder *abägaz* Baša Kurfa (Yacob Heliso 1994: 44).

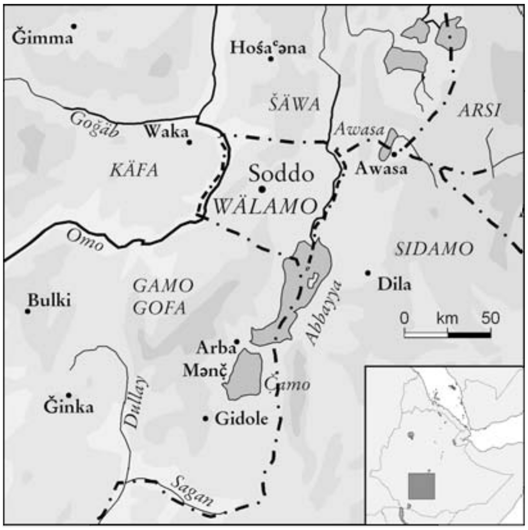
For most of the 20th cent., S. remained the extension of the central Ethiopian state in the Wälaytta region. Populated mostly by ↗Amharic speakers until the 1970s, the town chiefly depended on its administrative role, and, except for a small market in the Arada quarter, had only few relations with the rural hinterland.

In Italian times (1936–41) a large garrison was stationed in the town. It then also attracted foreign merchants (Greeks, Arabs, Indians).

In 1945 the town became a separate municipality (Yacob Heliso 1994: 49). In the 1950s and 60s the development of education and health care in S. was boosted by the ↗Sudan Interior Mission, which had first arrived in Wälaytta in 1927. The town saw major investment and development efforts under the administration of governor *däǧǧazmač* Wäldä Sämayat Gäbräwäld (1963–73).

Around 1970, the successful agricultural development program of the Wollaita Agricultural Development Unit (WADU), with its head office in S., allowed the growth of infrastructure and stimulated private agricultural investment and the increase of exchanges between the town and its environs. People from the countryside also began to settle in S. and many others attended its market place. At the centre of a rich agricultural area, S. thus improved its control over the countryside and its relations with neighbouring areas by developing its infrastructure, including a daily ↗Ethiopian Airlines flight to ↗Addis Abäba.

With the end of WADU in 1984, the town declined but retained its administrative functions and some other services; in this way it secured a level of economic development. S. and its 76,780 inhabitants (CSA 2008: 59) have access to more



services in comparison to those living in other towns of the North Omo area. Hotels, clinics and merchants attract people from North Omo, Dawro, ↗Gamo and Wälaytta. There are opportunities for (informal) urban employment, but the number of jobless is high.

In 2000, after violent incidents over language policy, S., until then the capital of the North Omo Zone, reaffirmed its "Wälaytta identity" when Wälaytta obtained the administrative status of a Zone. In expectation of an increased budget, the authorities in Wälaytta Zone tried to promote economic development and encourage industrial take-off. In 2003, about 45 % of the tax revenue of the Wälaytta Zone was generated in S. A university college was built in the town in 2007–08.

Src.: CSA 2008; Wolayta Zone, *Socio-Economic Profile*, Soddo 2003.

Lit.: Guida 549; Yacob Heliso, *The Making of Local Government in Wolayitta*, Addis Ababa 1994; Wanna Wagešo, የወላይታ፡ ህዝብ፡ ታሪክ (*Yäwälaytta həzb tarik*, 'History of the Wälaytta People'), Addis Abäba 2001, 215–20; Wudneh Almaz, *The Foundation, Growth and Development of Sodo Town until the Revolution, 1974*, Addis Ababa 1984.

Sabine Planel – Jon G. Abbink

Söderström, Erik

S. (b. 26 September 1890, d. 10 November 1944) was a Swedish medical doctor and missionary active in Ethiopia in the 1920s. He started his studies at the Johannelund Missionary Institute, became a medical doctor in Edinburgh in 1916, and in the same year specialized in tropical diseases in Liverpool. After practicing in Leicester and Chesterfield, he went to ↗Addis Abäba as an ↗Evangeliska Fosterland Stiftelsen (EFS) missionary in January 1920, accompanied by his wife Gusti, herself an experienced missionary and nurse. They reached Addis Abäba only two weeks after the death of Karl Cederqvist who had requested missionary support from ↗Sweden.

As the ↗Oromo were the desired target of the EFS, S. moved to ↗Wälläga and worked at the American mission in ↗Sayyo for some months. In February 1922 he moved to ↗Naqamtee, where ↗Onesimus Näsib introduced him to the officials. The mission was given a beautiful hill as its site. A few other Swedes joined him, and, at Christmas 1924 a little church was inaugurated at Christmas 1924. S. was most interested in building a hospital, and the regent *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) supported this project and provided funding. However, it took four years (1927–31) to complete the building of the hospital compound. Despite its slow start, this hospital became an important centre of Swedish Evangelical work for several decades.

After the Italian occupation (↗Italian war, 1935–36), S. had to leave like the other expatriates. He moved to South Africa where Sweden also had an important mission field. Travelling through Africa, S. returned to Naqamtee in 1942, several years before the other Swedish missionaries came back to Ethiopia. His second stay in Ethiopia was cut short, however, when he died of typhus.

Src.: *Tenaestelin. Medlemsblad för Svensk-Etiopiska Föreningen*, 1962–2009.

Lit.: Anon., *Svenskar i utlandet*, Stockholm 1929; Gustav Arén, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia*, Stockholm 1999, s. index; Viveka Halldin Norberg, *Swedes in Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, 1924–1952*, Uppsala 1977 (Studia Historica Upsaliensia 92); Nils Rodén, *Johannelunds missionsinstitut genom 75 år. Jubileumsskrift 1863–1938*, Stockholm 1938, 167.

Bernhard Lindahl

Soleillet, Paul

S. (b. 29 April 1842, Nimes, d. 10 September 1886, Aden) was a French traveller and trader. He began his career as a civil servant and from 1865 was based in Algeria. In 1882 he founded, in association with Albert Godin, the Société des Factoreries Françaises with the aim of investing in ↗Obock.

S. took possession of the "Seven Brothers" islands (Sawabi) and of Sāgállu in the name of ↗France, from where, however, he did not possess any official mandate. His project was to dig a canal between the ↗Awaš River to the Gubbat il Čarab (Bay of ↗Tağūra), according to an old idea of Christovão de ↗Gama. In 1884, he was also the first to support the construction of a ↗railway through Ethiopia. Soon, however, S. parted company with Godin and filed his company for bankruptcy. To earn his living he then began to trade in weapons with ↗Mənilək II.

One of the last associates of Arthur ↗Rimbaud, S. died isolated in Aden. He was member of the Société de Géographie de Paris and founder of the Société de Géographie de Rouen. S. was also a very prolific writer, in particular on Ethiopia, being more interested in producing popularizing than erudite accounts.

Src.: PAUL SOLEILLET, "Obock et l'Ethiopie méridionale", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Lyon* 4, 1884, 277; ID., *Lettre de Paul Soleillet à Gabriel Gravier*, Rouen 1883; ID., *Obock, le Choa, le Kaffa, récit d'une exploration commerciale en Éthiopie*, Paris 1886; ID., *Voyages en Éthiopie (janvier 1882-octobre 1884). Notes, lettres et documents divers,* Rouen 1886 [Extract from *Bulletin de la Société normande de Géographie* 8, 1886, 17–52, 65–106]; ID., *Obock, le Choa, le Kaffa, récit d'une exploration commerciale en Éthiopie*, Paris 1886; Paris, Archives de France, Légion d'Honneur, L2532024.

Lit.: JEAN-RENÉ BOURGUIGNAT, *Mollusques terrestres et fluviatiles recueillis par M. Paul Soleillet dans son voyage au Choa (Ethiopie méridionale)*, Paris 1885; NUMA BROC, *Dictionnaire illustré des explorateurs et grands voyageurs français du XIX^{e} siècle*, vol. 1: *Afrique*, Paris 1988, 303f.; GABRIEL GRAVIER, *Notice biographique sur Paul Soleillet*, Rouen 1886 [Extract from *Bulletin de la Société normande de Géographie* 8, 1886, 302–22 (Lit.)]; JEAN-JACQUES LEFRÈRE, *Rimbaud*, Paris 2001.

Lukian Prijac

Solomon

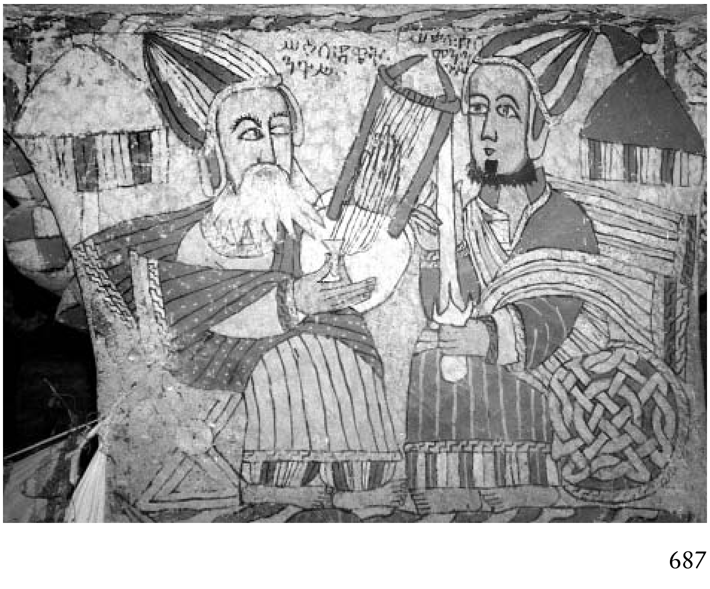
King S. (Gə^{c}əz: **ሰሎሞን**, Sälomon), the son and heir of the Biblical King David, figures prominently in Ethiopian ↗Gə^{c}əz literature. He is best known as a major protagonist in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, the Legend of S. and the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda). According to this legend (preserved in various forms), S. was the progenitor of the so–called ↗Solomonic dynasty including the kings of ↗Aksum and the kings who ruled Ethiopia from 1270 (cp. ↗Yəkunno Amlak).

S. is credited with personally writing five Biblical books (cp. ↗Wisdom books), which in the Ethiopian tradition are: *Tägśaṣä Sälomon* (its chs. 1–4 corresponding to chs. 25–28 of the Book of Proverbs [Prov] of the Hebrew O.T., and ch. 5 to chs. 29 and 31:10–21); *Məssale* (the rest of the Book of Proverbs); *Qalä Mäkbəb* (Ecc); *Mäḥaləyä mäḥaləy* (Song); *Ṭəbäbä Sälomon* (Wis).

S. is credited with having sent most of the Biblical books to Ethiopia with ↗Mənəlik I. This is also supposed to be the time when the ↗*Märbäbtä Sälomon* was composed.

As this example indicates, in Ethiopia, as in most of the Oriental world, S. is also the archetypal wise man whom healers and magicians seek to emulate. According to 1 Kg 4:30, S. "excelled in the knowledge of all the children of the east country and all the wisdom of Egypt". In many post-Biblical traditions this came to be understood that S. possessed secret knowledge which gave him power over ↗demons (in particular, for subduing them to building his palace, cp. BezKebr 18 [text]). Joseph ben Gorion (cp. ↗*Zena Ayhud*) already mentions the art of healing by ↗magic means which was given to S. by God (*Judean Antiquities* 8, 45). The most important apocryphal work which focuses on S. as exorcist and magician is the so–called Greek Testament of S. This body of magic lore had reached Ethiopia probably via Egypt.

In this context, S. often appears as the patron magician in the use of magical names, ↗*asmat* (cf. mss. Paris, BN Griaule 104, 148, 155 etc.) and prayers against demons (BN Griaule 158, 202 etc.). The Archangel Michael is said to have given S. a ring bearing the seal of God. S. used it to summon



King David (left), playing the lyre and King Solomon (right), holding the sword, mural, 16th cent., Yädəbba Maryam church, Wällo; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers demons and to force them to build a labyrinth palace where he housed his wives and concubines. This seal appears frequently in Ethiopian ↗magic scrolls in the form of an eight–pointed star with a face in its centre. Finally, the name of S. in itself seems to have been magic (explained in the *Kəbrä nägäśt* as meaning 'Christ' in Hebrew, BezKebr 63 [text]) and transformed into a powerful magic device (cp. Hammerschmidt 1987: 161ff.).

The figure of S. commonly appears among the pictures which accompany religious texts. There are non–figurative pictures which are connected to S., such as *Mäṣḥetä Sälomon* ('The Mirror of Solomon'; Euringer 1937: ill.); the *Maḫtämä Sälomon* ('The Seal of Solomon'; Mercier 1997: 41, ill.); *Märgäf zäsälomon* ('The Fringe of S.', Mercier 1977:29, ill. 15) and *Märbäbtä Sälomon*. Besides, there are representations of S. as judge (narrative scene referring to the "judgement of S.", 1 Kg 3); S. among Biblical kings; S. with David; S. battling with the "king of demons"; S. on the throne holding a sword, his attribute (frontispiece to the Song of Songs, in the ↗Psalter).

↗Magic literature

Src.: BezKebr 18, 63 (text) = 15, 62 (tr.); Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her Only Son Menyelek*, London 1922, ^{2}1932 [repr. 2001], 105; Gerard Colin (tr.), *La Gloire des rois* (Kebra nagast): *Epopée nationale de l'Ethiopie*, Genève 2002 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 23); Sebastian Euringer, "Der Spiegel Salomons. Ein abessinisches Amulett", *ZDMG* 91, 1937, 162–74; StrGriaule 47f., ms. Éthiopien 412 (Griaule104); 81, ms. Éthiopien 456 (Griaule 148); 85f., ms. Éthiopien 463 (Griaule 155); 87f., ms. Éthiopien 466 (Griaule 158); 122f., ms. Éthiopien 510 (Griaule 202).

Lit.: Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Stuttgart 1987 (AeF 25), 161ff. (Lit.); Paolo Marrassini, [Review of Colin 2002], *BiOr* 65, 5-6, 2008, 798-810, esp. 802ff. (Lit.); Jacques Mercier, *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls*, New York – Scranton, Pennsylvania 1979, 8, 19ff., 25, 29, 56f., 60f., 92f.; Id. (ed.), *Le Roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard*: *Art et médicine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1992; Id., *Art That Heals*: *the Image as Medicine in Ethiopia*, München – New York 1997, 41 (ill.), 48ff., 52.

Steven Kaplan

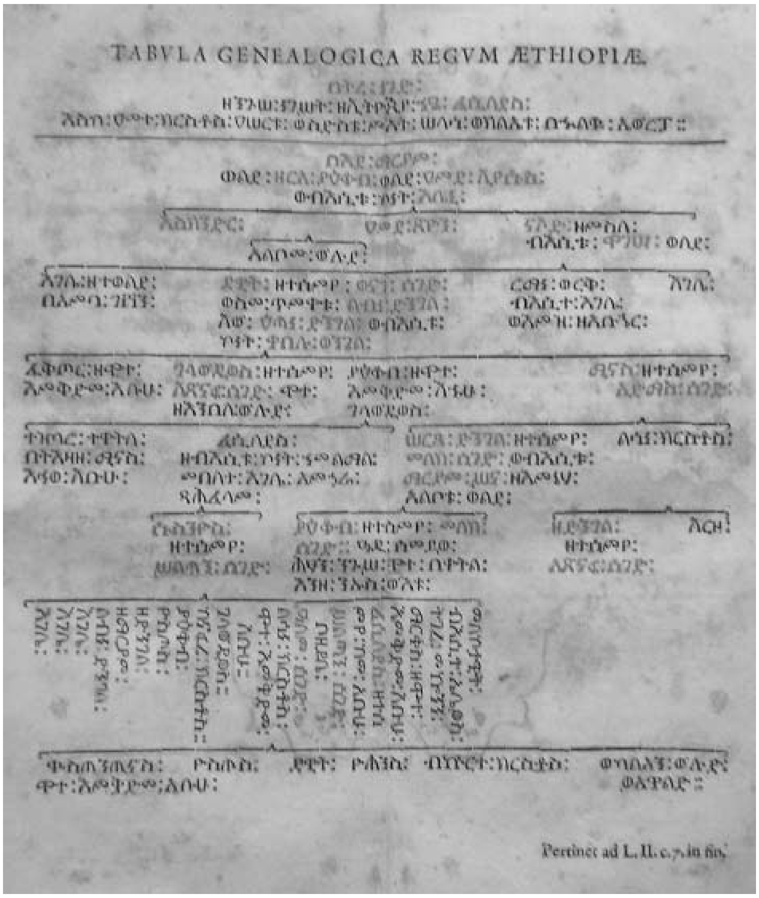
Solomonic dynasty

The term "S.d." has been coined by modern historians and designates the Ethiopian Christian dynasty which took power in the 13th cent. The rulers of Ethiopia, until the downfall were traditionally believed to be descendants of ↗Solomon, King of Israel, and ↗Makədda, the Queen of Sheba (cp. ch. 2 of Ethiopia's ↗Constitution of 1955), which made them even remote relatives of Jesus himself (cp. ↗Kingship, divine). The legendary *aṣe* ↗Mənilək I, the alleged son of King ↗Solomon and Makədda, would have been the first in a line of Ethiopian rulers which stretched to the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. Ethiopian traditional chronology, however, does not place Mənilək I in the 10th cent. B.C. in which he should have lived if he was a son of Solomon.

The classic formulation of Solomonic descent is found in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, which is generally believed to date in more or less its present form to the 14th cent. However, it is important to emphasize that elements of this foundation legend may predate this text. Certainly, the ideas of Israelite descent and that Ethiopians possess the Ark of the Covenant both predate the *Kəbrä nägäśt* as can be seen from the testimony of ↗Abu Ṣāliḥ, who says that the rulers of Ethiopia were "of the family of Moses and Aaron" (Evetts 1895: 288). Thus the tradition of Israelite descent was not necessarily connected to the founding legend of the S.d. The story of the restoration of the S.d. is also recounted in the more recent ↗*Bəᶜəlä nägäśt*.

According to the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, members of the S.d. ruled Ethiopia from the time of Mənilək I. Other sources relate how they were overthrown by the "Jewish" Queen Gudit (↗Ǝsato). Ethiopia was then ruled by kings of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, who, while viewed in retrospect as saints, were also considered non-Israelite usurpers, overthrown in ca. 1270 by ↗Yəkunno Amlak. Later, Ethiopian royal historiography, which depended on the rulers of the S.d., depicts Yəkunno Amlak as a descendant of *aṣe* ↗Dəlnaᶜod, the last Aksumite king (cp. ↗Aksum). Thus his rise to power was depicted as the "restoration" of the S.d. This claim was repeated over the years in many royal chronicles. There is, however, no evidence that any Aksumite ruler ever claimed Solomonic descent (there is, e.g., no allusion to Solomon or Israel in any royal Aksumite ↗inscription), nor that there was in fact a continuous blood line from the kings of Aksum to Yəkunno Amlak (cp. BrakKirche 174–77).

Yəkunno Amlak is generally considered by scholars to have been the founder of an entirely new dynasty (TadTChurch 66f.), which took over and kept the Solomonic ideology as expressed in the *Kəbrä nägäśt*. In keeping with this royal ideology, several of the outstanding rulers of this period had names with strong biblical Israelite connotations including ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (lit. 'Pillar of Zion') and ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (lit. 'Seed of Jacob'). Especially interesting in this context is *aṣe*


TABVLA GENEALOGICA REGVM ÆTHIOPIÆ.
Pertinet ad L. II. c. 7. in fin.

First printed genealogy of the Solomonic dynasty, 17th cent.: from Bäʾədä Maryam to Fasilädäs; from LudHist lib. II, cp. 8

↗Dawit II, counted second after Dawit "I", the father of Solomon. In traditional Ethiopian historical writing and oral historiography the members of the S.d. are often called *Ǝsraʾelawiyan* (lit. 'Israelites'), Däqqä Ǝsraʾel ('Children of Israel'), even ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel ('House of Israel'), and similar, to express their relationship with the kings of the biblical Israel, and to stress that they are the true and legitimate descendants of those kings (also thanks to the presence of the ↗Ark of the Covenant in Aksum; they and their people thus representing *verus Israel* in Ethiopia).

Royal descent was not always from father to son, but to almost anyone with the Solomonic family, although usually but not necessarily by male descent. Of course, this meant that there were large numbers of claimants and succession struggles were common (Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 4, vol. 1; RubTew 18f.). From the 13th cent. until the Muslim conquest of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, the problem of rival claimants to the throne within the S.d. was solved by confining potential heirs to the "royal prison" of ↗Amba Gəšän. In the 17th cent., with the rise to power of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and his son ↗Fasilädäs a clear division between the Šäwan and Gondäre branches of the S.d. also emerged.

An important testimony to the tenacity of the belief in the S.d. is the fact that even in the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, when the legitimate rulers were little more than puppets of the ruling nobles, they were not replaced by non-Solomonic emperors. Thus the ideal of rule by a member of the S.d. was retained even if effective power of such rulers was virtually non-existent. With the restoration of a centralist power by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II in 1855, who claimed Solomonic descent through a sideline (put into doubt by many contemporaries), the divisive nature of the claim to be a member of the S.d. arose again, as his rivals, the young Mənilək of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II), Gobäze Gäbrä Mädḫən (later *aṣe* ↗Täkla Giyorgis II) and later, in 1867, Kaśa Mərč̣a (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV) all made claims to connections with the S.d.

It is important to note that the idea of Solomonic descent was part of a wider network of assocations which played a decisive role in Ethiopian politics and in church state relations. Members of the S.d. were keepers and defenders of the true faith and were vital patrons of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. A legitimate king had to be, not only a member of the S.d., but also a Christian.

However, the S.d. was not without its critics. The rulers often clashed with monks critical of their behavior, who believed that even the ruler was subject to Christian norms. Most pointedly, *abunä* ↗Ǝsṭifanos specifically challenged Zärʾa

Yaᶜəqob stating that "he respected the King much less for being an Israelite than for being a Christian King" (Taddesse Tamrat 1966: 108).

Several ↗Agäw groups have also developed elaborate traditions. These not only claim that their first ancestor was a grandson of King David of Israel, but impressive genealogies have been constructed deriving some of their ancestor-heroes from important figures of Ethiopia's S.d. (Taddesse Tamrat 1988: 11).

Although the S.d. cannot be convincingly traced to the Aksumite period, many of the rituals and symbols which characterized the ↗monarchy (s. EAE vol. 5) from the late 13th cent. onward probably have their origins in this ancient period. These include special rituals of enthronement and symbols of authority. The ↗lion, and more specifically the Lion of Judah, is used as a symbol of the Ethiopian monarchy at least from the time of *aṣe* ↗Minas (Esteves Pereira 1888: 30 [text]). Over the course of centuries it was elaborated. In a royal ↗seal from the mid-18th cent., a crowned Lion appears facing right with a large cross and the motto in Arabic which identifies Sulṭān Sagad [i.e., *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I] as a "descendant of Solomon, son of David" (Pankhurst in PICES 6, 406f.; s. also LudHist lib. II, ch. 3, §§27-28). The central feature in the Mənilək II Coat of Arms is the Solomonic throne, on which is inscribed the Star of the House of David (↗State symbols).

Although the overthrow of Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1974 put an end to effective rule of Ethiopia by members of the S.d., there are groups which still view his descendants (or other members of the S.d., such as descendants of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu) as the legitimate rulers of the country and call for their restoration to power as either as a constitutional monarch or as a mere figurehead.

↗Nəguś; ↗Zion

Src.: BezKebr; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her only Son Menyelek*, London 1922 [^{2}1932, repr. 2001]; GÉRARD COLIN (tr.), *La Gloire des rois* (*Kebra Nagast*): *Epopée nationale de l'Éthiopie*, Genève 2002 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 23); ABÛ ṢÂLIḤ, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries Attributed to Abû Ṣâliḥ, the Armenian*, ed and tr by BASIL THOMAS ALFRED EVETTS, with added notes by ALFRED JOSHUA BUTLER, Oxford 1895, 288; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Il Beᶜela Nagast", in: CYRUS ADLER – AARON EMBER, *Oriental Studies Published in Commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary (1883-1923) of Paul Haupt as Director of the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University*, Baltimore MD 1926, 403–09; LudHist lib. II, ch. 3, §§27–28, ch. 6, ch. 8; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed., tr.), *Zēnā Minās = Historia de Minás, ᵓAdemás Sagad, rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888, 30 (text) = 48 (tr.), 72 n. 114; BORIS TURAEV, *"Bogatstvo Tsarei". Traktat o dinastičeskom perevorote v Abissinii v 13 veke* ('The Riches of Kings: the Account of a Dynastic Overthrow in Abyssinia in the 13th cent.'), St. Petersburg 1901, 157–71.

Lit.: BrakKirche 115, 174–77 (Lit.); ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "La royauté sacrale en Éthiopie", *AE* 2, 1957, 205–18; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La caduta della dinastia Zagué e la versione amarica del Beᶜela Nagast", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 20, 1922, 279–314; HabKön (Lit.); GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "The 'Wealth of Kings' and the End of the Zague Dynasty", *BSOAS* 28, 1, 1965, 1–23; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Un caso africano: la dinastia zague in Etiopia", in: SERGIO BERTELLI – PIETRO CLEMENTI (eds.), *Tracce dei vinti*, Firenze 1994, 200–29 (Lit.); RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ethiopian Royal Seals of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in: *PICES* 6, 397–417, here 406f.; PIERRE PÉTRIDÈS, *Le Livre d'Or de la Dynastie Salomonienne d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1964; SVEN RUBENSON, "The Lion of the Tribe of Judah: Christian Symbol and/or Imperial Title", *JES* 3, 2, 1965, 75–85; RubTew, 18f., 47f.; TadTChurch 66f.; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in 15th Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35; ID., "Some Notes of the Fifteenth Century Stephanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE* 22, 1966 [1968], 103–15; ID., "Processes of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of the Agaw", *JAH* 28, 3, 1987, 5–18; ZewYohan 19–36.

Steven Kaplan

Solomoon Daaimo

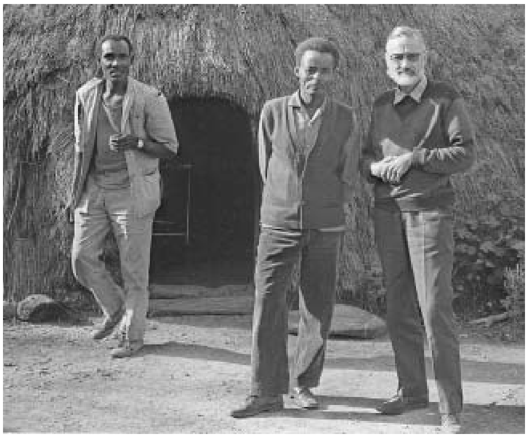
S.D. (b. 1944, Gimbičču district, Kämbata province, d. 15 July 2009, Addis Abäba) was an Ethiopian research assistant of numerous foreign anthropologists, geographers and historians. He was a member of the originally ↗Kambaata-speaking ↗Dubamo group who was gradually integrated by the Sooro-↗Hadiyya from the 19th cent. onwards. His language skills in Hadiyya, Kambaata, which he was able to master like most of the Dubamo, as well as Amharic and English prepared him well for his work as an excellent interpreter.

S.D. was brought up in the living conditions of peasants and preserved a deep-rooted knowledge of as well as sympathy for the rural traditions of his descent group. After the visit of a primary school, where he learned Amharic, he moved to the Adventist secondary school near ↗Šašämane. He left the school after grade ten and was hired as interpreter by the research team of the German ↗Frobenius Institute in September 1972. Later he completed his education up to grade twelve.

At first S.D. worked with Siegfried Seyfarth among the Hadiyya groups of Leemo and Baadawwaaččo until April 1973 and then joined the multi-sited fieldwork of Ulrich Braukämper among the Hadiyya, Kambaata, ↗Gurage, ↗Qabeena and ↗Arsi-Oromo until August of the same year. After Braukämper had changed his research area to Harärge and ↗Sidaama, S.D. was employed by the ethnologist Helmut ↗Straube for half a year of fieldwork in ↗Burği. In this context he also worked with Hermann Amborn. Later in 1974, S.D. accompanied Eike ↗Haberland on his research among the ↗Dizi (Mağı) in Käfa province. He then worked with the German geographer Volker ↗Stitz in various regions of central Ethiopia. After Stitz had died in an accident on Lake Ṭana in 1975, S.D. independently collected information particularly on genealogical questions for Haberland, Straube and Braukämper in order to fill gaps in their materials.

In the same year S.D. was charged by the authorities of the *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) of having hosted friends in Kämbata *awrağğa* who allegedly belonged to the left-wing opposition of the government. For eight years he was then kept in custody as a political prisoner in Addis Abäba. When he was released in 1983, his health condition was precarious and he never recovered completely. During the rest of the *Därg* period his contact with foreign researchers was reduced to some personal meetings during conferences at Addis Abäba and a minimum of written correspondence.

In December 1994 Braukämper resumed the cooperation of research with him by a common trip to ↗Hossaᶜəna. In 1999/2000 S.D. worked as research assistant of Ulrich Braukämper, Alke Dohrmann and Dirk Bustorf in Hadiyya zone on topics of traditional culture and economy. Another campaign of fieldwork in which he cooperated with Braukämper and Cathrin Horstmann from 2004 onwards focused on the consequences of villagization and resettlement in Hadiyyaland since the 1980s. S.D. maintained contact with the above mentioned researchers by steady correspondence and he considerably contributed to their work by providing valuable data which he had investigated independently by scholarly methods in various parts of central-southern Ethiopia.



Solomoon Daaimo (middle) with Helmut Straube (right) and Tomas Šumbullo in the background, in Burği; photo 1973, courtesy of Ulrich Braukämper

Src.: Solomoon Daaimo, "Some Memories of my Life as a Research Assistant", in: Alke Dohrmann – Dirk Bustorf – Nicole Poissonnier (eds.), *Schweifgebiete: Festschrift für Ulrich Braukämper*, Münster 2010 (Ethnologie 37), 264–74.

Ulrich Braukämper

Ṣomä dəggʷa

The Ṣ.d. (ጾመ፡ ድጓ) is one of the five books of the Divine Office, along with the ↗*Dəggʷa*, ↗*Məᶜəraf*, ↗*Zəmmare* and ↗*Mäwaśəᶜt*. It contains hymns, troparia and antiphons for obligatory daily use during the liturgically intensive period of ↗Lent. Together with the *Məᶜəraf* of Lent, it is used in the Liturgy of the Hours, both on ferial days and Sundays (cp. *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*säᶜatat*).

Historically, the S.d. is a part of the *Dəggʷa*, and its parts (*arʾəst*) are the same as for the rest of the *Dəggʷa* (cp. HabUff 190–98). The Ṣ.d. goes from the beginning of Lent to Easter (↗*Fasika*). It also includes chants for the liturgical ↗feasts that may fall within Lent, such as the Finding of the True Cross (↗*Mäsqäl*) and the Incarnation (*Təsbəʾət*), 10 and 29 *Mäggabit*, respectively (↗Calendar).

The omission of the Ṣ.d. portion from the regular *Dəggʷa* can already be observed as early as the 17th cent.; the *Astämḥəro* season became separated about the same time. Examples of manuscripts that include complete chants for the whole season of the Lent are EMML no. 4449 (18th cent.), EMML no. 4443 (1872/73), EMML no. 4457 (18th cent.); only complete Ṣ.d., EMML no. 4458 (19th cent.). Traditional scholars ascribe the composition of the chants, as with other ↗hymns, to St. ↗Yared. Some believe that the separation of the Ṣ.d. from the *Dəggʷa* was made during Yared's lifetime by his two disciples Sawiros and Sandros. Another more sustainable opinion is that the separation happened under the leadership of *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla/Gasəč̣č̣a by the scholars of two centres of *Dəggʷa* learning,

↗Däbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer and ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad, and was spread during the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob.

Nearly all Sundays of the Ṣ.d. draw their name either from the first words of antiphons or hymns of antiphonaries, e.g., the first Sunday's first antiphon, *Zäwärädä* ('the one who descended', also called *Muse-ni*), *Zä-qəddəst* (2nd Sunday/ week) or from the Gospel passage read on the specific Sunday, e.g., *Zäməkʷərab* (3rd Sunday/ week: Jn 2:12–25), *Zä-mäṣagwəʾ* (4th Sunday/ week: Lk 21:12–19), *Däbrä Zäyt* (5th Sunday/ week, also *mänfäqä ṣom* or *əkkulä ṣom*, 'halfway through the Lent': Mt 24:1–35), *Gäbrə Ḫer* (6th Sunday/week: Mt 25:14–30), *Niqodemos* (7th Sunday/week: Jn 3:1–11). In earlier collections, however, the Sundays are simply referred to by their ordinal numbers (EMML nos. 1763–42, 1745, 1747, 1751–53, 1756).

The Ṣ.d. is considered a programme of spiritual growth during the fasting period. The topics stressed are fasting and love for one's neighbour. The fasting is defined as the "mother of all [good] deeds" (*əmmä kʷəllu məgbarat*), whilst the stomach should fast not only from meat and milk products, but also from bread and water (Ləśśanä Wärq Gäbrä Giyorgis 1997:122); fasting is also prescribed for the eyes and ears, which should not see/hear any evil. God's Sabbath (ibid. 91) is another precept to be observed.

In traditional ↗education, the Ṣ.d. is taught along with the *Məʿəraf* (HabTent 278).

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church edition of the text was prepared in 1968. There is, however, no critical edition of the complete Ṣ.d. so far, Velat having only dealt with its first half (VelSoDe I–II).

Src.: **አምስቱ፡ ጸዋትወ፡ ዜማዎች** (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawočč*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.]; *mämhər* ELYAS ABRƎHA, **ይትበሃል፡ ዘጎንደር፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ማኅሌት** (*Yətbähal zägondär zäwəʾətu śərʿatä maḫlet*, 'The Celebration of the Divine Office in the Tradition of Gondär'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D], 32–53; EMML nos. 4443, 4449, 4457, 4458; GrebGriaule vol. 3, sections X–XI, 186–90; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **ጾመ፡ ድጓ፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ያሬድ** (*Ṣomä dəggʷa zäqəddus Yared*, 'St. Yared's *Ṣomä dəggʷa*'), Addis Abäba 1968 A.M. [1975/76 A.D.]; VelMe I, 33ff.; VelSoDe I–II.

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH, *The Church of Ethiopia Past and Present*, Addis Ababa 1997, 52–53; PETER JEFFERY, "The Liturgical Year in the Ethiopian Deggʷa (Chantbook)", in: EPHREM CARR et al. (eds.), *Eulogema: Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S.J.*, Roma 1993 (Studia Anselmiana 110 [Analecta Liturgica 17]), 199–234; HABTEMICHAEL-KIDANE, "Il 'Deggwa' – libro liturgico della Chiesa d'Etiopia", in: ROBERT TAFT (ed.), *The Christian East*, Roma 1996 (OrChrA 251), 353–88; ID., "La celebrazione della settimana santa nella Chiesa etiopica", in: ANTONIUS GEORGIUS KOLLAMPARAMPIL (ed.), *Hebdomadae sanctae celebratio*, Roma 1997 (Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia 93), 93–134; HabTent 85–88, 278; HabUff 336–58; *märigeta* LƎŚŚANÄ WÄRQ GÄBRÄ GIYORGIS, **ጥንታዊ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ማኅሌት፡ ዘአቡነ፡ ያሬድ፡ ሊቅ** (*Ṭəntawi śərʿatä maḫlet zäʾabunä Yared liq*, 'The Ancient Order of Singing of our Father Yared, the Master'), Addis Abäba – Mäqälle 1997, 241–45; *liqä mäzämmməran* MOGÄS ŚƎYYUM, **የቅዱስ፡ ያሬድ፡ የዜማ፡ ድርሰት፡ አጠቃላይ፡ ገጽታ** (*Yäqəddus Yared yäzema dərsät aṭṭäqalay gäṣṣəta*, 'An Overview of the Hymnal Composition of St. Yared'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.]; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "A Short Note on the Ethiopian Church Music", *AE* 13, 1985, 135–43; BERNARD VELAT, *Exécution liturgique de l'Office divin éthiopien*, Paris ms. n.d.

Habtemichael Kidane

Ṣomä lədät

Ṣ.l. (**ጾመ፡ ልደት**, lit. 'Christmas Fast', also **ጾመ፡ ታኅሣሥ**, *Ṣomä taḫśaś*, 'the Fast of [the month of] *Taḫśas*', **ጾመ፡ ነቢያት**, *Ṣomä näbiyat*, 'the Fast of the Prophets', **ጾመ፡ አዳም**, *Ṣomä Addam*, 'the Fast of Adam') is one of the ↗fasting periods in the liturgical year of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church.

Ṣ.l. is a fast of Advent, understood as a spiritual preparation for Christmas. It is traditionally considered optional for the laity; therefore it is often called **ጾመ፡ ፈቃድ**, *Ṣomä fäqad* ('optional fast').

As Christ's fast of 40 days is the measurement of all Christian fasting, the Ṣ.l. originally also lasted 40 days, beginning on the day of St. Philip, 18 *Ḫədar* (28 November). Under the influence of the ↗Coptic Church, the duration of the Ṣ.l. has been extended to 43 days, from 15 *Ḫədar* (known as *Ṭəntä ṣomä lədät*). According to the Egyptian tradition, the addition was introduced by the 62nd Patriarch of Alexandria, Abraham the Syrian (975-78). Ethiopian tradition offers another explanation: the three additional fasting days belong to the three feasts of Annunciation (to St. Mary, to Jesus, to St. Gabriel).

On 15 *Ḫədar*, the liturgy includes the following reading from the ↗*Sənkəssar*: "And in this day was established the primordial fast of the proclamation of the *Genna*, which is the Nativity of Our Lord, glorification to him, which was ordered for all the Jacobite Christians" (*Mäṣḥafa sənkəssar* 1998/99:208; cp. ColSyn VIII, 314f.). This statement is clearly posterior to the addition of three days to the Ṣ.l.

The Ṣ.l. ends on Christmas Eve, 28 *Taḫśaś* (but for the year following the leap one, still now, there is no agreement when should the Ṣ.l. should end: on 27 or 28 *Taḫśaś*; also there is separation between those who celebrate the Christmas on 28 *Taḫśaś* in the leap year, and on 29 *Taḫśaś* [historical date]; s. the discussion of the date of Christmas under ↗ *Lədät*).

Src.: ColSyn VIII, 314f.; GrébGriaule III, 186–90; **መጽሐፈ፡ ስንክሳር** (*Mäṣḥafä sənkəssar*, 'The Book of the *Sənkəssar*'), Aśmära 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.], 208.

Lit.: EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church. The Temporal: Seasons and Sundays*, Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures 9–10), 132–47, s. index; *märigeta* LƎSSANÄ WÄRQ GÄBRÄ GIYORGIS, **ጥንታዊ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ማኅሌት፡ ዘአቡነ፡ ያሬድ፡ ሊቅ** (*Ṭəntawi ṣərʿatä maḫlet zäʾabunä Yared liq*, 'The Ancient Order of Singing of our Father Yared, the Master'), Addis Abäba – Mäqälle 1997; EMILE MAHER ISHAK, *Liturgical and Ritual Issues and Proposals Concerning the Restoration of Communion*, Cairo 2000 (Studies in Comparative Ritual Theology 1), 97ff.

Habtemichael Kidane

Somali

Somali language

S. (*Af-Soomáaliga* 'the S. language') is the language spoken by the ↗Somali. Linguists use this term in at least two distinct meanings: (1) the written S. language and the corresponding spoken koiné, and (2) the Northern S. dialects and their most closely related varieties.

There is no general consensus about which such related varieties are. Mohamed Diriye Abdullahi (2000) regards as S. proper only:

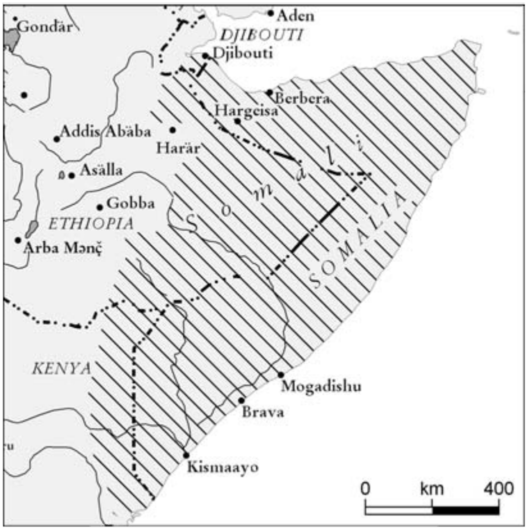
I (a) the Northern S. dialects spoken in ↗Djibouti, present-day Somaliland (s. also ↗Dir language) and Puntland, eastern and southern Ethiopia, north-eastern Kenya and the adjoining regions of southern Somalia west of the Juba River (↗Ganaalee), and

(b) the Benaadir dialects spoken in Somalia from the southern Mudug region to the left bank of the ↗Wabi Šäbälle and the area of ↗Merka. These two dialect groups are commonly referred to as *Af Maḥáa-tirí* (lit. 'language what did you say') in S., and are spoken by ca. 14,000,000 people in the ↗Horn of Africa and the S. diaspora in Arab countries, Europe, North America, Australia, etc.

Lamberti (1986), however, also regards as S.

(c) the so-called Ashraaf dialects spoken mainly for in-group communication in several families of ↗Mogadishu, Merka and some smaller intervening villages;

II the ↗May dialects spoken by almost 2,000,000 pastoralists and farmers (s. Lewis 2009) in the interriverine area of Somalia from Wanle Weyn to the eastern bank of the Juba River;



III (a) a group of rather diverse dialects spoken by ca. 130,000 pastoralists and farmers partly in the same area of May, from Baidoa to the mouth of the Juba. It includes Tunni, Dabarre, ↗Garre and Jiiddu. Some Garre speak a southern Oromo dialect (↗Oromiffaa).

Heine (1978, 1982) adds to the S. cluster, called by him "Sam languages":

(b) the Boni dialects spoken by ca. 8,000 hunter-gatherers from the southern tip of Somalia to the eastern bank of the Tana River in south-eastern Kenya, and

IV Rendille, spoken by ca. 35,000 pastoralists between Marsabit and Lake Turkana in northern Kenya.

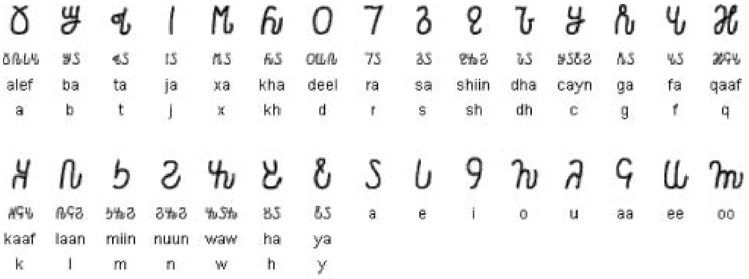
Boni has been shown by Tosco (1994) to be closely linked to Garre, and thus to be actually a southern extension of group [III]. Ehret – Mohamed Nuuh Ali (1984) disregard Boni, but include into the S. cluster:

V ↗Bayso, spoken by ca. 1,000 fishers and farmers on the shores and some of the islands of lake ↗Abbayya in south-western Ethiopia.

A second, little-known Ethiopian language has to be added, namely:

VI ↗Girirra, spoken by a small group of farmers and pastoralists near ↗El Käre in present-day southern Oromiyaa.

Some minor groups such as the present-day ↗Ḫarla of the upper Fafan valley to the south of Harär and, especially, low castes (or ↗Marginalized people, s. EAE vol. 5) like the Midgaan hunters, the Yibir magicians and soothsayers,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The Osmania alphabet; from the private collection of Giorgio Banti

etc. are known to use special in-group jargons or argots that include foreign loanwords, altered S. words and metaphorically disguised expressions, e.g., Yibir *ma yafántahay* ‘are you well?’ from S. *fáyo* ‘well-being’, Midgaan *urshéen* ‘nose’ from S. *úri* ‘to smell sth.’ (i.e., ‘the smeller’).

The S. cluster is regarded by linguists as forming with ↗Arbore, its closely related Elmolo, and ↗Đáasanač the Omo-Tana subgroup of East Cushitic (s. Sasse 1979: 3f.), one of the major branches of the ↗Cushitic language family. Northern S. and the Benaadir and Ashraaf dialects preserve ^{c} and *ḥ* as separate phonemes, as in *mága*^{c} ‘name’ vs. May *magə́*, ^{c}Afar *migá*^{c}, Oromo *maqáa*, and *madáḥ* ‘head’ vs. May *madə́*, Oromo *matáa* etc. They also develop **z* into *d* in all positions, and **t* to *s* in the 2nd pers. sg., 3rd pers. sg. f. and 2nd pers. pl. of causative verbs, as in *wádne* ‘heart’ vs. Tunni *wésna*, Rendille *wéyna*, Sāho *wazaná*, Kämbata *wazana*, etc., and *karkarisey* ‘you/she boiled (it)’ from **-tey*, cf. May *karkariydi* (< **-iy-t-*) and Jiiddu *karkaristey* (< **-is-t-*).

The tribal names such as the *Harti* and the *Marreeḥaan* mentioned in the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist) are among the earliest attestations of S. words. Short word lists and grammatical notes were published in the late 18th and early 19th cent., but real grammars, dictionaries and collections of texts appeared only in the last decades of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th cent., e.g., Larajasse – Sampont (1897), Larajasse (1897), and, especially, Reinisch (1900, 1902, 1903) and Kirk (1905), that also includes rich data on two low-caste jargons. These early studies dealt mainly with north-western dialects of S. Texts in north-eastern S. and Benaadir varieties were published later by Cerulli (collected in CerSom) and Moreno (1955), which also includes detailed grammatical descriptions of Benaadir and north-eastern S., as well as of May (called Digil by him). Bell (1953) and, on his basis, Andrzejewski (1955, 1956a, 1956b, 1968, 1975, 1979, etc.) discovered some previously unknown features of Northern S.: its system of 20 vowel phonemes, its morphologically relevant pitch-accent, case marking, almost obligatory focus marking, etc. In the following decades Northern S. has become the most studied Cushitic language, suffice it to mention here Puglielli (1981, 1984, 1998), Agostini et al. (1985), Lamberti (1988), Zorc et al. (1991), and Saeed (1999), that is presently the major reference grammar of S. There also are grammars in S. (Shire Jaamac 1976; Abdalla – Puglielli 1999; Axmed 2001), and monolingual dictionaries (Yaasiin 1976; Saalax 2004). Cabdalla (1983) is a historical study of S. in S.

The earliest known texts written in S. by native speakers are from the end of the 19th cent. in adapted ↗Arabic script (s. CerSom III, 115ff.). In those very years some Somali began to develop several indigenous alphabets for writing S. The best-known of these are the Gadabuursi script (s. Lewis 1958) and, especially, the so-called Osmania script, that the Somali Youth League later used even in printed works until the late 1960s (s. Maino 1951; s. ill.).

Missionaries were the first to use the Latin alphabet during the last decades of the 19th cent., in publications for native speakers of S. such as catechisms and prayer booklets, but it was only after World War II that educated Somalis tried seriously to adapt it to their language. After independence in 1960 no unified orthography had been developed for S., and different people still used the Arabic, indigenous and Latin scripts. It was only after the military coup of 1969 that a S. Language Committee, the *Guddiga Af-Soomaaliga*, was set up for choosing the official script and taking the necessary decisions for implementing it. The official S. Latin orthography was announced by the S. government on 10 October 1972 (s. Laitin 1977; Labahn 1982). Its features are shown below in the paragraph on S. phonology.

Written S. was immediately introduced in the administration of Somalia and in the school system. This involved a systematic effort for creating new S. terms for all the fields where other languages had previously been used, such as banking, engineering, education, the army, etc., as well as spreading their use through the mass media and printing. The State Printing Agency (*Madbacadda Qaranka*) published journals, educational material, and other texts in S. during the following decades. The same orthography established itself also in the other S.-speaking countries and in the Diaspora. The Arabic script continues to be used by some religious people.

Written S. in the official Latin orthography is now a largely homogeneous koiné mainly based upon Northern S., with a few lexical and morphological differences between northwestern writers and the others. E.g., phonological variation is visible in written S. in the use of the digraph *dh* for postvocalic *ḍ* ~ *ṛ* in some words such as north-western *yidhi* 'he said' or *gabadh* 'a girl' vs. north-eastern and southern *yiri* and *gabar*.

Northern S. has the following consonant phonemes (official spelling in brackets): the plain stops *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, ˀ ('); the retroflex stop *ḍ* (*dh*); the palatal affricate *č* ~ *ǧ* (*j*); the fricatives *f*, *s*, *š* (*sh*), *x* (*kh*), *ḥ* (*x*), ᶜ (*c*, frequently realized as an epiglottal stop), and *h*. *Q* is pronounced by different speakers as a voiced or voiceless uvular stop or fricative, and tends to merge with *x* (*kh*) in Benaadir and the so-called Ashraaf dialects. There are also the nasals *m*, *n*; the liquids *l*, *r*, and the glides *y*, *w*. Vowel length is distinctive, and there are two sets of vowel colours: front and tense *ą*, *ę*, *į*, *ǫ*, *ų*, and back and lax *a̱*, *e̱*, *i̱*, *o̱*, *u̱*. There are thus minimal series such as *dų́l* 'nostril', *dú̱l* 'top', *dų̂ųl* 'attack (them)!' and *dû̱u̱l* 'fly!', or *ḍį́s* 'he built (it)' and *ḍí̱s* 'build (it)!'. S. orthography only reflects vowel length, and thus distinguishes ten vowels, not the actual 20. This distinction between front and back vowels has been observed not only in Northern S., but also in related varieties such as Maay, Jiiddu, Boni and Rendille.

Andrzejewski (1956a, 1979) showed that Northern S. has a system of pitch accent with basically three tone units: low, high and falling, e.g., *beer* 'liver [+ Nominative]', *béer* 'garden [+ Absolutive]', *bêer* 'liver [+ Absolutive]'. High and falling tones occur only on one syllable in each word, and falling tones only on long vowels and diphthongs. Tonal oppositions mark case, gender, tense and mood, and distinguish some particles, e.g., impersonal *la* vs. *lá* 'with'. Tone is not marked in S. orthography.

S. has two genders (masc. and fem.) and two numbers (sg. and pl.). Several nouns have gender polarity in the plural, e.g., *âwr* masc. 'male camel' vs. *áwr* fem. 'male camels', *káb* fem. 'shoe' vs. *kabó* masc. 'shoes'.

Definiteness is expressed by postposed articles. Northern S. has a three-way opposition between a definite article -*ka* (fem. -*ta*), a remote or anaphoric article -*kíi* (fem. -*tíi*), and an indefinite-generic unmarked form, e.g., *kábta* 'the shoe', *kábtíi* 'the aforementioned shoe', *káb* 'a shoe'. Benaadir dialects also have an indefinite article -*kóo* (fem. -*tóo*), e.g., *kábtóo* 'a certain shoe'.

Personal pronouns have independent, subject clitic and non-subject clitic forms. Northern S. distinguishes between 1st pers. pl exclusive ('we wihout you') and inclusive ('we and you') forms:

	Independent	Subj. clitic	Non-subj. clitic
1st pers. sg.	*aní-ga*	*aan*	*i*
2nd pers. sg.	*adí-ga*	*aad*	*ku*
3rd pers. sg. masc.	*isá-ga*	*uu*	–
3rd pers. sg. fem.	*iyá-da*	*ay*	–
1st pers. pl. excl	*anná-ga*	*aannu*	*na*
1nd pers. pl. incl	*inná-ga*	*aynu*	*ina*
2nd pers. pl.	*idín-ka*	*aydin*	*idin*
3rd pers. pl.	*iyá-ga*	*ay*	–

The independent pronouns usually have a postposed article in Northern S. *Aan* and *aad* are frequently used also as 1st and 2nd pers. pl subject clitics, respectively. Non-subject clitics are Ø in the 3rd pers., e.g., *má arkâan* 'they don't see him ~ her ~ it ~ them'.

S. has three major inflectional types of verbs: suffix-conjugated verbs, prefix-conjugated verbs, and adjectival or qualitative verbs. Most verbs belong to the first type, only six to the second, and a sizable number to the third one. Prefix-conjugated verbs generally have stem ablaut, e.g., *y-aal* 'he is (in a place)' vs. *y-iil* 'he was (in a place)'. Adjectival verbs have a compound affirmative non-past (with prefix-conjugated *áh* 'be'), but synthetic negative non-past, affirmative past and negative past, e.g., (*wuu*) *óg yahay* 'he knows', *má ogá* 'he ~ she doesn't know', (*wûu*) *ogaa* 'he knew', *má ogáyn* 'he ~ she didn't know'.

Negative non-past	**kêen 'bring'**	**âal 'be'**	**óg 'know'**
1st pers. sg.	*má keenó*	*má áal*	*má ogí*
2nd pers. sg.	*má keentó*	*má táal*	*má ogíd*
3rd pers. sg. masc.	*má keenó*	*má yáal*	*má ogá*
3rd pers. sg. fem.	*má keentó*	*má táal*	*má ogá*
1st pers. pl.	*má keennó*	*má náal*	*má ogín*
2nd pers. pl.	*má keentâan*	*má taallîin*	*má ogidín*
3rd pers. pl.	*má keenâan*	*má yaallîin*	*má ogá*

There are two basic tenses variously called non-past and past, present and past, or imperfect and perfect. Affirmative and negative tenses are systematically different from each other. Northern S. suffix- and prefix-conjugated verbs have progressive forms formed by the infinitive + *hây* ‘have’ (cognate of ↗^{c}Afar *hée* ‘stay’), e.g., north-western S. (*wuu*) *kéenayaa*/north-eastern S. (*wuu*) *kéena hayaa* ‘he is bringing it’. The non-past has different forms in main vs. dependent clauses. The negative past forms always lack subject agreement.

Northern S. is well-known for having almost obligatory focus marking in main clauses, by means of particles such as *baa* or *ayaa* for noun phrase (NP) focus and, in the case of subject focus, also of special verbal forms. E.g., *wadaa* ‘he drives [- subject focus]’ vs. *wadá* ‘he drives [+ subject focus]’: *baabúur*$_1$ *b-ûu*$_2$ *wadaa*$_3$ ‘he$_2$ drives$_3$ trucks$_1$’ (object focus) vs. *Áxmed*$_1$ *bâa wadá*$_2$ ‘Ahmed$_1$ drives$_2$ them’ (subject focus).

Case is marked both segmentally and tonally. An unmarked absolutive (or absolute, Abs) case used, e.g., for objects, focused subjects, and nominal predicates is distinguished from a nominative (Nom) and a genitive (Gen) case. The Nom is marked only on the last words of non-focused subject NP, even if they are verbs, e.g., *shálay*$_1$ *baa hali*$_2$ *ká*$_3$ *luntay*$_4$ ‘he lost a camel yesterday’ (lit. ‘yesterday$_1$ a camel$_2$ was lost$_4$ from$_3$ him’) with *hali* Nom of *hál* ‘female camel’, vs. *baabûur*$_1$*-ka*$_2$ *uu*$_3$ *wadaa*$_4$ *waa kán*$_5$ ‘the$_2$ truck$_1$ he$_3$ drives$_4$ is this$_5$ one’ where *wadaa* is the nominative-marked verbal form corresponding to non-nominative-marked *wadó* ‘that he drives’.

The basic ten-word Northern S. list is: *ków* ‘one’ (used only when counting; with nouns it is *hál*, when used alone as an argument it is *míd*: *hál baabúur* ‘one truck’, *míd kêen* ‘bring one!’), *lába* ‘two’, *sáddeḥ* ‘three’, *dáb* ‘fire’, *bíyó* ‘water’, *qorráḥ* ‘sun’, *dáyaḥ* ‘moon’, *ḍîig* ‘blood’, *^{c}árrab* ‘tongue’, *ílig* ‘tooth’.

Src.: Francesco Agostini – Annarita Puglielli – Ciise Maxamed Siyaad (eds.), *Dizionario somalo–italiano*, Roma 1985; BassHist; M. Paul Lewis (ed.) *Ethnologue*, Dallas ^{16}2009; Annarita Puglielli (ed.), *Dizionario italiano-somalo*, Roma 1998; Saalax Xaashi Carab, *Qaamuus - Ereykoobe* (‘Dictionary – Lexicon’), Djibouti 2004; Yaasiin C. Keenadiid, *Qaamuuska Af-Soomaaliga* (‘The Dictionary of the Somali Language’), n.p. [Florence] 1976; R. David Zorc – Madina M. Osman – Virginia Luling, *Somali–English Dictionary with English Index*, Kensington, MD 1991.

Lit.: Abdalla Omar Mansur – Annarita Puglielli, *Barashada naxwaha af soomaaliga* (‘Learning the Grammar of the Somali Language’), London 1999; Axmad Maxammad Sulaymaan, *Naxweha Soomaaliga* (‘The Grammar of Somali’), Mogadishu 2001 [repr. as *Naxwaha af Soomaaliga* (‘The Grammar of the Somali Language’), Sharjah (UAE) 2003]; Bogumił W. Andrzejewski, “The Problem of Vowel Representation in the Isaaq Dialect of Somali”, *BSOAS* 17, 1955, 567–80; Id., “Accentual Patterns in Verbal Forms in the Isaaq Dialect of Somali”, *BSOAS* 18, 1956a, 103–29; Id. (ed.), *Ħikmad Soomaali by Muuse Ħaaji Ismaa'iil Galaal*, London – Cape Town 1956b; Id., “Inflectional Characteristics of the So-called ‘Weak Verbs’ of Somali”, *African Language Studies* 9, 1968, 1–50; Id., “The Rôle of Indicator Particles in Somali”, *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 1, 1975, 123–91; Id., *The Case System of Somali*, London 1979; Giorgio Banti, “Two Cushitic Systems: Somali and Oromo Nouns”, in: Harry van der Hulst – Norval Smith (eds.), *Autosegmental Studies on Pitch Accent*, Dodrecht 1988, 11–49; Christopher Richard Vincent Bell, *The Somali Language*, London – New York – Toronto 1953; Cabdalla C. Mansuur, *Bahda afafka Kushitik iyo taariikhda af-soomaaliga* (‘The Cushitic Language Family and the History of Somali’), Mogadishu 1983 [tr. as *Le lingue Cuscitiche e il Somalo*, Roma 1989 (Studi Somali 8)]; Enrico Cerulli, “Nota sui dialetti somali”, *RSO* 8, 1919, 693–99; CerSom I–III; Christopher Ehret – Mohamed Nuuh Ali, “Soomaali classification”, in: Thomas Labahn (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, vol. 1, Hamburg 1984, 201–69; Bernd Heine, “The Sam Languages: a History of Rendille, Boni and Somali”, *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 6, 1978, 23–115; Id., *Boni Dialects*, Berlin 1982 (Language and Dialect Atlas of Kenya 10); John William Carnegie Kirk, *A Grammar of the Somali Language*, Cambridge 1905; Thomas Labahn, *Sprache und Staat*, Hamburg 1982; David D. Laitin, *Politics, Language and Thought – The Somali Experience*, Chicago, IL 1977; Marcello Lamberti, *Die Somali-Dialekte*, Hamburg 1986 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 5); Id., *Die Nordsomali-Dialekte*, Heidelberg 1988 (Studia Linguarum Africae Orientalis 1); Evangeliste de Larajasse, *Somali–English and English–Somali Dictionary*, London 1897; Id. – Cyprien de Sampont, *Practical Grammar of the Somali Language*, London 1897; Ioan Myrddin Lewis, ‘The Gadabuursi Somali Script’, *BSOAS* 21, 1959, 134–56; Mario Maino, “L’alfabeto ‘osmania’ in Somalia”, *RSE* 10, 1951, 108–21; Martino Mario Moreno, *Il somalo della Somalia*, Rome 1955; Mohamed Diriye Abdullahi, *Le somali, dialectes et histoire*, Ph.D. thesis, Montreal 2000 (Université de Montréal, Faculté des arts et des sciences); Annarita Puglielli (ed.), *Sintassi della lingua somala*, Roma 1981 (Studi Somali 2); Id. (ed.), *Aspetti morfologici, lessicali e della focalizzazione*, Roma 1984 (ibid. 5); Leo Reinisch, *Die Somali-Sprache*, I: *Texte*, Wien 1900 (Südarabische Expedition 1); Id., *Die Somali-Sprache*, II: *Wörterbuch*, Wien 1902 (Südarabische Expedition 2); Id., *Die Somali-Sprache*, III: *Grammatik*, Wien 1903 (Südarabische Expedition 5); John Saeed, *Somali*, Amsterdam – Philadelphia, PA 1999 (London Oriental and African Language Library 10); Hans-Jürgen Sasse, “The Consonant Phonemes of Proto-East-Cushitic (PEC): a First Approximation”, *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 7, 1979, 1–67; Shire Jaamac Axmed, *Naxwaha Af Soomaaliga* (‘The Grammar of Somali’), Xamar 1976; Mauro Tosco, “The Historical Reconstruction of a Southern Somali Dialect: Proto-Karre-Boni”, *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 15, 1994, 153–209.

Giorgio Banti

Somali literature

Somali oral literature

Data on Somali literary traditions were published already in the second half of the 19th cent. by explorers such as ↗Burton and ↗Robecchi Bricchetti, geographers such as ↗Paulitschke, and linguists such as Hunter (1880), ↗Reinisch and others. These early sources are reviewed in Andrzejewski (1983). Significantly, Burton (1856: 115f.) wrote: "The country teems with 'poets, poetasters, poetitos, poetaccios': every man has his recognized position in literature as accurately defined as though he had been reviewed in a century of magazines – the fine ear of this people causing them to take the greatest pleasure in harmonious sounds and poetic expressions, whereas a false quantity or a prosaic phrase excites their violent indignation".

This major type of oral poetry is discussed under the entry ↗*maanso*, as it is called by Somali scholars such as *šeeḫ* Ǧaamaᶜ (Jaamac Cumar Ciise 1974: ivf.), Yaasiin ᶜIsmaan (Yaasiin Cismaan Keenadiid 1984: 62f.) and Maḥamed ᶜAbdi (Maxamed Cabdi Maxamed 1989: 3). It includes different genres, is always authorial (s. also Orwin 2005) and, before the spread of literacy, it was always sung, not recited. Little is known about the equivalents of *maanso* in the interriverine area such as, e.g., the tradition of praise poetry in Afgooye on the lower Šabeelle River (↗Wabi Šäbälle).

Poetic style and sung performances characterize several other genres, such as (i) dance songs, that are frequently accompanied by hand clapping, feet stamping or drums, and (ii) work songs. Such genres are generally not authorial and much shorter than *maanso* poems. Dance songs vary regionally, e.g., the *ḍaanto* is traditionally widespread in the northern and western Somali-speaking areas, the *širib* in the coastal areas to the north of Mogadishu, and the *saar* in the south-west. On particular occasions, dance songs are improvised in poetic contests between talented youths. Work songs accompany different traditional activities, and can be divided into (a) male work songs such as camel-watering songs or camel-loading songs, and (b) female work songs such as shepherd songs, songs for grinding cereals, churning butter, weaving mats etc. (s. Maxamed Cabdi Maxamed 1989: 176ff.; Banti – Giannattasio 1996: 103ff., 116–22). Particular castes like the hunters have their own genres such as the *maanyo* songs (s. Ciise Maxamed Siyaad 1988).

After World War II the modern Somali song developed from different genres of dance songs through various stages like the *balwo* and the *heello* (s. Andrzejewski – Lewis 1964: 49ff.; Johnson 1974). It merges traditional poetry with popular culture, its themes ranging from politics to social critique and love.

Oral texts not necessarily marked by poetic style are, e.g., genealogies that are pervasive among the Somali (↗genealogy in social life). Complete recitations of one's genealogy (*abtirsiinyo*) often involve dozens of names, from the nearest forefathers to the legendary ancestors of all Somali. In a well known *masafo* poem *šeeḫ* ᶜAli ᶜAbdiraḥmaan, also known as *šeeḫ* ᶜAli "Maǧeerteen" or *šeeḫ* ᶜAli "Duulaa" in ↗Merka, traced his ancestry to Adam and Noah, before his clan's forefather. Here are its fist five lines in Somali orthography:

Ummadda Eebbahay badane, banii-Aadan baan ahay
Nuuxii baddiyo doonta, ku bilowday baan ahay
Haddii lays bahobaheeyana, bah-ina-Haajaraan ahay
Bin-Caqayl biyaha Jabarti, nin ka beermay baan ahay
Daarood boggiisiyo, beerkiyo laftaan ahay

'God's creatures are many, but I am a son of Adam,
I am from Noah who procreated after the flood and the boat,
And dividing people into families, I am from Haaǧar's family,
I am a son of ᶜAqayl, a man from the semen of Ismaaᶜiil Ǧabarti,
I am from the chest, the liver and the bones of Daarood'.

Genealogies and historical narratives about the history of particular clans or sub-clans were collected systematically by European scholars during the early 20th cent. (s. CerSom I, 51ff.; Colucci 1924), more rarely in recent times. Also oral texts of ↗customary law (↗Law: Traditional legal institutions) have been published (e.g., by Cerulli in CerSom II, 75ff.), even though they have been studied more in their legal aspects than as oral literary texts. Famous sentences passed by well-known traditional judges like *ina* Sanweyne are the subject of many traditional narratives s., e.g., Muuse Galaal (1956: 31f.; for folktales s. the sub-article on "Folktales and modern written literature").

Proverbs are pervasive in Somali speech and are given much importance by Somalis. Frequently they display metrical parallelism and complex patterns of alliteration like the following one, about failing to solve a difficult problem:

Waraabe ulna lala gaari waa, erayna wax lagaga guri waa
'You didn't get at the hyena with a rod, nor did you get anything back from it with your words'.

Parallel syllables in the two halves of this proverb have identical vocalic lengths with the only exception of *gaa* and *gu*, while *waraabe* 'hyena' alliterates with *wax* 'anything' and the two occurrences of *waa* 'didn't', *ul* 'rod' with *eray* 'word', and *gaari* 'get at' with *guri* 'get back'.

A particular genre that is very popular among Somali, are the numerical sayings, i.e., proverbs organized in series of three, seven, etc. (s. CerSom II, 213ff.). They hark back to a very old tradition, since they are pervasive in the Old Harari *Kitāb al-farāᵓiḍ* (s. CerStud I, 282–343), occur in several other parts of the Medieval Islamic world, and are already attested in the Bible (Prov 30; s. also Banti 1996: 180ff.). Here is a numerical saying in Benaadir Somali (in Somali orthography), alliterated in *d*, whose first two half lines are 8-syllable *širib* lines with their typical iambic rhythm:

Siddax walxaato waa dadaal, siddaxna Daayimaa yuwaad
Duful samey waa dadaal, daruurna Daayimaa yuwaad
Dugsi ood waa dadaal, diinna Daayimaa yuwaad
Dahabo guuri waa dadaal, dadna Daayimaa yuwaad

'Three things depend upon your effort, three only God can give:
Sowing depends upon your effort, rain only God can give,
Building a home depends upon your effort, religion only God can give,
Marrying a woman depends upon your effort, children only God can give'.

Like other peoples of the Horn of Africa, the Somali have highly formalized riddles that are generally alliterated. In north-eastern Somalia they are called *googgale*; who asks the riddle first says *googgaa*, who answers says *ᶜadale* or *waḥ kale* 'another thing', then the actual riddle is asked.

Extensive collections of oral literature, such as anthologies of *maanso* poetry by different poets or *diiwaan*'s of the major poets, collections of proverbs, sayings and folk stories were among the first texts that were published by educated Somalis, and many have appeared also in recent years.

Src.: *Sheekh* Jaamac Cumar Ciise, *Diiwaanka gabayadii Sayid Maxamad Cabdulle Xasan* ('Collected Poems of Sayid Maḥamad ᶜAbdulle Ḥasan'), Mogadishu 1974 (Djibouti ^{2}2005); Maxamed Cabdi Maxamed, *Ururin qoraallo la xulay 2*: *Tix – Recueil de textes choisis 2 – Vers*, n.p. 1989; Muuse Ħaaji Ismaaʿiil Galaal, *Ħikmad Soomaali* ('Somali wisdom'), ed. by Bogumil W. Andrzejewski, London – Cape Town 1956.

Lit.: Bogumil W. Andrzejewski, "The 19th Century Documentation of Somali Oral Literature", in: Maria Cavaglios (ed.), *L'Africa ai tempi di Daniele Comboni*, Roma 1983, 316–35; Bogumil W. Andrzejewski – Ioan Myrddin Lewis, *Somali Poetry*: *an Introduction*, Oxford 1964; Giorgio Banti, "Tradizione e innovazione nella letteratura orale dei Somali", *Africa* 51, 1996, 174–202; Giorgio Banti – Francesco Giannattasio, "Music and Metre in Somali Poetry", in: Richard J. Hayward – Ioan Myrddin Lewis (eds.), *Voice and Power*: *Essays in Honour of B.W. Andrzejewski*, London 1996 (African Languages and Cultures, supplement 3), 83–127; Richard F. Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa or an Exploration of Harar*, London 1856; CerStud I; CerSom I–III; Ciise Maxamed Siyaad, "Primi ragguagli sulla *maanyo*: genesi e struttura dei canti per la caccia", in: Annarita Puglielli, *Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Somali Studies*, Rome 1988, 149–57; Massimo Colucci, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario della Somalia Italiana meridionale*, Firenze 1924; John W. Johnson, *Heellooy heelleelloy – The Development of the Genre 'heello' in Modern Somali Poetry*, Bloomington, IN 1974; Martin Orwin, "On the Concept of 'Definitive Text' in Somali Poetry", *Oral Tradition* 20, 2005, 278–99; Yaasiin Cismaan Keenadiid, *Ina Cabdille Xasan e la sua attività letteraria*, Napoli 1984.

Giorgio Banti

Somali religious literature

Schleicher (ed. by Reinisch 1900), Cerulli (CerStud I, CerSom II, 177–220, CerSom III), Andrzejewski (1983), Andrzejewski – Lewis (1994), Kapteijns – O'Fahey (2003), Mohamed M. Kassim – O'Fahey – Reese (2003) and Gori (2003) provide evidence of the antiquity and wide circulation of Arab religious literature among bilingual Somalis. This literature first circulated among the religious orders (*ṭarīqa*; ↗Islamic brotherhoods), mainly the Qādirīya (the most ancient and popular), Aḥmadīya, Ṣāliḥīya, and Rifāᶜīya (originating from Mukallā, Ḥaḍramawt. Thanks to them, the Somalis developed close links with the Sunnite communities of the Arabic Peninsula along with other Muslim communities in the Sudan, Eritrea (Massawa), and southwestern Ethiopia where these religious orders had missionaries (TrIslam 233–56). ↗Harär, where the Qādiriya was established in the 15th cent. by *šarīf* Abū Bakr b. ᶜAbdallāh al-ᶜAydarūs (d. 1503, Aden), played an important role in diffusing ↗Islam among the Somalis, along with the coastal towns of Arab-Persian – if not earlier – foundation (↗Iran). From these centres Islam reached the agro-pastoralists of the interior. Religious agricultural settlements (*ǧamāᶜāt*), like those in the fertile region between the Šabeelle (↗Wabi Šäbälle) and Ǧuba (↗Ganaalee) rivers, played also an important role in rallying followers among the somalized Bantu, the former Oromo-speaking groups and outcast Somali. While Islam was introduced by Arab merchants in other parts of Africa, it is mainly through these religious orders and congregations that Islam was popularized in the regions where Somali became dominant (s. Andrzejewski 1974). In spite of the historical link between Islamization and Somalization of the Horn of Africa, Islamization never meant complete Arabization, since Arabic remained restricted to religious practice or to the writing of contracts, letters etc. (Zaborski 1967). Three kinds of texts have coexisted: the imported original Arabic ones, Somali adaptations and original religious works in Arabic – e.g., hagiographies such as those studied by Gori (2003) – as well as religious poems in Somali. Some of these were written in Arabic script. In southern Somalia the Qādirīya was promoted by *šayḫ* Uways (Awees) Maḥammad (from ↗Brava, b. 1847), who wrote pious poems in different southern Somali dialects in Arabic script (CerSom III, 117ff.; Moreno 1955: 364 ff.). Other collections of poems, used in schools of mysticism through various worship practices like the ↗*dikr*–recitals, have been discussed by Cerulli (CerSom I, 177–210; CerSom III): those of *šayḫ* ᶜAbd al–Raḥmān al–Zaylaᶜī (14th cent.), of *šayḫ* Qāsim Muḥyi–l–Dīn (who also wrote in Či Mbalazi, the Swahili dialect of Brava), of *šayḫ* ᶜAlī Maye Durogba of Merka (who imported the Aḥmadiya from Mecca around 1870), of "*šeeḫ* Sūfī" (*šayḫ* ᶜAbd al–Raḥmān b. ᶜAbdallāh, of the Šaanšiya of Muqdišo; d. 1913). The latter received the title of "pillar of the Benaadir" (*quṭb al–Banādir*) and composed many poems in Arabic among which *Šağarat al-yakīn* ('The tree of Truth'), was included in the second volume of *al-Mağmūᶜa al-mubāraka* (s. ᶜAbdallāh b. *muᶜallim* Yūsuf 1919–20), a theological polemical book. This corpus was not only for teaching Sufism, but also for polemicizing against the Ṣāliḥiya (e.g., the above mentioned *al-Mağmūᶜa al-mubāraka*), at war with British colonialism. This internal rivalry led to *šayḫ* Uways's murder in Biyoley in 1909 by Ṣāliḥiyya followers. Abroad, the Qādiriya spread to the Swahili coast, and *šayḫ* Uways's brand of it, the Uwaysiyya, reached ↗Zanzibar and Kisangani in the Congo.

Šeeḫ ᶜAli ᶜAbdiraḥmaan (↗Somali oral literature) shows the depth of this Arab influence on religious Somali literature, and more generally on major poetry, e.g., in his well known alphabetically alliterated *masafo* poem *Alif yeen* "The letter *alif* said" (s. Banti 1996). Indeed, even part of the Somali poetic terminology derives from Arabic (such as Arab.: *qaafiya* 'rhyme', Somali: 'alliteration'); Morin (1999: 45–76) pointed out that the mono-rhymed classical *qaṣīda* probably influenced the development of Somali mono-alliteration in many genres of ↗*maanso* poetry. The poem *Yaa nabi*, composed by *šayḫ* Ismāᶜīl Fāraḥ and written in Gadabuursi script (Lewis 1958) and the *masafo* poems by *šeeḫ* Aḥmed "Gabyow" (s. Banti – Ciise Maxamed Siyaad 2000) are indicative of how these erudite traditions were active at the beginning of the 20th cent. both in northern and southern Somalia. The *sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan, the well-known anti-colonial ↗Daarood leader, who received the title of *ḫalīfa* of the Ṣāliḥiyya at Mecca, composed oral poetry in Somali, and wrote verses and two polemical prose texts in Arabic, is the most celebrated example of how religion became instrumental during his struggle against the British (1899–1920) and their Somali allies (s. Jaamac Cumar Ciise 1974; Yaasiin Cismaan Keenadiid 1984). Religious poetry also includes rain prayers such as the *roobdoon* (s. Andrzejewski 1970).

Finally, one should not forget other oral genres of religious literature such as the legends on the lives of prominent saints (s. Andrzejewski 1971).

Src.: ᶜABDALLĀH B. *muᶜallim* YŪSUF, *al–Mağmūᶜa al–mubāraka* ('The Blessed Collection'), Cairo 1919–20; *Sheekh* JAAMAC CUMAR CIISE, *Diiwaanka gabayadii Sayid Maxamad Cabdulle Xasan* ('Collected Poems of Sayid Maḥamad ᶜAbdulle Ḥasan'), Mogadishu 1974 (Djibouti ^{2}2005); LEO REINISCH (ed.), *Dr. A.W. Schleichers Somali-Texte*, Wien 1900.

Lit.: BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI, "The *roobdóon* of Shaikh Aqib Abdullahi Jama: a Somali Prayer for Rain", *African Language Studies* 11, 1970, 21–34; ID., "Muhammad Abdille Hassan and the Lizard: a Somali Legend", in: VERONICA SIX et al. (eds.), *Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen*: *Ein Querschnitt*, Hamburg 1971, 298–304; BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI, "The Veneration of Sufi Saints and its Impact on the Oral Literature of the Somali People and on their Literature in Arabic", *African Language Studies* 15, 1974, 15–53; ID., *Islamic Literature of Somalia*, Bloomington, IN 1983 (Hans Wolff Memorial Lecture 14); BOGUMIL W. ANDRZEJEWSKI – IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, "New Arabic Documents from Somalia", *Sudanic Africa* 5, 1994, 39–56; GIORGIO BANTI, "Tradizione e innovazione nella letteratura orale dei Somali", *Africa* 51, 1996, 174–202; GIORGIO BANTI – CIISE MAXAMED SIYAAD, "Two Little-Known Poems by Sheekh Axmad «Gabyow»", *AuÜ* 83, 2000, 181–207; CerStud I; CerSom I–III; ALESSANDRO GORI, *Studi sulla letteratura agiografica islamica somala in lingua araba*, Firenze 2003 (Quaderni di Semitistica 24); LIDWIEN KAPTEIJNS – REX SEAN O'FAHEY, "The Somali Oral and Written Islamic Tradition", in: JOHN O. HUNWICK – REX SEAN O'FAHEY (eds.), *The*

Writings of the Muslim Peoples of Northeastern Africa, Leiden – Boston, MA 2003 (Handbuch der Orientalistik sect. 1, vol. 13, vol. III, fasc. A), 111–25; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, "The Gadabuursi Somali script", *BSOAS* 21, 1958, 134–56; MOHAMED M. KASSIM – REX SEAN O'FAHEY – S. SCOTT REESE, "The Arabic and Chimbalazi Writings of Somalia", in: JOHN O. HUNWICK – REX SEAN O'FAHEY 2003, 69–110; MARTINO MARIO MORENO, *Il somalo della Somalia*, Roma 1955; DIDIER MORIN, *Le texte légitime: pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Leuven 1999 (Langues et Cultures Africaines 25); TrIslam; YAASIIN CISMAAN KEENADIID, *Ina Cabdille Xasan e la sua attività letteraria*, Naples 1984; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "Arabic Loan-words in Somali: Preliminary Survey", *Folia Orientalia* 8, 1967, 125–75.

Didier Morin

Folktales and modern written literature

The religious literature circulating among bilingual educated circles consisted, as Cerulli put it for the Harari *Kitāb al-farāʾiḍ* (CerStud I, 283) in "a compendium of religious commandments of Islām and of moral maxims", and has its counterpart in innumerable folktales and oral narratives that are at the origin of modern fiction in Somali. The first texts were collected by European scholars such as Hunter (1880), Paulitschke (1896), Schleicher (ed. by Reinisch 1900), Cerulli (CerSom II, 203–82, CerSom III), etc. A second period, begun a few years before the independence of Somalia (1960), with major developments thanks to the adoption of a Latin orthography for the Somali language, is illustrated by Muuse Galaal (1956), Šire Ǧaamaᶜ (Shire Jaamac Axmed 1965; 1967), Maḥamed Faaraḥ (Maxamed Faarax Cabdillaahi 1967), ᶜAbdulqaadir Bootaan (Cabdulqaadir F. Bootaan 1973), Ḥasan Šeeḫ Muumin (in Morin 1980; 1995), ᶜIise (Ciise M. Siyaad 1985), Ḥange (Axmed Cartan Xange 1988; 1998), Kapjits (1996; Kapchits 2006) and many others. Andrzejewski (1985: 380) proposed to divide this oral and, later, written corpus into "fabulous fictional prose narrative" and "realistic fictional prose narrative". It has two main characteristics. First, these traditional narratives have a pedagogical concern, and are sometimes published in a simplified style for addressing a wider readership. Cycles of legends (such as those of queen Arraweelo, of king Wiil-Waal, or of the ogress Ḍeg Ḍeer), animal tales, anecdotes about well-known saints and other characters celebrate the cardinal values of traditional Somali society, its roots, and the necessity of respecting them. Concord (*hešiis*), solidarity, and the importance of ingenuity are repeated again and again as a conjuration against the structural instability of the "pastoral democracy" described by Lewis (1961). An important narrative structure, as far as Cushitic oral literature is concerned (Morin 1995: 233–50), involves animal participants acting in a neighbourly way that are deceived by the jackal-trickster (*daᶜawo*). The conflict is gradually unveiled through dialogue as in a judiciary debate, and the plaintiff's contradictions are finally revealed and punished. Other tales, probably of Arabo-Persian origin (↗Iran), mention towns, money – whereas "Cushitic" tales mention only bartering and countryside lifestyle – and slave-master (*sulṭān*) relationships, that rarely occur in trickster tales. This corpus refers to an idealized past called by Andrzejewski (1985: 340) "the Golden Era", that meets the Somali concept of *barwaaqo*, a time of plenty when pasture and milk are abundant, a nostalgic perception that crosses time and genres from the poetry of ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan to the novels of Nuuruddiin Faaraḥ (e.g., Nuruddin Farah 1981).

Published folk literature promoting good behaviour (*asluubta*) received a new impulse during the Seventies, when Siyaad Barre's government promoted education and publications that supported the national reforms, as highlighted by Andrzejewski in his introduction to *Aqoondarro waa u nacab jacayl* (Faarax M.J. Cawl 1974; tr. 1982), the first full novel ever published in Somali. Two short stories by Šire Ǧaamaᶜ (Shire Jaamac Axmed 1973a; 1973b) had appeared the year before. A rising number of short stories and novels appeared after that, published in the newspaper *Xiddigta Oktoobar* ('The October Star') or broadcast on the radio. Longer works were generally serialized, but a few of them also appeared as volumes. Kaddare's novel (Xuseen Sh. Axmed "Kaddare" 1983) on the contrast of rural versus urban life, tradition versus modernity, as well as older versus younger generations was serialized in the newspaper, then read on the radio and finally published by the National Printing Agency. Faaraḥ ᶜAwl's (Faarax M.J. Cawl, op. cit.) and Kaddare's novels, as well as Gamuute's short stories (e.g., Gamuute Axmed Gamuute 1993) typically make extensive use of quotations from traditional genres such as oral poetry, proverbs and sayings, while other fictional writing like Šire Ǧaamaᶜ's short stories and most later novels such as *Ayaan daran* (Cabdullaahi Sh. Xuseen "Hantiwadaag", n.d.), *Adeegto* (M.X. Cusmaan 1979) and the well-known *Maana-Faay* (Maxamed Daahir Afrax 1981) are written entirely in prose, and sometimes use inserts in local dialects for representing particular characters. There is an on-going debate about what characterizes the new Somali fictional writings, s. Morin (2000; 2006). Whereas the first novels and short stories of the 1970s addressed social and historical problems supporting the government's attempts at reforming them, later works became increasingly critical of how Somali society was evolving. However, from the mid-1980s several short novels were published by independent printers, mostly about love and other topics that would not incur the government's censorship. In the two decades after the collapse of Siyaad Barre's government, important fictional works have increasingly been published abroad.

Somali theatre developed mainly after World War II and became an important form of public entertainment in Somali towns in the mid–1950s. Its nature remained strongly oral, and many plays include long sections in poetry and song. Few scripts have been published, like the one by ^{c}Ali Sugulle (Cali Sugulle n.d.) or by Idaaǧaa – Yamyam (Axmed F. Cali "Idaajaa" – Cabdulqaadir Xirsi "Yamyam" 1974). Only one has been translated (Hassan Sheikh Mumin 1974). Afraḥ's book (Maxamed Daahir Afrax 1987) is a history of Somali theatre.

Finally, fictional and poetic writing by Somali authors in foreign languages should be mentioned, such as Nuuruddiin Faaraḥ's (Engl.: Nuruddin Farah) and Weris Diiriye's (Engl: Waris Dirie) novels in English, Abduraḥman Waaberi's (Fr.: Abdourahman A. Waberi) writings in French, ^{c}Ali Ǧim^{c}aale Aḥmed's (Engl.: Ali Jimale) poetry in English, etc.

The most complete history of Somali oral and written literature is Andrzejewski (1985: 337–407). ^{c}Ali Ǧim^{c}aale (Ali Jimale Ahmed 1996) insightfully described the complex interplay between oral and written fiction, poetry and theatre within the Somali community inside and outside Somalia during the Seventies and Eighties.

Src.: Axmed Cartan Xange, *Sheekaxariirooyin Soomaaliyeed* ('Somali Folktales'), Uppsala – Mogadishu 1988; Id., *Sheekooyin* ('Folktales'), Torino 1998 (Studi Somali 11); Axmed F. Cali "Idaajaa" – Cabdulqaadir Xirsi "Yamyam", *Dabkuu shiday Darwiishkii* ('The Fire the Derwish Kindled'), Mogadishu 1974; Cabdullaahi Sh. Xuseen "Hantiwadaag", *Ayaan daran* ('Misfortune'), Mogadishu n.d. (Taxanaxa Xiddigta 3); Cabdulqaadir F. Bootaan, *Murti iyo sheekooyin* ('Wisdom and Folktales'), Mogadishu 1973; Cali Sugulle, *Indhasarcaad* ('Bedazzlement'), Mogadishu n.d.; Ciise M. Siyaad, *Favole somale*, Roma 1985 (Studi Somali 6); Faarax M.J. Cawl, *Aqoondarro waa u nacab jacayl*, Mogadishu 1974 [tr. by B.W. Andrzejewski, *Ignorance is the Enemy of Love*, London 1982]; Gamuute Axmed Gamuute [Faarax Axmed Cali "Gamuute"], "Soo haabo" ('May You Arrive') [tr. by Giorgio Banti – Cabdalla Cumar Mansuur], *Linea d'Ombra* 82, 1993, 47–72; Hassan Sheikh Mumin, *Leopard Among the Women – Shabeelnaagood*, tr. with an introduction by Bogumil W. Andrzejewski, London 1974; Fred Hunter, *A Grammar of the Somali Language Together with a Short Historical Notice and a Few Exercises for Beginners*, Bombay 1880; Georgi Kapchits (ed.), "*Waxaa la yidhi –*" *sheekooyin hidde ah* ('"People Say That –" Traditional Tales'), Köln 1996; Georgi Kapjits (ed.), *Faliyihii la bilkeydey – A soothsayer tested*, Moscow 2006; M.X. Cusmaan, *Adeegto* ('Maidservant'), Mogadishu 1979; Maxamed Daahir Afrax, *Maana–Faay* ('Maana–Faay'), Mogadishu 1981 (Stockholm ^{2}1993); Maxamed Faarax Cabdillaahi, *Sheekooyin fogaan iyo dhowaan ba leh* ('Tales From Afar and Nearby'), Mogadiscio 1967; Didier Morin, *Contes de Djibouti*, Paris 1980; Muuse Ħaaji Ismaaʿiil Galaal, *Ħikmad Soomaali* ('Somali Wisdom'), ed. by Bogumil W. Andrzejewski, London – Cape Town 1956; Nuruddin Farah, *Sweet and Sour Milk*, London 1981; Leo Reinisch (ed.), *Dr. A.W. Schleichers Somali–Texte*, Wien 1900; Shire Jaamac Axmed, *Gabayo, maahmaah iyo sheekooyin yaryar* ('Poems, Proverbs and Short Tales'), Mogadishu 1965; Shire Jaamac Axmed, "Wiil–Waal (Garad Faarax) sheekadiis" ('The Story of Wiil–Waal [Garaad Faarax]'), *Iftiinka–Aqoonta*, July 1967, 4–31; Shire Jaamac Axmed, *Rooxaan* ('The *Rooxaan* Spirits'), Mogadishu 1973a; Shire Jaamac Axmed, *Halgankii nolosha* ('The Struggle of Life'), Mogadishu 1973b; Xuseen Sh. Axmed "Kaddare", *Waasuge iyo Warsame – socdaalkii 30ka maalmood* ('Waasuge and Warsame – a Travel of 30 Days'), Mogadishu 1983 [tr. by Giorgio Banti, *Waasuge e Warsame – un viaggio di 30 giorni*, ms.].

Lit.: Ali Jimale Ahmed, *Daybreak is Near … Literature, Clans and the Nation-State in Somalia*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 1996; Bogumil W. Andrzejewski, "Oral Literature", "Somali Literature", in: Bogumil W. Andrzejewski – Stanisław Piłaszewicz – Witold Tyloch (eds.), *Literatures in African Languages: Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, Cambridge – Warsaw 1985, 31–48, 337–407; CerStud I; CerSom I–III; Fred Hunter, *A Grammar of the Somali Language Together with a Short Historical Notice and a Few Exercises for Beginners*, Bombay 1880; Ioan Myrddin Lewis, *A Pastoral Democracy*, Oxford 1961; Maxamed Daahir Afrax, *Fan–masraxeedka Soomaalida* ('The Theatre of the Somalis'), Kenya 1987; Didier Morin, *Des paroles douces comme la soie: introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique*, Leuven 1995 (Langues et cultures africaines 19); Id., "Is Novel Possible in a Cushitic Language?", paper presented at the conference *Against all Odds: African Languages and Literatures Into the 21st Century*, Asmara 2000; Id., "A la recherche du premier roman somali: trame romanesque et figure romantique", in: Xavier Garnier – Alain Ricard (eds.), *L'effet roman: arrivée du roman dans les langues d'Afrique*, Paris 2006 (Itinéraires de contacts de cultures 28), 231–64; Philipp Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost–Afrikas: Die geistige Kultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1896.

Didier Morin – Giorgio Banti

Somali ethnography

The ancestors of the S. moved into the northern Horn of Africa from around Lake ↗Turkana in today's north-western ↗Kenya. The name "Ṣūmāl", i.e. S. appears for the first time in a victory song of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq (CerSom I, 111). Several S. clan names are mentioned in the *Futuḥ al-Ḥabaša*, recording the wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (called Gurrey in S.) and his S. warriors (BassHist). They can be identified with names of today's clans of north-western Somaliland. Over the centuries the Somalis mixed with the ↗Oromo, who also came from around Lake Turkana and invaded north-east Africa in the 16th cent. Moreover, since ancient times Arabian and Asian (and later also European) refugees, missionaries, merchants and adventurers landed on the Somali shores along the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean and established trading posts, mosques and fortresses. They gradually became integrated into the local population. Prior to the advent of the Somaloid nomads from Lake Turkana, some of the southern parts of the Horn were most probably inhabited by Bantu speakers who practised agriculture. Along with other indigenous groups inhabiting the northern Horn, they were absorbed by the new-comers. Thus from a historical perspective, the S. inhabiting the Horn of Africa today are a complex mixture of various groups.

By the mid 20th cent., the S. were increasingly represented (and represented themselves) as a homogenous ethnic group, with a common myth of origin (descent in the patri-line from a common ancestor), language, religion (Sunni ↗Islam) and customs (pastoral nomadism, particularly camel husbandry [↗Pastoralism]). The social organization of clan-families, clans, sub-clans, and so forth, in seemingly perennial opposition to each other, is still perceived by many as their most distinctive feature. The six large clan-families are ↗Dir, ↗Darood, Isaaq, ↗Hawiye, Digil and ↗Raḥanween. They are divided into dozens of clans, hundreds of sub-clans and primary lineages and thousands of "*diya*-paying groups" (s. below). Dir and Isaaq mainly reside in the north, Hawiye, Digil and Raḥanween inhabit the centre and south, and Darood dwell in all parts of the S. peninsula.

This representation arguably goes back to the influential accounts of (northern) S. society by Richard ↗Burton and Ioan Myrddin Lewis. The latter presented S. society as a "classical" segmentary society. In this perspective, the S. (mostly pastoral nomads) display a strong sense of equality. Depending on the context, they act as members of distinct groups on different levels of segmentation. By patrilineal descent all of them are connected through "total [↗] genealogy" (Lewis 1957). Later, other researchers diversified, qualified and partly refuted this depiction of the S. They emphasized notions of belonging beyond that of descent and highlighted the importance of locality, inequality and hierarchy in interpersonal and inter-group relations.

In colonial times, the S. were divided between ↗Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya, British and Italian Somaliland. Only the two latter territories formed the ↗Somali Republic upon independence in 1960.

Genealogical divisions, *tol* and *ḥeer* (*xeer*)

S. in the north of the S. peninsula display a strong genealogical "ideology". Here Lewis' perspective largely applies. People count up to 30 forefathers to their common ancestor, who is the "father" of the clan-family. Most clan-families are so vast and so widely scattered that they cannot act corporately as political units. Only when there is enmity between them, do members of one clan-family have a strong identity of purpose against those of another. The clan as a genealogical unit goes back up to 20 generations. Clans tend to be linked to a territory through fairly regular seasonal migration movements as pastoral nomads. Lewis (1961) calls clans the upper limit of corporate political action. They are sometimes headed by authorities such as *suldaan* (cp. ↗*Sulṭān*) or *garaad* (cp. ↗*Gärad*), who traditionally have representative functions. Clans show no internal administration. Below the clan, Lewis differentiates sub-clans and primary lineages. The foundation of the system is the "*diya*-paying group". In case of homicide *diya*-paying groups pay and receive blood-money (S., *mag*, *diya* [from Arab.]). The group is usually an amalgam of a few lineages reckoning their descent back four to eight generations. According to Lewis, however, the system of distinct units suggests a more stable hierarchy of segmentation than actually exists. He considers the flexibility of being related through clan, lineage, etc. to be the most characteristic feature of S. social structure.

Nonetheless, the principle of agnation, *tol* (lit.: 'to sew'), is binding among northern S. Primary responsibilities and loyalties are expressed in respect to one's *tol*. This can be seen as an "anchor" in a field of otherwise fluid and flexible social relations, in which the level of identification is often decided by the context of hostilities or other social dynamics. Moreover, *tol* is important with regard to the collective identity of all S. as members of an ethnic group: by counting male forefathers, every S., in theory, arrives via the "brothers" Sab and Samaale at a common ancestor, named Hiil, who is the link to the ↗Qurayš (Lewis 1955; 1961).

Yet patrilineal descent is only one of two fundamental principles of northern S. society. The other one is ↗*ḥeer*, which operates mainly at the level of the *diiya*-paying groups. *Ḥeer* is a basic social contract within and between lineages. Such an agreement can be directly entered into by the actors concerned, or it can be inherited from their ancestors. Agreements are forged at general meetings (*šir*). The *ḥeer* of a *diiya*-paying group "denotes a body of explicitly formulated obligations, rights and duties". It binds people together "in relations to internal delicts and defines their collective responsibility in external relations with other groups" (Lewis 1961: 162; Hersi 1977). Its viability is guaranteed only as long as the contracting parties respect the agreement. As soon as one party deviates from the *ḥeer*, it is broken, and, if wished for, a new contract has to be negotiated. It is also possible to have treaty obligations and political solidarity without agnation. Generally, S. regard *tol* and *ḥeer* as complementary. In everyday practice, this segmentary lineage system based on *tol* and *ḥeer* is distorted by various inequalities regarding group size, power imbalances and complex alliances deriving from contractual agreements, from affinal ties or individual interests.

Locality and hierarchy

The agro-pastoralists residing along and between the rivers ↗Wabi Šäbälle and Juba (↗Ganaalee) in central and southern Somalia live from farming and herding. Among them, residence and notions of territorial belonging are of great importance. The clan as a land-holding group is the most significant level of segmentation. Yet this does not preclude movement and migration. Since the quality of the soil is variable and rainfall constantly shifts, it is useful to have plots in more than one place and pastoral rights over a wide range. Consequently, individuals and groups frequently move to the territories of other clans. The latter must approve the residence of the newcomers, either by alliance between more or less equally strong groups, or by adoption of a smaller group or of an individual by a larger and stronger group. Thus, all inter-riverine clans actually consist of fragments from many other clans who are assembled around a "core lineage", which gives many of the southern clans their consistency and identity (Luling 2002; Helander 2003).

The composite character of clan-families and clansamong the agro-pastoralist S. can lead to some parts of a larger group considering others belonging to the same group as "inferior" or "impure". The latter are called *boon*, which Helander translates as "commoners". They are not allowed to marry other members of the same clan who belong to the category of *bilis* ('nobles'). The problem of internal heterogeneity is captured by the proverb *tol waa hal la qaley*, which is translated as "the agnatic group is a slaughtered camel". It means that like a slaughtered camel, of which not all parts are edible, the composite clan consists of good and bad parts and not everybody within the group is comfortable with each other (Helander 2003: 17). A number of hierarchical differences distinguish *boon* and *bilis*. Although friendship can exist between them, *boon* are subject to much prejudice, social exclusion and to some extent exploitation as cheap labourers by the *bilis*.

Regarding the southern S. clans, descent and locality are seen as complementary, with agnation being most important for social identity on the highest level of segmentation, and for collective security against external threats (Helander 2003; Luling 2002). Helander (1996) suggests that the social idioms of adoption and co-operation based on co-residence and settlement in villages, and partly necessitated by farming, most probably contributed to the relative rarity of inter-clan strife among southern S. agro-pastoralists such as the Raḥanween.

In urban settlements particularly along the Benaadir coast of southern Somalia members of different lineages reside together. They "are joined by legal alliance but do not claim common descent" (Luling 2002: 80). Hence, urban settlements are confederations of clans. Here, "the descent principle operates *within* the lineage group, but the alliance principle alone *between* lineages" (ibid). Additionally, Luling outlines the importance of moiety organization, of residence in different neighbourhoods, of membership in certain co-operatives and of differences between noble and "ignoble" groups. Two features clearly

Somali smiths (*Tumaal*) at work, Harär; photo 2000, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

distinguish the "urban model" from the two previous models: first, social relations are, at least between some groups of residents, strongly hierarchic; and second, political authority is to some degree institutionalized and more permanent.

The largest social difference within southern S. settlements exists between *ǧareer* (S. sp.: *jareer*, also called Bantu) and the various "noble" groups. The term *ǧareer* has been adopted by the people themselves. It refers to the "hard hair" of the descendants of Bantu-speaking farmers and slaves, in contrast to the "soft" hair of the "real" S. (who consider themselves descendants of Arab *šayḫs* rather than of African ancestors). Some of the Bantu-speakers have been brought to the southern S. peninsula as slaves in the 19th cent. Others most probably have lived and farmed there already before S. pastoral-nomads and agro-pastoralists came and subjugated them (Cassanelli 1982; Declich 2000; Luling 2002; Besteman 1999). Slaves worked on plantations, small farms and in households. In the second half of the 19th cent., many slaves ran away; others were freed when the European colonial powers arrived in the Horn and officially abolished ↗slavery. Nonetheless, inequalities and social hierarchies remain in S. society until today.

Furthermore, a distinct social hierarchy exists between the occupational or "caste" groups, such as Midgan (tanners, shoemakers, hunters), Yibir (professional magicians, hunters) and Tumaal (smiths), and the pastoralists in the north. The former are segmented into small lineages following the S. pattern and were until recently attached in servile status to pastoral nomadic families and lineages.

Finally, settlements organized by Sufi orders (↗Islamic brotherhoods) and scattered throughout the Somali peninsula display religious hierarchy and attachment to a specific locality. They are led by *šayḫs*, and, apart from religious education, its members engage in agriculture. Within these *ǧamee^{c}ooyin* (S. sp.: *jameecooyin* sg., *jameeco*), members' genealogical ties and loyalties are deliberately disregarded (Lewis 1994; Hersi 1977; Luling 2002).

Src.: BassEt; Richard F. Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa, or, an Exploration of Harar,* New York 1987 [1856]; CerSom I–III.

Lit.: Ali Abdirahman Hersi, *The Arab Factor in Somali History*: *the Origins and the Development of Arab Enterprise and Cultural Influences in the Somali Peninsula,* Ph.D. thesis, Los Angeles 1977, unpublished; Ali Jimale Ahmed (ed.), *The Invention of Somalia*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995; Christian Bader, *Le sang et le lait*: *Brève histoire des clans Somali*, Paris 1999; Cedric Barnes, "U dhashay – ku dhashay: Genealogical and Territorial Discourse in Somali History", *Social Identities* 12, 4, 2006, 487–98; Catherine Besteman, *Unravelling Somalia*: *Race, Violence and the Legacy of Slavery*, Philadelphia, PA 1999; Lee Cassanelli, *The Shaping of Somali Society. Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600–1900*, Philadelphia, PA 1982; Jack L. Davies, *The Reunification of the Somali People*, Bochum 1996; Francesca Declich, *I Bantu della Somalia. Etnogenesi e rituali mviko*, Milano 2002; Christopher Ehret, "The Eastern Horn of Africa, 1000 B.C. to 1400 A.D.: The Historical Roots", in: Ali Jimale Ahmed 1995, 233–56; Bernhard Helander, "Rahanweyn Sociability: a Model for other Somalis?", in: Richard Hayward – Ioan Myrddin Lewis (eds.), *Voice and Power*: *Essays in Honour of B.W. Andrezejewski*, London 1996, 195–204; Id., *The Slaughtered Camel*: *Coping with Fictitious Descent among the Hubeer of Southern Somalia*, Uppsala 2003; Markus V. Hoehne, *Somalia zwischen Krieg und Frieden. Strategien der friedlichen Konfliktaustragung auf internationaler und lokaler Ebene*, Hamburg 2002; John A. Hunt, *A General Survey of the Somaliland Protectorate* (*1944–1950*), London 1951; Jama Mohamed Jama, "Kinship and Contract in Somali Politics", *Africa* (Edinburgh) 77, 2, 2007, 226–49; John William Carnegie Kirk, "The Yibirs and Midgans of Somaliland, Their Traditions and Dialects", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 4, 13, 1904, 91–108; Abdi M. Kusow, "The Somali Origin: Myth or Reality", in: Ali Jimale Ahmed 1995, 81–106; Id. (ed.), *Putting the Chart before the Horse*, Lawrenceville, NJ 2004; Herbert S. Lewis, "The Origin of the Galla and Somali", *JAH* 7, 1, 1966, 27–46; Ioan Myrddin Lewis, *The Peoples of the Horn of Africa*: *Somali, Afar, and Saho*, London 1955; Id., "Sufism in Somaliland: a Study in Tribal Islam – I", *BSOAS* 17, 3, 1955, 581–602; Id., *The Somali Lineage System and the Total Genealogy*: *a General Introduction to Basic Principles of Somali Political Institutions*, Hargeisa 1957; Id., *A Pastoral Democracy*: *a Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali in the Horn of Africa*, Oxford 1961; Id., *Marriage* *and the Family in Northern Somaliland*, Kampala 1962; ID., *Blood and Bone*: *the Call of Kinship in Somali Society*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1994; VIRGINIA LULING, "The Other Somali: Minority Groups in Traditional Somali Society", in: THOMAS LABAHN (ed*.), Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies* 4, Hamburg 1984, 39–55; ID., *Somali Sultanate*: *the Geledi City-State Over 150 Years*, London 2002; BRAD G. MARTIN, *Muslim Brotherhoods in 19th Century Africa*, Cambridge 1976 (African Studies Series 18); MOHAMED HAJI MUKHTAR, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, Lanham, MD 2003; MARTIN ORWIN, "Somali", in: EI^2, vol. 9, 713–27; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, 2 vols., Berlin Berlin ^{3}1967; SCOTT REESE, *Patricians of the Benadir*: *Islamic Learning, Commerce and Somali Urban Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, Ph.D. thesis, Pennsylvania 1996, unpublished; TrIslam.

Markus V. Höhne

Somali ↗Ogaden

Somalia

I. Geography
II. Peoples and languages
III. Economy
IV. State symbols

I. Geography

The Somali Republic (Som., *Jamhuuriyadda Soomaaliya*; Arab., *Ǧumhūrīyat aṣ-Ṣūmāl*) with a territory ca. 637,657 km^2 covers the ↗Horn of Africa from the port of ↗Zayla^c (Som. Seylac) in the north-west to Cape ↗Gardafui in the north-east to ↗Kismaayo in the south. In northern S., the hot coastal zone (*guban*) along the Gulf of Aden is distinguished from the mountain range (*golis*), the cooler high plateau (*oogo*) and the further hinterland stretching south-east into Ethiopia (Hawd; s. ↗Ogaden). Central and southern S. is lowland declining towards the Indian Ocean. Here flow the only two permanent rivers (sg., *webi*) of the country, the Šabeelle (↗Wabi Šäbälle) and the Juba (in Ethiopia ↗Ganaalee), which originate in the Ethiopian highland.

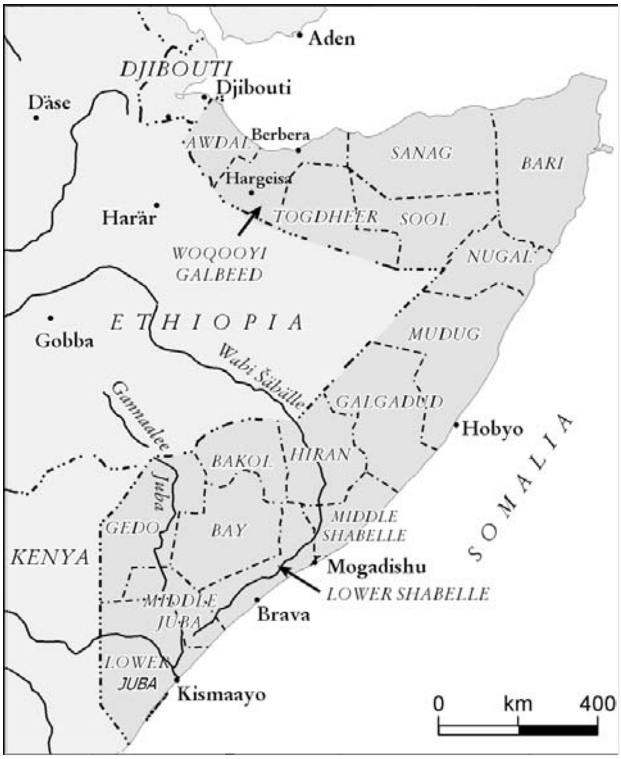
The four main seasons in the Somali territories are the long rainy season *gu* (April to June), the windy dry season *ḥagaa* (July to August), the short rainy season *dayr* (September to November) and the long hot dry season *ǧilaal* (December to March).

II.Peoples and languages

The Somali population in the Horn of Africa increased from less than a million in 1900 to about two million in 1950. In 2001 the UNDP Human Development Report estimated the total population in S. to be 6.38 million. Another four to five million Somalis are living in Ethiopia, Kenya and ↗Djibouti. More recently, droughts and civil ↗war have caused large scale displacement and migration in and from S.

Almost 100 % of the population follow Sunni Islam; most belong to one of the Islamic ↗brotherhoods. Somalis belong to several large clan families that descend from two mythical ancestors, Sab and Samaale. The descendants of Sab are mostly agro-pastoralists, while those of Samaale are traditionally pastoral-nomads. Most Somalis trace their origin in the patriline back to Arab ancestors (↗Somali ethnography).

In southern S., there are many people of "African" or "mixed" origin who are traditionally farmers, agro-pastoralists, craftsmen or merchants. Some of these "other Somali" (Luling 1984, 2010) have most probably occupied the southern Somali Peninsula before the pastoral nomads came. Others, particularly the forefathers of many today so-called Bantu, were brought as slaves to southern S. in the 19th cent. (Cassanelli 1982). Certain place names and oral traditions also point to an earlier ↗Oromo oc-



cupation of Somali territories (CerSom I).

The Swahili population of the old cities along the Benaadir coast derives from contacts between Arabic, Indian and other visitors/migrants with the local population since the 7th cent. Somalis without a pastoral-nomadic background were traditionally looked down upon by the pastoral-nomads who dominate politically. The former, however, were frequently adopted by the latter and integrated into their genealogical system.

Early ethnographic descriptions (e.g. Burton 1856; CerSom I–III) mention differences in Somali origins and customs. For most of the 20th cent. the people were nevertheless perceived as a homogenous ethnic group united by culture, religion, and tradition (Touval 1963; Laitin – Samatar 1987). Yet, underneath the nationalist and ethnic facade the Somalis as well as Italian colonialists in the south adhered to fine racist distinctions between "pure" Somalis on the one hand and those of "African" or mixed origin on the other (Dainelli 1931; Besteman 1999; Declich 2000; Helander 2003).

Discrimination and power inequality also affected the ↗Somali language. Somali is the official language of the country and there are two main dialects, *Af-Maxaa* (spoken mostly by the descendants of Samaale in northern and south-western S.) and *Af-Maay* (spoken by the descendants of Sab in central S.). *Af-Maxaa* has a number of sub-dialects. Some inhabitants of the Benaadir coast speak Swahili dialects. Those whose ancestors came to S. as slaves in the 19th cent. from various parts of East Africa sometimes still speak Bantu languages. In 1972, *Af-Maxaa* was adopted as the national language, written in the Latin alphabet. Cultural homogeneity was produced through the standardization of this version of Somali at the cost of the other, often quite divergent versions of the language (Mukhtar 2010).

When the civil war broke out in southern S. in 1991, the non-pastoralists became the main victims of marauding and looting clan militias (Bestemann – Cassanelli 1996; Van Lehmann – Eno 2003). Today they are known as Somali minority groups.

III. Economy

In northern S., most people traditionally live as pastoral nomads keeping sheep, goats and camels (↗Pastoralism). Animals and animal products are used for subsistence as well as for export to the Arab Peninsula. In southern S. farming is possible along and between the two permanent rivers. Additionally, people engage in animal husbandry. Some inhabitants of the ca. 3,000 km long coastal strip from the Gulf of Aden to the Indian Ocean are fishermen. Particularly along the mountainous northern coast, in the area of today's Puntland, people collect frankincense (↗Incense) and wild honey (Ahmad Yusuf 1994). Since ancient times ↗trade is the life-line of the coastal towns and the settlements in the interior of the Horn. It was the basis of the Somali sultanates that were established in the peninsula from the 12th cent. onwards.

In the 19th cent. large quantities of ↗cotton and sesame were produced in and exported from the Muqdisho (↗Mogadishu, s. EAE vol. 5) area. Swahili and Arab landlords had established a profitable plantation economy there, based on slave labour. Later, the Italians continued the plantations with banana and other cash crops (Hess 1966).

The post-colonial economy of S. depended largely on external aid. During the cold war period S. attracted support from the "West" and the "East" due to its strategic position in the Horn of Africa opposite the Arab Peninsula (Simons 1996). Urbanization, desertification and civil war made pastoral nomadic life increasingly arduous. At the beginning of the 21st cent., the economy of northern S. is still based on animal husbandry. Trade in the form of import-export transactions via the ports of ↗Berbera, Boosaasso, Mogadishu and Kismaayo is the driving force behind the local and regional economy. Private business, for instance in the telecommunications sector, flourishes in S.'s peaceful zones. An important new commodity in S. is ↗*č̣at* (Som. *qaad*). It comes in from Ethiopia and Kenya and is paid in hard currency. The mild stimulant is consumed mostly by Somali men. Its consumption has increased dramatically since the outbreak of the Somali civil war. Finally, remittances sent to relatives by the huge Somali diaspora secure the daily

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Somalian banknote of 1989; courtesy of Markus V. Höhne survival of many and contribute enormously to the current Somali economy (Menkhaus 2009; Höhne 2010).

IV. State symbols

The flag of S. was adopted in 1954 and shows a five-pointed white star on a light blue background. The star represents the five regions inhabited by Somalis: the Ogaden Region of Ethiopia, the Northern Frontier District of Kenya, Djibouti, as well as former British and Italian Somaliland. The coat of arms adopted in 1956 shows two leopards supporting a blue shield with a white star on it. The national anthem is called *Soomaaliyeey toosoo* ('S. wake up') and was adopted by the Transitional National Government in 2000. The music was written by ᶜAlī Mire ᶜAwāle (Cali Mire Cawaale) to the lyrics of Yusūf *hağği* Adan (Yuusuf Xaaji Aadan) in the 1940s.

Src.: Richard F. Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa, or, An Exploration of Harar*, New York 1987 [¹1856]; CerSom I–III.

Lit.: Ahmed Yusuf Farah, *Milk of the Boswellia Forrest: Frankincense Production among the Pastoral Somali*, Uppsala 1994; Catherine Besteman – Lee Cassanelli (eds.), *The Struggle for Land in Southern Somalia*, London 1996; Lee Cassanelli, *The Shaping of Somali Society. Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600–1900*, Philadelphia, PA 1982; Giotto Dainelli, "The Agricultural Possibilities of Italian Somalia", *Geographical Review* 21, 1, 1931, 56–69; Francesca Declich, "Fostering Ethnic Reinvention: Gender Impact of Forced Migration on Bantu Somali Refugees in Kenya", *Cahiers d' Études Africaines* 157, 2000, 25–53; Bernhard Helander, *The Slaughtered Camel: Coping with Fictitious Descent among the Hubeer of Southern Somalia*, Uppsala 2003; Robert L. Hess, *Italian Colonialism in Somalia*, Chicago, IL 1966; Markus V. Höhne, "Diasporisches Handeln in Bürgerkrieg und Wiederaufbau: Beispiele aus Somalia und Somaliland", *Friedens-Warte* 85, 1–2, 2010, 83–103; David D. Laitin – Said S. Samatar, *Somalia: Nation in Search of a State*, London 1987; Marcello Lamberti, *Die Somali-Dialekte*, Hamburg 1986; Virginia Luling, "The Other Somali: Minority Groups in Traditional Somali Society", in: Thomas Labahn (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies* vol. 4, 1984, 39–55; Ead., "Farmers from Arabia: the Role of Gibil Cad Groups in the Interior of Southern Somalia", in: Markus V. Höhne – Virginia Luling (eds.), *Milk and Peace, Drought and War: Somali Culture, Society and Politics*, London 2010, 301–17; Ken Menkhaus, "The Role and Impact of the Somali Diaspora in Peace-Building, Governance and Development", in: Raj Bardouille – Muna Ndulo – Margarete Grieco (eds.), *Africa's Finances: the Contribution of Remittances*, Cambridge 2009, 187–202; Mohammed H. Mukhtar, "Language Marginalization, Ethnic Nationalism and Cultural Crisis in Somalia", in: Höhne – Luling 2010, 279–300; Anna Simons, "Somalia: a Regional Security Dilemma", in: Edmond J. Keller – Donald Rothchild (eds.), *Africa in the New International Order*, London 1996, 71–84; Saadia Touval, *Somali Nationalism: International Politics and the Drive for Unity in the Horn of Africa*, Cambridge, MA 1963; Dan van Lehman – Omar Eno, *The Somali Bantu: Their History and Culture*, Washington, DC 2003.

Markus V. Höhne – Nicole Hirt

Somalia, political history

The British Protectorate of Somaliland (↗British Somaliland) gained its independence on 26 June 1960, and ↗Italian Somaliland followed on 1 July 1960. On that day both lands united to form the Somali Republic with ↗Mogadishu as capital.

Somali politics in pre-colonial and colonial times were dominated by pastoral-nomadic and agro-pastoralist conditions. Political organization was, apart from a few small sultanates existing between the 12th and the 19th cent. (e.g., ↗Ifat, ↗ᶜAdal, and Ağuuraan), flexible, family-based and not centralized. One effort to establish internal cohesion was undertaken by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Axmed Gurrey), ruler of ↗Harär in the early 16th cent. He refused to pay tribute to the Ethiopian emperor and united Muslim troops in a war against the Ethiopian rule that led to the near collapse of the Christian empire.

Within these early sultanates power was in the hands of ruling families. In the Somali hinterlands centralised authority was absent. Economic and political life functioned largely through forging flexible alliances and making use of multilayered clan identities (Waller 1985; Schlee 1985). In the middle of the 19th cent., the important trading spots Marka (↗Merka), Baraawe (↗Brava) and Mogadishu in the south were under the suzerainty of the Sultan of ↗Zanzibar. North-eastern S. was under the rule of the ↗Mağeerteen sultanates. The port of Zaylaᶜ in the north-west, once part of the ancient Sultanate of ᶜAdal, was in the 19th cent. a small sultanate and part of the ↗Ottoman Empire.

Starting from the first half of the 19th cent., ↗Egypt, Britain (↗United Kingdom of Great Britain) and ↗France showed interest in the Horn of Africa. The British occupied Aden in 1839. In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened. and this increased the strategic importance of the region. Egypt was first to establish its rule over north-west S. in 1869; its forces, however, had to retreat to fight the Mahdīya (↗Mahdists) in the Sudan in 1884. Subsequently, France and Great Britain moved in and eventually established French Somaliland (later ↗Djibouti) and ↗British Somaliland, respectively.

↗Italy strived to gain possessions in southern S. in the mid 1880s. It acquired a protectorate over the Benaadir in 1889. ↗Italian Somaliland, including the north-east of the Somali Peninsula, was established in 1905 and completed with the transfer of "Jubaland" from British to Italian control in 1925. From a modern Somali perspective, Ethiopia is perceived as an African colonial power. Its expansion into northern Oromo and western Somali territories began with the Ethiopian conquest of Harär in 1887. Henceforth, the Ethiopian empire set out to consolidate its eastern periphery and to subjugate its inhabitants through military force (Barnes 2000). In 1897, Ethiopia and Great Britain concluded a treaty establishing Ethiopian rule over the region including the Hawd, which has rich pastureland and is thus very important for Somali herders. The treaty was renewed in 1954 (↗Treaties and conventions, s. EAE vol. 5).

The state as a mode of political organization was introduced only by the European colonial powers, together with an export oriented economy based on livestock production. Of course, political changes and contact with Europeans and Ethiopians also influenced Somali culture and society. Some Somalis feared Christian domination and had recourse to armed resistance. The most famous anti-colonial movement was the Dervish uprising led by ↗Muḥammad ^{c}Abdallāh Ḥasan (Maxamed Cabdille Xassan). It shook northern S. but also had repercussions in the south. In the vast and sparsely populated semi-desert of northern S., British and Ethiopian troops had difficulties in coming to terms with the mobile Dervishes. Their insurgency lasted for 21 years, between 1899 and 1920 (Samatar 1982).

After the "rebels" had been defeated, the British and Italian administrations spread relatively unhindered into the interior of the Somali Peninsula. Together with colonial penetration, a political and economic middleclass developed in the few urban centres. Its members were the first carriers of Somali nationalism. In the 1940s, when the British had ousted the Italian fascists from the Horn and, with the exception of French Somaliland, had united all Somali territories under their military administration, the first political parties were established. The most popular party was the Somali Youth Club, later re-named Somali Youth League. The Somali parties had a strong nationalist orientation and most advocated speedy independence. The proposal of the British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin to keep the Somalis united under British trusteeship was, however, rejected by Italy, the ↗United States of America and the Soviet Union (↗Russia, relations with). In late 1949, the ↗United Nations' General Assembly decided to endow Italy with its former colonial Somali territories as a trusteeship and with the obligation to prepare for independence within ten years. Britain kept its Protectorate in the north-west. Despite the fact that the development of political self-administration went much slower in British than in Italian Somaliland, still the northerners, driven by nationalist sentiments, demanded independence from the British. The protectorate finally gained its freedom five days before the Italian administered territories. In the haste of events and nationalist euphoria the act of union was ill-prepared and in fact was only accepted retroactively in a referendum in June 1961 (Lewis 2002).

The first decade of independence (1961–69) was characterized by internal administrative hurdles and conflict with the neighbours Ethiopia and Kenya over Somali-inhabited territories. The former derived from the two different colonial traditions including different languages and systems of administration. The latter were caused by the irredentist policy followed by all post-colonial Somali governments. The aim was to establish a "Greater S." including all Somali-inhabited territories in the Horn. This vision was expressed in the Somali flag, which depicts a white star on blue ground; the star's five points symbolize Italian, British, French (Djibouti), Ethiopian (↗Ogaden) and Kenyan (Northern Frontier District) Somaliland. Only two had united in 1960; the rest was missing (Somali Peninsula 1962). Parliamentary democracy came to an end in 1969, when dozens of descent-based parties competed for parliament. People lost confidence in the corrupt and nepotistic political class.

In October of the same year a group of military officers led by General Muḥammad Ziyād Barrī (Maxamed Siyad Barre) toppled the civilian government. The new government called itself the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC). It suspended the constitution, curtailed freedom of expression, introduced new forms of community-based political organization such as "orientation centres" for political education, and established a strong security apparatus (Ahmed Samatar 1988). It propagated nationalism and the abolishment of "tribalism". Reference to one's "clan" and the use of the usual patrilinear kinship-terms for non-relatives, such as *ina-adeer* (cousin) for peers and *adeer* (uncle) for elder men, were forbidden and replaced with *ǧēlle* ('comrade'; Som. *jalle*). In 1970 "Scientific Socialism" was adopted as the new ideology of the state. In the Somali case, this was a mixture of Marxist-Leninist ideas and Islamic norms. It was coupled with a strong personality cult of Muḥammad Ziyād Barrī as "father of the nation". The SRC also initiated economic and social reforms. Somali nation-statehood climaxed in the mid-1970s. In 1974 S. enhanced its profile internationally by entering into a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union, joining the Arab League and hosting the summit of the ↗Organisation for African Unity (OAU).

In 1977, Somali military, supporting the Western Somali Liberation Front, attacked Ethiopia, soon after the outbreak of the *Därg* ↗revolution. This led to a breach in the relations of S. and the Soviet Union, the latter switching allegiance to the new socialist regime in Addis Abäba. In spring 1978, S. was crushingly defeated by Ethiopia and its socialist allies (Soviet Union, Cuba, and the German Democratic Republic, among others). The end of the "Greater S." plans brought internal problems to the attention of many Somalis. The government had not overcome nepotism and "tribalism". On the contrary, it became increasingly clear that power rested with the President's own and some of his close relatives' descent groups to the detriment of others (Lewis 1994). Most of the reforms introduced in the early 1970s had failed, apart from the introduction of the Latin alphabet for Somali and a country-wide alphabetization campaign.

With the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) and the Somali National Movement (SNM), two important guerrilla-movements emerged in 1979 and 1981 respectively. They were hosted by Ethiopia; Libya and ↗Yemen provided the SSDF with weapons and equipment. The SNM was mostly supported by the diaspora. The guerrillas proclaimed agendas of national liberation and conducted hit-and-run attacks on military and political targets in S. Internally, the movements were largely based on clan-affiliation; the SSDF was dominated by Maǧeerteen, and the SNM recruited most of its fighters from ↗Isaaq clans.

In the 1980s, S. managed to establish good relations with the USA and other Western powers which stabilised the government with a steady flow of financial, humanitarian and military aid. This enabled Muḥammad Ziyād Barrī to stay in power and to suppress the mounting political and armed resistance and paved the way for state-collapse. Corruption was ubiquitous, the regime reacted increasingly paranoid and with brute force against any kind of opposition, and finally decided to bombard the cities Hargeysa (↗Hargeisa) and Burᶜo in north-western S. after they had been briefly captured by SNM fighters. The civilian costs were enormous. With the end of the Cold War Barre lost his allies in the West. His regime was finally overthrown and the President had to flee Mogadishu in January 1991. The United Somali Congress that had been founded in 1989 as a ↗Hawiye guerrilla organization took control of the capital. Other guerrilla groups established themselves in their clan-homelands. After their victory over Barre, the Somali guerrillas did not manage to make peace or agree on a new and inclusive political formula. Fighting erupted between them and until the time of writing (2010) S. remains a country without effective and legitimate government. In some regions, however, alternative political structures and state-like entities such as Somaliland and Puntland have been established (Hagmann – Höhne 2009).

Lit.: Ahmed I. Samatar, *Socialist Somalia*: *Rhetoric and Reality*, London 1988; Ali Abdirahman Hersi, *The Arab Factor in Somali History*: *the Origins and the Development of Arab Enterprise and Cultural Influences in the Somali Peninsula*, Ph.D. thesis, Los Angeles 1977; Ali Moussa Iye, *Le Verdict de l'arbre, Le Xeer Issa, Etude d'une Democratie Pastorale*, Djibuti 1990; Cedric R. Barnes, *The Ethiopian State and its Somali Periphery Circa 1888–1948*, Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Cambridge 2000; Catherine Besteman, *Unraveiling Somalia*: *Race, Violence and the Legacy of Slavery*, Philadelphia, PA 1999; Ead. – Lee Cassanelli (eds.), *The Struggle for Land in Southern Somalia*, London 1996; Mark Bradbury – Ken Menkhaus – Roland Marchal, *Human Development Report Somalia 2001*, New York, NY 2001; John Drysdale, *The Somali Dispute*, London 1964; Tobias Hagmann, "From State Collapse to Duty-free Shop: Somalia's Path to Modernity" [review article], *African Affairs* 104, 416, 2005, 525–35; Tobias Hagmann – Markus V. Höhne, "Failures of the State Failure Debate: Evidence from the Somali Territories", *Journal of International Development* 21, 2009, 42–57; Robert L. Hess, *Italian Colonialism in Somalia*, Chicago, IL 1966; Markus V. Höhne, *Somalia zwischen Krieg und Frieden*: *Strategien der friedlichen Konfliktaustragung auf internationaler und lokaler Ebene*, Hamburg 2002; Cornelius J. Jaenen, "The Somali Problem", *African Affairs* 56, 223, 1957, 147–57; Ioan Myrddin Lewis, *A Pastoral Democracy*: *a Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali in the Horn of Africa*, Oxford 1961; Id., *Blood and Bone*: *the Call of Kinship in Somali Society*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1994; Id., *A Modern History of The Somali*, Oxford 2002; Virginia Luling, *Somali Sultanate*: *the Geledi City-State over 150 Years*, London

2002; VOLKER MATTHIES, *Der Grenzkonflikt Somalias mit Äthiopien und Kenya*, Hamburg 1977; ROBERT G. PATMAN, *The Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa*, Cambridge 1990 (Soviet and Eastern European Studies 71); SAID SAMATAR, *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism: the Case of Sayyid Mahammad ʿAbdille Hasan*, Cambridge 1982; GÜNTHER SCHLEE, "Interethnic Clan Identities among Cushitic Speaking Pastoralists", *Africa* 55, 1, 17–38; THE SOMALI PENINSULA, *A New Light on Imperial Motives*, Mogadishu 1962; RICHARD WALLER, "Ecology, Migration, and Expansion in East Africa", *African Affairs* 84, 336, 1985, 347–70.

Markus V. Höhne

Songs

In Ethiopian ↗music traditions, there are many types of S. In order to regroup different types of S. this entry categorizes themes and sub-themes of S. that can be found in several circumstances and ritual occasions, such as, e.g., ↗weddings, feasts of merit and ↗funerals (s. ↗*Ǝngʷərgʷərro* lamentation S.).

Praise and blessings

In many Ethiopian cultures, S. are used to offer praise and blessings during daily activities or rituals related to life or the annual cycle. Singing is omnipresent in the rituals of the monotheistic religions (cp., e.g., ↗*Ḏikr*; ↗*Mawlid;* ↗*Zema*), but ↗ancestors, heroes and well known living people as well as ordinary members of society and animals may also be praised in S. Among the ↗Maale of southern Ethiopia, praise and benediction are the main S. themes in all situations. The younger members of society praise their elders with ↗music, and, in return, the elders bless the younger members (Ferran 2005).

For the many agro-pastoralist cultures in Ethiopia, many praise S. are related to farming and herding activities. In their S., the ↗Arsi Oromo praise the cattle, the horses, the land and their ancestors, which are all central to their culture. Men can sing alone or gather together on happy occasions after a harvest, in a bar or during a ↗wedding to praise the cattle (*faaruu loonii*) or the horses (*faaruu farda*), especially when riding them to a wedding (Qashu 2006, 2009). For the Western ↗Gurage, S. related to agro-pastoral activities can be divided in sub-categories: S. dedicated to the ↗*ənsät*, to cows, bulls and veals (Ǝnnämor: *are*, *womfir* and *mägära*), to the plough of the land (*yətshud däs*) and to the cut of the grass (*yəfwatš däs*; Kruczynski 2004).

A major theme of S. all over Ethiopia is praise in honour of those who could obtain special achievments or benedictions. Praise S. can be dedicated to the spiritual beings of the Western Gurage and the Oromo pantheon, for the specific help they gave to people: the fertility of women, land or cattle, the strength of warriors, etc. Among the ↗Arsi, these S. among other spiritual repertoires are those called ↗*ateete.* They are generally sung by a group of women, praying to the female deity or to ↗Waaqa for many reasons: for rain (↗Rainmaking), to resolve conflict, security or peace, for a successful ↗birth, to motivate those going to war, to help women in difficulty, for a newborn cow, etc. (Qashu 2006). Human beings can also be praised for their positive action in favour of the group. Until the conquest of the southern Ethiopia among many ethnic groups, e.g., among the Western Gurage, a person who raided cattle outside his group or who successfully defended his family, lineage or clan against a foreign aggressor was praised on his return home for this particular deed. Repetition of such actions led to the composition of S., listing those deeds for special rememberance. These were performed during his feast of merit (s. ↗Meritorious complex) where he received a specific warrior-title or during mourning. S. of this type praise a lineage or a clan by listing its most famous heroes (Kruczynski 2004).

S. that praise heroes are found all over Ethiopia. They are known as ↗*fukkära* and *qärärto* (or ↗*šəlläla)* in Amhara regions, as *fakar* and *geerarsa* in Oromo, as *gerarsa* in ↗Wälaytta, ↗Gamo and ↗Gofa, as *merto* or *sorayto* in Maale, as *merta* in ↗Hamär (Strecker 1979) as *merat* in Arbore and as *mäläsay fäqär* in ↗Harari; they are also sung by the ↗Ñaŋatom (Tornay 2001), the ↗Añwaa and the ↗Nuer.

Most heroic S. are monodic and associated with hero worship; transmission of oral history and reinforcement of group identity are facilitated by these S. Among the Arsi, a *qondala* (male official hero who killed an enemy or a wild animal) can sing about several themes, including the history of his clan and family ancestors, the general history of the area, his personal heroic exploits, war, his lovers, etc. His unaccompanied solos often alternate with *faaruu loonii* (cattle praising S.), and are characterized by their descending lines, their fast singing and their use of poetic speech (such as metered verses, rhyme, alliteration, consonance, assonance, parallelism, etc.), allowing the singer to create poetic verse that flows with ease (Qashu 2008). Among the Western Gurage, each clan possesses a specific corpus of heroic praise S. Such S. can be divided into three main categories: male or female solo S. composed for the occasion of a man's heroic deed; solo/choir S. praising one or many heroes of a specific clan, relating the most important political events of the clan's past; and responsorial female S. composed of verses about war or ↗weddings, with refrains that mention all the heroes of a specific lineage or clan. Most of the time, all three types of S. can be accompanied by the ↗*atamo*. During the 20th cent. this tradition has given birth to S. praising men for their action as lawyers defending the interest of their group in front of the Ethiopian tribunals, which shows that the tradition of singing praises is subject to constant variation and evolution (Kruczynski 2004, 2008).

Among the ↗Mağangir the *sanza* (s. ↗Instruments, musical) is used to accompany the S. in order to encourage the warriors to fight, particularly against the Dinka. The Nuer people sing accompanied by several *sanza* during night ceremonies called *Dempire*, in order to celebrate one of the spirits of the night, the Mgundeng, using responsorial S. in which a soloist who plays the *sanza* answers the assembly (Lacombe 2006). Among the Hamär, S. of the ancestors (*aᵓeke gadi*) recall occasions of historical importance, transmitting texts that narrate the past and serve to bless the community attending the performance (Strecker 1979).

Among the Amhara, joust and heroic S. mix together on festive occasions. *Qärärto* is the favorite genre of the Amhara peasantry, especially in ↗Goğğam. It is a S. of joust and defiance performed mostly by men on holidays, weddings and collective harvesting. There is a unique non-measured melodic line (*zema*), fluid and highly ornamented, interrupted by voice register breaks (*qəlaṣ*) and recto tono passages (*qäs bəlo*). Each utterance corresponds to one poem (*gəṭəm*), and requires a short introduction (*azmač*). The voice is nasal and high pitched. Each singer takes his turn and sometimes carries on with a *fukkära*, a poetry recitation or improvisation, recited or sung very rapidly. Though informal, the competition is real and the stakes high: talent and ablility are evaluated and commented on, the performances being a basis for their courage and reputation. Excited by alcohol, singers often brandish wooden sticks or rifles, feigning aggression and glorying in being heroes. Such performances led to *qärärto* being defined as war S. in the literature (Morand 2004, 2008, 2010).

During Arsi weddings praises are sung for the bride and groom and for their fertility. When the bride leaves her mother's house, mothers can sing *hobbee damee* to encourage and praise her as she goes. Once the bride and groom return to the groom's home, the women in his family greet them with S. about the couple's beauty and happiness: *ašoo ašilaa* ('groom and bride') and *fay fayoo* (beautified; Qashu 2004; 2009).

Harari wedding S. (*bäläču fäqär*), usually performed by women in solo (*salley*), in duet (*kotankot* and *ǧaliyei*), or collectively (*därsi*) and accompanied by *däf* tambourine, ↗*käräbu* drums, and ↗*käbäl* idiophones, generally praise the married couple and their families. Each phase of the ceremony is accompanied by specific S. which are performed in a different manner according to the singers' social status and ability.

Identity and culture in songs

S. are a means of creating cultural identity. Subtle musical differentiation between ↗Agäw, Betä Əsraᵓel, Christian and Muslim communities as developed historically in the Christian highlands is an example among many others (Tourny 2007). Among the ↗Arbore, music and lyrics are considered important keys to understanding historical processes, relating to identity and the dynamics of war and peace. S. texts in Arbore form an exclusive body of oral history. Most S. are topical, addressing morals and values (e.g., praise, condemnation, devotion) by recounting historical and present events and the people associated with them. They are always embedded in historical contexts and are both explicit and poetic. While mentioning specific people and places they make use of a rich body of metaphor. The content of these S. are common knowledge, therefore performance of only parts of the text evokes the whole (Gabbert 2006; 2008).

The Oromo also use S. to construct and reaffirm group identity. Through the verses and references to topics such as everyday life, history and ancestors, they reiterate important cultural elements and the elders pass information on to the younger members of society. For example, when the men of one clan go to get the bride from another clan, the involved group (*hamoomota*) sings of the clan's exploits while on their way to get the bride and the dowry, which can be seen as a means of reinforcing clan unity (Qashu 2008, 2009).

S. are used in many contexts of daily life as a means of cultural reinforcement, of communication and of negotiation during times of peace and war. In some societies, wedding S. and dances are a means of consolidating group unity and cultural identity. Among the Arsi, men who go to get the bride sing of clan unity (also *hamoomota*) while women inside and near the house help the bride make the psychological transition through the crying S. (*baye-bayee*, 'departure S.') and through her friends crying over her departure (*tartarrii birraa*, 'until spring, perhaps'). Outside, a third group in society, the youths, dance while singing of typical youth topics such as school, boys, different kinds of personal or family problems and the departure of the bride, singing *tiirii* and *šiišiikaa* (Qashu 2004).

Among the Western Gurage, weddings (*ağäbänyä*) include two types of S. The first one are S. generally performed by a group of young girls. These recreational S. focus on weddings exclusively, on the beauty of the bride, on the complementarities of the engaged couple, etc. The second type is performed by two married women. These S. are presented in two parts: the saddling of the bride's horse before her departure from her parent's home, and a list of warriors belonging to her husband's clan she will be integrated in (Kruczynski 2004).

In Harär, S. are called *gey fäqär* ('S. of the city'). Texts and melodies are highly permeable and may be adapted to the circumstances; different themes may be mixed within the same song: most frequently texts concern religion, love, friendship, praise, marriage and family life and, above all, the city of Harär, its culture and the surrounding countryside. S. texts may also describe the conditions in which they are performed or contain jokes, family genealogies, historical and religious parables, proverbs, aphorisms; they may also include riddles as well as sacred hymns, prayers, blessings, paraphrases of religious texts and of ancient literary manuscripts (↗ *Masnoy*). Harari S. thus convey a significant part of the local heritage and cultural identity. Their performance requires specific skills such as instrumental technique, textual improvisation, recollection and adjustment of a shared poetic and musical oral heritage. In the 1950s to 1970s, popular groups called *mugad* were musically active in Harär. More recently, Harari pop musicians reached the market with S. on topical themes such as pacifism, water scarcity, home-diaspora relationships and the preservation of Harari cultural and religious identity.

Poetry and songs

In many societies all over Ethiopia, S. and poetry are strictly interconnected. In Harär, e.g., *fäqär* is a polysemic term indicating S. and poetry, as well as other activities of entertainment. As in many other cultures, S. texts and melodies are not considered as separate entities but as a unit. Verses and couplets of *gey fäqär* are synthetic and dense; signification is conveyed through poetically inspired metaphors and infused with religious and moral advice. Rhymes, assonances, fixed formulas and non-significant syllables (*wa, le, wey*) are widely employed. Poetic intensity and subject range may vary according to circumstances and performers; improvisation and composition are always open to new themes. The most popular couplets are played recurrently in songs, combined and juxtaposed with fixed or improvised verses through formulaic procedures (Sartori 2008).

Oromo S. are mainly monodic, with a single melodic and rhythmic formula that is repeated; they are sung in choirs that alternate, with verses that have a specific amount of syllables. As with many other cultures, most Oromo verses are only understandable within the cultural context, as the verses are steeped in references to local history, the clan, the ancestors, the landscape, the cattle, and other animals or cultural items, e.g., a milk container (*barree*). With their strong tradition of herding cattle, many Oromo S. refer to the spatial and temporal setting of spending time outdoors with the animals (Qashu 2006, 2008).

Among the Amhara joyous events are also celebrated with S. *Zäfän* are festive songs, often combined with dance, that can be performed on holidays (in the church yard after the ceremony, and later on at home), and weddings, as well as by children on informal occasions. The repertoire consists of fixed melodies built on a call and response pattern between a single singer and a choir, accompanied by hand clapping and sometimes by the ↗ *käbäro* drum. Both men and women can sing and dance, and there is as yet no evidence of any clear differentiation according to circumstances. The soloist sings a short poem (*gəṭəm*) that fits with the *zema* (melodic line) of the *zäfän*. The choir then either repeats the poem or sings a short refrain (*azmač*). Collective joy and exuberance are the main features of this genre.

In most of the Maale S., lyrics consist of very short sentences, phrases or isolated words which are enunciated one after another without logical links between them (Ferran 2002: 187). The singers use different literary techniques to praise their elders: they make allusion to their clan, their special bond-friends, and their heroic (war or hunting) deeds, etc. Unmarried singers can also seduce their suitors by S. To do so, they sing indirect messages to their lovers: they praise the clan, the region and the friends of their lovers, they invite them to come with them in the bush, they metaphorically compare love and the lovers to the sweetness of honey, etc. Last but not least, mourning is expressed by S.: *kaye* is one of the techniques used to praise the deceased persons.

Themes of children's songs

In every culture, children express themselves through music while they play. Among the Harari, S. performed by mothers and children together as well as lullabies (*ušurur*) are considered as *wiğ mätfeqär*. Ethiopian lullabies present a vast musical and textual variety. Among the Səlṭe, lullabies (*ororo*) may include historical verses; in Eastern Ethiopia, the Somali perform lullabies called *ololo* or *hobey*. S. often accompany recreational and educational games and may present differences according to the children's age and sex; specific S. are also associated with annual events (during the *Ašura* feast children play *weršato*) stages in child growth (a baby's first steps are accompanied by *tatti tamätti* nursery rhyme) and the daily routine (on their way home, children sing *gar korärna* or *miša gar*; Sartori 2008). Among the Oromo, lullabies are known as *šororo*. Oromo children play riddle games such as *hibbo*, which can be followed by cattle praising S. (*faaruu loonii*). When children are with their older siblings and parents, they also try to learn some of the S. their elders sing (Qashu 2006).

↗Azmari; ↗Lalibeločč

Src.: Abdulmuhaymin Abdunassir, **ሀረሪ፡ ጌይ፡ ፊቀር** (*Haräri Gey Fäqär*, 'Songs of the City of Harär'), Addis Ababa 1995; Enrico Cerulli, "Canti amarici di ieri", in: *A Francesco Gabrieli. Studi orientalistici offerti nel sessantesimo compleanno dai suoi colleghi e discepoli*, Roma 1964 (Studi pubblicati a cura della Scuola Orientale 5), 61–69; Id., "Canti amarici delle corti e delle campagne", in: David Cohen (ed.), *Mélanges Marcel Cohen*, La Haye 1970 (Janua Linguarum Series major 27), 415–23; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Canti popolari tigrai", *ZA* 17, 1903, 23–52; 18, 1904, 320–86; 19, 1906, 288–341; Id., "Poemetto lirico tigrai per la battaglia di Addi Chelekà", in: Carl Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigten Geburtstag* (*2. März 1906*) *gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern und in ihrem Auftrag*, Giessen 1906, vol. 2, 925–39; Id., *Proverbi tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942 (Collezione scientifica e documentaria dell'Africa italiana 5); Id., "Raconti e canti Bileni", in: *Actes da XIV Congès International des Orientalistes, Alger, 1905, IV^{e} section, deuxième partie*, Paris 1907, 331–94; Id., "Aethiopica 22. Il canto tigrai su Deggiac Dānges", *RSO* 9, 1923, 464; Feisal Abdi Hassen, **ዚሀረሪ፡ ዊጅ፡ መትፊቀራች** (*Ziharäri Wiğ Mätfäqärač*, 'Harari Children's Songs'), Addis Abäba 2002; Ignazio Guidi, "Le canzoni Geez-Amariña in onore di re Abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4^{a}, 5, 1889, 53–66; Haile Gabre Kristos, "Poesia e canti popolari Tigrini", in: *PICES* 4, 2, 155–85; Murad Kamil, *Amharische Kaiserlieder*, Wiesbaden 1957 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 32, 4), passim; LitPEA, vol. 3 and 4; Enno Littmann, *Abessinische Klagelieder*, Tübingen 1948; Id – E. Nägelsbach, "Amharische Tanzlieder der Galla", *ZSem* 4, 1925, 300–10; Wolf Leslau, "Amharic Love Songs", *Paideuma* 36, 1990, 157–72; Id., "The Farmer in Chaha Song", *Africa* 34, 3, 1964, 230–42; Id., "Chansons Harari", *RSE* 6, 1947, 130-61; Claire Lacombe, *Les archives sonores de l'Institute of Ethiopian Studies: dépouillement, inventaire, analyse des bandes de piano à pouces de la région de Gambela, Ethiopie*, 2 vols., M.A. thesis, Université Jean Monnet, Saint Etienne 2005–06; Ead., "Les bandes magnétiques de musiques traditionnelles des archives à l'Institute of Ethiopian Studies: état des lieux, projets de valorisation, proposition d'analyse", *AE* 23, 2008, 217–29; Mohamed Ibrahim Suleyman, **ቀተብቲ፡ ሙዳይ** (*Qätäbti Muday*, 'Basket of Remembrance'), Addis Abäba 1997.

Lit.: Abdulmuhaymin Abdunassir – Ilaria Sartori, "Collaborative Research on the Songs of the City", *African Study Monographs, Suppl.* 41, 119–31, in preparation; Hugo Ferran, *Les orchestres de flûtes chez les Maale du Sud-Ouest éthiopien*, M.A. thesis, Université Paris VIII, 2002; Id., *Le patrimoine musical Maale*, DEA thesis, EHESS, Paris 2003; Id., *CD Music of the Maale* (*Southern Ethiopia – Praises and Blessings*), Maison des Cultures du Monde, Inedit W 260120, Paris 2005; Echi Christina Gabbert, "Metamorphosis of a Karmet Song in Arbore", in: Ivo Strecker (ed.), *The Persils of Face*: *Essays on Cultural Contact, Respect and Self-esteem in Southern Ethiopia*, Münster – Hamburg – London 2006 (Mainzer Beiträge zur Afrika Forschung 10), 269–87; Ead., "Narrated Identities or the Said and the Sung. Praise and Condemnation of Self and Others in Arbore Song Poetics", *AE* 23, 2008, 259–80; Ead., "Arbore Soundscape-Remapping Arbore through Music", in: *PICES* 15, 399–405; Arnaud Kruczynski, "Typologie de la source, chronologie de l'objet d'étude. L'exemple des chansons du clan des Ädïbïrjära", *Hypothèses* 1, 2003, Paris 2004, 147–58; Id., "Une histoire chantée de l'Ouest Guragé", *AE* 23, 2008, 199–216; Katell Morand, *Musique de bergers en pays Amhara* (*Andassa, Gojjam*), M.A. thesis, Université Paris X, Nanterre 2004; Ead., "Chanter pour soi: la tïzïta du berger", *AE* 23, 2008, 45–59; Ead., "Fragments de vie: quand les bergers se racontent par la musique", in: Gabriella D'Agostino – Mondher Kilani – Stefano Montes (eds.), *Histoires de vie, témoignages, autobiographies de terrain*: *formes d'énonciation et de textualisation*, Münster 2010, 257–72; Leila Qashu, *La musique dans le mariage Arsi Oromo*, M.A. thesis, Université Paris VIII, 2004; Ead., *Les chants des hommes Arsi Oromo en Ethiopie: du groupe à l'individu*, DEA thesis, Université Paris VIII, Saint Denis 2006; Ead., "The Individual and the Group in the Songs of Arsi Oromo Men", *AE* 23, 2008, 115–33; Ead., "The Arsi Oromo Society Viewed through its Wedding Music", in: *PICES* 16, 272–86; Ilaria Sartori, "Gey fäqär, the Songs of the City – Voices of Tradition and Transition in Harar", *AE* 23, 2008, 135–51; Ead., *Gey fäqär, il canto della città. Repertori vocali femminili nella comunità islamica di Harar*, Ph.D. thesis, La Sapienza University, Roma 2008; William A. Shack – Habte Mariam Marcos, *Gods and Heroes*: *Oral Tradi-*

tions of the Gurage of Ethiopia, Oxford – London 1974; IVO STRECKER, *Musik der Hamar, Südäthiopien*, Museum Collection Berlin (West), 1979 [CD]; TIMKEHET TEFFERA, "A Comprehensive Analysis of Sound Recordings from Aksum, Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 15, 485–95; OLIVIER TOURNY, "Jeux et enjeux identitaires Abyssins. L'ethnomusicologue mène l'enquête", *Identités*: *Cahiers d'Ethnomusicologie* 20, 2007, 87–105; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI – TAMENE BITIMA, "On Some Masqala and Daboo Songs of the Macca Oromo", in: RICHARD J. HAYWARD – IOAN MYRRDIN LEWIS (eds.), *Voice and Power*: *the Culture of Language in North-East Africa. Essays in Honour of B.W. Andrzejewski*, London 1996, 243–56; ANNE WEDEKIND – KLAUS WEDEKIND, "Amharic Stress (Beat) Rules of Linguists, Poets and Singers: Which Beat Rules Beat Which?", in: *PICES* 11, 1, 749–64; YAQOB BEYENE, "L'imperatore Giovanni IV in alcune composizioni poetiche tigrine", *Annali IUO* 34, 1974, 1–30.

Hugo Ferran – Echi Gabbert – Arnaud Kruczynski – Claire Lacombe – Katell Morand – Leila Qashu – Ilaria Sartori – Olivier Tourny

Šonke

The Sufi shrine of Š. (ሾንኬ) is situated in the hills of Ǝssoyyä Hǝǧirota, ca. 15 km south-east of Kämisse in today's ↗Qallu *wäräda*, South Wällo zone. It is historically related to two shrines located in the neighbourhood of Harbu, in the Albukko area of Qallu, Ǧäma Nǝguś and Gäta. Ǧäma Nǝguś is the most important of the three shrines and the biggest Sufi centre in the Qallu region (↗Islamic brotherhoods).

Š. was founded by the well-known Sufi scholar and mystic (↗*Walī*), *šayḫ* Muḥammad Ǧawhar b. Ḥaydar of the Sammāniya brotherhood, popularly known as *abbayyä* Š. or Šonkǝyyä. He had deep religious knowledge and introduced the annual celebration of the Prophet's birthday (↗*Mawlid*) on a large scale for the first time in these ↗Argobba and ↗Oromo inhabited mountain retreats. After his death in 1935 (HusIslam 137), Š. was transformed from a major ↗*zāwiya* (or *ḫalwa*) into a shrine for the veneration of his grave.

The mausoleum is separated from the ↗mosque and the other buildings by a stonewall. The grounds of the enclosure are regarded as ritually clean and sacred. The office of the custodian of the shrine (*ḫalīfa* or ↗*aggafari*) is inherited by the eldest son who is said to have received the power of blessing and of working miracles from the *walī*. He organizes the yearly ↗pilgrimage (*ziyāra* or *wärra*), accommodates pilgrims and acts as a functionary for the *mawlid*.

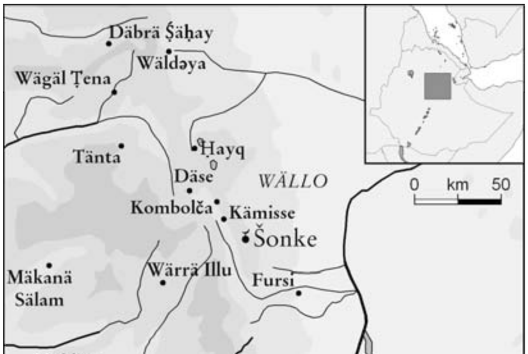
At present, Š., like other shrines, has a resident ↗*šayḫ* who teaches the ↗Qurʾan and exegesis (*tafsīr*), Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), theology of the oneness of Allāh (*tawḥīd*), and the *Ḥadīṯ* to itinerant students (*däräsa* or *qallǝčča*). Such *šayḫs* live on the products of their own plots of land cultivated by their students or community members. They also depend on grain contributions from peasants who search for blessing (*baraka*) for the well-being of their families.

Š. attracts hundreds of pilgrims annually from Qallu and from northern Šäwa, especially during the *mawlid* in the third Islamic month (*Rabīʿ al-awwal*). The large majority of them are Muslim cultivators, traders, weavers, craft workers, religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) and itinerant students (*däräsa* or *qallǝčča*) but Christian Amhara from the areas of Gǝdǝm, Qäwät, Yǝfrata, and Anṣokǝya are also known to visit the site.

Adherents of Šonkǝyyä make the journey to Š. to fulfil a vow (*nazr*, cp. ↗*sǝlät*) or in return for a favour already granted through the intercession of the saint. The shrine is visited for a variety of needs (*ḥāǧa*). The pilgrims seek protection against different types of affliction through ↗prayer (*duʿāʾ*).

The pilgrims usually arrive a few days before the main event. They either stay with residents of Š. or in the nearby hamlets of Färäǧa, Mägaräǧa and Ṭollaḥa, or set up their temporary shelters in the open space surrounding the permanent structures. These consist of a mosque and the saint's grave at the residence of the shrine's custodian.

In Š., only men are active participants of the cult of the saint while women provide the audience for rituals and feature prominently in the background. On the eve of the festival, animals brought by the participants are slaughtered and the meat distributed. Pilgrims first circumambulate and prostrate



themselves in front of the saint's tomb (*ḍarīḥ*) and kiss the walls of the main building.

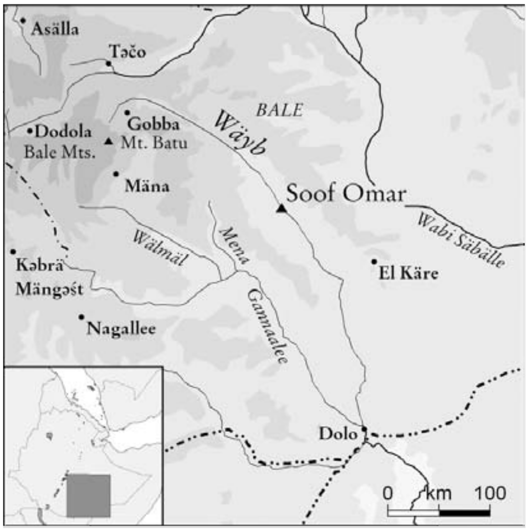
The principal ceremony consists of the recitation of litanies and panegyric poems that extol, glorify, and honour the Prophet and *abbayyä* Š. and his immediate family members. During the ceremonies some people may have mystical experiences and enter into an altered state of consciousness. Those suffering from mental derangement and those possessed by evil ↗spirits (cp. ↗Possession cults), as well as the most emotionally involved devotees, cry out and fall into trance, which is regarded as a physical form of the struggle of the evil spirit to be released. This is followed by a visit to the residence of the custodian of the shrine where pilgrims hand in their gifts (*hadīya* or *ǧäbata*) in cash or kind after bowing, and kissing his right foot as an expression of humility and in search of the mystic's *baraka* through the medium of the *ḫalīfa*. By the end of the third day, participants start to leave the Š. shrine after exchanging blessings with shrine custodians and making vows to return to next year's pilgrimage.

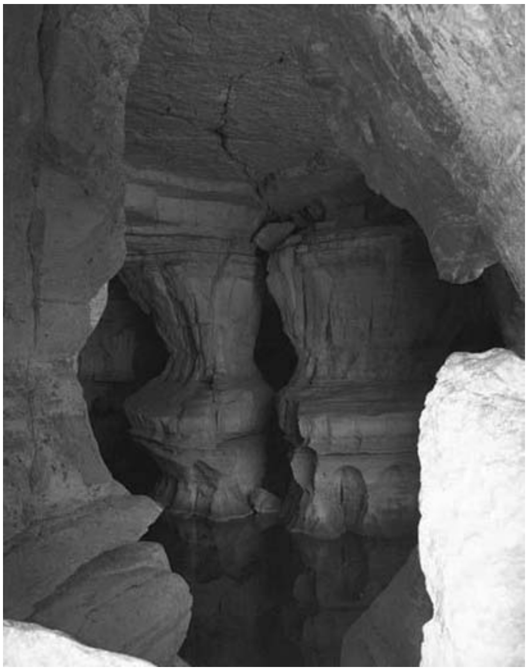
Lit.: ABBEBE KIFLEYESUS, *Tradition and Transformation: the Argobba of Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 2006 (AeF 66), s. index; HusIslam 70, 137, 144; HUSSEIN AHMED, "*Shayh* Jawhar b. Haydar b. ᶜAlī: a Mystic and Scholar of Shonkē, Southeast Wallo, Ethiopia", *AE* 20, 2004, 47–56.

Abbebe Kifleyesus

Soof Omar

The caves of S.O. were carved by the ↗Wäyb River which originates on the slopes of Mount Batu, ↗Bale. Over thousands of years, the river carved out the caves of S.O. further downstream.





Inside the Soof Omar caves; photo 2007, courtesy of Kim Smith

The river first flows over early and middle cenzoic volcanic traps. At Ayyo Makoo it enters into the cave system, flowing under the Hulučа natural bridge (ca. 1,300 m A.S.L.) and under recent mesozoic calcareous layers. It rises up again downstream after a 16 km underground course: it is thought to be one of the largest underground rivers in the world. It flows through narrow corridors and caves the exploration of which started during the Italian occupation in the 1930s.

The first cave is used as a mosque, the second one is known as the Chamber of Columns with balconies and 20 m high limestone stalagtites (Gerster 1974: 66, n. 42); a third cave is said to have been excavated by God to hide the Muslim saint ↗Soof Omar (Guida 467f.). Speleologists have surveyed the main course of the Wäyb River but have not yet explored the whole ramifications of corridors and caves.

The Arsi Oromo go on pilgrimage to the place where Soof Omar is believed to have hidden himself from the "pagans". This pilgrimage is less known and attended than the pan-Oromo pilgrimage to ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn. Only a few tourists visit the barely accessible site, with its imposing karstic landforms. Coming off the Ginir to Goro road, a poor track leads to the place where local guides collect entrance fees. A few travel agencies offer a visit to the caves in addition to the Bale National Park.

Lit.: Marc Aubert – Luigi Cantamessa – Nicolas Righetti, *Éthiopie, berceau de l'humanité*, Genève 2000, 88f.; Philip Briggs, *Ethiopia*, St. Peter ^{3}2002, 416ff.; EMAtlas; Georg Gerster et al., *L'Éthiopie, toit de l'Afrique*, Zürich – Freiburg im Breisgau 1974; Frances Linzee Gordon, *Lonely Planet*: *Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti*, Victoria 2000, 251f.; *Guida* 467f.; MesfGeogr.

Alain Gascon

Soof Omar

According to the oral traditions of the Arsi-Oromo S.O. (or *ṣūfī* ᶜUmar), originated from Təgray from where he moved as a Muslim missionary to the region of ↗Bale (Braukämper 2002: 156). The term *soof* (*ṣūfī*) which is commonly added to his name indicates that he was a member of a brotherhood associated with mysticism. It is not specified, however, of which particular *ṭarīqa* (↗Islamic brotherhoods) he was a member. It can only be stated that the Qādirīya seemed to have been most influential in the ↗Bale region.

Apart from stories of miracles hardly any concrete facts have been transmitted about the life and the deeds of S.O. Poems and hyms in praise of S.O. are composed and sung by the Oromo Muslim faithful (Attalläläčč Dässaläññ 1981/82). As oral tradition relates, and according to an Arabic hagiography of *šayḫ* Nūr ↗Ḥusayn, S.O. was the favourite disciple of that holy man, whose activity in the Bale region can probably be dated to around 1300 (Braukämper 2002: 131; Gori 1996: 67f., 74). However, it appears doubtful whether he was Nūr Ḥusayn's contemporary. In the genealogy of the Sakmarra clan of the ↗Arsi, who claim descent from S.O., a person Sakmarra (corruption of *šayh* Umär) is to be found only 11 to 13 generations ago. Even if we take into account that the genealogies are considerably telescoped, it seems hardly justifiable to date him as far back as the 13th/14th cent. S.O. is reported to have died in Hamarra in the Gololča district of Bale. The oral data suggest that the veneration of S.O., presumably as an appendix to the *šayh* Nūr Ḥusayn cult, did not commence before the second half of the 19th cent., when Islamization among the Arsi-Oromo was advancing. A locality with natural caves created by the Wäyb River in northern Bale was named S.O. and became his most important place of worship.

Src.: Attalläläčč Dässaläññ, **የሶፍ፡ ዑማር፡ ያዐምልኮ፡ ግጥሞች** (*YäSof ᶜUmar yaᵓamləko gəṭəmočč*, 'The Poetry in Veneration of Sof ᶜUmar'), B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1974 A.M. [1981/82 A.D.]

Lit.: Ulrich Braukämper, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia*: *Collected Essays*, Münster 2004, 83, 131f., 136, 156, 162, 169; Alessandro Gori, "First Studies on the Texts of Shaykh Ḥusayn's Hagiographies", *RSO* 70, fasc. 1–2, 1996 [1997], 53–82, here 59, 63f., 67f., 73; Terje Østebø, *Localising Salafism. Religious Change among Oromo Muslims in Bale, Ethiopia*, Stockholm 2008, 80f.

Ulrich Braukämper

Sooro ↗Hadiyya

Sorceres ↗Magic/Magicians

Sorghum

S. is one of the most important grains in sub-Saharan Africa. The species of S. cultivated in Africa are:

a) *Sorghum bicolor*, a primitive type grown in western and northern Ethiopia;
b) *Sorghum guinea*, a form grown in higher rainfall areas but in Ethiopia only in Gamo Gofa;
c) *Sorghum caudatum*, grown in the lowlands of western and southern Ethiopia;
d) *Sorghum Durra aethiopicum*, grown in the eastern and northern highlands of Ethiopia and Eritrea (Harlan et al. 1972: 173).

In Ethiopia, S. *bicolor* (Amh. **ዘንጋዳ**, *zängada*), a primitive species that closely resembles the wild forms, is grown on a small scale in all areas where S. is cultivated. Some claim that it was originally introduced from the Near East. Harlan (1976) and his colleagues, however, postulate that S. was first domesticated in the savannah zone from Chad to the Sudan, based on historical biogeographical evidence. They reject the earlier theory that S. was domesticated in Ethiopia, and indeed specifically state that there is no evidence to support an Ethiopian origin (Stemler – Harlan – de Wet 1975: 333).

The *bicolor* type has two major subspecies, one with longer grains that remain separate when boiled in water. The food made of it is called *nəfro*, which is usually eaten as snack. This long-grain S. becomes too soggy or crumbles too easily when made into bread. The S. *bicolor subspecies aethiopicum*, or short-grain type, has shorter grains that become sticky when boiled in water. In Ethiopia, the *aethiopicum* became the exclusive type cultivated and consumed (Buzi 1938: 124; Harlan 1969: 311; Huffnagel 1961: 21).

S. cultivation is labour intensive. However, under favourable conditions S. produces a good yield. S. is first ground and then made into bread. Preferences differ from one area to the next. For example, the preferred variety in the lowlands is the short type lacking gluten and producing a very distinctive flavour. The long-grain S. does not taste good to the ᶜAfar, whereas it is the preferred S. in the Amhara highlands. In the lowlands, people often say that they have not eaten until they have eaten S. ↗*ənǧära*, which is often associated with the lowland collective identity as it constitutes the main ↗food. However, for the Amhara, S. grains are a symbol of poverty, in contrast to ↗*ṭef* (Fekade Azeze 1998: 145, 192).

S. is rich in symbolism and considered beautiful (cp., e.g., Heller 1999: 230). S. stalks are not only used for decorative purposes and protection against the evil eye (↗*Buda*), but also have ritual values. Popped S., e.g., is served in auspicious occasions such as the ↗coffee ceremony. Furthermore, harvest rituals are a major cultural institution, an important agent in maintaining the significance of S. Among the Amhara, these rituals are enacted in a cosmic cycle of ↗gift exchange during which new crops of S. are offered in return for the original seeds given by God. In fact, the symbolic power of S. derives to a large degree from the daily commensality and discourse among members of a social group. Similarly, S. stems (*ṭənqəš*, *Sorghum vulgare saccharatum*) are particularly popular with children.

↗Agriculture; ↗Plants, cultivated

Lit.: HERBERT G. BAKER, *Plants and Civilisation*, Belmont 1970, 102, 151; ISAJA BALDRATI, *Trattato delle coltivazioni tropicali e sub-tropicali*, Milano 1950, 123; VINCENZO BUZI, *Agricoltura tropicale e sub-tropicale dell'Africa Italiana*, Firenze 1938, 124ff.; EMILIO CHIOVENDA, *La collezione dei cereali della Colonia Eritrea …*, Roma 1912, 20–48, here 27; RAFFAELE CIFERRI et al., *I cereali dell'Africa Italiana*, Firenze 1939, 211–18, here 215; E.G. DAMON, *The Cultivated Sorghums of Ethiopia*, Dire Dawa 1962 (Experiment Station Bulletin no. 6), 11; OLIVER DAVIES, "Tropical African Cultigens from Shongweni Excavations, Natal", *Journal of Archaeological Science* 4, 1977, 153–62, here 159; FEKADE AZEZE, *Unheard Voices*: *Drought, Famine and God in Ethiopian Oral Poetry*, Addis Ababa 1998; JACK R. HARLAN, "Ethiopia: a Centre of Diversity", *Economic Botany* 23, 1969, 309–14; ID. – JAN M.J. DE WET – ANN STEMLER, "Plant Domestication and Indigenous African Agriculture", in: ID. – JAN M.J. DE WET – ANN STEMLER (eds.), *Origins of African Plant Domestication*, The Hague 1976, 3–19; ID. – ANN STEMLER, "The Races of Sorghum in Africa", *ibid*. 465–78; ID. – JAN M.J. DE WET – ANN STEMLER, "A Simplified Classification of Cultivated Sorghum", *Crop Science* 12, 1972, 172–76; K.W. HILU – JAN M.J. DE WET – JACK R. HARLAN, "Archaeobotanical Studies of *Eleusine coracana*", *American Journal of Botany* 66, 1979, 330–33, here 331; ANN STEMLER – JACK R. HARLAN – JAN M.J. DE WET, "Evolutionary History of Cultivated Sorghum in Ethiopia", *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club* 102, 1975, 325–33; H.P. HUFFNAGEL, *Agriculture in Ethiopia*, Rome 1961; JAMES MCCANN, *The Political Economy of Dura*: *Frontier Agriculture on Ethiopia's Mazéga*, Boston 1988, 8; ID., "A Dura Revolution and Frontier Agriculture in Northwest Ethiopia, 1898–1920", *Journal of African Studies* 31, 1990, 121–34, here 126, 128; HAROLD F. MOONEY, *A Glossary of Ethiopian Plant Names*, Dublin 1963, 25; WORLD FOOD REPORT, *UN World Food Report*, 2008, 31.

Abbebe Kifleyesus

Śost lədät ↗Ṣägga

South Arabia ↗Arabia

South Arabian script ↗Epigraphic South Arabia

Spain, relations with

Contacts between the Iberian peninsula and Christian Ethiopia date at least to the early Solomonid period. *Aṣe* ↗Wədəm Räᶜad ("Re Voddomaradeg") in the early 14th cent. sent an embassy "ad regem Hispaniarum", of which only few traces are recorded, offering an alliance against the Muslims (Beckingham 1989: 341, 343; Fiaccadori 2009: 29; cp. ↗Italy, relations with). It was probably following this that ↗Prester John was first located in Ethiopia on a map of 1339 drawn by Angelino Dulcert in Mallorca (Beckingham 1989: 340f.; in a later variant of the *Letter* of Prester John "Voddomaradeg" was identified with the Prester; Ullendorff – Beckingham 1982: 7f.). In 1427/28 *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq sent envoys with a letter to king ↗Alfonso V of Aragon in Valencia, suggesting a marriage alliance and asking for irrigation experts. In his answer the king proposed a wedding with princess Joana d'Urgell, and he instructed his ambassadors to look for the possibility of an Ethiopian marriage for Infante Don Pedro. However, the ambassadors, Phelip Faiadel and Pere de Bonia, never reached Ethiopia, as Alfonso says in a letter to *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob of 1450. This Ethiopian ruler had sent a diplomatic mission, pompously received in Naples (newly belonging to Alfonso's realm) in July 1450. In return, the king of Aragon sent two missions to Ethiopia, led by Miguel Desiderio in 1452, and Antoni Martínez in 1453, who also did not arrive (for the 1428 memorandum for the Aragonese ambassadors and a description of the 1450 reception of the Ethiopian Embassy, s. Garretson 1993; cp. Girma Beshah – Merid Wolde Aregay 1964: 13f.; Soldevila 1925).

Individuals from S. came to the region much earlier. A funeral inscription of the ↗Dahlak islands mentions an "al-Andalusī" (5th cent. H. = 11th cent. A.D.), i.e. a Muslim originating from southern S. before the Christian conquest of Andalusia (Schneider 1983). The 12th-cent. report of the Jewish traveller ↗Benjamin of Tudela indicates a possible visit of the Ethiopian region. Also, the medieval history of a Spanish Catholic saint found its way to Ethiopia. The Miracles of Mary (↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam*) contain passages referring to St. Däqsyos of "Ṭəlṭəlya", who has been identified as St. Ildefonso de Toledo. A 13th-cent. French version of the story (the saint's name now being distorted to St. Hyldefund[us]) was translated into Arabic (there: "al-Defsyus") and came to Ethiopia through Egypt (the *q* in the name resulting from an erroneous reading of *f*). The Ethiopic version is dated to the 15th cent. (CerMaria 305–38).

In the 16th to 17th cent. S. was again involved in the region, first indirectly through ↗Portugal and then directly during the union with Portugal (1580–1640). A member of the Portuguese expedition of Christovão da ↗Gama, Miguel de ↗Castanhoso, was of Spanish origin, as well as a few Jesuit missionaries (↗Jesuits) who worked in Ethiopia (Andrés de ↗Oviedo, and the most influential Pedro ↗Páez). Moreover, the Spanish silver dollar, coined in Peru and other Spanish colonies (cp. Schienerl 1982), became the dominant ↗currency in the Indian Ocean and was widely used in the Horn of Africa until the massive import of the ↗Maria Theresa thaler in the 19th cent. For example, Spanish dollars were used in the Ethio-Sudanese border slave trade in the early 19th cent. (↗Slavery), followed by a flow of Spanish dollars into the northern Ethiopian highlands. The Təgrayan *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase gave a large sum of Spanish silver dollars to an Egyptian embassy sent by the Egyptian ruler ↗Muḥammad ᶜAlī. The coin also influenced local terms for money in the north; the Arabic *riyāl* (Kunama: *iriyani*, 'money', equivalent to ↗*qərš*) is derived from the Spanish term real (Smidt 2009).

In the 19th cent., just before the inauguration of the Suez Canal, S. briefly contemplated some sort of presence in the Horn of Africa. In 1867/68, a Spanish military observer participated in the ↗Napier expedition (Moorehead 1962:241), and a great number of mules used by this expedition were purchased in S. During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, S. initiated a first diplomatic contact with Ethiopia. In 1880, the explorer Juan Víctor Abargués de Sostén (b. 1845, d. 1920), a resident in Egypt, was sent by the Real Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid with a letter from Alfonso XII to the Ethiopian ruler. He aimed at promoting more sympathy for the Catholics in the northern borderlands and inquired into the possibility of commercial contacts and the establishment of a Spanish enclave on the Red Sea coast (Gómez de Valenzuela 1998; Mañé Rodríguez 2005b); for a critical discussion of his partially wrong geographic descriptions s. Stecker 1884.

During the Spanish civil war, the only airplane of the short-lived Basque Republic was purchased in 1936 from *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I when Ethiopia fell into the hands of Mussolini; it was renamed *Negus* (Pankhurst 2005/06). Moreover, the "Spanish question" was an important factor pushing Great Britain to recognize the Italian conquest of Ethiopia in April 1938: in return for this recognition, Mussolini promised to retreat from S. Mussolini, however, in break of the agreement, immediately reinforced his troops in S.; however, only after ↗Eden's return to government and Italy's declaration of war on Britain and France in June 1940 (↗World War II), the recognition of the conquest of Ethiopia was withdrawn (Spencer 1984:88).

In 1951, S. established permanent diplomatic relations with Ethiopia. The first Spanish Ambassador was José Luis Florez Estrada, who presented his credentials on 19 September 1962. In 1970 *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I went to S. on a state visit and was received by General Franco. The return visit was paid by the then crown prince Juan Carlos (Asfa-Wossen Asserate 2007:306). In 1962 a Spanish Embassy was opened in Addis Abäba. Relations with Ethiopia soured, however, after the *Därg* took power. They resumed only in the 1990s and were strongly revitalized in the 2000s. The Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs visited Ethiopia in 2008, followed by a return visit by his counterpart in 2009. Within the framework of the Spanish policy towards Africa, Ethiopia is considered a High Priority Country; both countries collaborate in the Spanish international initiative "Alliance of Civilizations" and other global initiatives.

An aspect of globalization is the massive presence especially of Spanish fishery fleets at the Somali coasts in the late 1990s, with the effect of over-fishing; after years of resistance by Somali fishermen a modern form of piracy developed at the Somali coast, among others as a response against European 'fish-stealing' (Matthies 2010).

Src.: JUAN VÍCTOR ABARGUÉS DE SOSTÉN, *Notas de viaje del Señor D. J. V. Abargués de Sostén por Etiopía, Xoa, Zebul, Volo, Galas, etc.*, Madrid 1883; ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE, *Ein Prinz aus dem Hause David und warum er in Deutschland blieb*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, 306f.;

Otto Neussel, “Viage del Sr. Dn. J.V. Abargués de Sostén Comisionado por la Asociación Española para la Exploración del Africa (…)” [map, 1:2,000,000. 56 x 41.8 on], *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* 15, 2, 1883, after 321f.; Embajada de España, Cairo, archivo (documents of the Spanish consulate at Alexandria, 1881); Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid, archivo general; Real Sociedad Geográfica, Madrid, archivo.

Lit.: Charles Fraser Beckingham, “An Ethiopian Embassy to Europe c. 1310”, *JSS* 34, 2, 1989, 337–46; CerMaria 305–38; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, “Venezia, l’Europa e l’Etiopia”, in: Giuseppe Barbieri – Gianfranco Fiaccadori (eds.), *Nigra sum sed formosa. Sacro e bellezza dell’Etiopia cristiana* …, Vicenza 2009, 27–48, here 29; Peter Garretson, “A Note on Relations between Ethiopia and the Kingdom of Aragon in the Fifteenth Century”, *RSE* 37, 1993, 37-44; Girma Beshah – Merid Wolde Aregay, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations* (*1500–1632*), Lisbon 1964, 13f.; Manuel Gómez de Valenzuela, “Juan Víctor Abargués, un viajero del siglo XIX por el Alto Nilo”, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica Española* 11, 2002, 108–111; Volker Matthies, “Piratenjagd am Horn von Afrika: Politökonomische Betrachtungen zu Beute, Jägern und Gejagten”, in: Österreichisches Studienzentrum für Frieden und Konfliktlösung (ed.), *Söldner, Schurken, Seepiraten*: *Von der Privatisierung der Sicherheit und dem Chaos der “neuen” Kriege*, Wien – Berlin 2010, 75–92; Alan Moorehead, *The Blue Nile*, London 1962, 241; Montserrat Mañé Rodríguez, “El padre Pedro Páez. El primer viajero europeo conocido que cruzó el sur de Arabia”, *Arbor, Ciencia, pensamiento y cultura* 180, 711–12, 2005a, 595–616; Id., “Don Juan Víctor Abargués de Sostén y la presencia española en el Mar Rojo y Abisinia a finales del siglo XIX”, *ibid.* 2005b, 825–42; Id., “La época de los viajeros y el redescubrimiento, entre la curiosidad y la aventura (…)”, in: Joaquín María Córdoba Zoilo – María del Carmen Pérez Díez (eds.), *La aventura española en Oriente* (*1166–2006*) …, Madrid 2006, 101; Richard Pankhurst, ”The Mystery of the Basque ‘Aeroplane of the Negus’”, *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 2, 1/2, 2005/06, 227–31; Peter W. Schienerl, “Spanish-Mexican Dollars in Egypt: Currency-Raw material for Silversmiths-Ornament-Amulet”, *Ornament* 5, 3, 1982, 12–14; Madeleine Schneider, *Stèles funéraires musulmanes des îles Dahlak* (*Mer Rouge*) …, vol. 1: *Introduction, documents et indices*, vol. 2: *Tableaux et planches*, Le Caire 1983 (Textes Arabes et Études Islamiques 19/1, 3); Wolbert Smidt, “Der spanische Säulenpiaster als Vorläufer des Maria-Theresien-Thalers”, *Money Trend* 41, 4, 2 009, 152–58; Ferran Soldevila, “Els Catalans a les illes Afortunades i a la Terra de Preste Joan”, *Rivista de Catalunya* 2/5, 11, 1925, 427–37; John H. Spencer, *Ethiopia at Bay*: a *Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac, MI 1984, 86–89; Anton Stecker, “Ueber die Abyssinische Expedition des Herrn Abargues”, *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft*, 1884, 145–48; Edward Ullendorff – Charles F. Beckingham (ed., tr.), *The Hebrew Letters of Prester John*, Oxford 1982, 7f.

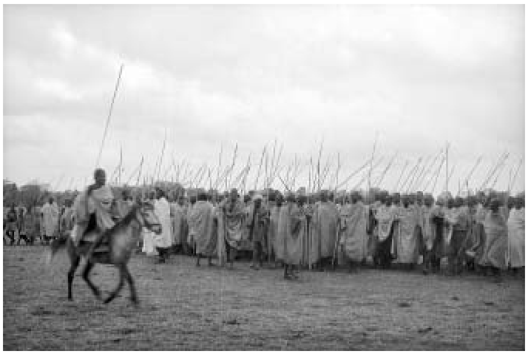
Wolbert Smidt

Spears and lances

S. and L. (Amh. ጦር, *ṭor*) are traditionally counted among the most important Ethiopian offensive, defensive, and hunting weapons. They differ in the way they are used: the S. is thrown at distant targets and it is constructed with this aim in mind (shaft thickness and length, form and length of the head [i.e. the blade with a socket or spike fastened to the shaft], sometimes with a stabilizing S.shoe); on the other hand, the L. is a thrust weapon, much more solid, and used in close combat (definition and technology s. Hirschberg 1986; Schmitz 1963: 51f.; cf. Schilde 1929: 125; Paulitschke 1893: 115f.; VSAe I, figs. 37.4, 7). S. and L. are not properly distinguished in the literature and it is often difficult to identify the differences.

Due to the perishable materials used, archaeological evidence is rare. It can be assumed that, in prehistoric times, S. were made of wood with shaft and head in one piece (Rohrer, 127, figs. x, 4). During excavations in ↗Aksum iron spearheads and lance-points presumably of two-part weapons produced in late antiquity have been found (s. Munro-Hay 1989: 221ff., figs. p. 224ff.); the “Stele of the Lances” from Aksum shows a L. (below) and a S. (above; Munro-Hay 1989: 152; MHAksum 13, fig. 2, p. 217) and an obelisk fragment shows two spearheads (CRStor pl. xxxi); the Aksumite king ↗MḤDYS is shown on a coin carrying a S.; this coin is, however, most probably a medieval forgery (s. Hahn 1996a, fig. 10; s. also ↗Coinage).

A written document from Byzantine times (Malalas XVIII, ed. Migne 1860: 670; Hahn 1996: 92 fig. 33; MHAksum 219) and the medieval description of a king’s coronation (MHAksum 164) show S. and L. as symbols of prestige and as attributes of kings and rulers. On religious ↗paintings S. and/or L. are documented in the hands of victorious saints (cp. 16th–18th cent. ↗equestrian saints; St. ↗George; PankBord fig. p. 367; Mercier 1979, figs. 16, 38; MHAksum fig. 1; Spring 1993, pl. 26). Until the 20th cent. S. were symbols of power used in rituals and ceremonials throughout Ethiopia (e.g., ↗Dizi [cp. ill. EAE vol. 2, 177], fig. “Headman’s ritual” in south-east ↗Käfa; Schmitz 1963: 91f.; among the ↗Wälaytta; s. ill. of “King’s spear (or lance)” among the ↗Amaaro in VSAe III, 46, 107f.; Amborn 1990: 79, n. 40). The imperial heavy cavalry (for “black” cavalry, s. PankBord 366f.) was equipped with sturdy L. in the 17th/18th cent. Warriors and soldiers of the ↗infantry and light ↗cavalry of the south armed themselves with S. and L. until the 20th cent. (s. Paulitschke 1893, pl. XI, fig. 32; PankEcon 551); there were short S.



Arsi council members with spears and lances, south of Kofale; photo 1972/74 by Ulrich Braukämper; courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (37-Br014-36)

for both armies such as javelins (Spring 1993: 98) or zargunchos (PankIntro 144, 164f.) and, in addition, L. for the foot soldiers.

Until the 20th cent., the S., together with the ↗shield, completed a private individual's basic equipment for fighting and ↗hunting (VSAe I, 183; VSAe III, 202; except for the *ṭiiya* ↗*waata* (↗Boorana), who use only bows and arrows, VSAe II, 135, 138; Paulitschke 1893: 113f.); in nearly all Ethiopian regions the S. was carried as a prestige object, as a symbol of freedom and bravery (Rohrer 1932: 125) and was essential as a ritual device (cp. ill. EAE vol. 2, 82; VSAe III, 70; VSAe I, 151). The value of S. and L. cannot be overestimated, as shown by rules such as the following: if an ↗Arsi broke an entire S. shaft with spearhead and S. shoe, he had to pay five cattle to the owner of the S. (VSAe I, 481).

The S. consisting of head (mostly iron, seldom ↗bamboo blade with spout) and shaft (wood, iron, bamboo) was normal in historical times; spouts and S. shoe were stabilized, decorated and protected by metal caps or metal spirals.

The metal required was mostly imported in the form of bars from ↗Egypt (↗Handicrafts, ↗Iron; Amborn 1990: 60 here n. 2; PankIntro 18); later it was also imported from ↗India and ↗Europe (cp. PankEcon) and was converted by local blacksmiths (Amborn 1990: 58–89).

The spearheads, L. points and S. shoes of the "common Ethiopian type" nearly all look the same (VSAe II, 45; PankEcon 561). However, there are exceptions for certain purposes and there are local differences in length, width and proportion: The S. of the Uraaga (southern ↗Guǧǧi; VSAe II, pl. 16, 1–3; 45) resemble the S. of the Maasai with their very long point and the long heavy shoe; ritual S. of the Guǧǧi, ↗Sidamo and Därasa (↗Gideʾo) are provided with barbs (*habaara*, VSAe II, 282); a special "holy S." (*booda*) with a wide S. shoe (*somaaya*) was used by the Arsi for ritual sacrifice (VSAe II, 503). The ↗Dorze held traditional competitions with blunt spearheads (VSAe III, 207); among the ↗Yäm S. with barbs were only used by dignitaries and proven warriors (VSAe III, pl. 25, 2); the kings of the Amaaro, ↗Limmu Ǝnnarya and Käfa preferred a two-bladed (bident) spearhead (*šefo*; Lindblom 1934: 162; VSAe III, 338). Multi-bladed ceremonial S. were common among the Burǧi-Konso (Amborn 1990: 79). The ↗ʿAfar used spearheads of high quality, leaf-shaped with blackened oval curvature inside the lower part which was divided by a clearly raised middle rib (Spring 1993: 103); the same was to be found among the ↗Ṣamay and ↗Dime (s. VSAe I, pl. 37, 7). The spearhead of the Konso with saw teeth was extremely dangerous (Spring 1993: 104; Hallpike 1972: 333).

A special S./L. variation is the harpoon whose point is fastened with a string at the upper end of the shaft and is provided with a "swimmer" (s. Hirschberg 1986: 200). The Omotic-speaking ↗Harro people on ↗Gidiččo island (Lake ↗Abbayya) used to hunt ↗hippopotamus with 3-m-long harpoons and 30-cm-long blades (VSAe II, 700, pl. 44, 2).

Src.: BaetDic; LUDOVICUS DINDORF (ed.), *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, Bonnae 1831 (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae 24) [repr. in JACQUES-PAUL MIGNE (ed.), Patrologiae cursus completus: series Graeca, vol. 97, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1860, 65–717].

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration*: *Vergleichende Untersuchung zu Spezialisten und Handwerkern in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990, 58, 60, 79, 89; PURISSIMA BENITEZ-JOHANNOT – JEAN-PAUL BARBIER, *Shields*: *African, Southeast Asia and Oceania*, Munich – London – New York 2000; CRStor pl. XXXI; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Eine axumitische Typenkopie als Dokument zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 46, 1996, 85–100, here 92; CHRISTOPHER R. HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia*, Bloomington, IN 1972, 333; WALTER HIRSCHBERG – ALFRED JAMATA (eds.), *Technologie und Ergologie in der Volkskunde*, Berlin ^{3}1986, 200; K. GERHARD LINDBLOM, "Spears with Two or More Heads, Particularly in Africa", in: EDWARD EVAN EVANS-PRITCHARD et al. (eds.), *Essays Presented to C.G. Seligman*, London 1934, 162–64; JACQUES MERCIER, *Zauberrollen aus Äthiopien*, München 1979; MHAksum 13, 164, 217, 219; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Excavations at Aksum*, London 1989, 152, 221–26; PankIntro ^{2}1982, 18, 144, 164; PankEcon ^{2}1985, 551, 561; PankBord 366f.; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, New York – London 1893, 113–16; ERNST FRIEDRICH ROHRER, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur der Amhara*, Bern 1932, 125, 127; WILLY SCHILDE, "Die Afrikanischen Hoheitszeichen", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 61, 1929, 46–152, here 125; Carl A. Schmitz, *Technologie frühzeitlicher Waffen*, Katalog, Basel 1963, 51f., 91f.; Christopher Spring, *African Arms and Armor*, Washington, D.C. 1993, 103f.; VSAe I, 151, 183, 481; VSAe II, 44f., 135, 138, 202, 282, 503; VSAe III, 46, 70, 107f., 207, 338, 700.

Ursula Hellwag

Special court

The S.c. was an institution of consular jurisdiction between 1920 and 1935. When, under *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, ↗trade between Europeans and Ethiopians increased, it became obvious that the new legal problems could not be dealt with under traditional ↗law – ↗customary law and the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*. Thus, the French minister, ↗Klobukowski, in 1908, concluded a treaty between ↗France and Ethiopia, under which all European nationals were entitled to be plaintiffs or defendants before the S.c., in order to solve conflicts arising from civil or commercial-legal disputes (↗Treaties and conventions, s. EAE vol. 5). The S.c. had to apply the law of the defendant, i.e. English or French or another European law – or the Ethiopian law whenever an Ethiopian was the defendant in a court case.

The S.c. did not come into existence until the end of World War I. In its early years the S.c., as a mixed court, was said an instrument of western dominance. However, mixed courts were of great importance to developing an international private and commercial body of law. The S.c. was composed of learned judges from European countries or from America, but in order to protect the sovereignty of Ethiopia it had to be presided over by an Ethiopian. Their names and their periods of presidency are as follows:

Blattengeta ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase 1920
Ḫaylä Suməyye 1922
Näggadras ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus 1923
Wälde Bäšah 1926
Näggadras Dästa 1927
Täsämma Däbalqe 1928
Wärqu Yəttäṭäqu 1929
Azzaž ↗Wärqənäh Ǝšäte 1929
Balambaras Qəṭaw 1930
Čärənnät 1931
Blatta ↗Ayyälä Gäbre 1932
Blattengeta ↗Loränso Taᵓəzaz 1935

This list of the twelve Ethiopian presidents from 1920 to 1935 includes some of the best known Ethiopians of that time. They had to represent their own legal tradition and culture in a dignified way in the face of heavy foreign criticism of the Ethiopian legal system; this criticism had political implications, even threatening Ethiopian independence. Often, persons were appointed who were acquainted with foreign thought and life, some of them owing their knowledge to foreign missionary education.

The following legal problems are well reflected by the court cases: human rights, contract law in general, evidence, compensation, execution of judgements and counter-claims, appellate decisions, equity, conflicts of law, problem of language, compensation for moral damages. The President of the Appellate S.c. was the Regent, *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). The cases of the Appellate S.c. had a much higher quality in composition, reasoning and conclusions.

The S.c.'s decisions often refer to traditional Ethiopian legal institutions (↗Law: Traditional legal institutions). Arbitration is mentioned very often; sometimes the case is referred for reconsideration by a group of elders (↗*Šəmagəlle*) or by members of a Court of Reconciliation, or such procedures had already been tried. Traditional law preferred to settle disputes in a friendly way and tried to avoid bringing them to court. The First Instance of the S.c. often tried to act as a kind of arbitrator or to give advice to the parties on how to settle the case or solve their problems.

It is interesting to see that cases after 1930 are more sophisticate than before. The attitude of the European consuls was characterized by ignorance of Ethiopian law, and a feeling of the superiority of European law. They often refer to customary law as "Ethiopian law". This "Ethiopian law" pre-existed the S.c., which however, certainly influenced and modernized customary law. By doing so, it bridged the gap between traditional Ethiopian legal concepts and modern European law, thereby paving the way for a modern codified law in the 1950s and 1960s.

Lit.: Heinrich Scholler, *The Special Court of Ethiopia 1920–1935*, Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 15), passim (Lit.); Id., *Recht und Politik in Äthiopien*, Berlin 2008, 353–67 and s. index (Lit.).

Heinrich Scholler

Speedy, Tristram Charles Sawyer

Captain S. (b. 26 November 1836, Meerut, India, d. 9 August 1910, Chatsworth, Church Stretton, Shropshire) was a British-India army officer who visited Ethiopia four times, and was intimately involved in bringing up *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II's son ↗ᶜAlämayyähu.

Son of a British officer James S., S. was educated privately in Cheltenham, England, before obtaining a British army commission in 1854.

Tristram Speedy with Prince ᶜAlämayyähu; photo ca. 1868, from the collection of the British Embassy (Ambassador's Residence)

He had himself transferred to the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment in order to serve in India. He was nearly 2 m tall. S. was heading to visit his parents in New Zealand, when in 1860 at Jeddah he was approached for help by an Ethiopian priest returning from pilgrimage to ↗Jerusalem. The two men agreed to travel together to Ethiopia, where S. sought to hunt big-game. At ↗ᶜAdwa, however, he met the German botanist Wilhelm ↗Schimper, who told him about Tewodros's pro-European interests. S. proceeded inland to the monarch's camp. Tewodros received him warmly, but, finding S.'s title and surname difficult, called him "*baša* Fälläqä", a common Ethiopian name loosely equivalent to "speedy" (lit. 'he gushed').

Tewodros instructed S. to reside at ↗Gafat, his settlement for foreign craftsmen. S. tried to leave but was apprehended by Tewodros's men. He eventually obtained the permission to depart, and went hunting towards the Sudan frontier. He proceeded to the port of Massawa, where the British consul, Duncan ↗Cameron, appointed him his deputy. Tewodros, angered by this switch of allegiance, thereafter considered S. his "enemy" (RasTheo vol. 2, 63, 339).

Wishing to resume his journey to New Zealand, S. left Massawa in 1864, but was summoned by Robert ↗Napier in 1866 to participate in the Mäqdäla expedition. S. served as its political adviser, purchasing officer and translator (Southon – Harper 2004: 76–117).

After the fall of Mäqdala in 1868, S. was entrusted with the care of Tewodros's widow, ↗Ṭəru Wärq, and the orphaned son, ᶜAlämayyähu. After the queen's death on the journey to the coast, S. gained almost exclusive control over the prince. This became even more complete when the latter's tutor, *aläqa* ↗Zännäb, was dismissed on the boat to Egypt. Back in Britain, S. took the boy to the Isle of Wight to meet Queen Victoria. S. married Cornelia Cotton, who assisted him greatly in looking after ᶜAlämayyähu. Following an overseas British police career, S. later took him to India and Penang, in Malaysia, but lost custody in 1871. S. retired in 1877. Wearing Ethiopian dress he later gave "entertaining" lectures on the country.

Regarded as an expert on Ethiopia, S., who spoke some Amharic, was chosen to accompany William ↗Hewett's mission of 1884 to *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV; wrote memoranda urging the latter's need for access to the sea, preferably at Massawa; and tried to assist the implementation of that year's Tripartite Treaty on the ground (ZewYohan). S. later joined the Rennell ↗Rodd mission of 1897 to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II – the last of the three 19th-cent. Ethiopian rulers he met.

Src.: KaneDic 2266; Clements Robert Markham, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition,* London 1867, 431 (index); RasTheo vol. 2, 63, 339.

Lit.: Dorothy Anderson, "Speedy, Tristram Charles Sawyer (1836–1910)", in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford 2004, online; Richard Pankhurst, "Captain Speedy's 'Entertainment'", *Africa* [Rome] 38, 3, 1983, 428–48; Jean Southon – Robert Harper, *The Rise and Fall of Basha Felika. Captain Speedy, his Life and Times*, Penzance 2004; ZewYohan 332 s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Spencer, Diana Mary

S. (b. 1924, London, d. 2009, Blackeney, Oxfordshire) was a British explorer whose works provided a detailed first-hand account of everyday Ethiopian life, but primarily of its ecclesiastic art. S. first reached Ethiopia in 1964, to join her husband, Oscar, who was a UN adviser stationed in Addis Abäba. She became involved in a research project on the history of Ethiopian art initiated at the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies by Stanisław Chojnacki and Richard Pankhurst. In this capacity, she travelled extensively by mule and on foot. Between 1965 and 1975 she made ca. 20 trips to remote churches and monasteries in the Ethiopian highlands in search of rare ↗manuscripts and ↗paintings. She studied Amharic in the Mission Language School in Addis Abäba and attended classes in Gəᶜəz and Ethiopian church ↗literature, ↗theology and liturgy at the ↗*qəne bet* of the Bäᶜatti Maryam church. Her expeditions were carried out with the support of the Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase and of the patriarch *abunä* ↗Tewoflos.

Diana Spencer at “Blakeney”, her home in Buckland, Faringdon, Oxfordshire, UK; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

S.’s observations and findings contributed greatly to our knowledge of Ethiopian religious art and culture. Her main discovery was the signed work of the Venetian painter ↗Brancaleone, and several other pieces which could subsequently be ascribed to him on stylistic grounds. Also significant were her records concerning the Byzantine paintings of St. ↗Mary, which in Ethiopia were ascribed to St. ↗Luke and as such received the status of miraculous icons. Moreover, at ↗Amba Gəšän, she was successful in photographing part of the oldest known illuminated manuscript of the ↗*Täˀammərä Maryam*, as well as the miniatures from the famous *Maṣḥafä* ↗*ṭefut*. This achievement has never been repeated since.

S. described the objects she had seen and photographed in a series of articles. She also generously shared her material with interested scholars and thus contributed to important works on Ethiopian art and spiritual life.

Src.: Christopher Lethbridge, “Diana Spencer”, *The Anglo-Ethiopian Society. New Files*, 2009, 14f.; DIANA SPENCER, “Trip to Wag and Northern Wällo”, *JES* 5, 1, 1967, 95–108; EAD., “In Search of St. Luke Icons in Ethiopia”, *ibid.* 10, 2, 1972, 67–95; EAD., “Travels to Godjjam: St. Luke Icons and Brancaleon Re-discovered”, *ibid.* 12, 2, 1974, 201–20; EAD., “The Discovery of Brancaleon’s Paintings”, in: *PICEA* I, 53–55, 152–53, figs. 85–94; EAD., “The Monastery of Ahəya Fäǧǧ Qusqwam in Wallo – its Illuminated Manuscripts and Other Treasures”, in: PAUL HENZE (ed.), *Aspects of Ethiopian Art from Ancient Axum to the 20th Century*, London 1993, 73–82; EAD., *The Woman of Tedbab*, Surrey 2003.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Spencer, John Hathaway

S. (b. 19 September 1907, Rome, d. 25 August 2005, New York State) was principal foreign advisor to the Foreign Ministry of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I from 1943 to 1974. He grew up and was largely educated in the ↗United States, graduating from Grinnell College, Iowa (1929). Later he went on to get his A.M. (1931) and L.L.B. (1941) degrees from Harvard University, a Diplome from the Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales (1933) in Paris and his Doctorat d’Etat in international law at the University of Paris (1935).

In 1935, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I sought another advisor to handle the increased work load in the Ethiopian Foreign Ministry brought on by the deepening crisis in Italo–Ethiopian relations. On the recommendation of his French professors and at the young age of 28, S. began handling correspondence concerning diplomatic questions, especially those concerning violations of the laws of war by the Italians. After the Italian conquest of Ethiopia (↗Italian war 1935–36), he joined the Emperor in Geneva and helped editing his historic address to the ↗League of Nations on 30 June 1936. He then returned to the United States to work for the government in various capacities.

In 1943, at the personal request of the Emperor, S. left the position of aid to Admiral Conolly to take up a position as principal legal advisor to the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ethiopian government, which he held from 1943 to 1961. Among his tasks were the negotiations over the future status of ↗Eritrea which culminated in the federation of Eritrea and Ethiopia in 1952 (↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation).

S. was a key advisor in Ethiopia’s relations with Britain (↗United Kingdom), ↗France, the United States and the ↗United Nations, especially at the San Francisco Conference in 1945. He played a significant role in Ethiopia’s negotiations with Britain and the restoration of Ethiopian sovereignty in 1944, the negotiations that led to the eventual withdrawal of the ↗British military administration in the 1950s and the long term concerns over the waters of the ↗Nile. With the French he was mainly involved in drafting agreements concerning the ↗railway to ↗Djibouti and boundary arbitration agreements. His role with the United States was more extensive, and involved advising on land lease problems, the Treaty of Friendship of 1951 and on various defence agreements. He was especially proud of his key role in founding ↗Ethiopian Airlines and establishing its close relationship with Trans World Airlines. Within Ethiopia, he advised on the drafting and codification of civil, commercial, maritime, criminal and procedural ↗law and was an advisor on the Revised ↗Constitution of 1955. Throughout his tenure as senior legal advisor he acted with great vigor, integrity and precision.

After 1961 S. returned to the United States and taught at several universities but remained very much engaged in Ethiopian affairs, especially in matters regarding Ethiopia's territorial integrity and human rights violations. He was one of the most prominent of Ethiopia's foreign advisors during the 20th cent.

Src.: John Hathaway Spencer, *Ethiopia at Bay: A Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac, MI 1984; Id., *Ethiopia, the Horn of Africa and U.S. Policy*, Cambridge, MA 1977.

Peter Garretson

Spices and herbs

Both S. (dried parts of pungent, aromatic plants), and H. (stems, leaves, flowers and/or roots of fragrant plants) are used to flavour ↗food and ↗drink, are extensively used in Ethiopia, especially in the northern highlands. Regional dishes in the southern highlands and in the lowlands are not as highly spiced. Harär cuisine is milder and resembles neighbouring Arab cookery, whereas dishes in the south, often based on the stem and root of the ↗*ənsät* plant, tend to be fermented, but not highly spiced. In Wälaytta, however, a spicy paste made from hot green peppers is popular. Among the agro-pastoral groups in the far south, whose diet is based on cereals and livestock products, the cuisine is mild rather than spicy. S. and H. are also used in traditional ↗medicine.

In the northern highlands, S. play an important part in basic combinations of ingredients that can be stored in powder form, until needed to produce dishes that are eaten with the staple bread, **እንጀራ** (*ənğära*, ↗Bread). Apart from spiced butter, there are two such kinds of combination: one is based on powdered dried cereal, such as barley, or dried legumes, often beans, peas or lentils; the other comprises either powdered S. mixtures such as **አፍርንጅ** (*afrənğ*, powdered red pepper seeds served with meat) or S. mixed into a paste with water or an alcoholic drink such as ↗*ṭäğğ*. Examples are two red pepper pastes: **ድልህ** (*dəlləh*), and the popular **አዋዜ** (*awaze*). Most such basic mixtures also contain ↗salt.

By far the most characteristic and important element in Ethiopian cookery is ↗*bärbäre* powder. Its essential ingredient is red pepper (*Capsicum frutescens* and *Capsicum annum*). Before ripening, while still green, it is known as **ቃርያ** (*qarya*). Eaten raw, it is often stuffed with chopped onion and sometimes with tomato, *qarya* is also an essential ingredient of a special hot paste. The red pepper plant was brought to Europe from Central and South America, and spread widely in the 16th cent. When and how it reached Ethiopia is unknown. While Alvares does not mention *bärbäre* he reports that ↗Lent-time sauces contained mustard seed and were "very hot" (BeckHuntAlvar 390). Probably the first known mention of red pepper cultivation is by Barradas (1996:111), who observed it among the Təgre. During the following centuries red pepper was established all over northern Ethiopia (cp., e.g., Nersessian – Pankhurst 1986:626f.; Wylde 1901:266).

A powdered mixture of many S. added to *bärbäre*, itself also called *bärbäre*, is used in meat and fish stew (**ወጥ**, *wäṭ*), and in raw meat dishes, except **አልጫ** (*alləč̣č̣a*) ones. Though the original meaning of *alləč̣č̣a* was "without salt", its actual meaning is "without *bärbäre*", and it is therefore mild. In some areas, **ጨው** (*č̣äw*, 'salt') refers to *bärbäre*. The proper grinded salt is known as **አሽቦ** (*ašəbo*). *Bärbäre* is also the basis of the following: the hot paste **አዋዜ** (*awaze*); **ሽሮ** (*šəro*), a hot sauce made from powdered pulses; hot barley meal made from roasted, dried and powdered barley (**በሶ**, *bässo*); dried meat strips (**ቋንጣ**, *qʷanṭa*); **አነባበሮ** (*annäbabäro*) or spiced cottage cheese (**አይብ**, *ayb*), on a soft *ənğära* base; barley meal with spiced butter (**ጭኮ**, *č̣əkko*), etc.

Other basic ingredients of *bärbäre* powder are mentioned here and in the following paragraphs, roughly in the order in which they are combined: shallot and onion (*allium ascalonicum* and *allium cepa*, both Amh.: **ቀይ፡ ሽንኩርት**, *qäyy šənkurt*). Both are perennial and have been cultivated for so long that their origins are uncertain. Although used extensively fresh and roasted, shallots and onions are also dried after cooking and then powdered. In this form they are essential ingredients of *awaze* and of *šəro* as well as of most other pastes and stews.

Garlic (*allium ursinum, a. sativum,* **ነጭ፡ ሽንኩርት** *näč̣č̣ šənkurt*) is believed to have originated in Central Asia and is one of the world's oldest cultivated plants. It is perennial and grows easily in Ethiopia at different altitudes. Garlic in quantity is an essential ingredient in Ethiopian cooking. Dried, it is used in other powders, i.e. in the basic flours made of barley, broad bean or chickpea, and in barley and other pastes. Garlic is also an ingredient of many meat dishes. Ethiopian bread, ዳቦ (*dabbo*), is also made with powdered garlic.

Ginger (*Zingiber officinale*, Amh.: **ዝንጀብል**, *zənǧäbəl*) is believed to have come from India as early as the 13th cent. Cultivated in the south-west, it is now sold in local markets, and is an important ingredient, extensively used in food preparation. Its powder can be substituted for fresh S.

Rue (*Ruta chalepensis*, Amh., **ጤና፡ አዳም** (*ṭena addam*, lit. 'health of Adam') is a toxic herb that grows vigorously in the country. Rue's aromatic, bitter flavour is much appreciated, and a tiny sprig is often added to flavour ↗coffee, ↗tea and milk. Rue leaves are also added to sour milk to make yogurt. Its seeds are used in *bärbäre* powder.

Basil (*Ocimum sanctum, var. anisatum, o. basilicum*, Amh.: **በሶብላ**, *bässobəlla*) spread from its native India at least 4,000 years ago. Basil is a stimulant and digestive, growing in the wild but also cultivated near houses. The Ethiopian variety is smaller and more pungent than varieties elsewhere. The dried flowers and seeds are used in the preparation of pastes and stew, whereas the fresh leaves are used to flavour butter.

Bishop's weed (also white cumin, Ethiopian caraway, *trachyspermum copticum, t. ammi, carum copticum,* Amh.: **ነጭ፡ አዝሙድ**, *näč̣č̣ azmud*) grows wild in Ethiopia, and is an ingredient of many pastes, powders and sauces.

Ethiopian cabbage (*Brassica integrifolia*, Amh.: **ጎመን፡ ዘር**, *gommän zär*) grows widely in the country. The seeds have a hot, pungent taste. The leaves provide the basic vegetable to accompany traditional dishes.

All the above ingredients are used to make *bärbäre*. They are mixed with water, allowed to stand, and then dried in the sun. The following is a selection of S. that, after roasting and pounding, can be added, depending on regional traditions, and personal preferences.

Ethiopian cardamom (*Aframomum corrorima, Aframomum angustifolium*, Amh.: **ኮረሪማ**, *korärima*), originally growing in forests of the south-west, is now cultivated around Lake Ṭana and in Eritrea. When the nut-like seed pod is prised open it reveals dark brown seeds. These, when powdered, are widely used in many dishes.

Cinnamon (*Cinnamomum zeilanicum, Cinnamomum cassia*, Amh.: **ቀረፋ**, *qäräfa*), a native of Sri Lanka was imported into Ethiopia already in Aksumite times (Schoff 1912:301, index). The bark is ground and used to flavour many dishes, including chicken stew, as well as cakes and bread, tea and coffee.

Cloves (*Eugenia caryophyllata,* Amh.: **ቅርንፉድ**, *qərənfud*), originated in Indonesia and the trade moved to Zanzibar, renowned for its distinctive scent of cloves. As the plant thrives only in a humid, tropical climate near the sea, it has always been imported. It is the favoured flavouring added to tea, and sometimes to coffee.

Coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*, Amh. **ድምብላል**, *dəmbəlal*, also **ኮረሪማ**, *korärimma*), a hardy annual, is the oldest known S. It grows easily in Ethiopia, and is widely cultivated. The fruits are used in the preparation of *bärbäre*, and ground, to flavour *wäṭ*, *ənǧära* and *dabbo*, and tripe dishes.

Cumin (*Cuminum cyminum,* Amh.: **እንስላል**, *ənsəlal,* **ከሙን**, *kämun*), indigenous to Egypt, cultivated elsewhere since earliest times, has long been known in Ethiopia. The seeds have a powerful, warming and aromatic flavour. Cumin is widely grown and is indispensable in Ethiopian cuisine. The ground seeds are used to flavour *wäṭ*, and in the preparation, in northern Ethiopia, of pan-baked bread (**ሀምባሻ**, *hambaša*). Black cumin (*Nigella sativa,* Amh.: **ጥቁር፡ አዝሙድ**, *ṭəqur azmud*) is widely cultivated in Ethiopia, and may be indigenous. It is used to flavour *dabbo*. It is also added to a popular snack, *dabbo qollo,* that, in olden times along with dried meat and roasted barley, chickpea and sunflower seeds, sustained soldiers on long marches.

Fenugreek (*Trigonella foenum-graecum*, Amh.: **አብሽ**, *abəš*), an annual, originally from the eastern Mediterranean, has been cultivated for thousands of years. The nourishing properties of fenugreek seeds have long been known in Ethiopia, and mothers traditionally give their children a drink made from the seeds whipped in cold water. Dried and roasted, fenugreek powder is used to spice hot pepper and other dishes, especially barley flour (**በሶ**, *bässo*). Spiced butter, used in cooking, also often contains fenugreek powder. It is likewise an ingredient of a dish made of *ənǧära* in dried pea and meat sauce.

The aromatic, glossy leaves of the evergreen myrtle bush (*Myrtus communis,* Amh.: **አደስ**, *adäs*) are dried and crushed to be used as a condiment. They are also mixed with butter as an ingredient in Ethiopian hair cream, and as a fumigant, to perfume rooms (↗Incense).

Nutmeg (*Myristica fragrans*, Amh.: **ገውዝ**, *gäwz*), which is native to Indonesia, is cultivated in many other tropical countries, but had to be imported into Ethiopia. As well as being an optional ingredient of *bärbäre,* it is added to the dough of the northern steamed bread, **ኅብስት** (*ḫəbəst*).

The black or white pepper (*Piper nigrum*, Amh. **ቁንዶ፡ በርበሬ**, *qundo bärbäre*) vine grows wild in the equatorial forests of India. It has been a rare, expensive import since at least medieval times (BeckHuntAlvar, vol. 2, 407; BeckHuntAlm 63). Today it is widely used in many Ethiopian dishes.

Two species of Abyssinian thyme, (*Thymus schimperi* and *Thymus serrulatus*; Amh.: **ቶስኝ**, *tosəññ*) are endemic in the upper Ethiopian highlands: *Thymus schimperi* in the central, east and north of the country, and *Thymus serrulatus* only in the north. Thyme is an ingredient of many Ethiopian powders and sauces.

The second most frequently used S. mixture after *bärbäre* is **ምጥመጣ** (*məṭmäṭa*) powder, so called after its main ingredient, *miṭmiṭṭa* (*Capsicum microcarpum, Capsicum minimum*). It is added dried and finely powdered, to food, or mixed, with Ethiopian cardamom, cloves and salt. *Miṭmiṭṭa* is eaten with cheese, with **ዱለት** (*dulät*, 'offal'), cooked and minced tripe, liver and beef, and, invariably, with **ክትፎ** (*kətfo*), raw, or warmed minced beef with spiced butter. *Məṭmäṭa* is also eaten with fresh, raw beefsteak, and may well have been what Bruce (BruNile III, 303) observed spicing raw meat at banquets in Gondär, in around 1770.

A few other S. occur regularly in Ethiopian dishes. The most common is perhaps tumeric (*Curcuma domestica/longa*, Amh.: **እርድ**, *ərd*). Formerly imported into Ethiopia from Asia, it is now successfully grown in the country. Stews of a yellowish green colour which thereby signal that they are without *bärbäre*, are flavoured and coloured with powdered tumeric roots.

Other S. include black mustard (*Brassica nigra*; Amh.: **ሰናፊጭ**, *sänafič̣*). Indigenous to the Mediterranean, it grows wild in Ethiopia, and is prepared by crushing seeds and adding water, oil and salt. *Sänafəč* is used in preparing bean, barley and chickpea paste.

At least eight of the above-named S. are commonly used in preparing purified butter, **ንጥር፡ ቅቤ** *nəṭər qəbe*: ginger, garlic, onion, fenugreek, bishop's weed, basil, cardamom, and tumeric. Tea and coffee are also regularly spiced. The most common tea S. are cinnamon, Ethiopian cardamom, cloves and ginger and, recently, Cardamon (*Elleteria cardamomum*, *Amomum cardamomum*, Amh.: **ሄል**, *hel*). Coffee, formerly often salted, is currently taken with sugar. Tea may be served with a sprig of fresh mint, and coffee, with a few leaves of rue.

The most popular indigenous alcoholic drinks invariably rely for flavouring on ↗*gešo*. Though growing elsewhere in Africa, it is in common use chiefly in Ethiopia. The leaves are added to ↗*ṭälla* and in distilling spirits, whereas the twigs are used in the preparation of *ṭäǧǧ*. Alcoholic drinks can also be flavoured with the leaves, young stems and fruits of ground fennel, likewise known as anise (*Foeniculum vulgare, Foeniculum officinale, anithum foeniculum*; Amh.: **እንስላል**, *ənsəlal*). It is also used to spice bread.

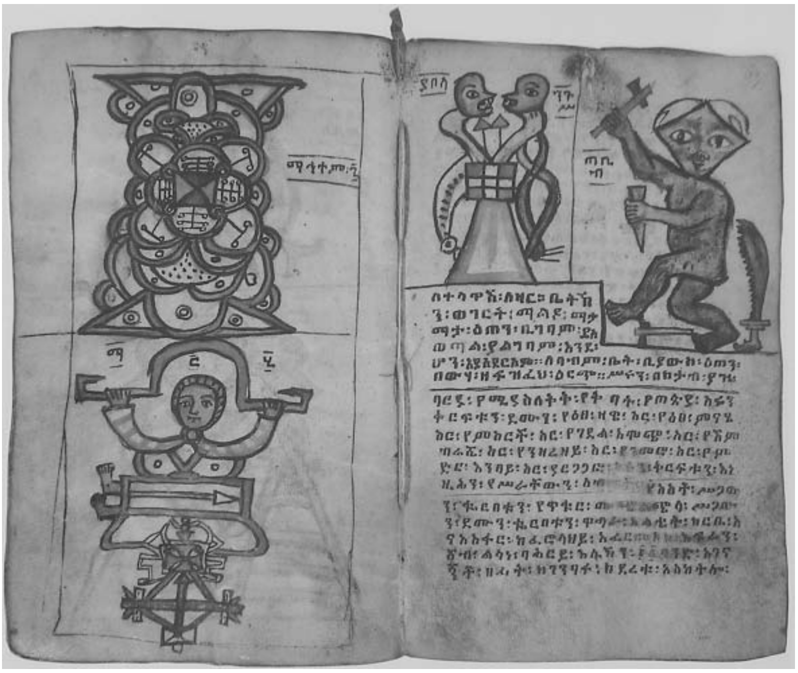
Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 63, 390; BeckHuntAlm 407; Manoel Barradas, *Tractatus tres Historico-geographici* (*1634*), ed. by Richard Pankhurst, tr. by Elizabet Filleul, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 111; BruNile III, 303; Augustus Blandy Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901, 266; Wilfred Harvey Schoff (ed., tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*: *Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean,* New York – London 1912, 301.

Lit.: Daniel Jote Mesfin (ed.), *Exotic Ethiopian Cooking*: *Society, Culture, Hospitality and Traditions,* Falls Church, VA 1993; Ethiopian Nutrition Institute, Ministry of Health, *Ethiopian Traditional Recipes*, Addis Ababa n.d. [ca. 1985]; Fekadu Fullas, *Spice Plants in Ethiopia*: *their Culinary and Medicinal Applications,* Sioux City, IA 2003; Paulus Cornelis Maria Jansen, *Spices, Condiments and Medicinal Plants in Ethiopia*: *their Taxonomy and Agricultural Significance,* Wageningen 1981; Vrej Nersessian – Richard Pankhurst, "The Visit to Eighteenth Century Ethiopia of the Armenian Jeweller Yovhannes T'ovmačean", in: Dickran Kouymjian (ed.), *Armenian Studies = Études armeniénnes: in memoriam Haïg Berbérian*, Lisbon 1986, 609–44, here 626f.; Ṣəge ʿƎqʷba Mikaʾel, **የእናት፡ ጓዳ፡ ባህላዊና፡ የውጭ፡ አገር፡ ምግቦች፡ አዘገጃጀት፡** (*Yäʾənnat gʷada*: *bahlawinna yäwəč̣ agär məgəbočč azzägäǧaǧät*, 'Mother's Domain: the Preparation of Traditional and Foreign Dishes'), vol. 1, Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1991 A.D.]; Webayehu Tsegaye, *Taste of Ethiopia*: *the Other Good Food,* Washington, DC 1991; Wolde Michael Kelecha, *A Glossary of Ethiopian Plant Names*, Addis Ababa 1987.

Rita Pankhurst

Spirits

The term S. covers a wide range of lower spiritual beings known in most traditional ↗religions as well as in Christianity and Islam. As a category, "S." is quite insufficient because for every religion or local form of religion a different definition may be necessary, and often even emic concepts do not clearly define the different types of spiritual beings. The traditional Christian idea of S. is



Spirits depicted on a talisman: left page on the top a *Mäḫtäm 7*, on the bottom the spirit *Marhi*, right page on the left the mythical spirit-king "ʿAbola", residing on a hill nearby Lake Ṭana, on the right a "craftsman", 19th cent.; from Mercier 1992: 47 pl. 8

further discussed in the articles ↗*däsk* and ↗demons (cp. also ↗Devil) while the article on the ↗*ǧinn* considers Islamic concepts. However, many characteristics of S. belief described here may be found in autochthonous folk-religions as well as is in the traditions of Christians and Muslims. In many cases concepts of S. and the belief in specific S. cross-cut ethnic and religious denominations. Diverse forms of amulets and other protective charms against harmful S. are very widespread (↗*Mäftəḥe śəray*, s. EAE vol. 5; ↗Magic scrolls; ↗*Ṭälsäm*).

While some categories of S. are only thought of as a collective, others are imagined as individuals with personal names. The supernatural power ascribed to S. ranges from that of a minor pixie up to the might of a divinity. In some cases a certain S. is not more than the localized manifestation of a high-god (or, vice versa, the high-god is a S. after apotheosis). The nature of S. is often considered to be ambiguous, benevolent, or harmful. S. belief often reflects human fears. Thus, the wild bush, the unhealthy lowlands, watercourses, sickness as well as strangers or alien ethnic groups are frequently associated with dangerous S. If the S. are disturbed by human action and provoked by moral misbehaviour they may bring ↗diseases and misfortune. Therefore, in order to maintain a peaceful co-existence with the S., people carry out offerings at places related to them or hold specific ceremonies. Strongly related to the challenges of daily life, the S., similar to the ↗saints in Christianity, may receive even more attention than higher spiritual entities.

Certain types of S. are said to roam in the ↗water and in ↗trees (cp. ↗*Adbar*), gorges and mountain-tops, while others are connected to animals, persons or magical objects (e.g., ↗*Kallačča*). The shape of S. is often imagined as being invisible or unseizable (shadows, fire, smoke), or as being animal-like or human-animal hybrids (s., e.g., ↗Hyenas [s. also ↗*Buda*], ↗Leopards, ↗Monkeys, ↗Serpents). Others are considered to be anthropomorphic. The *habuusa* S. in Hadiyya and Kambaata, for example, are described as "negroid" dwarfs, who have a human-like social organization (BrKam 272f.). Among Təgrəñña-speakers the **ዛርቲ** (*zarti*) and the **ደቂ፡ ሕድርትና** (*däqqi ḥədərtəna*), hosted by natural phenomena, are described as "beautiful females", and usually receive small regular offerings. Some S. are considered evil (then called **ሸይጣን**, *šäyṭan*, or Gəʿəz **አጋንንት**, *aganənt*, sg. **ጋኔን**, *ganen*), especially those occupying water ponds (as in many cases *ǧinn* are said to do); some are rather neutral, or even helpful such as protective spirits (Smidt 2010).

The old ↗Oromo religion was characterized by the idea that most things have a sacred aspect, personified by an individual *ayyaana* S. According to explanations given to Bartels, people, animals, plants as well as mountains or rivers have their own *ayyaana*, which is thought of as a manifestation of ↗Waaqa's creative power. The *ayyaana* protects the person with whom it is linked. Thus, the killer of a man has to appease the *ayyaana* of his victim. The term *ayyaana* is today also employed for various types of possession S. Harmful *ayyaana* are called *seṭana* ('demons'; BartOrom 112, 159, 221; cp. VSAe II).

The idea that the S. of the deceased maintains a connection to the human world is widespread. The dead are often feared. According to the tradition of the Konso, they remain as shadows in this world and scare the living (Hallpike 1972: 222–304; VSAe II, 573). The Kambaata, like the Hadiyya, believed that in some cases the soul stays in the world as a shadow (*wida*) until it is liberated through the offerings carried out by the family (BrKam 274f.). The belief that the souls of the dead may return if they do not receive offerings is prevalent (cp., e.g., among the Komo and Uduk; CerPeople 32, 35).

Most prominent is the belief in the S. of specific ↗ancestors, culture heroes or famous warriors, who are believed to protect their lineage group and land. Among the ↗Gurage and Hadiyya two types of protecting ancestor S. are inherited. One through the male line, another, the *idoota* S. (derived from Gurage *idoot*, 'mother'), through the female line. The *idoota* S., as the ↗*ateetee* S. among Oromo and Amhara, is believed to be present in a magical object called ጨሌ (*čälle*, 'necklace, beads'), which has to be anointed with butter yearly (cp. Aspen 2001: 125; VSAe II 513, 549).

An important category of S. forms a central part of ↗possession cults. Possession S. are believed to establish a permanent link with a medium and, at certain occasions, to manifest in an altered state of consciousness. In some cults such S. (e.g., *Zar*) afflict the medium with disease and, for healing, have to be satisfied with regular offerings (ጭዳ, *čəda*) and honoured by feasts during which they manifest. Furthermore, certain ↗healers, practising in different religions, act as exorcists, who drive out harmful S., such as, e.g., the *aganənt* of northern Ethiopia (s. above). Among the Amhara, there are also other, much less dangerous, S. who stay permanently with a person, the ቆሌ (*qolle*). Such persons are called *balä qolle* ('owner of *qolle*', also *qolläñña*). The *qolle* should not be disturbed, as this is believed to cause danger or trouble.

A very powerful type of possession S. (e.g., the ውቃቢ, *wəqabi*, among the Amhara, or the ↗*Eqo* S. of Käfa) endows its human representative with magical powers and great social authority. Mediums of such S. act as high-priests of an established cult organization with a relatively large following. Their S. mediumship often is handed down to the direct descendants of the officeholders (cp., e.g., ↗*Gäramanǧo*; ↗*Qalləčča*).

Lit.: HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge. Spirit Mediums and their Clients*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58), s. index; ID., "The *balä weqabi*, Servant of Spirits and Men", in: *PICES* 12, 791–815; BartOrom 112, 159, 221; BrKam 272f.; JAN BRØGGER, *Belief and Experience among the Sidamo: a Case Study towards an Anthropology of Knowledge*, London 1986, 64–75; MARCEL GRIAULE, "Les génies en Abyssinie", *L'Anthropologie* (Paris) 37, 1928, 348–49; CHRISTOPHER R. HALLPIKE, *The Konso of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1972, 160, 222–304; JACQUES MERCIER, "Le *qolle* et le zar: Eléments pour l'histoire des anciens cultes éthiopiens", *Abbay* 10, 1983–84, 259–98; ID., *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard, art et médecine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1992, pl. 8 (ill.); REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, *Socialization and Social Control in Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 1995 (AeF 44), s. index; MAXIME RODINSON, *Magie, médecine et possession à Gondar*, Paris 1967, passim and esp. 57–71, 200–03; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Erd-, Baum- und Wassergeister in Tigray und Eritrea, Religiöse Konzepte jenseits des Christentums", in: ALKE DOHRMANN – DIRK BUSTORF – NICOLE POISSONNIER (eds.), *Schweifgebiete: Festschrift für Ulrich Braukämper*, Münster 2010 (Ethnologie 37), 94–116; VSAe I, 165, 220; II, 469, 546, 550, 561, 572f., 624ff.

Dirk Bustorf

Spirit possession ↗Possession cults

Sports

S. were widely practiced in traditional Ethiopia, particularly during church ↗feasts. The most prestigious ↗game in the Christian highlands was *gugs* (ጉግስ) or mock ↗cavalry warfare, which was played by two teams of horsemen, each of whom would carry up to three light spears, and perhaps a shield. The players would throw or brandish these at each other, and at the end of each round attendants would give them such weapons as had fallen to the ground. ↗*Gänna*, or traditional Ethiopian hockey, was a more popular game.

Ethiopian sportsmanship also found expression in ↗hunting and ↗horse-riding. Another S., reported in 18th-cent. ↗Gondär, consisted of public trials of strength with lions (PankHist I, 170). There were likewise numerous traditional children's S., many accompanied by rhyming couplets or ↗songs. Popular games included hide-and-seek (ድብብቆሽ, *dəbəbbəqoš*), mimicking of birds and animals, wrestling, and trials of endurance (Mittwoch 1910; Cohen 1911; Griaule 1935) as well as the board-game ↗*gäbäṭa*.

Westernization and the growth of ↗Addis Abäba in the early 20th cent. coincided with the establishment of the first modern-style schools (↗Education), several of which had sports-masters (↗Mənilək II Secondary School, ↗Ḫaylä

Śəllase I Secondary School), and with the advent of a young new ruler, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu. All this led to the modernization – and popularization – of new forms of S.

Addis Abäba's imperial horse-racing club was founded in 1910, and a polo-club in 1933 (Rey 1923: 44; ZerÉth 140f.; cf. ↗Ǧan Meda). Football was first introduced by foreigners residing in Addis Abäba towards 1924. In 1935 the first official international game took place between Ethiopia and Djibouti and in December that year a group of youngsters founded the 1935 Saint George Football Association.

Partly through the initiative of Yədnäqaččäw Täsämma (1921–87), the son of ↗Täsämma Ǝšäte, the post-Liberation period witnessed the founding of several national S. organizations, among them the Ethiopian Sports Federation and the Ethiopian Football Federation, both in 1944. Football was by then the most popular Ethiopian S., but others included lawn and table tennis, basketball and volleyball, boxing and wrestling, cycling, horse and motor racing, and athletics of all kinds. Some sportsmen came directly from school, while others were seconded from the ↗Imperial Bodyguard, ↗army, ↗air-force or ↗police.

At that time, foreigners, especially Scandinavians, played a vital role in promoting the practice of S. in schools. The Finnish-born Swede (↗Sweden, relations with) Onni Niskanen largely contributed to the introduction of athletics in schools and military institutions. S. activities, however, were not properly integrated into the education curriculum until the fall of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's regime (Gaudin 2009: 98f.; cp. ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council).

The triumph of Ethiopia's 26 year old runner ↗Abbäbä Biqila at the 1960 Olympiad at Rome set the stage for many later Ethiopian successes (Atnafu Makonnen 1960: 286–94). Ethiopia has mostly excelled in track and field and, since 1960, its athletes have won a total of 38 medals (18 gold, 6 silver and 14 bronze). Besides Abbäbä Biqila, its most renowned S. figures are ↗Mammo Wälde, Məruṣ Yəfṭär, Bälaynäh Dinsamo, Ḫaylä Gäbrä Śəllase, Fāṭuma Roba and Därartu Tulu.

Other important figures related to Ethiopian S. were the journalist Solomon Täsämma (1933–79) and the coach Nəguśe Roba (1935–92). Solomon covered the national team's matches for many years and authored a widely popular column, the "Sport Fana", in the daily ↗*Addis Zämän*. Nəguśe, an athlete himself, was a long-time coach for the Ethiopian Athletics Federation and a total of six medals were won at the Olympics by athletes he had trained.

The football team St. George in the 1960s; photo courtesy of the IES

Src.: Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*: *being Notes Collected During Three Year's Residence and Travels in that Country*, London 1853, ²1968, 2 vols.

Lit.: Atnafu Makonnen, *Ethiopia Today,* Tokyo 1960, 286–94; Marcel Cohen, "Jeux abyssins", *JA* 10ᵉ sér., 18, 1911, 463–97; Benoit Gaudin, "L'Ethiopie sportive pré-marathonienne 1924–1960", *Aethiopica* 12, 2009, 83–110; Marcel Griaule, *Jeux et divertissements abyssins*, Paris 1935; Eugen Mittwoch, "Abessinische Kinderspiele", *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* [Berlin] 13, 2, 1910, 107–40; PankHist I; Richard Pankhurst, "Gabata and Related Board Games of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa", *EthObs* 14, 3, 1971, 154–206; Charles Fernand Rey, *Unconquered Abyssinia as it is To-day,* London 1923; Taddälä Yədnäqaččäw, **ይድነቃቸው፡ ተሰማ** ('Yədnäqaččäw Täsämma'), Addis Abäba 1997; Craven Howell Walker, *The Abyssinian at Home,* London 1933, 84, 92; ZerÉth 140f.

Richard Pankhurst

Sports in Eritrea

Traditional S. and games, such as ↗*gäbäṭa*, **ቃርሳ** (*qarsa*, 'hockey'), **ሀልኮ** (*həlko*, 'wrestling') and camel racing, were and still are played by different age and gender groups among the different ethnic groups in Eritrea. The practice of modern S. began during the Italian colonial period (↗Colonialism). These included football, basketball, bicycling, motorcycling, car racing, boxing, swimming and ground tennis. In the early years of the colonial period, the large majority of players and contestants were Italians but gradually Eritreans also became involved.

During both the ↗British Military Admini-stration and the Ethiopian occupation, the number of Eritrean participants increased. Over the years football and bicycling became widely popular and in both S. Eritrea produced contestants of national and international reputation. When Ethiopia won the Third Africa Cup of Nations in 1962, more than half of the national team members including the goal keeper were Eritreans. During the war of liberation, especially between 1970 and 1991, S. in Eritrea was at its lowest point.

At present, the Ministry of Education of the State of Eritrea has a S. curricula for elementary, junior secondary and secondary schools and teachers training institutes in which physical education is a requirement. Since the independence in 1991–93, there has been a significant increase in the number and types of modern S. and in the number of amateur and professional players and teams and S. infrastructure. National S. matters involving continental, transcontinental and olympiad competitions are today overseen by the Commission for Sports of the State of Eritrea.

In the 2004 Athens Olympic Games Zärsännay Taddäsä gave Eritrea its first Olympic medal (bronze).

Src.: *Eritrean Daily News*, 14 August 1952; *Giornale dell'Eritrea*, 7 March 1961; *Luci Sportive. Rassegna Mensile Illustrata di Sport e Varietà*, 1948–50; *Zämän Gazeṭa*, 12 Mäskäräm 1963 A.M. [22 October 1970].

Lit.: PankEcon; TÄKLÄ ḪAYLE, **ሐጺር፡ ታሪኽ፡ ስፖርት፡ ኣብ፡ እርትራ** (*Ḥaṣṣir tarik̠ sport ab Ǝrətra*, 'A Brief Story of the Sport in Eritrea'), Asmära 1994; *Haddas Ǝrətra*, 2 April 2005.

Red.

St. Chrischona Pilgermission

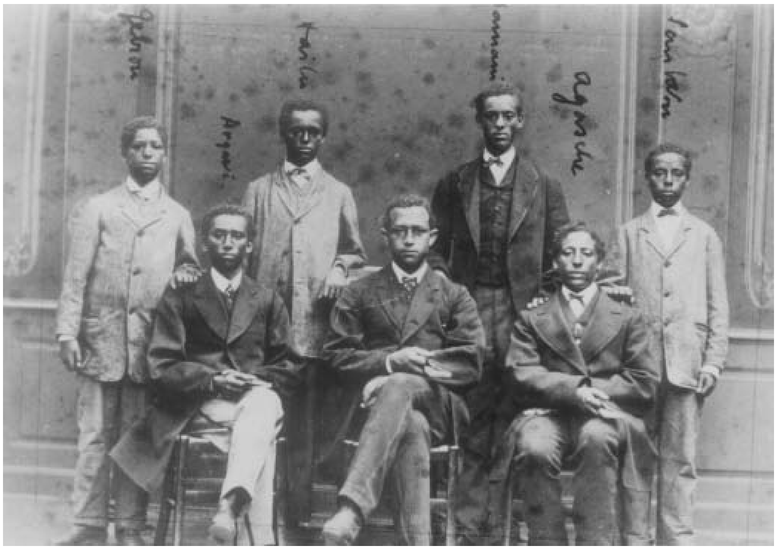
The S.C.P. ("St. Chrischona Pilgrim Mission") is a Protestant missionary institution founded in 1833 by the Pietist Christian Friedrich Spittler as "Pilger-Missions-Gesellschaft" in Basle (Kober 1887). In 1840 it moved to the St. Chrischona ('St Christine') hill at Bettingen, in the canton of Basel-Stadt. Starting from 1854, following earlier plans of Spittler, the S.C.P. initiated several missionary endeavours in Ethiopia, some of them having great influence on the development of modern Ethiopia.

The mission in Ethiopia was established under the direction of the S.C.P. and the Anglican bishop ↗Gobat of Jerusalem in 1855, following a demand of ↗Tewodros II for craftsmen (RubActa II, 10f.; Smidt in VarAeth). Three missionary endeavours were subsequently formulated: initiating reform within the Ethiopian Church, converting the ↗Oromo and, thirdly, the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. German (and one Swiss) craftsmen and lay-missionaries were sent by the S.C.P. via Jerusalem to Ethiopia in 1856–62 (↗Bender; ↗Brandeis; ↗Flad; ↗Kienzlen; ↗Mayer; ↗Saalmüller; ↗Waldmeier, and others). They worked as artisans on behalf of Tewodros's interests, while plans for an Oromo mission remained unsuccessful. Tewodros founded the craftsmen's settlement ↗Gafat, where most settled; they produced a carriage, built a road and cast cannons (cp. Moritz ↗Hall). The S.C.P.'s policy was to "revive" Christian belief through private preaching, reading the Bible, teaching and translation work (mainly in Amharic; s. ↗Amharic literature). They were not ordained, as there were no plans to establish a Protestant church. The greatest success was that the ruler's secretary ↗Zännäb in ↗Mäqdäla became the first Ethiopian evangelist and reformer within the Ethiopian Church in 1858 (Flad 1968: 32).

The "Abyssinian mission" was accompanied by the establishment of the "Apostolic Highway" by the S.C.P. (Baumann 1999), a chain of missionary stations from Cairo to the Ethio–Sudanese border, which connected Ethiopia with Jerusalem. Freed slaves – mostly Oromo – were taught the Gospel at these stations, the most southerly of which was ↗Mätämma. Soon, the missionary Flad left the S.C.P., wishing not to link himself too closely with "worldly power" as the other missionaries had done and in order to focus on proselytizing the Betä Ǝsraʾel in ↗Ǧända, later also Darna, but he kept an informal affiliation to the S.C.P.

From the 1850s onwards the S.C.P. printed religious literature and Bible translations in a number of Ethiopian languages (Amh., Tgn., Tgr., Oromo; s. Darlow – Moole 1911; ↗Bible translations, modern), often in collaboration with the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society. This was an important factor in the rapid rise of ↗printing and reading in vernacular languages, breaking with the strong ↗Gəʿəz tradition of the church (↗Incunabula).

Conflicts between Tewodros and British diplomacy led to the arrest of all Europeans starting from 1863/65, including most S.C.P. missionaries. The prisoners were only released in 1868 by the ↗Napier expedition. S.C.P. activities in Ethiopia temporarily ceased and soon thereafter the "Apostolic Highway" was closed. However, missionary endeavours continued to be promoted by the S.C.P. In the 1870s the Bible readers movement of ↗Ḥamasen emerged, initiated by ↗Wäldä Śəllase Kənfu (educated at the S.C.P.), whilst local converts, the "black brothers", under the formal



The first group of Ethiopian students of St. Chrischona in late 1871, from left to right: Gäbru Dästa (Gobbaw), Mikaʾel Arägawi, Ḫaylu, Wilhelm Schimper junior (Ǝngədašät), Sämʾanni, Agaže, Sänbätu; from the collection of the St. Chrischona-Pilgermission, Library

leadership of the ↗London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, continued with the "Fäläša mission", in close contact with the S.C.P. (co-directed by ↗Mikaʾel Arägawi). Several attempts at initiating an Oromo mission (e.g., with the help of the S.C.P.'s Bible translator ↗Ruufoo) were made, and in 1869 Bender and his wife founded a school in ʿAdwa, where *aläqa* Zännäb worked on his Oromo Bible translation.

The S.C.P. felt responsible for an Oromo mission, which had been originally initiated by ↗Krapf. The life of the former Oromo slave ↗Fathme, who also visited the S.C.P., served as a "founding legend". Shortly after her death the S.C.P. leader Ledderhose published her biography in 1855, followed by several attempts to establish an Oromo mission. The first S.C.P. missionaries, Stamm and Deiß, reached the Sudanese border chiefdom of ↗Qubba, close to Oromo territories, in 1867, but were forced to leave (ArEvang 255). In 1871 Johannes Mayer came to Šäwa to establish an Oromo mission; a few years later, the Ethiopian evangelizer Gobbaw (↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa), educated at the S.C.P., became an Oromo missionary in Goǧǧam among the Guduru. It was, however, only in 1880 that a permanent Protestant Mission was able to be opened in Oromo areas dependent on Šäwa, when ↗Mənilək gave a *gʷəlt* in Balli on the border of Arsi to Mayer. Mayer established a school there, with several S.C.P. teachers, such as Jakob Mayer from Brackenheim (b. 1846, later Westbay City, USA), Gobbaw and an Oromo convert, also a former S.C.P. student. They also produced texts in local languages. Mayer's collaborators Greiner and Yosef Gallu from Illuu translated *Dr. Barth's Bible-Stories* into Oromo (1881). In the beginning of the Šäwan military campaigns against Arsi in 1886, however, they were expelled, and the Oromo mission was abandoned. Nevertheless, due to the affiliation of Mikaʾel Arägawi to the S.C.P., the mission stayed engaged in Ethiopia until the 1920s, also accepting students from Ethiopia, such as ↗Sənəddu Gäbru. Several former students of the S.C.P. played an important role at the establishment of close diplomatic relations with ↗Germany in 1905/06 (Smidt in WenDAE I).

↗Education, modern; ↗Mission, Protestant; ↗Switzerland, relations with

Src.: Archives of the St. Chrischona-Pilgermission; Staatsarchiv Basel, PA 653; THOMAS HERBERT DARLOW – HERBERT FREDERICK MOOLE, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scripture in the Library of the British And Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 2, London 1911; MARTIN FLAD, *60 Jahre in der Mission unter den Falaschas in Abessinien*, Giessen – Basel 1922; FusTeod; *Mittheilungen aus der Correspondenz der Pilgermission, zunächst für deren auswärtige Brüder bestimmt* 1861–1877; *Der Glaubensbote und Mitteilungen aus der Pilgermission* 1878ff.; RubActa II; *Rundschreiben an die Freunde der Pilgermission* 1855ff. (= *Jahresbericht der Pilger-Mission auf St. Chrischona bei Basel* 1870ff.); THEOPHILUS WALDMEIER, *The Autobiography*, London – Leominster [1886/87]; ZanLitTheod.

Lit.: ArEvang; ANDREAS BAUMANN, *Die Apostelstraße. Eine außergewöhnliche Vision und ihre Verwirklichung*, Gießen 1999; CrumMis; BEAT DE FISCHER, *Contributions à la connaissance des relations Suisses–Égyptiennes* (*d'environ 100 p. C. à 1949*) *suivies d'une esquisse des relations Suisses–Éthiopiennes* (*jusqu'en 1952*), Lisbonne 1956, 282–87; JULIUS FLAD, *Johann Martin Flad, Ein Leben für Äthiopien*, Basel – Gießen 1968; GERD GRÄBER, "Die befreiten Geiseln Kaiser Tewodros' II. Aus dem Photoalbum der Royal Engineers 1867/68", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 159–82; FRIEDRICH HEYER, "St. Chrischona in Äthiopien", in: *Fides pro mundi vita*: *Missionstheologie heute*, Gütersloh 1980, 133–47; STEVEN KAPLAN, "The Beta Israel (Falasha)

Encounter with Protestant Missionaries, 1860–1905", *Jewish Social Studies* 49, 1, 1987, 27–42; JOHANNES KOBER, *Christian Friedrich Spittler's Leben*, Basel 1887; CARL HEINRICH RAPPARD, *Die Pilgermission zu St. Chrischona 1840–1908*, Basel 1908; RubInd; RubTew; WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "Deutsche Briefe von Äthiopiern 1855–1869 aus dem Umkreis der protestantischen Mission zur Regierungszeit von Tewodros II.", in: *VarAeth* 287–316; ID.,"Deutsche Briefe von Äthiopiern aus der Protestantischen Mission: Vom Fall des Téwodros bis zur Unterwerfung des Königs Minílik (1869 bis 1878)", *Orientalia Parthenopea* 8, 2008, 9–56; ID., *Ethiopia and Germany,* Addis Abeba 2005a; ID., "'Schwarze Missionare' in Äthiopien im Dienst der Errichtung einer Welt-Christokratie", in: ULRICH VAN DER HEYDEN – HOLGER STOECKER (eds.), *Mission und Macht im Wandel politischer Orientierungen*, Wiesbaden 2005b, 485–505; ID., "Die äthiopischen und eritreischen Mittler", in: *WenDAE* I, 145–60; BARBARA STREBEL, "Leben auf dem Missionsfeld. Chrischona-Pilgermission in Äthiopien (1856–1868)", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 121–57; TSTarik IV.

Wolbert Smidt

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Founded in 1661 as Churfürstliche Bibliothek (since 1701 Royal Library, 1918 Prussian State Library), the S.B.B.-P.K. held only few Oriental manuscripts in its early period. The first three Ethiopic manuscripts (Ms. or. fol. 117, Ms. or. quart. 162, Ms. or. oct. 59) were part of the collection of the Orientalist Theodorus Petraeus, acquired in 1682. They were studied by ↗Ludolf. During the 19th cent. the stock of Ethiopian manuscripts was enlarged in various ways, whilst the purchase seemed random. Two of the six manuscripts from the ↗Isenberg collection are important in view of their theological content. 40 manuscripts which are catalogued as the "Petermann'sche Sammlung" were the most significant acquisition in 1873. When ↗Dillmann's catalogue was published in 1878, the Royal Library held 87 Ethiopian manuscripts, some of them of great value on account of their age and contents. Dillmann characterized three of them as "Prachthandschriften" particularly because of their illuminations and script, and he dated six manuscripts to the 15th cent. at the latest. In 1905, the librarian and Orientalist, Johannes Flemming (1859–1914) from Bonn, as a member of the German embassy to Ethiopia headed by ↗Rosen, was officially appointed to collect manuscripts and bought 70 codices and 10 parchment scrolls. In 1906, a few other items were sent to Berlin by the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (the Littmann collection). These acquisitions were concisely described by Flemming and ↗Chaîne.

During World War II the library evacuated the Oriental (including the Ethiopian) manuscripts to western deposits for safekeeping. Only 1,500 Oriental manuscripts, including Ethiopic scrolls, were kept in Berlin. No Ethiopian manuscripts were lost but after the war the collection had to face the partition, until reunification in 1991. Today the complete holding is concentrated in the Oriental Department of the S.B.B.-P.K.

The microfilms of ↗Hammerschmidt's 1968 expedition to Lake ↗Ṭana were the last major addition to the main corpus of Ethiopian manuscripts. The 182 microfilmed manuscripts represent the holdings of three monastic libraries and include such precious cultural heritage items as the ↗Kəbran Gospel.

In recent years the S.B.B.-P.K. has continued to purchase items or receive donations.

At present, the holdings number 511 Ethiopian manuscripts – mostly parchment written in ↗Gəᶜəz, some in ↗Amharic and a few also containing texts in ↗Təgrəñña. The Oriental manuscript collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – founded in 1558 and preserving 167 Ethiopian manuscripts [the first Ethiopic acquisition: a Psalter (Cod. aeth. 1) from the Johann Jakob Fugger collection], – and that of the S.B.B.-P.K. are the largest and most important German holdings of codices (outstanding manuscripts from the S.B.B.-P.K. for example: Ms. or. fol. 596, Ms. or. oct. 220, Ms. or. oct. 555, Ms. or. oct. 1270, Hs. or. 3542). They offer a broad range of Ethiopian literature emerging mostly from Christian and Ethiopian Orthodox ecclesiastical life.

The Ethiopian manuscripts of the S.B.B.-P.K. are described in printed catalogues by Dillmann (DillmBerl), Hammerschmidt (HamTana I, II) and Six (HamSixBerl, SixTana III), the latter two authors published in the *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* (VOHD XX). Since 2001, the journal *Aethiopica* has been introducing newly acquired Ethiopian manuscripts and items to the public.

Src.: *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 179–81; 6, 2003, 192–95; 8, 2005, 170–73; 9, 2006, 180–89; 10, 2007, 177–83; MARIUS CHAÎNE, "Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits éthiopiens de Berlin acquis depuis 1878", *ROC* 7, 1912, 45–68; DillmBerl; JOHANNES FLEMMING, "Die neue Sammlung abessinischer Handschriften auf der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin", *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 23, 1906, 7–21; HamSixBerl; HamTana I, II; SixTana III; SixDeu 126–68, 499–510.

Lit.: BeyRodRep 43f.; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Illuminierte äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968 (VOHD XV); ID., *Codices Aethiopici*: *Illuminierte Handschriften*

der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz und Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee, Graz 1977; WERNER SCHOCHOW, *325 Jahre Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Das Haus und seine Leute*, Wiesbaden 1986.

Veronika Six

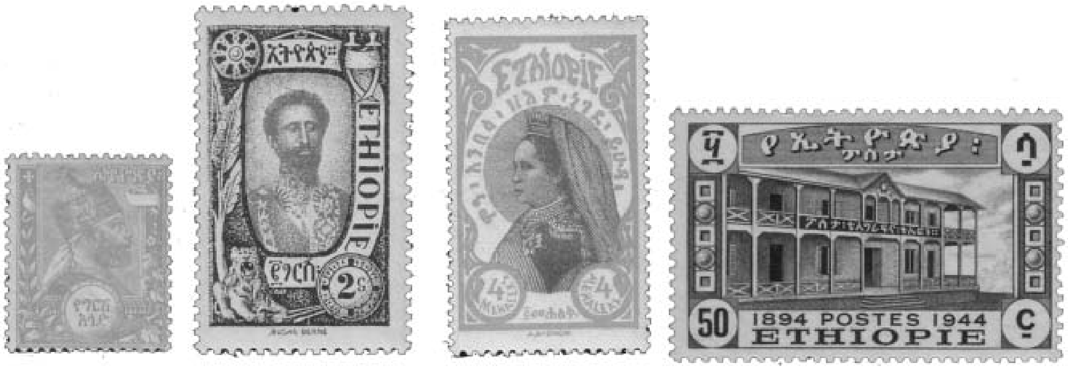
Stamps

S. were issued in Ethiopia starting from the late 19th cent. They were already used in the 1880s at the Egyptian post-office of Massawa (↗Massawa Governorate; ↗Postal system) and at the colonia ↗Eritrea by the Italian administration. In the French colony of Somaliland (formerly Obock), S. were first issued by the French administration in 1893 (Dubois 1998:10). From this period until today, the design and issue of S. in Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti changed – sometimes dramatically – according to the political status of each country. The S. of the Horn of Africa are today sought after by collectors, but are also considered as historical sources. S. convey messages and reveal the aspirations and thoughts of the authorities who ordered issued them (Dubois 1998).

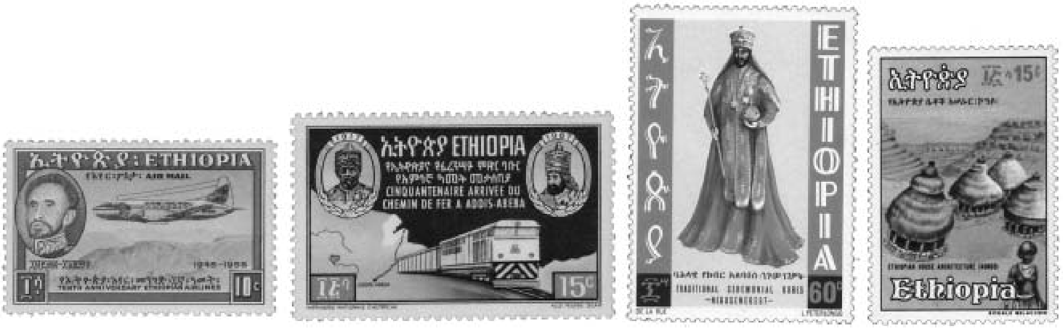
The first issue of S. in Ethiopia appeared after *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II had contested the ↗Wəčale treaty. Following the advice of his councillor Alfred ↗Ilg, the Emperor demonstrated his sovereignty, among others, by ordering the production of coins (↗Coinage) and S. with his effigy in Paris via Léon ↗Chefneux. The S. were engraved in 1894 by E. Mouchon, author of all the French S. of this time. Facilitated by the French government (↗France), this raised objections in England and Italy, accusing Paris of creating useless S. for political purposes. As in the whole Horn of Africa, the local populations didn't make use of S., which were first of all used by Europeans. Moreover, S. legends were exclusively in Amharic, which restricted their use to internal communication between ↗Harär and ↗Addis Abäba (Tristant 1977:51).

In 1895 the first S. were used in Harär. Abroad, S. were sold at the Universal Exposition of Paris of 1900, as a way to propagate Ethiopia and her sovereign (Wheeler 1984:54). In 1908, having thwarted Italian opposition (Shinn - Ofcansky 2004:324), Ethiopia succeeded in joining the Universal Postal Union and a second edition of S. was issued with captions in Amharic and French that could be used for national and international correspondence. After governmental changes (↗coup d'état of 1916, s. EAE, vol. 2, 1081) and the coronation of ↗Zäwditu, further new issues were created. Five million S. were printed in ↗Switzerland in 1919. A new issue was designed in 1925 but came out only in 1928, at the time of the inauguration of the new General Post Office. Seven million were printed in Paris with the effigy of Zäwditu and of *ras* Täfäri, in art deco style.

On the occasion of his coronation in 1930, ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I ordered commemoration S., which were designed by Stephan Papazian with a crowned ↗lion, a star, orb and sceptre. A new issue came out in 1931, showing images of the royal family – Ḫaylä Śəllase, ↗Mänän and the Emperor's father, *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel – but also of Mənilək's statue, and a bridge, symbol of technical modernization. These S. were to transmit the message to the world that Ethiopia was a sovereign country engaged in technical development, a response to colonial propaganda. The last set before the war (1935), dedicated to the ↗Red Cross society, was printed in Switzerland but did not reach Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Post Office and most of Ethiopia's philatelic archives were destroyed in 1936 by fire when Addis Abäba



Stamps of Ethiopia of the 1910s to 1940s, from left to right: first issue of Mənilək II of 1895 (*yägərš alad*); 1919 issue of *ras* Täfäri (2 *gərš*); 1928 issue of Empress Zäwditu (4 *mäḥaläq*);1944 issue showing the old post office at Addis Abäba of 1928 (50 *santim*); from the collection of Ulf Lindahl



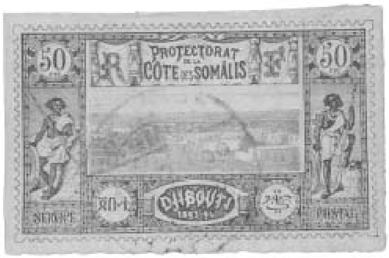
Stamps of the 1950s to 1980s: 1955 issue celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Ethiopian Airlines (10 *santim*); 1967 issue celebrating the 50th anniversary of the railway's arrival at Addis Abäba, stamp design by the Art School director Allä Fällägä Sälam (15 *santim*); 1974 issue showing Ceremonial Robes of the Court; 1984 issue showing traditional houses in Konso; from the collection of Ulf Lindahl

was looted by local people prior to the Italian troops entering the city (↗Italian war 1935-36). The fascists, having already used S. as a means of propaganda since 1929, immediately created new S. for Ethiopia with the effigy of the Italian king and "Imperatore d'Etiopia". In 1938, they created a special set for ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, valid for Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia altogether (Mignemi 1982: 138).

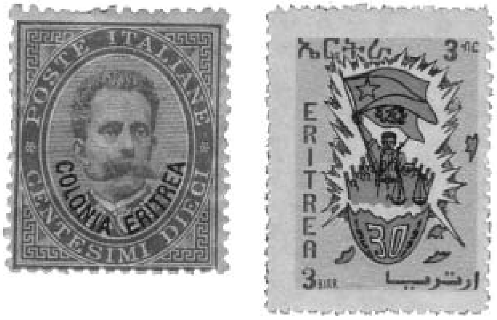
After World War II, the diversity of the S. production increased in the Horn of Africa as elsewhere thanks to the progress of printing. When Ethiopia regained its independence in 1941, England facilitated the printing of a new definitive issue: adapted from a photograph (↗Photography), it showed Ḫaylä Śəllase in the coronation robe and with his crown (Michaelides 1972: 93). Numerous issues of Ethiopian S. were printed in various countries (India, England, United States, Czechoslovakia among others).

By 1964, 68 post offices had been created in Ethiopia and a mobile postal service delivered mail to remote areas of the country (Shinn – Ofcansky 2004: 323). The S. were also sometimes offered by Ḫaylä Śəllase during ceremonies. They dispatched the official messages of the regime, bearing most of the time the effigy of the king, promoted ↗tourism in Ethiopia or celebrated national and international organizations (s. Michaelides 1972). In 1970, a national Postal Museum was established based on the collection donated by Ivan Adler and the former Ivan Adler Philatelic Museum of Haile Selassie I University (Shinn – Ofcansky 2004: 324). Regularity and diversity of Ethiopian S. printing were not interrupted by the *Därg*'s ↗revolution, nor by the fall of the communist's regime in 1991. Only the effigy of Ḫaylä Śəllase disappeared from the S., and his anniversaries were replaced with annual commemorations of the new regimes. An Ethiopian Philatelic Society was founded in the United States in 1970 which publishes a quarterly bulletin, **የምኒልክ፡ መጽሔት** – *Menelik's Journal.*

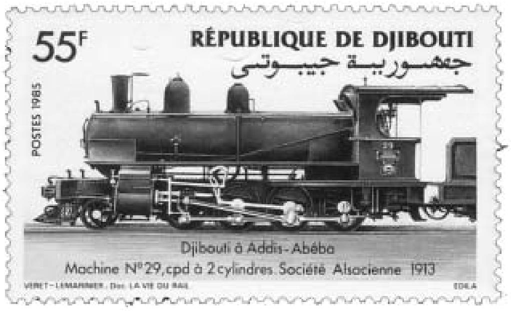
In Eritrea, the ↗British Military Administration used British S. overprinted until 1951. Af-



Stamp of French Somaliland, which was necessary on all mail from Ethiopia to abroad prior to 1 November 1908 when Ethiopia joined the Union Postale Universelle: 1894 issue of the Protectorat de la Côte des Somalis (50 *centîmes*); from the collection of Ulf Lindahl



Stamps of Colonia Eritrea and Eritrea: 1892 Italian stamp overprinted with "Colonia Eritrea" (10 *centesimi*); 1991 stamp issued by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front after assuming the Provisional Government of Eritrea (3 *bərr*); from the collection of Ulf Lindahl


55F
RÉPUBLIQUE DE DJIBOUTI
جمهورية جيبوتي
POSTES 1985
Djibouti à Addis-Abéba
Machine N°29,cpd à 2cylindres Société Alsacienne 1913
VERET-LEMARINIER . Doc. LA VIE DU RAIL
EDILA

Stamp of Djibouti: 1985 issue showing a steam locomotive of the Addis Abäba–Djibouti railway (55 Francs); from the collection of Ulf Lindahl

terwards Eritrea was included into the Ethiopian postal system, until 1993 (Yvert – Tellier 2007: 174–80). However, in 1978 two sets of S. were issued for use within the liberated areas of Eritrea to publicize the liberation struggle. The first set commemorated the 8th anniversary of the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front. These S. were provisionals. S. issued for local use in 1991 became valid for international mail in 1993 (Scott Publishing Co 2007: 1018). Since then new sets are issued several times a year by the government. Besides motives showing the fauna or flora, nationalist subjects are common and Latin, Amharic and Arabic characters are employed (Yvert – Tellier 2007: 174–80).

In the French colony of Somaliland, S. were issued by the French administration from 1893 until its independence in 1977. 563 series were created within this period, with 282 different designs, intended to show the colony to the French people. The main topics were the local fauna and flora, the people (first warriors, then musicians, shepherds, traders, women or salt-workers) and political subjects (such as the first governor, Léonce ↗Lagarde). The story of the archaeological discoveries was also related. The different issues legitimize the French presence in the area and glorify the colonial achievements. The Republic of Djibouti has issued national S. immediately after the proclamation of its independence in June 1977. The name of the new State on the S. altogether with the designs of its flag and terrtitory symbolized its sovereignty (Dubois 1998: 10, 29).

Several cases of Ethiopian S. falsifications were discovered during the 20th cent. The falsifications done by J.A. Michel, director of the Ethiopian Posts from 1904 in Harär, have been extensively discussed in the philatelic literature. Another prolific faker in the late 1960s and 1970s was Theo Michaelides (Sciaky 2001; 2003).

Src.: Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Posts, Telegraphs & Telephones, *Short History and Description of the Postage Stamps of the Empire of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1955; Theo G. Michaelides, *Ethiopian Stamp Catalogue*, Addis Abeba 1972, 93; Yvert – Tellier, *Timbres des pays d'Outre-Mer*, vol. 3, Amiens 2006, 174-80, 277–95.

Lit.: Ivan Adler, *Handbook of the Postage Stamps of the Empire of Ethiopia and her Postal System*, Stockholm 1961, 2 vols.; Colette Dubois, *Djibouti au regard de ses timbres-poste (1893–1977)*, Paris 1998, 10, 29; Adolfo Mignemi, *Monete, francobolli e medaglie, Si e no padroni del mondo. Etiopia 1935–1936. Immagine e consenso per un impero*, Novara 1982, 137ff.; Roberto Sciaky, *Ethiopia 1867–1936: History, Stamps and Postal History*, Vignola 2001; Id., *Ethiopia: Haile Selassie, the Exile, the Restoration, the Deposition: History, Stamps and Postal History 1936–1974*, Vignola 2003; Scott Publishing Co. (ed.), *Scott 2008 Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue*, vol. 2, Sidney – Ohio 2007, 1018; David Hamilton Shinn – Thomas P. Ofcansky (eds.), *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*, Lanham, MD 2004, 323f.; Estelle Sohier, "La création des symboles nationaux éthiopiens et la conquête coloniale sous le règne du negusä nägäst Menilek II (1889–1913)", *Hypothèses* 1, 2007, 55–65; Henri Tristant, *Histoire postale de l'Ethiopie sous le règne de l'Empereur Menelik II*, vol. 2, Paris 1977, 51; Leslie S. Wheeler "Ethiopia: 1894–1929", *The London Philatelist* 93, 1984, 53–58.

Estelle Sohier

Stanley, Henry Morton

S. (b. 28 January 1841, Denbigh, Wales, d. 10 May 1904, London) was a journalist and explorer. Of poor background, in 1858 he emigrated to the United States. He participated in the American Civil War after which he began a career as a journalist.

On 16 December 1867, S. presented himself at the offices of the *New York Herald* in hopes of securing a position as a correspondent to cover the looming war between Britain and Ethiopia, following the arrest of Europeans by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. James Gordon Bennett, owner of the newspaper, did not offer S. a post but agreed to pay for individual articles that contained "exclusive intelligence". S. agreed to pay his own expenses and to only file his reports with the *New York Herald*.

On 20 January 1868, S. arrived in Suez and bribed a senior telegraph clerk to send his telegrams before those of other correspondents. Later that month, he arrived at ↗Zula Bay where he found a large British-Indian invasion force that included 30 steamers at anchor, 30,000 men, 13,600 of whom were fighting troops, 44 elephants, 2,500 horses, and 16,000 mules (↗Napier expedition). S., who passed himself off as an American, marched with the British forces to ↗Mäqdäla. During the journey he established excellent relations with senior British officers, including General Sir Robert Napier, the commander-in-chief of the invasion force.

In late May 1868, S. travelled alone to the coast, ahead of all the other correspondents, at the height of the rainy season. On 6 June 1868, he arrived at Suez and telegraphed a batch of articles to the *New York Herald*. On 26 June 1868, S. entered Alexandria and learned that his dispatches had caused a sensation. Ironically, a fault in the cable between Alexandria and Malta prevented other correspondents from sending their news items for several days. Many in Britain doubted the veracity of S.'s cables. A week later, cables from the correspondents of the *Telegraph*, *The Times* and the *Standard* arrived in London and confirmed the accuracy of S.'s dispatches.

Overnight, S. became one of the world's preeminent war correspondents. An elated Bennett revelled in the dismay of the entire British press corps and praised "his man" for "his vast superiority in style of writing, minuteness of detail and graphic portrayal". S. secured a permanent post on the *New York Herald*. Shortly afterwards, Bennett ordered S. to find David Livingstone, which became the cause for S.'s later fame.

Src.: Henry Morton Stanley, *Coomassie and Magdala: the Story of Two British Campaigns in Africa*, London 1874.

Lit.: Frank McLynn, *Stanley: the Making of an African Explorer*, London 1990, 68f.; Tim Jeal, *Stanley: the Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer*, New Haven, CT 2007, 69–72.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Stanton, Edward

Sir S. (b. 19 February 1827, d. 24 June 1907) was a British officer and diplomat deeply involved in Ethiopian affairs, especially in the period of the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war of 1875–76.

S. had a long and varied career. On 19 December 1844, he entered the Royal Engineers as a 2nd Lieutenant. He saw active service in South Africa (1852) and the Eastern Campaign (1854–55); in 1860 he became Britain's Consul General in Warsaw. On 15 May 1865, S. became British Agent and Council General in Cairo, a posting that involved monitoring conditions in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.

In August 1870, *däggiyat* Kaśa Mərça (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV), informed London that he had appointed the Messrs Henry S. King & Company as his representatives in London. He also indicated that he would be sending envoys to London with presents for Queen Victoria. The Foreign Office told S., then Consul-General at Alexandria, to prevent the embassy from proceeding to London as it was unclear whether the envoys could pay their expenses. After three months of debating the issue, the Ethiopian envoys handed over a letter and presents for Queen Victoria but the British government failed to receive them. S. assessed the value of the gifts at £ 1,500 and recommended that the British government provide the envoys with a battery of mountain guns and some war rockets. He also indicated that the envoys were hoping to recruit artisans and mining engineers but this never happened.

In August 1872, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs deployed troops to ↗Akkälä Guzay which caused the population to flee to the wilderness of the Egyptian border region, followed by Egyptian accusations that they had invaded Egyptian territory (↗Massawa Governorate). Following Egyptian threats to "counteract", Lord Granville, the British Foreign Secretary, instructed S. to persuade the *ḫidīw* to seek arbitration in order to resolve the border dispute. However, his efforts were unproductive. On 12 January 1873, the *ḫidīw* announced that he had decided to deploy troops to Bogos, i.e. ↗Kärän, to protect the ↗Bilin who were Egyptian subjects; in fact, Bogos had been annexed in July 1872 by ↗Munzinger *bāšā*, and preparations for further annexations were already going on. On 4 March 1873, S. reported that 5,000 Egyptian troops had clashed with an Ethiopian force of 1,000 cavalry and 400 soldiers, killing at least 175.

In addition, Egypt was planning to take control of the ↗salt trade, on which Ethiopia depended. S. warned London that the *ḫidīw*'s seizure of the salt mines would make Ethiopia dependent on Egypt; in February 1875, ↗Arakel *bey*, the Egyptian governor of Massawa, actually seized the ᶜAfar salt mines. However, military victories by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs at ↗Gundät (1875) and ↗Guraᶜ (1876) ended Egyptian expansion.

On 25 November 1875, Ismāᶜīl Ṣādiq, *ḫidīw* Ismāᶜīl's Minister of Finance, and S. signed an agreement that altered Egypt's stake in the Suez Canal Company and 176,602 shares out of a total of 400,000 ordinary shares, were signed over to British government against the sum of four million pounds sterling. On 24 December 1875,

S. informed London that the Anti-Slavery Society had issued a memorandum to Lord Derby demanding a military intervention against the *ḫidīw*. However, Lord Derby, Britain's Foreign Secretary, informed S. that London had refused to deploy troops to Ethiopia. After completing his assignment, S. was appointed chargé d'affaires in Munich. He retired from the army with the rank of General.

↗United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Lit.: ErlAlula^2; RubInd 280, 299–302, 306ff.; ZewYohan 30, 42f., 64f., 117.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

State symbols, Ethiopian

Coat of arms

The first official imperial Ethiopian coat of arms was created during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. Earlier coats of arms attributed to Ethiopian emperors appeared only in European publications, and there is no evidence that they were authorized by the sovereigns concerned. Nonetheless, these early designs influenced the emblems adopted by various Ethiopian emperors and kings, and were to be reflected in coats-of-arms used during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

The earliest recorded mention of a royal motif is believed to have been in the 14th cent. Chojnacki cites a 14th-cent. Spanish manuscript stating that ↗Prester John had as his emblem a black Cross of Lorraine (a double armed cross) on a white background. Another version was said to be a simple cross flanked by croziers (Chojnacki in PICES 3, 139).

It is believed that the earliest published coat of arms *per se* attributed to an Ethiopian sovereign appeared in Portugal in the 15th cent. It consisted of a row of three shields, each surmounted by a coronet, and depicting from left to right, the cross, scales of justice and a heraldic ↗lion *rampant* with a Latin ↗cross (Ramos 1997:3 [ill.], 375, n. 3). In 1573 in Antwerp a design probably inspired by the Jesuits and stated to be the armorial bearings of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl appeared as an inset on a map designed by Ortelius. The design consisted of a lion *rampant* holding a Latin cross on a shield with projecting *fleurs-de-lis* (Pétridès 1964:232f.). In 1660 Manoel de ↗Almeida's *History of Ethiopia* incorporated a coat-of-arms showing a lion *rampant* facing left on a shield carrying a motto in Latin, "Vincit leo de tribu Iuda" ('The Lion of the Tribe of Judah has won') and surmounted by a coronet with a cross on top (Tellez 1660, before map 1). Although there is no evidence that this coat-of-arms was sanctioned by *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, it was clearly based on knowledge of the traditional Ethiopian motifs.

In 1681 a revised version of the coat of arms was published by ↗Ludolf (LudHist) on a map based on information gathered from the Portuguese Jesuit ↗Tellez (Pétridès 1964:232f.). The design consisted of a lion *passant* holding a Cross of Lorraine. According to Ludolf, "The Habessines also call'd the Posterity of their Kings Israelites: neither do they think any other person worthy of the Scepter but the male Issue of Menilehec; who for that reason bear the Lyon in their Royal Coats, with this Imprese, The Lyon of the Tribe of Judah has overcome: to demonstrate that they are descended from the Tribe of Judah and the Line of David" (Ludolf 1684:105). The design carried the title *Insignia Regis Regum Aethiopiae*. The motto *Vicit Leo de Tribu Iuda* was written around the top of the shield and appeared in Gəᶜəz at the sides of the shield: **ሞአ፡ አንበሳ፡ ዘእምነገደ፡ ይሁዳ** (*Moᵓa anbässa zäᵓəmnägädä Yəhuda*, 'The Lion of the Tribe of Judah has Conquered', cp. also Conti Rossini 1939).

On the title page of the Commentary to his *History of Ethiopia*, published in 1691, Ludolf reproduced another, more elaborate version of the same coat of arms (s. Pétridès 1964:232f.), incorporating two *supporters*, one carrying a spear and one cross staff. Another, more decorative version of the "Ludolfian" design appeared on Coronelli's map published in Venice in 1693 (ibid.). These bearings were basically those published by Ludolf but with ribbons and other decorative devices suited to its use on the map. However, the lion had become *passant guardant*, i.e. with head turned facing the viewer. In 1726 a version of the "Ludolfus" design was published in Paris, on a map based on information provided by Lobo (ibid.). The design was virtually unchanged except for the removal of the Gəᶜəz version of the motto, and the addition of the words, *Armes de l'Empereur de l'Abyssinie*.

Meanwhile different versions of purported Ethiopian coat-of-arms were published by the French in the 17th cent., and at The Hague in *Les Souverains du Monde* in 1722 (*Le Monde ou la Géographie Universelle* 1663; Pétridès 1964:232f.), incorporating a crucifix, and in one case, a crown of thorns – not motifs of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Presumably these were the designs referred to by Pétridès, quoting the writer Morié's claim that around 1600, Ethiopia's armorial bearings composed of a crucifix consisting of a silver figure of Christ mounted upon a gold cross, on an azure field.

In the late 18th cent. James ↗Bruce reported, that the Portuguese replaced the lion *passant* in some of their publications by a lion *rampant* which later again was returned to a lion *passant*, "that he was in the time of Solomon, without any symbol of either religion or peace in his paws" (BruNile 479). However, Ethiopian acceptance of the heraldic formats is evidenced by the fact that during the 18th and 19th cent., various seals had copied the heraldic lions *rampant*, *passant* and *passant guardant* (Pankhurst 1986; SalTrav fig. 6).

With the notable exception of *nəguś* ↗Sahlä Śəllase of Šäwa, who embodied his own name ('The [Grace of the] Trinity') in an emblem consisting of a traditional Ethiopian painting in a treaty with Great Britain (Rubenson 1987: facing 59) the "Lion of Judah" theme was maintained in the royal emblems, and is described by Victor Bouton in his *Nouveau Traité des Armoiries* (1887) as constituting "the arms of the King of Ethiopia" (Pétridès 1964: 241).

In the early 20th cent., *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II commissioned the design of a new imperial coat-of-arms. Dominated by the colours of the Ethiopian national flag (red, yellow and green), it inherited the basic shape of the earlier, Portuguese-inspired, shield-and-crown, but dispensed with the shield itself in favour of all-encompassing maroon and gold drapery, and converted the surmounting coronet to ceremonial swags. The design combined traditional Ethiopian symbolism with the European paraphernalia of empire. The first publication of the coat-of-arms, believed to have been arranged in France, incorporated a *blazon* below the tableau bearing a Gəʿəz poem, or *qəne*, in praise of the Emperor, with an introduction in Amharic. Written by the designer of the coat-of-arms, and explaining the symbolism of the design, the legend provides the date 1898 A.M., i.e. 1905/06 A.D. The designer wrote a booklet containing further information on the symbolic meaning of the new coat-of-arms (Ḫaylä Maryam Särabyon 1905), which was subsequently summarized in a pamphlet published in 1943 by *blattengeta* ↗Märsəʿe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos.

The central feature in the Mənilək II coat of arms is the Solomonic throne, on which is inscribed the Star of the House of David, containing in vermilion the character **ም** ('M'), surmounted by a miniature of the Mənilək crown. Surmounting the back of the throne is another depiction of the Mənilək crown, in gold. Guarded by two lions, and standing on a carpet in the colours of the Ethiopian flag in red, yellow and green, the throne is inscribed: **ኢትዮጵያ፡ ታበጽሀ፡ እደዊሃ፡ ኀበ፡ እግዚአብሔር** (*Ityoṗya tabäṣṣəh ədäwiha ḫabä əgziʾabəḥer*, 'Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God'; Ps. 68: 31). Reminiscent of traditional Ethiopian paintings of the Virgin, the throne is flanked by the Archangels Gabriel and Michael. Mounted above the throne is an open book, inscribed: **አልፋ፡ ወዖ** (*alfa wäʿo*, 'alpha and omega'). The conquering lion, *passant guardant*, is in the foreground. Shown in the attitude of the triumphant Paschal Lamb of God, the lion wears the Mənilək crown and carries a staff with *croix pattée* and a flag bearing the motto, *Moʾa anbässa zäʾəmnägädä Yəhuda* (s. above). This lion was to be adopted as the imperial motif in all subsequent imperial Ethiopian seals and coats of arms (and even ↗*ṭäǧǧ* bottles). The entire tableau of throne, archangels and conquering lion is framed and festooned in a theatrical proscenium of maroon and gold velvet swags with tasselled tie-backs, surmounted by Mənilək's crown featuring St. George of Lydda on horseback. The drapery providing the back-drop consists of golden fur with black flecks, known as *erminois*, a sign of

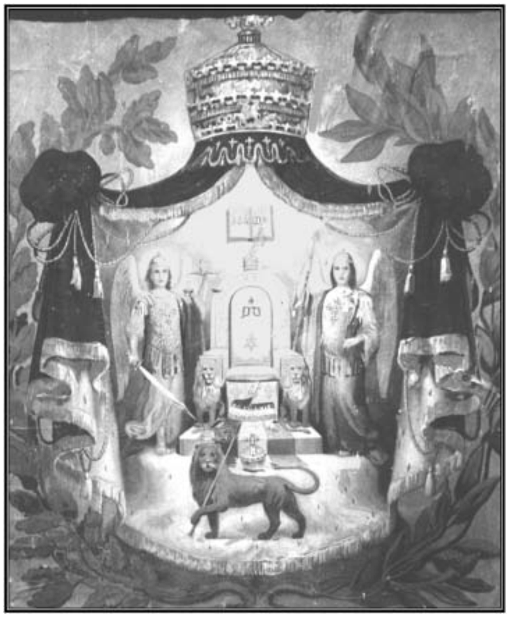


Fig. 1: The coat of arms of *aṣe* Mənilək II, designed by Ḫaylä Maryam Särabyon, ca. 1905; photo courtesy of the author

royalty, suggesting professional heraldic influence in the design. According to Märsəᶜe Ḫazän, the coat of arms appeared on the *lanqa* (type of cape) of Mənilək's coat.

↗Zäwditu maintained Mənilək's basic design (Rey 1927, frontispiece), indicating that the coat of arms had taken on a dynastic quality. The Empress's retained the same surmounting crown, but there were minor changes, the most notable being the removal of the **ም**, the miniature crown, the five-pointed star and the banner with motto.

During the reign of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, there were a number of versions of the imperial coat-of-arms. These versions emerged over time as changes were made, and also arose from the different purposes to which the coats-of-arms were put. The most notable modification was the adoption of Ḫaylä Śəllase's coronation crown in place of the Mənilək crown. In addition, the conquering lion faced right instead of left, and was made to carry the flag. Subsequent versions again reversed the direction of the lion, and put swords in the hands of the archangels.

Ḫaylä Śəllase's coat of arms was the inspiration for imperial and national motifs, badges and emblems which were to appear on coins, medals and uniforms. Of particular interest is the flag of the Ethiopian Airforce, which was a copy of the heraldic lion on the 17th-cent. French "crucifix" coat of arms, but with the addition of a crown on the head of the lion, and wings, to denote flight. The flag of the *abun* depicted a winged heraldic lion *passant guardant*, crowned, and clearly representing the Paschal Lamb of God.

↗Coronation; ↗Crowns

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 153; BruNile 479; ḪAYLÄ MARYAM SÄRABIYON, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ትዕምርተ፡ መንግሥት፡ የሚናገር፡ መቅድም** (*Yäʾityopya təᶜəmərtä mängəśt yämminnaggär mäqdəm*, 'The Introduction Relating about the Ethiopian State Symbols'), Addis Abäba 1905; LudHist, map; *Le Monde ou la Géographie Universelle*, Paris 1663; *blattengeta* MÄRSƎᶜE ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የትእምርተ፡ መንግሥት፡ ታሪክ። በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ለቀዳማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ** (*Yätəʾəmərtä mängəśt tarik. Bämäwaᶜəlihu läqädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase nəguśä nägäśt zäʾityopya*, 'The History of State Symbols. In the Time of Ḫaylä Śəllase I, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1943; GebMolIyas 306; RubActa I, 59 no. 44; SalTrav fig. 6; BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *História geral de Ethiópia a alta ov Preste Ioam e do que nella obraram os padres da companhia de Jesus,* Coimbra 1660; *Le Monde ou la Géographie Universelle*, Paris 1663.

Lit.: IAN CAMPBELL, "Orient Meets Occident at the Imperial Throne: the Origins, Evolution and Symbolism of the Royal Ethiopian Coat of Arms", in: *Proceedings of the 4th Annual Conference of Orbis Aethiopicus, 9–11 October 1998*, in preparation; STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Some Notes on the History of the Ethiopian National Flag", *JES* 1, 2, 1963, 49–63; ID., "A Second Note on the Ethiopian National Flag, with Comments on its Historical and Sociological Sources", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 137–53; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Vincit leo de tribu Iuda", *Bolletino della Società Africana d'Italia* 57, 1939, 1–8; RICHARD K. PANKHURST, "Letter Writing and the Use of Royal and Imperial Seals in Ethiopia prior to the Twentieth Century", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 192–93, 205; ID., "Ethiopian Royal Seals of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in: *PICES* 6, 397–417, here 398f., 416 n. 4; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN PEDERSEN, *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, Jerusalem 1983, 137f.; S. PIERRE PÉTRIDÈS, *Le Livre d'Or de la Dynastie Salomonienne d'Ethiopie*, Paris 1964; CHARLES FERNAND REY, *In the Country of the Blue Nile*, London 1927; RICHARD PANKHURST (ed.), *Britain in Ethiopia. 1896–1996*: *Centenary of the British Diplomatic Presence in Addis Ababa*, Addis Ababa 1996; MANUEL JOÃO RAMOS, *Ensaios de Mitologia Cristã*: *O Preste João e a Reversibilidade Simbólica*, Lisboa 1997; SVEN RUBENSON, "The Lion of the Tribe of Judah: Christian Symbol and/or Imperial Title", *JES* 3, 2, 1965, 75–85.

Ian L. Campbell

Flags and banners

The Ethiopian national flag was created at the end of 19th cent. However, in the past banners were used and the terms **ሰንደቅ** (*sändäq*) and **ዓላማ** (*ᶜalama*) applied jointly nowadays to designate the flag were used separately. In the 16th cent., the term *ᶜalama* probably referred to two types of objects, one being a staff either with a brass globe surmounted by a cross or with ribbons at the top which – in the 17th cent. – were used by military units. The second consisted of banners either in plain colours or with globes painted on them. In the late 17th or early 18th cent. the borrowed term *sändäq* was introduced to designate military banners in swallow tail form and in variously arranged colours occasionally including a lion or globe. It appears that royal standards also existed and were displayed during the battle as well as being used to indicate the place for the establishment of a royal camp. In addition, provincial rulers were known to have displayed standards whenever they declared war.

During the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* banners were used only for religious ceremonies. *Aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV reintroduced the display of banners on state occasions. This consisted of two red bands separated by a yellow on which the lion passant was brocaded. The Emperor also had his own standard, which was crimson at the top amethyst blue at the bottom, while on the white band in the middle, the Lion of Judah was painted with a defiant tail and a crucifix in his

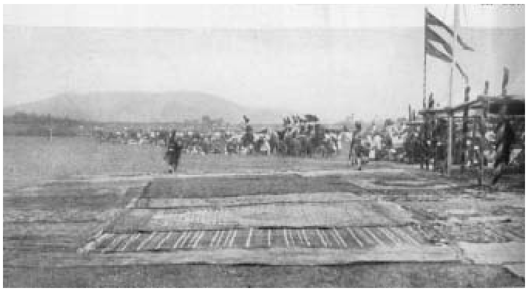


Fig. 2: The Ethiopian flag in the period of *aṣe* Mənilək II during a parade in honour of Ferdinando ↗Martini, consisting of three separated stripes; photo 1906, from Cipolla 1909: 997, offprint collection of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, University of Hamburg

right paw. The blue staff was surmounted by a large gilt cross. Mənilək, King of Šäwa, had crimson and white or plain red pennons being carried during his military campaigns, while the royal colours were red, white, yellow and green. Following his accession to the throne as emperor of Ethiopia, the three colours – green, yellow and red – appear to have prevailed but were still displayed as separate pennons.

In 1891 ↗Mənilək II commissioned a flag in Switzerland consisting of five horizontal red, green, white, blue and red bands. Later, in October 1897, he ordered three red, green and yellow pennons to be sewn together and incorporated into one piece for display during the 1898 Franco–Ethiopian expedition to the White Nile. This innovation can, in effect, be considered the true birth of the national flag, which consisted of a horizontal band of red at the top, a band of yellow in the middle with the **ም** (‘M’) monogram embroided on it and a green band at the bottom (s. ill.). At the same time, the two words were joined together and the new term **ሰንደቅ፡ ዓላማ** (*sändäq ᶜalama*) came to signify the flag, while the name *bandera* borrowed from Italian – served as a synonym. It seems, however, that no official announcement was ever made relating to the creation of the national flag and, as a result, differences of opinion persisted as to the arrangement of the colours. In 1913 ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Särabyon published a pamphlet advocating that a red band should appear at the top, while *ras* Täfäri (future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) and the leaders of the 1916 ↗coup d’état (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081), were in favour of a green one and this eventually prevailed. The same people were also proponents of the idea of time-honoured origins of the Ethiopian flag.

The simple tricolor flag thus established was used by private citizens, while on official state flags the yellow band bore the same coat of arms as the one appearing on the coins of the realm. During the 1974 ↗Revolution, the crown was initially removed from the lion’s head and the cross on the standard replaced by a spearhead. The new emblem then evolved into three successive versions – the first consisting of the outline map of Ethiopia within a circle with the motto “Ethiopia First” appearing across the map. The *Därg* then created a substitute emblem with an ear of corn surrounding the representation of a plow shown within a dentate wheel and 14 rays of light extending from it. In 1987, with the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the new state emblem included the same ear of corn and the dentate wheel but substituted a star for a plough, and added a facsimile of the top of an Aksumite stele. This emblem was subsequently cancelled after the political change of 1991, and in the constitution of 1995 green, yellow and red were confirmed as the national colours. A newly created official emblem was then superimposed on these colours and consists of a blue circle surrounding a five-pointed star with five rays radiating from each angle.

Src.: BassHist 101, 105, 125; BeckHuntAlvar 129; JULES BORELLI, *L’Éthiopie méridionale*, Paris 1900, 167; BruNile IV, 156; CAMILIO BECCARI, *Il Tigre descritto da un missionario gesuita del secolo XVII*, Roma 1909, 49; CRHist 1907; “The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia”, *Nägarit Gazeṭa* 1, 21 August 1995, 7, 77; *näggadras* DÄSTA MƎTƎKKE, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሰንደቅ፡ ዓላማ፡ የተመሰለው፡ ትርጓሜ** (*Yäᵓityopya sändäq ᶜalama yätämässäläw tərgʷame*, ‘The Interpretation of the Symbolism of the Ethiopian Flag’), *Bərhanənna Sälam*, 21 January 1926, 23; GueCopMen 423, 616–19; DillmLex col. 374; ALEXANDRE GIRARD, *Souvenirs d’un voyage en Abyssinie*, Cairo 1973; ḪAYLÄ MARYAM SÄRABYON, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ትምህርተ፡ መንግሥት። ሰንደቅ፡ ዓላማና፡ ዘውዱን፡ የጃንሆይንም፡ አዋጅ፡ የሚናገር፡ መጽሐፍ** (*Yäᵓityopya təmhərtä mängəśt. Sändäq ᶜalamanna zäwdun yäǧanhoyənəmm awaǧ yämminnaggär mäṣḥaf*, ‘The Emblem of the Government of Ethiopia. The Book which Describes the Flag, the Crown and the Proclamation of the Emperor’), Addis Abäba 1913, 18–22; LUCIEN LOUIS LANDE, “Un voyageur français dans l’Éthiopie méridionale”, *Revue des deux mondes*, 15 Décembre 1878, 886, 893; HIOB LUDOLF, *A New History of Ethiopia*, London 1682, 214; ALFONSO MENDEZ, *Lettera di Monsignor Patriarca di Etiopia dell’anno 1626*, Roma 1628, 113, 155; CHARLES MICHEL, *Vers Fachoda à l’encontre de la Mission Marchand à travers l’Éthiopie* (*Mission de Bonchamps*), Paris ca. 1900, 247, 253ff., 285f., 314; HENRI D’ORLEANS, *Une visite à l’Empereur Ménélick*, Paris 1897, 173, 175 (ill.); PERO PAEZ, *Lettera scritta al R.P. Mutio Viteleschi*, Roma 1621, 154; ṢÄGGA ZÄᵓAB, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሰንደቅ፡ ዓላማ፡ ትርጉም** (*Yäᵓityopya sändäq ᶜalama tərgum*, ‘The Interpretation of the Ethiopian Flag’), *Bərhanənna Sälam*,

9 July 1925, 111; GABRIEL SIMON, *L'Éthiopie, ses moeurs, ses traditions, le Négous Yohannès, les églises monolithes de Lalibéla*, Paris 1885, 347; PAUL SOLEILLET, *Voyages en Éthiopie*, Rouen 1886, 308; J.G. VANDERHEYM, *Une expédition avec le Négous Ménélik*, Paris 1896, 129; WILLIAM WINSTANLEY, *A Visit to Abyssinia*, London 1881, 245.

Lit.: ARNALDO CIPOLLA, *L'Abissinia e Menelik*, Milano 1909, 997 (ill.); STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Some Notes on the History of the Ethiopian National Flag", *JES* 1, 2, 1963, 49–63; ID., "A Second Note on the Ethiopian National Flag, with Comments on its Historical and Sociological Sources", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 137–53; ID., "Third Note on the History of the Ethiopian National Flag. The Discovery of its First Exemplar and the New Documents on the Early Attempts by Emperor Menilek to Introduce the Flag", *RSE* 28, 1980–81 [1981], 23–40, plates.

Stanisław Chojnacki

National anthem

The text of the pre-war Ethiopian National Anthem, which was composed in Amharic, and began with the words **ኢትዮጵያ፡ ሆይ፤ ደስ፡ ይበልሽ** (*Ityoṗya hoy, däss yəbäləš*, i.e. 'Hail Ethiopia, May you Rejoice'), is of apparently unknown authorship. The music is, however, known to have been composed by the ↗Armenian musician Kevork Nalbandian (1887–1963), reportedly in 1926. Born in Aintab in Turkey he had arrived in the Ethiopian capital in 1924 and served for the next decade as musical director of Addis Abäba schools. With the help of a group of Armenian youngsters, known in Amharic as the *arba ləǧočč* ('40 children'), who were given asylum in Ethiopia by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən in 1924, he had also founded an Armenian choir (Pankhurst 1981: 388).

The anthem was first sung in March 1927 by students of the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School (Pankhurst 1955: 589). The Amharic text of the anthem, with a French translation, and musical notation is published by Zervos (ZerÉth 30f.). The music was played at the Emperor's coronation, in 1930, as well as on other pre-war state occasions. The playing of the anthem acquired some diplomatic importance in 1940–41, during ↗World War II, when British Government hesitancy in recognizing Ethiopia as a full ally found expression in the British Broadcasting Corporation's unwillingness to play it in a weekly radio programme devoted to the anthems of the Allies (s. Pankhurst 2003: 118–34). After the Liberation in 1941 the anthem continued in general use until the Ethiopian ↗Revolution of 1974 when it was replaced by entirely different words and music. After the collapse of the *Därg*, yet another anthem was composed (lyrics by Derege Mälaku Mängäsa, music by Solomon Lulu).

Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "The History of Ethiopian–Armenian Relations (III): the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 15, 1981, 353–400; ID., *Sylvia Pankhurst: Counsel for Ethiopia*, Hollywood, CA 2003; SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ethiopia: a Cultural History*, Woodford Green 1955; ZerÉth.

Richard Pankhurst

Stecker, Anton

S. (b. 19 May 1855, Kosmanos [Kosmonosý], Bohemia, d. 15 April 1888, Jungbunzlau [Mladá Boleslav]) was an Austrian explorer. Son of a textile factory executive, he studied natural sciences, in particular zoology and anatomy, at the University of Prague, graduating with a Ph.D. in 1877. He continued his studies in Heidelberg and Berlin, where he met such famous explorers as Gustav Nachtigal, Gerhard ↗Rohlfs and Ferdinand von Richthofen. In 1878 he accompanied Rohlfs on an expedition from Tripoli to the oases of Kufra. They had to abandon their planned route to Wadai and went on a diplomatic mission to Ethiopia.

In December 1880 S. and Rohlfs departed from Massawa to Däbrä Tabor where *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV held residence. His mission accomplished by handing over two letters from the German Emperor Wilhelm I, Rohlfs returned to Germany, while S. stayed for the next two years (1881–83). S.'s interests were extensive. They covered not only biology, but also ethnography, geography, geology, etc., and even biography. His travel route led him first to Lake ↗Ṭana, where he drew the first reliable map of the lake on a scale of 1 : 200,000 (March 1881). With an Imperial travel permit and letters of recommendation for Goǧǧam and Käfa, S. turned southward, crossing the Abbay in early 1882. He went to ↗Guduru, Horo and ↗Leeqa, but his plans to get into Käfa failed, as he soon saw himself a pawn in the hands of *nəguś* Mənilək (↗Mənilək II), who made him a prisoner suspecting that he was a spy for his rival, *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam. S. was released when two Italians, Giacomo ↗Naretti and Orazio ↗Antinori, interceded on his behalf. He then turned to the lacustrine area, exploring and mapping the ↗Zəkʷala crater lake and Lakes ↗Wänči and ↗Zʷay. He had, however, to drop his plans of advancing further south, when Mənilək, ever mistrustful, sent him back to the north and handed him over to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs.

S. also visited Goǧǧam, Gondär and Aksum. Returning to Däbrä Tabor, S. was decorated with the Order of Solomon. After an excursion to the

Səmen mountains, he finally set off to Massawa which he reached in July 1883. Yoḥannəs had entrusted him with a letter to the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph. Unfortunately, when he returned to Europe he was already severely ill with tuberculosis of the lung, making it impossible for him to work through his extensive travel notes and records, which for the most part remained unpublished.

Src.: Anton Stecker, "Die Steckersche Expedition (nach Abessinien): Berichte des Reisenden", *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland* 3, 1881–82, 21–33; Id., "Die Rohlfs'sche Expedition nach Abessinien", *Mitteilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland*, vol. 2, 4, 1881, 193–209; Id., "Aufnahme des Tana-Sees", *ibid.*, vol. 3, 1, 1881, 21–33; Id., "Dr. Anton Stecker über seine Reise in Abessinien", *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 10, 11, 1883, 230–37; Id., "Vortrag", *ibid.* 472–76; Id., "Dr. Anton Steckers Aufnahme des Tana-Sees [Eigenbericht]", *Globus* 40, 1881, 344–47, 360–63; G.E. Fritzsche, "Dr. Anton Steckers Reisen in den Galla-Ländern, 1882: Nach seinen Tagebuchaufzeichnungen", *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen* 37, 1891, 233–41; Gerhard Rohlfs, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien. Auf Befehl Sr. Maj. des Deutschen Kaisers im Winter 1880/81 unternommen*, Leipzig 1883.

Lit.: Max Kratochwill, "Der Afrikareisende Dr. Anton Stecker (1855–1888)", *Wiener Ethnohistorische Blätter* 32, 1987, 99–104; Jan Vratislav Zelízko, "Afrikaforscher Dr. Stecker und seine Reisen nach Kufra und Abessinien in den Jahren 1878–1883", *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Wien* 79, 1936, 273–75.

Werner Petermann

Steer, George

George Lowther S. (b. 22 November 1909, East London, South Africa, d. 25 December 1944, Burma) was a British journalist, who reported for the London *Times* on several military campaigns, including the Italian invasion of 1935–36 (↗Italian war 1935–36) and the subsequent Allied Liberation Campaign of 1940–41 (↗World War II; ↗War of Liberation).

Oxford-educated, and a committed Anti-Fascist, S. devoted his entire life to journalism. His writings on the Italian invasion of Ethiopia were significant in revealing to the world the Italian use of poison-gas. He is better remembered for his reportage on the bombing of Guernica in 1937 during the Spanish Civil War.

After ↗Mussolini's entry into the European war, S. was influential in persuading the British Government to accept the restoration of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. He was later put in charge of British war propaganda in Italian-occupied Ethiopia and founded the air-borne Amharic publication ↗*Banderaččən*. S. was the author of two books on Ethiopia (1936; 1942), both reprinted with new historical introductions in 2009. He died as a result of a wartime motor accident.

Src.: George Steer, *Caesar in Abyssinia*, London 1936; Id., *Sealed and Delivered*, London 1942.

Lit.: Nicolas Rankin, *Telegram from Guernica: the Extraordinary Life of George Steer, War Correspondent*, London 2003; Richard Pankhurst, *Sylvia Pankhurst: Counsel for Ethiopia*, Hollywood, CA 2003, 77.

Richard Pankhurst

Stelae

The term S. (sg., stela or stele) is in general use to designate upright monoliths of varied form which have been erected in many parts of northeast Africa, including much of Ethiopia and Eritrea, from at least the 5th millennium B.C. The equivalent of S., ሐውልት (*ḥawəlt*, pl. *ḥawlat*) in Gəᶜəz and Amharic and *ḥawəlti* in Təgrəñña, has the rather wider meaning of 'monument'.

The term "obelisk", sometimes applied to the largest Aksumite S., is a misnomer. Following prevalent usage by students of Graeco-Roman archaeology, some Aksumite inscribed stone slabs are also sometimes referred to as "S."; this practice has given rise to confusion and is not followed here since these slabs served a different function, not being regarded as *ḥawəlt*.

The only firmly attested function of the African S. is as grave-markers (↗Graves; ↗Burial). The best known and most impressive examples are at ↗Aksum and related sites, within the period 400 B.C.–A.D. 400, but other forms are far more widely distributed both geographically and chronologically.

Stelae in Eritrea and northern Ethiopia

Excavations near Kassala, on the ↗Gaš/↗Märäb River in Sudan close to the border with Eritrea, have revealed that plain, uncarved S. served as grave-markers as long ago as the third millennium B.C.

S. came into vogue at least as early as the mid-first millennium B.C. in the region where the Aksumite kingdom subsequently flourished. Examples attributable to the period commonly if inappropriately designated pre-Aksumite are known at ↗Betä Giyorgis immediately northwest of Aksum, and (less certainly) at ↗Yəḥa. Later, Aksumite, examples are known from numerous sites, but most notably from Aksum itself. They range in size and elaboration from simple elongated pieces of rock less than 1.5 m long to a huge example ca. 30 m long, weighing

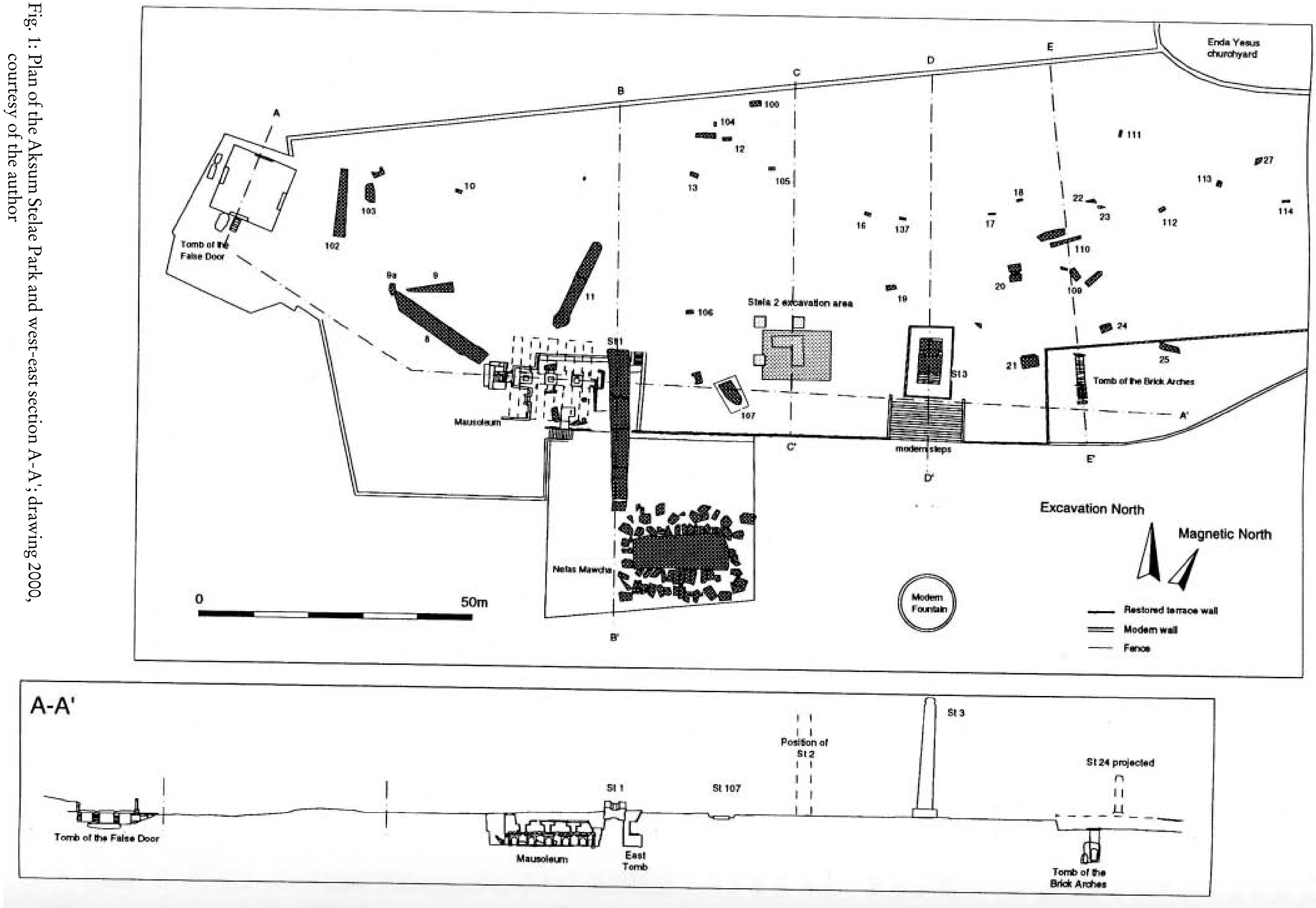

Enda Yesus churchyard
A
B
C
D
E
100
104
12
13
105
111
27
113
114
112
10
103
102
18
22
23
16
137
17
110
Tomb of the False Door
9a
9
11
20
109
19
106
Stela 2 excavation area
24
St1
8
25
21
St13
Tomb of the Brick Arches
Mausoleum
107
A'
C'
modern steps
E'
D'
Excavation North
Magnetic North
Nefas Mawcha
0
50m
Modern Fountain
Restored terrace wall
Modern wall
Fence
B'
A-A'
St 3
Position of St 2
St 24 projected
St 1
St 107
Tomb of the False Door
Mausoleum
East Tomb
Tomb of the Brick Arches

Fig. 1: Plan of the Aksum Stelae Park and west-east section A-A'; drawing 2000, courtesy of the author

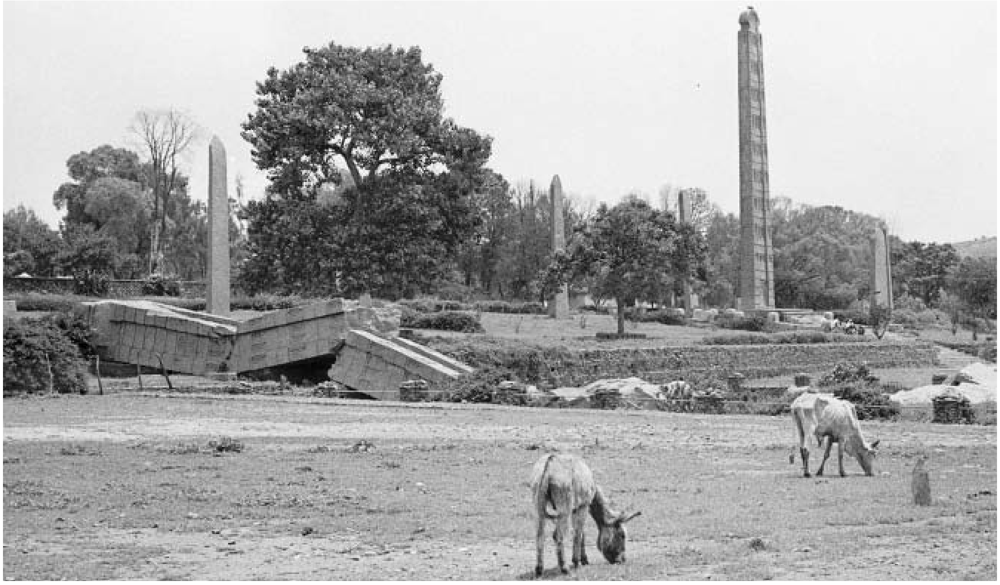


Fig. 2: The Aksum stelae park; photo 1972–74 by Werner Lange, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (37-La054-69)

520 tonnes and elaborately carved on all surfaces. Such S. were erected to mark graves which themselves varied in elaboration from simple pits containing minimal grave goods to complex monumental tombs with rich contents.

The largest S. and most elaborate tombs are concentrated in the terraced area now commonly called the S. Park on the northern side of Aksum, which is believed to have served as the royal burial area for at least the first four centuries A.D. Here, six S., all of nepheline syenite quarried ca. 4 km to the west, are carved in representation of multistorey buildings; only one of them – the third largest – is still upright, with a height of 23 m and an estimated weight of 150 tonnes. The pieces of the second largest, which fell and broke many centuries ago, were taken to Italy in 1937 by order of ↗Mussolini, re-assembled and erected in Rome; they were returned to Aksum in 2005.

The largest of these six S. may never have been successfully erected and lies broken; it is thought to be the largest single block of stone which people have anywhere, at any time, attempted to stand upright. One of the elaborate tombs which this S. had been intended to mark was located by archaeological excavation in 1974 and more fully investigated in 1993–95. Comprising a central passage and ten sidechambers, it was built in a large pit and then buried, its interior rendered to give the impression that the whole structure was carved from the rock. This tomb is dated to the mid-4th cent. A.D. and, since it can be shown to be the latest in a sequence of progressively increasing grandeur and more westerly location, seems to be that of the last Aksumite king to be buried according to pre-Christian tradition. The storeyed S. that still stands would thus date from the late 3rd or early 4th cent. A.D. More certain attribution of these tombs is not possible since, remarkably for a literate civilization, none of these Aksumite monuments bears any inscription. The only inscription that may be relevant is too fragmentary to be read; it was found in another 4th-cent. tomb nearby and formed part of a circular brass plaque probably intended for mounting on the apex of a S. (s. Schneider in Phillipson 2000: 512f.).

Research in the 1990s yielded information on how the great Aksum S. were quarried, transported, carved and erected, as well as how the second-largest one had been intentionally destabilized to make it collapse. Most of the S. in a second burial ground at Aksum – the so-called Gudit S. Field – are smaller and less refined, marking a burial ground for people of lower status. Although royal burials were no longer marked by S. after the conversion to Christianity, it is possible that the tradition was continued in lower status contexts.

S. are known from a number of other Aksumite sites and a few, unlike those at the capital, are inscribed; the information thus revealed, while limited, is compatible with that deduced archaeologically at Aksum. One example, 5.8 m high at ↗Mäṭära in Eritrea, bears the pre-Christian crescent-and-disc symbol and an unvocalized Gəᶜəz ↗inscription (RIÉ no. 223); re-erected during the colonial period beside the main road but probably not in its original location, it was reported seriously damaged by the Ethiopian military in 2001. The inscription, in a style attributed to the late 3rd cent., indicates that the S. was erected by a certain ᵓGZ "for his ancestors". Another 7-m S., at ᶜAnza, near Ḥawzen, bears an inscription (RIÉ no. 218) of similar age indicating that it was erected for BZT, a local ruler.

↗Architecture; ↗Inscriptions; ↗Proto-Aksumite culture; ↗Religion: Aksumite religion

Src.: RIÉ nos. 218, 223.

Lit.: RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "The Contribution of the Recent Fieldwork at Kassala (Eastern Sudan) to Ethiopian Archaeology", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 43–51; DAE II, 1–43; STUART CHRISTOPHER MUNRO-HAY, *Excavations at Aksum*, London 1989, 55–104; DAVID WALTER PHILLIPSON, "The Significance and Symbolism of Aksumite Stelae", *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 4, 1994, 189–210; ID., *The Monuments of Aksum*, Addis Ababa – London 1997, 11–65, 184–92; ID., *Archaeology at Aksum, Ethiopia, 1993–1997*, London 2000, 27–30, 97–100, 135–266 [with a contribution by ROGER SCHNEIDER, "Inscriptions", 512–14].

David W. Phillipson

Stelae in central and southern Ethiopia

S. are widespread in southern Ethiopia. From Mänz to the south of ↗Sidamo, thousands of S. have been erected, forming sometimes impressive complexes. The oldest of them, the "phallic" S. from Sidamo, are probably not earlier than the 10th cent. Other S. in ↗Konso and Gawwada (Gewada) are still being set up today on the ↗graves (↗burials) of important persons.

Several variant forms may be recognized. In Gadillo Meda, ↗Mänz, a group of S. present anthropomorphical and "phallic" shapes. The first are carved with stylised human faces, and the others with designs.

In ↗Soddo (Gurage), several S. forms have been identified. S. with silhouettes have a triangular shape, with the vertex at the bottom. They present stylized human faces, arms and ornamentation (necklace, bracelet). One of the most remarkable of this type is found in Osole and is 2.90 m long.

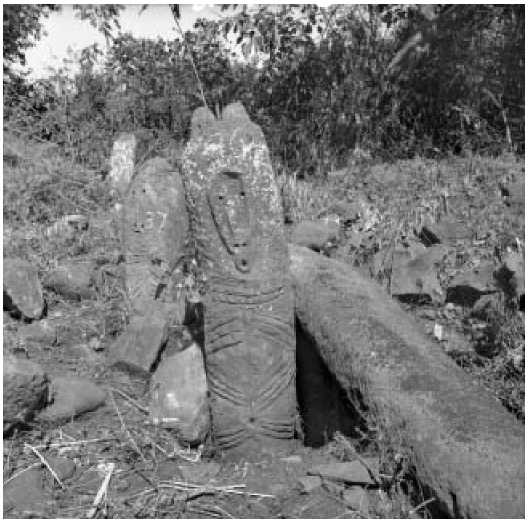


Fig. 3: Stelae from the Fela mountain, southern Ethiopia; photo 1934–35, courtesy of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main (13-0063)

In the same Soddo region, S. with sword forms have been produced from rhyolite slabs cut with an iron adze. The largest, found on the site of ↗Ṭəya (Tiya), measures five metres. Decoration, which occurs only on one face, is divided into three tiers: at the lowest tier there is a perforation; the next tier is decorated with different shapes – in W, X or O – which may represent the male organs, human organs, ribs and male breasts. The upper tier contains sword forms and sometimes a figure in preaching position. These S. are normally placed in circular settings around burial tombs. Other S. forms include figures in preaching position.

To the east of Lake Abbaya there are numerous cylindrical S. topped by a spherical form, which could be of phallic inspiration. They are gathered in complexes containing in some cases more than 1,500 S., as at Tuttiti. The largest ones are 6 to 8 m high. Some bear carvings with figurative shapes. The "phallic" S. served as markers of individual graves. They are associated with long funeral tumulus.

↗Megalithic cultures

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Les stèles du Sud, Shoa et Sidamo", *AE* 12, 1982, 1–221, pl. 50; FRANÇOIS AZAÏS – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Ethiopie. Province du Harar et Éthiopie Méridionale*, 2 vols., Paris 1931; ERIC GODET – ISABELLE PIERRE, "Les stèles sculptées du Soddo (Ethiopie): Recherche sur leur symbolisme", *Hommages à Jean Leclant* 106, 2, 1993, 151–68; EIKE HABERLAND, "Megalithic Monuments in Southern Ethiopia: a Reconsideration", in: *Congrès Panafricain de Préhistoire et d'études du Quaternaire,* Addis–Abeba 1971, 227–28; ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN, *Im Lande des Gada. Wanderungen zwischen Volkstrümmern Südabessiniens*, Stuttgart 1936, 448–83; ROGER JOUSSAUME (ed.), *Tiya – L'Ethiopie des mégalithes*; *Du biface à l'art rupestre dans la Corne de l'Afrique*, Chauvigny 1995; ID. (ed.), *Tuto Fela et les stèles du sud de l'Ethiopie*, Paris 2007; CLAUDE

Tournemire, "Découvertes des stèles monolithiques dans le pays Guragué", *AE* 19, 2003, 83–117.

Roger Joussaume

Stella, Giovanni Giacinto

S. (b. 15 August 1822, Carcare, Savona, d. 20 October 1869, Šətäl) was a ↗Lazarist missionary. He began religious studies at the seminary in Genoa and studied Theology in Turin. In 1847, he left for ^{c}Agamä, where the Lazarists ran a school. However, to avoid persecution, he moved to Gondär, where he relied on the protection of *ras* ↗Ali Alula. In 1849, he accompanied Guglielmo ↗Massaja on his trip in Šäwa.

Then, S. moved to a location near Massawa until, in 1851, he made a journey of exploration with his companion Giuseppe ↗Sapeto through the lands of the Mänsa^c, Bogos and Ḥabab. Drawing on good relations with the locals, he later supported a project to establish an agricultural colony (↗Bilin history). This, and the fact that he was living with an indigenous woman since 1851 brought his superiors Massaja, Pierre-Louis ↗Bel and Lorenzo ↗Biancheri to ask him to abandon the religious habit in 1866 (cf. MasMis^2 vol. 4, 136f.).

In 1865, S. obtained from *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən a concession of about 233 km^2 of land in the Šətäl, on the footsteps of mount "Tiazol". On 20 February 1867, he founded an agricultural colony, which soon ended in failure due to opposition by the local community and Werner ↗Munzinger. With the latter S. was embroiled in a fierce conflict leading to an attempt on ↗Munzinger's life in which S.'s own brother-in-law was involved. He died, soon thereafter due to a blood clot in the brain.

Src.: MasMis^2 vol. 1, 92f., 97, 100, 102, 125; vol. 2, 264; vol. 4, 136f., 255f., 263f., 332; vol. 6, 139, 164; Giuseppe Sapeto, *Viaggio e missione cattolica fra i Mensa, i Bogos e gli Habab con un cenno geografico e storico dell'Abissinia*, Roma 1857; Vittoriana Sardo Derapalino, *Un collegio nelle Langhe. Storia delle Scuole Pie di Carcare*, Savona 1972, 149ff.; Giovanni Stella, *Abissinia. Storia*, Roma 1850; Id., "Letters", *Annales de la Congrégation de les Mission* 14, 1849, 658–79; 15, 1870, 542–47; 17, 1852, 136–37 and 223–42; 20, 1855, 537–57, 566–72 and 583–85; 24, 1859, 93–95; 25, 1861, 14–15; 26, 1861, 105–07; 29, 1864; *Revue d'histoire des missions* 16, 1939, 580-81 and 606–12; 17, 1940, 34–36; Id., "Letter to Cavour, Camera dei Deputati", *Documenti diplomatici. XV. Libro Verde. Etiopia*, Roma 1897, 15–16; Francesco Surdich, "Alcune lettere inedite di padre Stella", *Atti e Memorie della Società Savonese di Storia Patria* nuova ser., 15, 1981, 227–42.

Lit.: Orazio Antinori, "Sopra una colonia italiana stabilita in Sciotel nel paese dei Bogos in Abissinia", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 3, 1869, 469–74; Gustavo Buchler, *La colonia italiana in Abissinia. Impressioni di viaggio,* Trieste 1876; Francesco De Lorenzo, *Per la rivendicazione di un territorio di proprietà italiana sito in Abissinia*, Napoli 1886; Id., *Sciotel. Abissinia. Vicende della colonia del Padre Stella e progetto per restaurarla*, Napoli 1887; Giulio Giacchero – Giuseppe Bisogni, *Vita di Giuseppe Sapeto. L'ignota storia degli esordi coloniali italiani rivelata da documenti inediti*, Firenze 1942, 60ff., 151–55, 166–80, 341ff.; Piero Gribaudi, "Il P. Giovanni Stella e la Colonia Italo–Africana di Sciotel", *Scritti di varia geografia*, Torino 1955, 554–58; Arturo Issel, *Viaggio nel mar Rosso e tra i Bogos* (*1870*), Milano 1872, 142f.; Orazio Pedrazzi, "La colonia agricola di Padre Stella e la sua storia", *L'Agricoltura Coloniale* 1, 1917, 10–26; Luigi Pennazzi, "Popolazioni dell'Alta Nubia. I Bogos e il Padre Stella", *Nuova Antologia* 56, 1881, 502–08.

Francesco Surdich

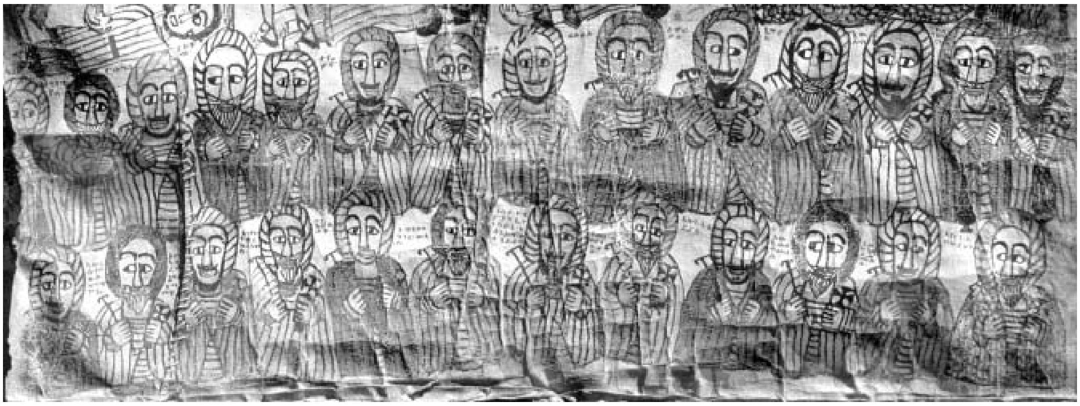
Stephanites

The S. were a movement within Ethiopian ↗monasticism (s. EAE vol. 5) called so after their founder and spiritual leader *abunä* ↗Ǝsṭifanos ("Ǝsṭifanosites" would be the correct designation of the movement, but "S." is prevalent in the literature). The movement rose to prominence in the 15th cent. and continued until the 16th cent., when it was formally reconciled with the main body of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC).

Quite a number of texts referring to the S. have been published and studied, most of them are works of ↗hagiography that originated in the circles of the S. (including the Vita of *abunä* Ǝsṭifanos, s. Getatchew Haile 2006). On the other hand, the historical record is confused by the continued efforts of the opponents of the S. to discredit them by attacking their views, presenting them in a biased way or creating scurrilous stories about their leaders (cp. CRRicBerhan I, 43–53 [text]; Wendt 1962: 13, 38 [text]; FotiCr 92 [tr.] and Cerulli 1933: 101ff.).

Scholars have offered differing interpretations of the movement emphasizing its "fundamentalist" (Getatchew Haile 1983), "heretical" (Beylot, Taddesse Tamrat 1966), regional and anti-royal (KapMon) character. It should be noted that these explanations are not necessarily mutually exclusive and that, moreover, sources written long after the events offer differing presentations of the movement's tenets and activities.

The head of the movement, *abunä* Ǝsṭifanos, was born at the end of the 14th cent. and assumed a monastic vocation from around age 20. After a while, he became a critic of what he viewed as the lax practices of the monks of his period. He succeeded in being ordained a deacon and a priest by



Prominent Stephanite monks and *abbots* of Gundä Gunde, fragment of a painting on parchment, second half of the 17th cent., Mäqälä, Təgray, Museum of Yoḥannəs IV; photo 2005, courtesy of Michael Gervers

abunä ↗Bärtälomewos, but his criticisms generated a conflict and led to his expulsion from his home monastery (probably Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa of *abunä* ↗Samuᵓel, in ↗Šire).

Joined by a group of followers who shared his proclivity for asceticism and regimentation, Ǝsṭifanos moved to the area of ↗Täkkäze, on the margin of Šire (ca. 1428, according to the Vita of ↗Abäkärazun, the date which can be considered the movement's starting point; Conti Rossini 1910: 13 [text]). There he established a rigid monastic organization which emphasized poverty, absolute self-subsistence, equality and independence from secular authorities (Getatchew Haile 2006: 26–29 [text]). The motto of returning to "true asceticism" based on the Scriptures as opposed to the traditional monastic order "inherited from the fathers", and the claim of implementing these principles in the practice of the monastic life, may be considered the basis of Ǝsṭifanos's teaching. His enemies in the monastic circles made attempts to discredit him, but the movement gained followers in various monastic communities of ↗Təgray, and Ǝsṭifanos personally enjoyed the support of some local rulers such as the governor of Šire and the than ↗*təgre mäkʷännən.*

When summoned to the royal court, Ǝsṭifanos was initially able to convince the emperor (probably *aṣe* Ḥəzbä Nañ ↗Täklä Maryam) that he posed no threat to royal power or the unity of the Church. Later, however, he collided with *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. Ǝsṭifanos appears to have disapproved of the Emperor's religion initiatives including the "excessive" veneration of the Holy ↗Cross, the millenarian doctrine of ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon and the introduction of the festivals of St. ↗Mary (cp. Piovanelli 1995: 207–11). Perhaps even more importantly, he rejected royal supremacy and authority in spiritual matters and refused to participate in court judiciary procedures. Furthermore he taught to observe both Saturday and Sunday as ↗Sabbath, with reference to the ↗*Senodos* (e.g., Getatchew Haile 2006: 28 [text]; similarly to the ↗Ewosṭateans, though he was later accused of observing Saturday, but not Sunday). At some point after 1434 (after his first meeting with the Emperor), Ǝsṭifanos moved to the remote monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde (ᶜAgamä) which soon became the main centre of the S. movement.

Despite the attempted intervention of one of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's teachers, Bärtälomewos, who was close to Ǝsṭifanos (Beylot 2000), the Emperor had the latter imprisoned (ca. 1437). Ǝsṭifanos's death in December 1444 was a blow for his followers; during the remainder of the 15th cent. they were forced to survive as refugees. The Chronicle of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob describes brutal persecutions of the S. (s. PerrZarY 69f., 92), since, apparently, after the council of ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq, the Emperor did not feel any need to be too diplomatic with the S. Internal disputes and divisions also appear to have taken their toll on the S.

Shortly before his death in 1476, Abäkäräzun selected twelve monks to travel to ↗Jerusalem to be ordained. The decision was dictated by the necessity to keep performing Christian rituals under the conditions of the excommunication by the EOTC (Caquot 1961: 74f. [text]). They departed during the leadership of his successor ↗Gäbrä Mäśiḥ (I). It appears that a few were successful in their attempts to be ordained (most notably *abunä* ↗ᶜƎzra, by "*abba* Yoḥannəs" – Hovhannes Missirtzee, Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem [1485–91]?; ibid. 78f. [text], but cp.

Cerulli in PICES 3, vol. 2). It did not resolve their conflicts with the rest of the Church and the royal power (specifically *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər). Moreover, tensions existed between the leader of the pilgrims, ᶜƎzra, and Gäbrä Mäśiḥ and it was only after the latter's death (1522) that his successor *abunä* ↗Habtä Śəllase (I) translated ᶜƎzra's remains to Gundä Gunde.

Aṣe ↗Naᶜod appears to have been more favourably inclined towards the S. and to have been instrumental in their reintegration into the EOTC during the period of Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yəsḥaq. For their part, the S. appear to have softened their position and accepted prostration if not worship of St. Mary; the excommunication was lifted by the Metropolitan (Caquot 1961: 81f. [text]; Getatchew Haile 1983: 100ff.).

The local rulers such as the *təgre mäkʷännən* Zärᵓa Śännay, and the court officials who governed Ethiopia during the regency of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl did not share Naᶜod's tolerance of the S. and the persecutions were renewed (Beylot 1984:28). However, Ləbnä Dəngəl appears to have been less antagonistic, which allowed the next head of Gundä Gunde *abunä* Habtä Śəllase (I) to consolidate the movement during the upheavals of the early 16th cent. It is interesting to note that ↗Alvarez, in his rather garbled report of the S.'s (*estefarruz*) opposition to the Cross, makes no mention of any opposition to the veneration of St. Mary (BeckHuntAlvar 170; cp. also Kur in PICES 10, 360). *Abunä* Täklä Näbiyat led the S. from ca. 1539 to 1553; sources from the 16th cent. indicate that although the S. received holy orders from the Metropolitan, they continued to be viewed with suspicion by some parts of the Church for many generations. Their infamy as **ፀረ፡ ማርያም** (*ṣ́ärä Maryam*, lit. 'enemy of Mary') or **ደቂቀ፡ እስጢፋ** (*däqiqä Ǝsṭifa*, 'children of Ǝsṭifanos') was perpetuated by some writings (including stories in the ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam*; cp. CerMaria 94–103; Cerulli in PICES 3, vol. 2; cp. also Conti Rossini 1925: 514f.).

The S. movement was gradually ousted from Šire and some other parts of Təgray, but instead obtained strong backing from the ↗Irob people living around Gundä Gunde. The monastery appears to have been destroyed and or abandoned on several occasions (1452, 1458?, 1500). The members of the movement as well as its leaders often resided in other locations including Desᶜa and Mänbärta. The 16th-cent. *abba* ↗Isayəyyas is credited with establishing an additional monastic community at ᶜAlaqət. Even though the ideology of the S. was influential during the active period of the movement, the "network" of Gundä Gunde seems to have remained small, limited to a few sites mostly in its vicinity and a few monastic communities like Asir Mätira and Maryam Dibo, in East Təgray (Kələttä Awləᶜalo, s. EAE vol. 5; cp. Gigar Tesfaye 1979), of which not much is known.

In the course of the time, the oppositional character of the movement must have changed. In the 17th cent., Gundä Gunde appears to have been well incorporated into the cultural and religious life of the ↗Gondärine kingdom (cp. ↗Mäzgäbä Śəllase); it possessed *gʷəlt*-lands and later was much revered by such leaders as *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis. The bitter legacy of the persecutions of the S. has been preserved mostly as an internal memory of the community.

The S. developed a rich literary tradition, represented first of all by the manuscripts of Gundä Gunde, which contain the Vitae (↗*Gädl*) of most monastery's heads and prominent monks (cp. KinBibl; and such important works as the *Vita of the Fathers and Brothers of Däbrä Gärzen*, s. Beylot 1990; *The Teaching of Ǝsṭifanos and Abäkärazun*, s. Beylot 1970) and also other rare ancient works of the EOTC (cp. Schneider 1963; Mordini 1953: 39–55, etc.). Many of these manuscripts also preserve a particular style of illumination – the so-called Gundä Gunde style – which had spread to other regions (cp. Heldman in PICEA 1).

Despite the importance of the S. movement for the history of Ethiopia, as yet we have neither a comprehensive critical history of its background and development, nor a clear idea of its real geographical scale, historical significance and influence.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 170; ROBERT BEYLOT, "L'enseignement de la foi (*Temherta Hāymānot*). Texte stéphanite inédit", *JA* 274, 1986, 45–63; ID., "Actes des Pères et Frères de Dabra Garzen: introduction et instructions spirituelles et théologiques d'Estifanos", *AE* 15, 1990, 7–43; ID., "Les Actes de Gabra Masiḥ I (ca. 1419–1522) troisième chef du mouvement stéphanite", *RSE* 35, 1991 [1993, but 1994], 5–11; ID., "Bref aperçu des Actes de Bartalomēwos moine stéphanite du XVe siècle", *Aethiopica* 3, 2000, 116–20; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Les actes d'ᶜEzrā de Gunda-Gundē", *AE* 4, 1961, 69–121, here 74f., 78f., 81f. (text) = 95f., 103, 106f. (tr.); ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 5, 1933, 57–121; ID., "L'imperatore Na'od e gli Stefaniti a Gerusalemme in un documento inedito (Vaticano Etiopico 298)", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 243–53; CerMaria 94–103, s. index; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum I. Acta*

sancti Abakerazun, Louvain 1910 (CSCO 56, 57 [SAe 24, 25]), 13 (text) = 12 (tr.) ; ID., “Il Convento di Tsana in Abissinia e le sue laudi alla Vergine”, *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 19, 1910a, 582–621, here 611 and no. 3; ID., “Aethiopica (II^{a} Serie)”, *RSO* 10, 1925, 481–520, here 514f. [§44: “Un canto in onore di re Zar’a Yā‘qob e gli Stefaniti”]; CRRicBerhan I, 43–53 (text) = 24–30 (tr.); FotiCr 92 (tr.) = 119f. (text); GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Ge‘ez Acts of Abba Ǝsṭifanos of G^{w}endag^{w}ende*, Louvain 2006 (CSCO 619, 620 [SAe 110, 111]), 26-29 (text) = 23ff. (tr.); PerrZarY 69f., 92; STEVEN KAPLAN, “The Falasha and the Stephanite: an Episode from the Life of Abba Gäbrä Mäsiḥ”, *BSOAS* 48, 1985, 278–82; KURT WENDT, *Das Maṣḥafa Milād* (*Liber Nativitatis*) *und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē* (*Liber Trinitatis*) *des Kaisers Zarᵓa Yā^{c}qob*, I, Louvain 1962 (CSCO 221, 222 [SAe 41, 42]), 13, 38 (text) = 12, 34f. (tr.).

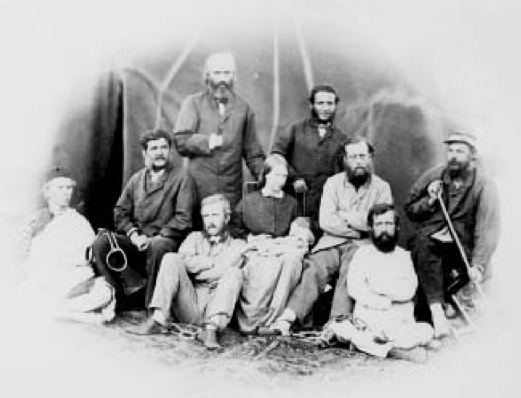
Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, “Un épisode de l’histoire ecclésiastique de l’Éthiopie. Le mouvement stéphanite. Essai sur la chronologie et sa doctrine”, *AE* 8, 1970, 103–16 (Lit.); ID., “Sur quelques hétérodoxes éthiopiens, Estifanos, Abakerazun, Gabra Masih, Ezra”, *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 201, 1984, 25–36; ID., “La dissidence stéphanite en Éthiopie au XV^{e} siècle”, in: JEAN CHRISTOPHE ATTIAS (ed.), *De la conversion*, Paris 1997 [1998] 119–32 (Lit.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, “Aethiopica (II^{a} Serie)”, *RSO* 9, 1925, 449–68, here 514f., §44; ALEXANDER FERENC, “‘Herezja’ Stefanitów w Etiopii w XV–XVI w.”, *Euhemer* 1–2, 1967, 71–80; GETATCHEW HAILE, “The Cause of the Estifanosites: a Fundamentalist Sect in the Church of Ethiopia”, *Paideuma* 29, 1983, 93–119; ID., “Ethiopian Heresies and Theological Controversies”, in: *CE* vol. 3, 384–87; GIGAR TESFAYE, “Notes sur Gunda-Gundie et d’autres couvents stéphanites dans le Tigray”, *Abbay* 10, 1979 [1981], 93–100; MARYLIN HELDMAN, “An Ēwosṭāthian Style and the Gundā Gundē Style in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Manuscript Illumination”, in: *PICEA* 1, 5–24, 135–39; KapMon s. index; STANISLAW KUR, “Les stéphanites à la lumière des *Actes d’Isaïe* de Gunda-Gundē”, in: *PICES* 10, 359–61; ID., “Les Stéphanites d’apès les *Actes d’Abekirezun*”, in: *WälYoh* 135–41; ANTONIO MORDINI, “Il convento di Gunde Gundiè”, *RSE* 12, 1953, 29–64; ROGER SCHNEIDER, “La Bibliotheque de Couvent de Gounda Gounde”, *Tarik* 2, 1963, 45–46; KinBibl nos. 1, 48, 50, 60, 75f., 80, 84, 108f., 114, 152, 174; PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, “Les controverses théologiques sous le roi Zar’a Yā‘qob (1434–1468) et la mise en place du monophysisme éthiopien”, in: ALAIN LE BOULLUEC (ed.), *La controverse religieuse et ses formes*, Paris 1995, 189–228; TADDESSE TAMRAT, “Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stephanite ‘Heresy’ in the Ethiopian Church”, *RSE* 22, 1966 [1968], 103–15 (Lit.).

Steven Kaplan

Stern, Henry Aaron

S. (b. 1820, Hesse-Cassel, d. 1885, London) was a missionary for the ↗London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews who was active among the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel.

The son of German Jews, S. was educated at Frankfurt am Main. He moved to London in 1839, where he chanced upon the Operative Jewish Converts’ Institution. In 1840, he was baptized in the Palestine Place Chapel. Ordained a deacon in 1844 by Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem, he travelled as a missionary to Iraq, Persia, Kurdistan and South Arabia.



Henry Stern (third from left, standing) with other missionaries of the “Falasha Mission” just after their liberation by the Napier expedition; photo 1868, from the collection of Wallraff-Richartz-Museum, Agfa-Fotorama, Cologne

S. arrived in Ethiopia in 1860. He obtained an audience with *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, who referred him to the metropolitan *abunä* Salama. S. regarded the establishment of a mission among the Betä Ǝsraᵓel as a stepping-stone to infiltrating and reforming the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, but received permission to proselytize among non-Christians only, on condition that all would be baptized into the Orthodox Church, and never converted to Protestantism.

In Gondär, in discussions with the Betä Ǝsraᵓel leaders, S. challenged their disbelief in Jesus Christ as the Messiah, and scorned their rudimentary knowledge of the Bible. S. attacked the Betä Ǝsraᵓel institution of ↗monasticism, as well as the priesthood, sacrifices, medicinal amulets, and other religious practices.

S. travelled extensively in the Betä Ǝsraᵓel area. In Dämbəya he met his future major opponent *abba* Mähari. S. visited the villages of Gorgora Eyla and Ačärge in Bägemdər, where he described Betä Ǝsraᵓel weavers and male and female potters.

Leaving ↗Flad in charge of the Mission, S. returned to the ↗United Kingdom in 1860/61, to write and publish his journal (*Wandering* … 1862), where he described the way of life, occupations and customs of the Betä Ǝsraᵓel.

In 1863, soon upon his return to Ethiopia, S. was imprisoned at ↗Mäqdala by Tewodros along with nine fellow missionaries and British diplomatic staff. They were freed in 1868 by the military expedition under Sir Robert ↗Napier.

S. spent his remaining years converting Jews to Christianity in London's East End.

One of the local Betä Ǝsraʾel converts to head the London Society mission in later years, Iyob Nəguśe, had once been appointed guide to S. by *abba* Mähari.

Src.: Henry Aaron Stern, *Wanderings among the Falashas in Abyssinia,* London 1862, ^{2}1968; Id., *The Captive Missionary: being an Account of the Country and People of Abyssinia,* London 1869.

Lit.: Albert Augustus Isaacs, *Biography of the Rev. Henry Aaron Stern, D.D., for More than Forty Years a Missionary amongst the Jews, Containing an Account of His Labours and Travels*, London 1886; Don Seeman, "The Question of Kinship: Bodies and Narratives in the Beta Israel-European Encounter (1860–1920)", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 30, 1, 2000, 86–120.

Shalva Weil

Stitz, Volker

S. (b. 3 June 1943, Heiligenstadt, Thüringen, Germany, d.[?] 22 June 1975, Lake Ṭana) was a cultural geographer who since the mid-1960s spent much of his time in Ethiopia and did most of his fieldwork in Šäwa, Wällo, Goǧǧam and Gondär. In 1972, S. obtained his doctorate in geography at the University of Bonn with a thesis on the human geography of Central Ethiopia. It was published in 1974.

S.'s research comprises demography (particularly migration and settlement changes during the last 300 years between the ethnic and religious rivals, Amhara, Oromo and Argobba), the various agrarian systems (including the complex patterns of land use) in the Ethiopian highlands, and Ethiopian Christianity. For this gifted scholar cultural geography included anthropology, sociology, linguistics and history as well.

S. had already collected a lot of material for his *Habilitation* which he planned to obtain in rural and agricultural sociology at the University of Gießen. The focus was on the agricultural structure in Šäwa under the influence of the capital Addis Abäba. In June 1975, for a project of the University of Tübingen, he started together with his talented assistant and translater for Gəʿəz, Täsfay Yoḥannəs, to collect material on Ethiopian monasteries in the Lake Ṭana region. Here they often travelled by boat. They were already missed since 22 July 1975 when four weeks later the empty wreck of their boat was discovered, but neither the corpse of S. nor that of his assistant were found.

S. was a restless worker. During his short life as a scholar he performed distinguished work and was able to fill up many desiderata.

Src.: Volker Stitz, "The Amhara Resettlement of Northern Shoa During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", *Rural Africana* 11, 1970, 76–81; Id., *Distribution and Foundation of Churches in Ethiopia*, n.p. 1970; Id., *Studien zur Kulturgeographie Zentraläthiopiens*, Bonn 1974; Id., "The Western Argoba of Yifat", in: *Proceedings of the first United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies 1973*, East Lansing, MI 1975, StStud.

Hermann Amborn

Straube, Helmut

S. (b. 6 May 1923, Neiße, Oberschlesien, d. 22. March 1984, Munich) was a noted German scholar of African and ↗Ethiopian Studies. After Word War II, in which he was severely wounded, he studied ethnology, geography and history at the University of Frankfurt am Main. In 1952 he obtained his Ph.D. in ethnology with a thesis on African religion under the supervision of Adolf Ellegard ↗Jensen. In 1967 he habilitated at the University of Cologne with a study on Nilotic-speaking peoples. In 1968 he obtained the chair of the Institute of Ethnology and African Studies at the University of Munich where he served as director until his death. In 1976 he was elected member of the Bavarian Academy of Science.

S. (s. ill. for ↗Solomoon Daaimo) carried out fieldwork in south-western Ethiopia in 1954–56 and 1973–74 among Omotic-speaking peoples such as the ↗Šeko, ↗Koorete, ↗Yäm, ↗Borodda, ↗Dita, ↗Dorze, ↗Očollo, and East Cushitic speakers such as the ↗Burǧi. In comparative studies he analysed the contrasting organizational patterns of centralized sacred kingdoms (Šeko and others) and the acephalous Burǧi society. In his book *Westkuschitische Völker Süd-Äthiopiens* (1963 [= VSAe III]) he offers a general view of southern Ethiopian cultures which, in spite of limited space, is hard to surpass in its completeness, bringing out their complex structures as well as their connecting features. His analysis of the divine ↗kingdoms and his research about awarding leading offices (*halaqa*) through "feasts of merit" (↗Meritorious complex) are pioneering studies.

S. felt himself akin to *Kulturhistorie* (culture-history), but he did not overlook the weaknesses of this approach, whence his intention to help historical ethnology achieve a more workable and reliable basis. In order to realize this, he saw possibilities in a broad interdisciplinary approach that integrated information from ethnography, prehistory, geography and linguistics. This synoptic-holistic approach is, for example, visible in his studies on the "agrarischer Intensivierungskomplex" ('agricultural intensification-complex'; Straube 1967, 1971). The 1967 essay was inspired by the agricultural achievements of the hill-farmers of the Burǧi-↗Konso cluster whom he admired greatly. Long before ecology was "discovered" in Western Europe and North America, S., in his topical texts, indicated that southern Ethiopian agriculture was ecologically more appropriate than many modern methods praised as "progressive", which were, however, not adapted to local conditions. He also proved that extensive ↗plough-agriculture and intensive hoe-cultivating are not only technologically different, but based on deep socio-political differences.

His comparative studies allowed him not only to discover the historical and cultural connections of southern cultures to what is now northern Ethiopia, but also to point to a region of close cultural relations, which he analyzed as reaching from the east coast to the southern Nile area. Beside these influences he emphasized the endogenous development of certain social and economic characteristics (Straube 1977, 1984; Amborn 2009: ch. 7).

Src.: Helmut Straube, "Der agrarische Intensivierungskomplex in Nordostafrika", *Paideuma* 13, 1967, 231–86; Id., "Die traditionelle Landwirtschaft Afrikas in historischer Sicht", *Internationales Afrika Forum* 7, 8, 1971, 449–54; Id., *Die Stellung des Regenmachers und verwandter Funktionäre in akephalen Gesellschaften des Süd-Sudans*, München 1984 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 1984, Heft 6); Id. – Hans Jürgen Sasse, "Kultur und Sprache der Burji in Südäthiopien: Ein Abriß", in: Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig et al. (eds.), *Zur Sprachgeschichte und Ethnohistorie in Afrika,* Berlin, 1977, 239–66; VSAe III.

Lit.: Hermann Amborn, *Flexibel aus Tradition*: *Burji in Äthiopien und Kenia. Unter Verwendung der Aufzeichnungen von Helmut Straube,* Wiesbaden 2009 (AeF 71); Eike Haberland, "Helmut Straube 1923–1984", Beilage zu *Paideuma* 31, 1985.

Hermann Amborn

Strelcyn, Stefan

S. (Szlama S.; b. 28 June 1918, Warsaw, d. 19 May 1981, Manchester) was an eminent Polish Semitist and Ethiopisant.

After completing school in Warsaw, S. enrolled in the Engineering School in 1935. Due to the anti-Semitic policy of the Polish government and because of his leftist ideas, in 1938 S. fled to Brussels, where at the Free University he studied archaeology, Semitics, Egyptology, and Coptic. He also joined the Polish Army in France. After the German conquest of Belgium he fled to Paris, and in May 1940 to Montpellier, where he attended Oriental courses (as well as general linguistics and history of art). His active participation in the French *Résistance* earned him the *Croix de Guerre* at the end of the war. In 1944 S. was arrested by the Vichy Government, and deported to Germany, near Leipzig. His parents had died in Poland under Nazi occupation.

After the end of the war, together with his wife Maria (née Kirzner), and their two sons, S. settled in Paris, where he came in contact with Marcel ↗Cohen, similar to him in political and ideological attitudes, but above all in great interest in the languages and culture of Ethiopia. Being in contact with Cohen, who was for a long time a member of one of the most important groups of Ethiopisants in the world (most of them persecuted Jews: Wolf ↗Leslau, Déborah ↗Lifchitz, Maxime ↗Rodinson, and others – not to speak of Cohen and S. themselves), and with the cultural climate of a city like Paris at that time, S. began his work on cataloguing of ↗manuscripts and the study of traditional ↗medicine/plants/↗magic, the two main fields he would excel in.

In Paris he became *élève diplomé* of the ↗Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, the École nationale des langues orientales anciennes, the École pratique des hautes études, secretary of the Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques; he was employed in the Centre national de la recherche scientifique.

In 1950 S. was expelled from France because of his political activities, and became Associate Professor of Semitic Studies in Warsaw until 1952, and Full Professor of Semitic Studies from 1954 to 1969. He was also Head of the Department of Semitic Studies, of the Institute of Oriental Studies, and of the Centre of African Studies; as well as Department Director in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and Vice-President of the Committee of Oriental Studies in the same Academy. In 1967 he received the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Trust Prize Award for ↗Ethiopian studies.

In 1969, following the increasingly anti-Jewish attitude of the Polish government, S. fled to the ↗United Kingdom, where, after one year as a Visiting Lecturer at the ↗School of Oriental and African Studies in 1970, he became Lecturer, and afterwards Reader, at Manchester University. He was appointed as Fellow of the British Academy in 1976, and Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1977. He also lectured at the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, at the invitation of Enrico ↗Cerulli, in 1974–78, and at the Collège de France in 1980.

S. was an all-round scholar both in the field of Semitic studies and in that of Ethiopian studies. In this latter, he attained unequalled competence in the study of magical and medical texts, together with their parallel fields of plant names and of Old Amharic. He also achieved excellence in cataloguing manuscripts.

Lit.: Paolo Marrassini, "Stefan Strelcyn: the Man and his Works", *JES* 16, 1983, 87 [bibl. 92–103]; Joseph Tubiana, "Stefan Strelcyn F. B. A.", *JSS* 27, 1982, 1–5 [bibl. 5–15]; Edward Ullendorff, "Stefan Strelcyn (1918–1981)", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 67, 1981, 479–90.

Paolo Marrassini

Student movement, Ethiopian

The Ethiopian S.m. is connected to the rise of political and social consciousness among university students at the Ḫaylä Śəllase I University in Addis Abäba (↗Addis Ababa University) from the late 1950s. During the 1960s it was the most outspoken and visibly the only consolidated opposition to ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's government. It became the strongest and most persistent S.m. in Africa and came to an end during the Red Terror of the military regime in 1977–78 (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council, ↗Revolution).

Although what happened on the home stage was most important, the S.m. also included organizations of Ethiopian students abroad, particularly in the United States of America, Canada and Europe in the 1960s and 1970s. Publications like *Challenge* and *Combat* (USA), ታጠቅ (*Taṭäq*, 'Arm yourself') and ትግላችን (*Təglaččən*, 'Our Struggle') (Europe) sometimes inspired the consciousness on the home front, while the events at home were closely followed and fed the movement abroad. Imperial autocracy, with a weak ↗Parliament, a low degree of freedom of association and expression as well as the social and economic conditions in the country were seen in a new light when young people were given university education within a boarding system and interconnected with other worlds of experience through foreigners, such as students and delegates of the ↗Organisation of African Unity from other African countries as well as American and European teachers.

The University Service (1964), in which students spent one year, mostly as teachers, provided extended knowledge of Ethiopian conditions and provided connections with secondary school students all over the country. The S.m. started as a careful challenge of authority through poetry, stage plays and the paper *News and Views* (published between 1959–66), and developed in radicalism due to the suppressive measures from the government and increasing police brutality, which instigated boycotts from the mass of students. A second stage was the demand for participation through freedom of speech and organization, a third stage was one of confrontation and revolution. Provocative rhetoric and demonstrations were staged around demands to the government. The most central and persistent ones were the slogan "Land to the Tiller", and demands about expansion in the education sector. Activists were inspired by the Marxist, Leninist and Maoist revolutionary wave in the student world at large. Through their theoretical certainty (scientific socialism) and autocratic methods, Marxist activists won the hegemony among students. In 1967 a turning point in activism was the student paper 'Struggle' (also known as ትግል, *Təgəl*; published between 1967–70) and the formation of the University Students Union of Addis Ababa; this replaced de facto the National Union of Ethiopian University Students, which required consent from the colleges in ᶜAlämayya and ↗Gondär, which delayed decisions, due to the difficulties of communication.

In 1968, the Ethiopian Student Union in Europe dominated the foundation of the new Marxist-Leninist political organization ↗*Mäᵓison* on a secret students' congress in Hamburg at the University campus. The year 1969 was the most confrontational, involving also high school students all over the country (with student leaders such as ↗Walällәññ Mäkʷännən and ↗Ṭəlahun Gəzaw). The S.m. was a motor in the downfall of the Emperor in 1974 and presented visions of alternative political systems in party organizations such as the ↗Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party and *Mäᵓison*.

Lit.: Bahru Zewde, "The Ethiopian Student Movement Revisited: an Exercise in Oral History", Paper presented at the *16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Trondheim, Norway, 2–6 July 2007; Randi Rønning Balsvik, *Haile Sellassie's Students: The Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution 1952–1977*, East Lansing, MI 1985, passim; Ead., "Student Protest: University and State in Africa 1960–1995", *Forum for Development Studies* 25, 2, 1998, 301–25; Fentahun Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Students: Their Struggle to Articulate the Ethiopian Revolution*, Chicago, IL 1990, passim; Kiflu Tadesse, *The Generation, the History of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party*, vol. 1., Silver Spring, MD – Trenton, NJ 1993, 35–56; Messay Kebede, *Radicalism and Cultural Dislocation in Ethiopia, 1960–1974*, Rochester, 8–36.

Randi Rønning Balsvik

Sudan

A. Overview
I. Geography
II. Peoples and languages
III.Modern history
IV. Government and political system
V. State symbols
B. Sudan relations with Ethiopia
C. The Ethio-Sudanese borderlands

A. Overview

I. Geography

S. (*Ǧumhūrīyat as-Sūdān*, 'Republic of the Sudan') is Africa's largest country by area, spanning 18° of latitude and embracing 2,505,813 km^2 of north-east and central Africa. S. shares borders with ↗Eritrea and ↗Ethiopia in the east, with ↗Kenya, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo in the south, the Central African Republic and Chad in the west, and with Libya and ↗Egypt in the north-west and north. S. consists of a huge plain surrounded by mountains on three sides: the Red Sea Hills (east), Ǧabal Mara (west), and on the south-eastern frontier the Didinga Hills and the Dongotona and Imatong mountains. In the south-central region of the vast plain are the isolated Nuba Mountains, the Ingessana Hills, and the Boma Plateau near the Ethiopian border.

The ↗Nile and its tributaries make the country inhabitable, and dominate many aspects of life. The White Nile and the ↗Abbay both flow into S., and meet in Ḫarṭūm (↗Khartoum). As well as being a major source of water, the Nile is an increasingly important source of power, and is used for transport. Despite this, large parts of the land in the north are dominated by deserts, where farming is only possible on the 18,630 km^2 (2003) of irrigated land. Thus, arable land makes only 6.78 % of the territory. In contrast, the south has a huge potential for agriculture.

Main towns are the capital Ḫarṭūm (Khartoum), Al ʿUbayyid (El Obeid), Būr Sūdān (Port Sudan), Wad Madanī, Kassalā (↗Kassala), al-Qaḍārif (↗Qadarif), Umm Durmān (Omdurman) and Gūbā (Juba), the capital of the semi-autonomous region of Southern Sudan.

II. Peoples and languages

Estimates of S.'s population are unreliable. The 1993 census, which was only conducted in the north, put the population at 24.9 million. The National Population Census Council conducted a census in April–May 2008, which came to the (highly disputed) result of 39,154,490 (Ministry of Council of Ministers). S. has great ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity. The 1956 census that was the last to give detailed ethnic information, indicated that there were 19 ethnic groups and 597 subgroups. The largest population segment comprised those who define themselves as Arabs. However they were not an overall majority, even in the north, where they accounted for around 40 %, followed by Dinka (12 %), ↗Beğa (7 %) and ↗Fellata (6 %). The latest census neither included questions of ethnicity, nor religion.

The overly young population has been rapidly growing. An International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimate comes to an average population growth of 2.6 % a year in 1979–2007. An estimated 43 % of the people lived in urban centres; over 40 % were under 15. Southern S. is inhabited by ca. 25 % of the population, a figure that is contested by the South. ↗Islam is the state religion, but only around 60 % of the population are Muslims and there are non-Muslim groups in the north, too, mainly in the Nuba Mountains, the Red Sea Hills and in parts of Dārfūr. Followers of traditional ↗religions make up about 60 % of the southern population, and Christians at least 20 % (IMF estimates).

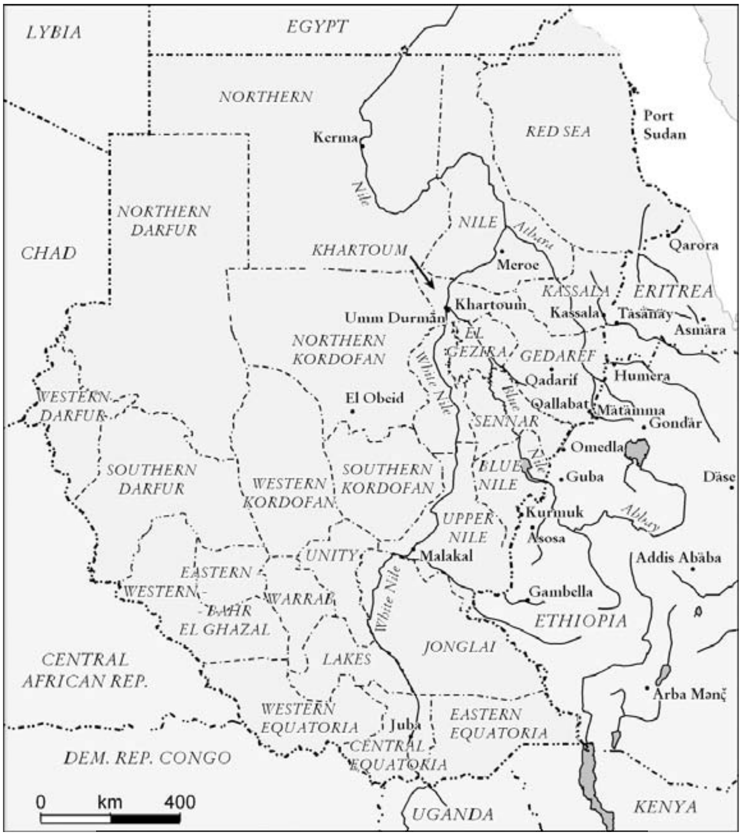
Arabic and English are official languages. It is estimated that ca. 400 other languages and dialects are spoken in S. from the ↗Afro-Asiatic, ↗Semitic and ↗Nilo-Saharan language families. Among the biggest ethnic groups (over 500,000 speakers) are Beğa, Dinka, Fur, ↗Nuer, Kanuri, etc.

III. Modern history

After 1899, following the defeat of the ↗Mahdists, S. had been established as an Anglo-Egyptian condominium, but was largely administered as a British colony. During much of the colonial period, the south of the country, which was non-Muslim and non-Arabic speaking, was governed separately from the north, a policy that had emphasised existing divisions. Dārfūr has a divergent history, too; it was an independent sultanate until 1916, when it was incorporated into S.

Already in the run-up to independence, in 1955, a year before formal independence (1 January 1956), the civil war between the north and the south started which was only ended by the Addis Abäba peace agreement in 1972 that lasted until 1983.

In terms of governance, the late 1950s and 1960s saw periods of weak democracy alter-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Nile
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CHAD
KHARTOUM
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Qarora
KASSALA
ERITREA
Khartoum
Umm Durmān
Kassala
Tasanay
Asmara
NORTHERN KORDOFAN
EL GEZIRA
GEDAREF
Qadarif
Humera
White Nile
Blue Nile
El Obeid
Qallabat
Mātamma
Gondār
WESTERN DARFUR
SENNAR
Omedla
SOUTHERN DARFUR
WESTERN KORDOFAN
SOUTHERN KORDOFAN
BLUE NILE
Guba
Dāse
Kurmuk
Abbay
UPPER NILE
Asosa
UNITY
Malakal
Addis Abāba
EASTERN
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nating with military rule, as groups within the northern power circles – differing on issues such as ties with Egypt, Islamic law, devolution and socialism – struggled for influence. In 1983 however, amid political pressure from his own constituencies and in an attempt to circumvent the peace accord, President Ǧaᶜfar Muḥammad an-Numayrī ordered the review of its provisions, especially in the areas of security arrangements, border trade, language, culture and religion. As a result, the South that had enjoyed relative independence was divided into three administrative provinces, Islamic law (*↗Šarīᶜa*) was introduced and emergency rule implemented. Tensions had accumulated in the process, the Southerners being also wary of economic exploitation in the development of southern oil resources (first discovered near Bentiu in 1978) and in the construction of the Jonglei Canal (which was planned to divert water from the White Nile). Already in May 1983 the Sudan People's Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), led by Colonel John Garang) was formed in Itang, on Ethiopian territory. When *šarīᶜa* was implemented in September of the same year, the second civil war gained momentum.

The war continued even after an-Numayrī was ousted and a democratic government was elected with aṣ-Ṣādiq al-Mahdī's Umma Party having the majority in the parliament. The disintegration of the economy was exacerbated by severe drought and crop failure in 1984/85. Al-Mahdī headed a series of unsuccessful coalition governments, but eventually failed to address the country's political and economic problems.

On 30 June 1989 colonel ᶜUmar al-Bašīr led a group of army officers to overthrow the government, forming a new cabinet dominated by the National Islamic Front (NIF; renamed the National Congress Party in 1998), which had originated as the Sudanese wing of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. The new regime purged the army and developed its own parallel security forces and institutions to mitigate the political threat posed by the military. Following the 1989 coup, the NIF government intensified its operations against the rebels in the South, leading to the forced displacement and killing of many thousands of civilians.

The second civil war continued throughout the eighties and nineties for 21 years and would only end in 2005. Despite this another conflict has developed into war, in the region of Dārfūr, since 2003, with unprecedented consequences since the President of the S. has been judged guilty of crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court, as the first ruling president ever.

IV. Government and political system

S.'s current political system is laid out in the 2005 Interim National Constitution, which is based largely on the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The Government of National Unity (GNU) is formed by the National Congress Party (NCP) and SPLM within a power-sharing agreement: The president must rule in conjunction with two-vice-presidents. If the president is a northerner, as is the case in the GNU under ᶜUmar al-Bašīr, the president of Southern S. – currently Salva Kiir, the head of the SPLM – is guaranteed the position of first vice-president. The Government of Southern S. (GOSS) receives 50 % of revenue from oil fields in the south (after 2 % is set aside for the oil-producing states), has tax raising powers and is responsible for the allocation of funds for Southern S.'s development. In addition to the national government and GOSS political institutions in Khartoum, each of S.'s provinces has its own legislature and executive.

The 2005 constitution established a bicameral parliament. In the 450-member National Assembly, 52 % of seats are allocated to the NCP (some of which have been given to the Eastern Front and to Darfūri opposition groups that have signed peace agreements), 28 % to the SPLM and the remainder to S.'s other political factions from the north and south. The upper house (the Council of States) has two representatives from each of S.'s 26 states, all appointed by the president.

The legal system is based on a combination of British common law and *šarīᶜa* with separate judicial hierarchies for each, courts of appeal at provincial and national levels, and a constitutional court (appointed by the president). Under the 2005 constitution, a National Judicial Service Commission was established to manage the national judicial system. Following the CPA, a commission on the legal rights of non-Muslims in Khartoum was established.

According to the interim constitution, Sudan is a decentralized country, divided into 26 states, based on previous administrative divisions. Despite the federal structure though, S. remains a highly centralized polity, as evidenced by widespread discontent in outlying regions over economic marginalization and a lack of effective political representation.

Main political parties are the NCP (formerly the NIF), a Sudanese offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood, has been the ruling party since the 1989 coup, and the SPLM (a mainly southern-based movement, the SPLM took up arms to fight for a democratic, federal Sudanese state). Other important political parties are the Umma Party, which draws its support from the Anṣār, an Islamist movement that ruled Sudan in the late 19th cent., and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), which favoured union with Egypt after independence and is associated with the Ḫatmīya Sufi order (↗Islamic brotherhoods). Both, however, have been weakened and divided by the long rule of the NCP and its efforts to co-opt them, which led to the formation of pro-government splinter factions such as the Umma Party (Reform and Renewal) and the DUP-Sharif al-Hindi. The National Democratic Alliance (NDA), an umbrella body of opposition and rebel groups formed in 1989 after the NPC's coup, has also suffered from disunity, with many members leaving. In 2005 what remained of the NDA – by then a mainly DUP-led body – signed a reconciliation agreement with the government and was allocated two cabinet posts in the GNU, and 20 seats in the National Assembly. The mainstream Umma Party has refused to take up its allocation of seats, as has the Popular Congress, a party set up by Ḥasan at-Turābī after his expulsion from the NCP in 2000.

V. Economy

S. has significant oil reserves that it began exporting in 1999. Fields are currently in production or under development in southern and central S. Commercially viable deposits of oil or gas are also thought to exist in the north and offshore beneath the Red Sea. Moreover, small reserves of iron ore, copper, chromium ore, zinc, tungsten, mica, silver and ↗gold exist in different parts of the country. Despite this, S. has remained poor, ranking 150 out of 178 countries in the United Nations Development Program's Human Development Report of 2009.

Although S. remains a predominantly agricultural economy, the development of the oil industry is altering the economic structure. Agriculture – which mainly serves domestic needs, although sesame, ↗cotton, livestock and gum Arabic are exported – has suffered because of underinvestment in irrigation maintenance, disruption of cultivation by conflict and a poor transport network that hampers ↗trade. Development of the oil sector since 1999 has led to a rise in the flow of foreign investment and has enabled the government to raise public expenditure, which has consequently increased as a proportion of GDP. Nominal GDP is US-$ 1,522 per capita (IMF estimation, 2008).

VI. State symbols

The flag of S. displays three equal horizontal bands of red (top), white, and black with a green isosceles triangle based on the hoist side. The former flag, from 1956 to 1970 displayed three equal bands of blue, yellow and green from top to bottom.

The current national anthem of the S., called *Naḥnu ǧund allāh ǧund al-waṭan* ('We are the army of God and of our country'), was that of S.'s Armed Forces prior to independence. The coat of arms displays a secretary bird, a symbol of Arab nationalism, carrying a shield from the *Mahdīya*, with two scrolls on top and bottom reading, *An-naṣr lanā* ('Victory is ours') and *Ǧumhūrīyat as-Sūdān.* The coat of arms was adopted in 1969 and is also used as the presidential seal.

Src.: Ministry of Council of Ministers, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Fifth Sudan Population and Housing Census* – 2008 Priority Results (http://www.cbs.gov.sd; last access 4 May 2010).

Lit.: Abdel Ghaffaer M. Ahmad – Leif Manger (eds.), *Understanding the Crisis in Darfur-Listening to Sudanese Voices*, Bergen 2006; Martin W. Daly, *Imperial Sudan: The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, 1934–1956*, Cambridge 1991; Alex De Waal, *Famine that Kills: Darfur, Sudan, 1984–1985*, Oxford 1989; Elke Grawert, (ed.), *After the Comprehensive Peace Agreement*, Oxford 2010; Douglas Hamilton Johnson, *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*, Oxford 2003; Peter Malcolm Holt, *A Modern History of the Sudan: from the Funj Sultanate to the Present Day*, New York 1961; Jok Maduk Jok, *Sudan: Race, Religion and Violence*, Oxford 2007; Sean Rex O'Fahey – Jay Spaulding, *Kingdoms of the Sudan*, London 1974; Gérard Prunier, *Darfur: the Ambiguous Genocide*, New York 2007.

Monika M. Sommer

B. Sudan relations with Ethiopia

The S. shares a long border with Ethiopia and was relevant to much of Ethiopia's modern history in various pivotal aspects. The mutual relations were often bellicose. For example, by the mid-4th cent. king ↗Ezana of Aksum destroyed the kingdom of ↗Meroë in the northern S. Prior to the 19th cent., S. was more of a geographical concept, but not a crystallized political entity. The term *Sūdān* in Arabic refers to 'black skinned people', and *bilād as-Sūdān*, the 'land of the blacks', was used to connote the territories south of ↗Egypt and west to the land of *al-Ḥabaša* (↗Abyssinia), whose people were of mixed, lighter colour. In Greek inscriptions of ancient Christian Sudanese kingdoms (s. ↗Nubia, EAE vol. 5), their country was called ↗Aithiopía, and till the 19th cent. the Sudanese region was regularly called Ethiopia (also "Lower Ethiopia") in European travel literature, in differentiation to "Abyssinia" or "Upper Ethiopia" further south (whose self-designation was, however, *Ityopya*, thus similar to the early Sudanese kingdoms). Starting from the Egyptian occupation of extensive Sudanese lands in the early 19th cent. the term S. was preferred for the newly created political entity, and the term "Ethiopia" began to be used by foreigners exclusively for the country east of the S.

↗Islam, as a political and religious order, was prevented from its very incipience from expanding into the S. by both the Ethiopian and the Nubian Christians, and was able to penetrate in its more popular forms only as of the 11th cent. Local kingdoms, like ↗Sinnār that emerged in the 16th cent. (↗Funǧ dynasty), adopted Islam, but not to the extent of unifying the entire land under one political and religious order. From an Ethiopian point of view, pre-modern S. was mostly a territory en-route to Egypt and the ↗Middle East, as well as a land of occasional incursions and ↗trade relations. The slave trade was part of these relations until the 1930s (↗Slavery).

S. was first reshaped as a comprehensive political entity following the revival of Egypt under the rule of ↗Muḥammad ᶜAlī. In 1820, the Egyptian-Ottoman army (↗Ottoman empire) conquered the upper ↗Nile down to the great lakes area, and established ↗Khartoum as the new capital of a harsh and exploitive Egyptian administration, creating a new political neighbour of Ethiopia. However, Muḥammad ᶜAlī's idea of solidifying the S. into one pillar of a Nile empire was short-lived. The local resources and manpower proved much less attractive and the option to penetrate into Ethiopia – still disunited in her ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* – was shelved. In any case, Muḥammad ᶜAlī's attention was diverted to the core of the Middle East, and Sudanese affairs were left mainly to his men on the spot. They soon began an active, local conflict with the Ethiopian rulers along the vast borderlands, resorting to mutual raids and the harbouring of ↗*šəfta*-bandits on both sides. One Egyptian raid from the S. into the border region ↗Qʷara was said to have installed anti-Islamic sentiments in the future *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. A more concrete legacy was the establishment, under Egyptian inspiration in 1840, of the Sudanese town of ↗Kassala in ↗Taka. Subsequently it became the headquarters of the Mīrġānī *ṣūfī* fraternity (↗Islamic brotherhoods), which, during the following decades, initiated the Islamization of many of the ethnic groups of future ↗Eritrea (cp. ↗ᶜAd Šayḫ; ↗Təgre). Increasing raids of Sudanese–Egyptian client-groups of ↗Barka near Kassala into the adjacent Eritrean highlands, followed by Egyptian claims over ↗Käran, influenced the political development of the whole region (↗Bilin history).

Under Muḥammad ᶜAlī's grandson, the *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl, Egypt resumed efforts to unite the entire Nile Valley starting from the 1860s. The attempt at modernizing the administration of the S. affected Ethiopia in two ways. First was the Egyptian campaign to annex the African ↗Red Sea coast and connect it to the S.; the Ottoman coastal province, ↗Ḫabeš *eyaleti* (Ottoman 'Abyssinia'), became Egyptian and was included into the administrative structures of the S., followed by the annexation of adjacent territories. This led to direct conflict with the Ethiopia of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, with major consequences for the histories of both Ethiopia and Egypt (↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war, 1875–76). Second was the popular Sudanese response to the Egyptian imperial enterprise. This took the shape of a messianic Islamic movement, the Mahdīya (↗Mahdists). Emerging in 1881, the Mahdīya managed to expel the Egyptians in 1885 (cp. ↗Gordon), and establish a full-fledged Islamic state, which survived to 1898. It was the formative, all-Sudanese, religious and political experience that led to the birth of the modern Sudanese identity and the establishment of modern S. as Ethiopia's most meaningful neighbour.

Under the Mahdi, Muḥammad Aḥmad, the messianic leader (d. 1885), and his successor the *ḫalīfa* ᶜAbdallah at-Taᶜāʾišī (killed 1899) the Sudanese Mahdīya adopted an Islamic-political approach to all issues, including Christian Ethiopia. This approach was principally dichotomous. It contained rather flexible pragmatism on one hand, including the readiness to "leave the Ethiopians alone as long as they leave you alone" (according to the famous saying attributed to the Prophet ↗Mūḥammad). However, on the other hand, the Mahdi and his successor were also motivated by the Islamic radical claim that Ethiopia had already, in the days of the Prophet, been a part of the "land of Islam", and should therefore be redeemed through a ↗*ǧihād*. Since *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV "did not leave the Muslims [of Ethiopia] alone" and worked to Christianize them, and since he also undertook to save the besieged Egyptians from the Mahdīya (in June 1884, in the ↗Hewett Treaty), the Sudanese soon opted for a *ǧihād*. Their raids into Ethiopia culminated in the battle of ↗Mätämma and the accidental death of Yoḥannəs, resulting in the transfer of power in Ethiopia to Šäwa. Under *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, as Ethiopia adopted a more moderate policy toward Islam and toward the Mahdīya, relations with the Mahdist state improved gradually and even rose to the level of cooperation and the exchange of diplomatic missions.

Ethiopia's Prime Minister Aklilu Habtäwäld (right) during a state visit of Sudan's Prime Minister *sayyid* Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥgūb (left) in Addis Abäba in 1964; from *Sestante* 1965:7

In 1898, the British, already occupying Egypt since 1882, destroyed the Mahdist state and established their colonial rule in Khartoum. They did so as though it were a British-Egyptian condominium (declared in 1899; ↗United Kingdom of Great Britain). In practice, the British administered S. with Egyptian resources and sought to develop Egyptian agriculture through the management of the Nile waters in S. and in Ethiopia. Throughout the first half of the 20th cent., Egyptian nationalists conceived of the S. as an integral part of Egypt (their slogan was "Unity of the Nile Valley") and consequently most aspects of Sudanese history up to S.'s independence in 1956 revolved mainly around the British-Egyptian-Sudanese triangle. Ethiopia, however, remained relevant. The British in Khartoum and Cairo kept insisting on their vision of an all-Nile water control system, including a British-built and managed dam in Lake ↗Ṭana and the Blue Nile (↗Abbay), a concept resisted by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

The S. was the main base from which the British liberated Ethiopia from the Fascists in 1941 in ↗World War II (cp. ↗Käran, battle of). It remained a land in which Ethiopians sought either political refuge or better education, and a country that radiated Islamic learning into Ethiopia.

In their period of plight, under Mussolini's yoke between 1936 and 1941 (↗Africa Orientale Italiana), Ethiopians were cordially received in the S. Sudanese public opinion at that time was supportive of Ethiopia's struggle for freedom and Sudanese troops formed the backbone of the British army that destroyed the Fascist occupiers and enabled Ḫaylä Śəllase to regain independence. When S. itself gained independence in January 1956, there began a period of intensive, multi-faceted relations. Relations between the governments of Khartoum and Addis Abäba remained mostly friendly and survived the changes in their regimes. No major, direct border conflict or territorial claims marred relations, though the 1902 treaty between Mənilək II and the British divided some groups along the agreed-upon border (↗Boundaries, history of: Sudan). However, two issues frequently emerged to do so. One was the Ethiopian-Eritrean problem. In 1958, a pro-Nasserite regime under General Ibrāhīm Abbud captured power in Khartoum and in 1959 signed a water agreement with Egypt that ignored Ethiopia's rights to the Nile waters and proved committed to the Arab-oriented ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF). For 30 years after the 1961 establishment of the ELF, the S., while maintaining relations with Addis Abäba, rendered assistance to the various Eritrean movements. It enabled the Ethiopian movements which opposed Mängəśtu's regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), as well as many Ethiopian refugees, to find shelter in the mid-1970s and to establish bases in the S. In that period, the ↗Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party operated in the S. and ↗Wälqayt. Ethiopia, for its part, did not remain indifferent to the inner-Sudanese issue of the Southern S. After the emergence of the Christian movements for autonomy in the South, first the Anya Anya in 1955, and later the Sudan People's Liberation Movement Army under John Garang in 1983, the governments in Addis Abäba actively helped their cause. Sudanese help for the Eritreans and Ethiopian help for the Southern Sudanese were subject to changes according to the developing relations between Addis Abäba and Khartoum.

Sudanese–Ethiopian relations were also influenced by major global and regional developments. After the decline of pan-Arabism, the Sudanese government of Ǧaᶜfar an-Numayrī (1969–85) oriented itself toward Sādāt's Egypt and her pro-Western policy. An-Numayrī, who in February 1972 signed a treaty with Ḫaylä Śəllase, joined Egypt and Saudi-Arabia four years later in opposing Mängəśtu's pro-Soviet strategy in the Red Sea area. In 1976–77, relations between Ethiopia and the S. deteriorated but improved following reciprocal presidential visits in 1980. S. indirectly enabled Israel to bring the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel from Ethiopia in her 1979–85 operation, but itself, still under an-Numayrī, began moving toward an Islamic regime. The return to a renewed version of political Islam was inspired by both the legacies of the Mahdīya and the supranational movement and local branch of the Muslim Brothers. It culminated in a 1989 alliance between General ᶜUmar al-Bašīr and the Islamic scholar Ḥasan at-Turābī, which again damaged relations with then Marxist Ethiopia. Though a new, open regime came to power in Addis Abäba in 1991, no improvement was immediately recorded. The S. of Bašīr and Turābī further radicalized the Islamization of politics and law and, from 1991, hosted the leader of global, militant Islam, ᶜUsāma b. Lādin. The latter turned the S. into a headquarters for Islamicist movements in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia, operations which culminated in an attempt on the life of Egyptian president Ḥusnī Mubārak during his 1995 visit to the Ethiopian capital. The Ethiopians, for their part, resumed active military help to the Southern Sudanese. Following the removal of ᶜUsāma b. Lādin from Khartoum in 1996 and the break between Bašīr and Turābī in 1999, good neighbourliness was restored.

As of the 1990s, Sudanese, Islamic public discourse also revolved around the essence of S. and its regime. The more Arab-Islamic-fundamentalist wing preaches further centralization of government. In this context, they denounce the new Ethiopian model of federalism, and recycle anti-Christian legacies connected with the historical image of Ethiopia as an enemy of Islam. Their Sudanese rivals, standing for openness toward S.'s own diversity, try to promote what they define as an African Islam – more pragmatic, popular, and tolerant. In this context, they also refer to Ethiopia, this time as a model of Christian-Islamic co-existence. In trying to emphasize this kind of Sudanese, African Islam, some even argue that the ↗*naǧāšī*, the righteous Christian king who helped the Prophet and then embraced Islam, was a Sudanese rather than an Ethiopian.

Lit.: ABDUSSAMAD H. AHMAD, "Trading in Slaves in Bela-Shangul and Gumuz, Ethiopia: Border Enclaves in History, 1897–1938", *JAH* 40, 3, 1999, 433–46; MORDECHAI ABIR, "The Origins of the Ethiopian-Egyptian Border Problem in

the Nineteenth Century", *ibid.* 8, 3, 1967, 443–61; ABEL ALIER, *Southern Sudan: Too Many Agreements Dishonoured*, Reading 1992; G. NORMAN ANDERSON, *Sudan in Crisis: the Failure of Democracy*, Gainesville, FL 1999; BAHRU ZEWDE, "An Overview and Assessment of Gambella Trade (1904–1935)", *IJAHS* 20, 1, 1987, 75–94; ROBERT COLLINS, *The Nile*, New Haven, CT 2002; HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder, CO 1994; ID., *The Cross and the River, Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Nile,* Boulder, CO 2002; ID., *Islam and Christianity in the Horn of Africa: Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan*, Boulder, CO 2010; DENNIS CHARLES HICKEY, *Ethiopia and Great Britain: Political Conflict in the Southern Borderlands, 1916–1935*, Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University 1984; PETER MALCOLM HOLT, *The Mahdist State of the Sudan,* Oxford 1970; ID.– M.W. DALY, *The History of the Sudan: from the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*, Boulder, CO 1961; DOUGLAS JOHNSON, *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars,* Bloomington, IN 2003; ALICE MOORE-HARELL, "Economic and Political Aspects of the Slave Trade in Ethiopia and the Sudan in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century", *IJAHS* 32, 2/3, 1999, 407–21; DONALD PETTERSON, *Inside Sudan: Political Islam, Conflict, and Catastrophe*, Boulder, CO 1999; MUḤAMMAD SAᶜĪD QADDĀL, *Al-Mahdīya wal-ḥabaša* ('The Mahdists and Ethiopia'), Beirut 1992; ID., *Al-Ḥarb al-ḥabašīya as-sūdānīya* ('The Ethio-Sudanese War'), Beirut 1991; *Sestante* 1, 2, 1965, 7 (ill.); DAVID SHINN, "Ethiopia and Sudan: Conflict and Cooperation in the Nile Valley", in: ISRAEL GERSHONI – MEIR HATINA, *Narrating the Nile – Cultures, Identities, Memories*, Boulder, CO 2008; SOLOMON HAILU, "Sudan-Ethiopia Relations and Islamization Policy", *The Journal of African Policy Studies* 9, 1, 2003, 43–57; ASHOK SWAIN, "Ethiopia, the Sudan, and Egypt: the Nile River Dispute", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 35, 4, 1997, 675–96; JOHN WATERBURY, *The Nile Basin: National Determinants of Collective Action*, New Haven, CT 2002; JOHN YOUNG, "Along Ethiopia's Western Frontier: Gambella and Benishangul in Transition", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37, 2, 1999, 321-46; ID., *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia: the Tigray People's Liberation Front, 1975–1991*, Cambridge 1997.

Haggai Erlich

C. The Ethio-Sudanese borderlands

Life in those communities living in what was to become the Ethio-Sudanese border has been characterized by cultural connections and social interaction across the international boundary (↗Boundaries: Sudan). From south to north, we find the ↗Añwaa and ↗Nuer living in varying degrees of cooperation and confrontation in the fertile planes of ↗Gambella. Likewise, the ↗Gumuz (Bega) of ↗Beni Šangul have lived on both sides of the porous border for centuries as much as the ↗Uduk, Shilluk and ↗Berta did. In the north, a prominent border region was Zäge in ↗Goǧǧam, west of Lake ↗Ṭana. The people of these borderlands established a complex network of interrelations both among themselves and with the changing powers of Ethiopia and S.

Over centuries, the southern borders were vital trading places for ↗coffee, ↗gold, ↗ivory, skins, and slaves (↗Trade; ↗Slavery; ↗Sinnār). When in the 19th cent. highland traders from Ethiopia had direct access to weapons and ammunition from mainly Italian resources (↗Fire-arms), the border people became increasingly targets for raids. Those militarily strong enough managed to manipulate the major regional powerbrokers and acquired arms not only to protect themselves, but to actively participate in the trading and raiding system.

In Gambella a main trading post was established 1904 that replaced the older trading routes of ↗Mätämma and ↗Kurmuk. It channelled over 75% of Sudanese coffee imports from Ethiopia during its heyday in 1925, besides rubber and beeswax. The port closed with the Italian invasion in 1935.

The shared frontier lands of S., Ethiopia and ↗Eritrea have never been under full control of central governments. As a result they have long provided an environment for so-called ↗*šəfta* groups or bandits, some of which have taken on a political character. One of the best known *šəfta* rebels in Ethiopian history was the future king ↗Tewodros II, who operated in the borderlands west of Lake Ṭana.

Cross-border and regional intervention was often crucial in overcoming supposedly internal conflicts that spit over the borders. Most prominently, in the cases of the Addis Abäba Agreement 1972 that ended the first Sudanese civil war, and in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement for Southern S. that ended the second civil war, regional intervention (Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1972, and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development in 2005) was crucial in overcoming long-lasting impasses. Due to the lack of policing of the border and marginalization of its ethnic groups, the border regions are still fertile grounds for armed groups, thus downgrading their potential as trading centres in the emerging economy of the region.

Lit.: JOHN W. BURTON, "Ethnicity on the Hoof: on the Economics of Nuer Identity", *Ethnology* 20, 2, April 1981, 157–62; BZHist (Lit.); DONALD CRUMMEY, *Banditry, Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa*, Oxford 1986 (Lit.); WENDY JAMES, *War and Survival in Sudan's Frontierlands: Voices from the Blue Nile*, Oxford – New York 2007 (Lit.); DOUGLAS H. JOHNSON, *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*, Oxford – Nairobi ³2006; ID., "On the Nilotic Frontier: Imperial Ethiopia in the Southern Sudan, 1898–1936", in: DONALD LEWIS DONHAM – WENDY JAMES (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1986, 219-31; JOHN MARKAKIS, *National and*

Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa, Cambridge 1987 (Lit.); ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy: Prelude to the History of a No-man's Land Bela-Shangul, Wallagga, Ethiopia* (*c. 1800–1898*), Napoli 1981 (Lit.); SERGE TORNAY, "The Omo Murle Enigma", in: LIONEL MARVIN BENDER (ed.), *Peoples and Cultures of the Ethio-Sudan Borderlands*, East Lansing, MI 1981, 33–60; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, "Battling with the Past: New Frameworks for Ethiography", in: WENDY JAMES et. al. (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia*: *Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 276–88; JOHN YOUNG, *Armed Groups along Sudan's Eastern Frontier*: *an Overview and Analysis, Small Arms Survey*, Geneva 2007.

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Sudan Interior Mission

The S.I.M. (since the 1960s SIM, i.e. Serving In Mission) was established in 1873 by Walter Gowans, Rowland Bingham and Thomas Kent. In 1902 it had established a permanent presence at Patigi, Nigeria. At that time Africa south of the Sahara was known as "The Great Soudan", hence the original name. Towards 1925, Bingham incorporated the Abyssinian Frontiers Mission led by Thomas ↗Lambie and George W. Rhoad into the S.I.M.; this institution was interested in beginning new work in southern Ethiopia.

On Christmas Day 1927 the first S.I.M. group arrived in Dərre Dawa. Being strongly influenced by Roland Allen's work (1912), S.I.M. Ethiopia was, from its inception, very different from S.I.M. Nigeria. The first missionaries were essentially itinerant preachers who trekked incessantly, mostly in ↗Sidaama, ↗Wälaytta and ↗Hadiyya, and preached in the local languages. Many converts became itinerant preachers themselves and no religious meetings were held in missionaries' homes or compounds. The S.I.M. also received the support of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, who promoted missionary efforts to educate and provide some basic health services and allowed missionaries to preach in local languages other than Amharic among unchurched people in southern Ethiopia.

When the missionaries were forced out by the Italians in August 1938 they left behind three small groups of converts and a few individuals in other places. These new converts called themselves "Jesus People" to distinguish themselves from Ethiopian Orthodox Christians and met in "prayer houses" rather than churches.

In 1941 the first S.I.M. missionary returned to a new scene. Instead of the 100 baptized believers they had left, they now found about 10,000 (Fargher 1996) as well as hundreds of autocephalous churches in Wälaytta and Hadiyya that would later form the ↗Qalä Ḥəywät Church. The missionaries were welcomed as visiting partners and, because of their convictions about mission and church, they did not become members of the new churches. Moreover, Ḫaylä Śəllase no longer allowed missionaries to work just as itinerant preachers, but required that they should be involved in ↗education and medical work. Amharic was also enforced and use of local languages proscribed.

From 1944–74 S.I.M. built mission stations in non-Orthodox areas where sooner or later new Churches sprang up. They also played a major role in developing church leadership through theological education.

Despite stringent restrictions under the *Därg* Regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), S.I.M. has retained its presence in Ethiopia and expanded in many directions since that time, ministering in partnership with the Qalä Ḥəywät Church.

Src.: THOMAS LAMBIE, *Abyssinian Frontiers Mission Bulletin* 1, 1, 1927; ID., "Abyssinia's Unknown Frontiers", *World Dominion* 4, 1927, 326–34; ID., "Pioneer Missions in Abyssinia", *Biblia Sacra* 337, 1928, 31–36; GEORGE W. RHOAD, *Abyssinian Frontiers Mission Bulletin* 1, 1, 1927; ROLAND ALLEN, *Missionary Methods*: *St Paul's or Ours*?, London 1912, ^{2}1927.

Lit.: ROWLAND V. BINGHAM, *The Burden of the Sudan*: *the Story of the Sudan Interior Mission*, New York n.d.; EDITH BUXTON, *Reluctant Missionary*, London 1968; FRANCIS PETER COTTERELL, "Dr. T.A. Lambie: Some Biographical Notes", *JES* 1, 1972, 43–54; ID., *Born at Midnight*, Chicago, IL 1973; RAYMOND J. DAVIS, *Fire on the Mountains*: *The Story of a Miracle – the Church in Ethiopia*, Grand Rapids, MI 1966; CLARENCE DUFF, *Cords of Love*: *a Pioneer Mission in Ethiopia*, Phillipsburg, NJ 1980; BRIAN LESLIE FARGHER, *The Origins of the New Churches Movements in Southern Ethiopia: 1927–1944*, Leiden [et al.] 1996; JAMES HOGG HUNTER, *A Flame of Fire*: *the Life and Work of R.V. Bingham*, Sudan Interior Mission, Toronto (?) 1961; GUY W. PLAYFAIR, *Ethiopia is Stretching out her Hands unto God*, Sudan Interior Mission, n.d. [ca. 1944]; ID., *Trials and Triumphs in Ethiopia*, Sudan Interior Mission, n.d. [ca 1944]; A.G.H. QUINTON, *Ethiopia and the Evangel*, London 1949; ALFRED G. ROKE, *An Indigenous Church in Action*, Auckland 1938.

Brian L. Fargher

Suez Canal ↗Red Sea

Sulṭān

The Arabic word S. (سلطان, pl. *salāṭīn*, originally 'power, authority'), underwent the same semantic change as many other abstracts which became titles (cf. Engl. *majesty*, *excellency*). Starting in the 11th cent., S. was used for the 'holder of power or authority'. In this way, the petty rulers who had obtained *de facto* independence from the central authority of the caliph (↗*Ḫalīfa*) were called S. in the sources, though this was not yet their title. The Salǧūkids appear to be the first to claim the term "S." as their official title, after removing the Būyids, and making themselves "protectors" of the caliph in 1060 (Kramers – Bosworth 1997).

In Ethiopia, the rulers of the ↗Maḫzūmī dynasty, beginning with Ḥarba^{c}ir in 1108, are called S. in the history of the dynasty (Cerulli 1941). However, it may be that the titles were anachronistically inserted by the much later author of the history. In the ↗Walašma^{c} Chronicle, the first ruler who bore the title S. was ↗Sa^{c}daddīn Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Ar^{c}ad (Cerulli 1931: 41 = CerIslam 138 [text]). This appears a more realistic date, since it must have needed some time before the title had covered the distance between the centre of the Islamic world and its periphery.

In the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist) the title S. is used in opposition to the title ↗*imām* on the one hand, and to the title ↗*amīr* on the other. When opposed to *imām*, S. designates the secular ruler whose legitimacy is based on his noble descent, while *imām* designates the religious leader who derives his legitimacy by enforcing ↗*šarī^{c}a* and waging ↗*ǧihād*. As opposed to *amīr*, the S. represents the central power, *amīr* being the title of lower officials and generals.

The opposition between S. and *imām* is preserved also in later times. The founder of the ↗Awsa state, ↗Muḥammad Gāsā I b. Ibrāhīm claimed the title *imām* and so, till 1763/64, did several of his successors, who felt themselves to be religious leaders, especially because they fought a continuous *ǧihād* against the non-Muslim ↗Oromo. Usurpers, on the other hand, were called S. or *amīr* (Cerulli 1931: 70–87 = CerIslam 173–95; Wagner 1979). In the 19th cent., the Oromo rulers of ↗Wärrä Himäno in ↗Wällo emphasized their religious legitimacy by their use of the title *imām* and the assertion of prophetic origin (HusIslam 127).

The difference between S. and *amīr* became less clear after the time of ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid. His successor ↗^{c}Uṯmān b. Badlāy (1567–69) is called *amīr* only in the sources, while the rulers of ↗Harär, starting with ↗Ṭalḥa b. ^{c}Abbās, were called S. (Cerulli 1931: 62ff. = CerIslam 164–67 [text]), though they all were independent rulers and the territory over which they ruled was the same.

The rulers of the ↗^{c}Alī b. Dā$^{\circ}$ūd dynasty are all called *amīr* in the Arabic and, later, also in the European sources (Cerulli 1942; Tedeschi 1974), but they themselves also used the title S. in their official documents (Abdurahman Garad 1990: 270, 280). The seal of ↗Muḥammad b. ^{c}Alī b. ^{c}Abdaššakūr, however, only contained the title *amīr* after his own name and that of his father. This is also the title he used in his letters of submission to ↗Muḥammad Ra$^{\circ}$ūf (RubActa III: 188–91).

The rulers of modern Awsa from ↗Mahámmad "Illálta" Ḥanfaḏé's grandfather ^{c}Asa Aydāḥis and up to the present ruler, ^{c}Ali Miráḥ, bear the title S., as a translation of the traditional title *amoyta*, though they have been under Ethiopian rule since 1896 (↗Millee). S. was also the title of the petty ↗^{c}Afar chiefs of the coastal area, who concluded treaties with the French and the Italians in the second half of the 19th cent.

It seems that the title S. was not used in the Muslim kingdoms of Western Ethiopia.

Src.: Enrico Cerulli, "Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 206–43]; Id., "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6^{a}, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 41, 62ff. [text] = 46, 65–70 [tr.], 70–87 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 138, 164–67 (text) = 143, 167–73 (tr.), 173–95]; Id., "Gli Emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana (1875)", *RSE* 2, 1942, 3–19 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 365–82]; BassHist; Ewald Wagner, "Neues Material zur 'Ausa-Chronik'", in: Ulrich Haarmann – Peter Bachmann (eds.), *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*: *Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beirut – Wiesbaden 1979 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 22), 657–73; Salvatore Tedeschi, "L'Emirato di Harar secondo un documento inedito", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 1974, 481–500; Abdurahman Garad, *Harar. Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines Emirats im Horn von Africa* (*1825–75*), Frankfurt am Main – New York 1990 (Europäische Hochschulschriften 426); RubActa III.

Lit.: Johannes Hendrik Kramers – Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "Sulṭān", in: EI^{2} vol. 9, 1997, 849–51; Ewald Wagner, "Imamat und Sultanat in Harar. Ein Beitrag zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen religiösem und weltlichem Herrschaftsanspruch in islamischen Randgebieten", *Saeculum* 26, 1975, 283–92; HusIslam.

Ewald Wagner

Šum

Š. (**ሹም**, pl. *šumamənt*) is an Amharic term derived from Gə^{c}əz ***ሥዩም***, *śəyyum* (pl. *śəyyuman*), a participle from the verb **ሠየመ**, *śäyyämä*, 'to appoint' (cp. ↗*Nəguś*), and thus meaning 'the appointed one, chief, administrator, governor' (cp. Amh. **የተሾመ**, *yätäšomä*). The office held by Š. is called *śimät* (Amh. **ሹመት**, *šumät*). The term belongs to the most ancient layer of ↗Gəᶜəz vocabulary and is well attested in the Gəᶜəz ↗Bible; in the vernacular languages, it was used for composites (denoting someone in charge of something), but most of all the term was used with respect to the administration.

The system of Š.-governors has been described as basis of Ethiopia's political system and ↗government, which is attested as early as the time of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak, in whose charter the Š. of ↗Ǝndärta and the Š. of (unidentified) Däbrä Maᶜəṣ́o are mentioned (CRDLib no. 10); probably as reference to the reality, not as a stylistic figure, the term appears already in a charter of *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla (ibid. 7). Later on, the term is richly attested in Ethiopian documents (cp. Bausi 2006: 137, 2007: 90) and in other sources.

The territory of the Empire subjected to regular duties and taxation was governed by the Š. who were appointed governors of regions of various size and population. While Š. is a general denomination and every appointed chief could be called Š., there were distinctions among them frequently reflecting the status and position of their respective regions within the monarchy. The Š. of some politically important provinces with a high level of autonomy were appointed by the emperor himself. Most of these Š. were traditionally representatives of the local ruling families and used to inherit their offices. Such were, e.g., the Š. of ↗Šire (*šum šire*), ↗ᶜAgamä (*šum ᶜagame*), ↗Tämben (*šum tämben*), the ↗*Wag šum* (also used as fixed titles in the sources) and some others. In order to get the appointment (or to be reconfirmed in it), the candidates had to personally come to the emperor, rendering homage. However, the emperor could send and impose also an appointee from the outside, with no link to the region, dismissing claims of the local ruling families (e.g., as punishment).

Historically, some of the most important (who were also Š., yet were referred to by their respective titles) were the ↗*baḥər nägaš*, ↗*təgre mäkʷännən*, ↗*nägaš* of Goǧǧam, *däǧǧazmač* of ↗Bägemdər, the governors of ↗Šäwa (↗*Ṣäḥafe lam*, ↗*marəd azmač* etc.), the ↗*käntiba* (later *däggiyat*) of ↗Ḥamasen, and ↗*ᶜaqaṣen* of ↗Säraye etc. The extension of the realms and the strength of the authority of these governors varied in the course of history, similarly to the status of the Š. under them. In some of the governorates, the appointee was to traditionally receive a specific military rank (e.g., ↗*fitawrari*, ↗*däǧǧazmač* or ↗*ras*, later *nəguś*). Upon his appointment (and annually) the Š. was obliged to pay a fee, **መሾሚያ**, *mäš(ś)omiya*. The appointment was made public in the region by an ↗*ᶜawaǧ*; and the governor was entitled to bear insignia of his power (e.g., to be accompanied by a fixed number of ↗*nägarit*-drums). When such a Š. was referred to, the name of the region he governed was to be mentioned (cp. MahZekr 638ff., 648f.).

Another type of Š. was represented by governors appointed by and directly subjected to the royal appointees or representatives ("viceroys") governing territories composed of several provinces or territorial units. Having been appointed, the Š., in their turn, used to appoint further Š. of the smaller entities down to the ↗*č̣əqa šum*s. The power of the Š. on any level was checked up by the rights of *gʷəlt*- and *rəst*-holders, and by the rights and customs of local communities. Formally, the tenure of the office was not unlimited and any governor could be recalled, but the Š. often tried to extend the time and made their positions hereditary. The transition to the modern administration, with a clear hierarchy and the administrators controlled by the royal power was effectuated only in the 20th cent., mostly after the Italian war and occupation of 1935–41.

↗Administrative division; ↗*Balabbat*;
↗Feudalism; ↗Law and Judiciary;
↗Land tenure; ↗Šum Šir

Src.: MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico Geographici* (*1634*): *a Seventeenth-Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABET FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 2ff.; BTafY 61ff., 105, 107, 119 and n. 198, 129, 191, 193, esp. 126–31; BeckHuntAlm 12, 71, 150; BeckHuntAlvar 114f., 559f., s. index; BTafA 971, s. index; DillmLex 261f.; DombrChr 304; DTWDic 1228; GueCopMen s. index; GuiVoc 225f.; KaneDic 656f.; KWKDic 667; KTDic 864f.; KrAmdS 11 (text) = 15f. (tr.); LesCDic 25, 269, 397; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, London 1853, vol. 2, 227-31; PerrZarY 48f., 71f.; MahZekr 638ff., 648f.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Un indice del *Liber Aksumae*", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 102–46; ID., "Un indice dell' Evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libanos", *ibid.* 10, 2007, 81–91; BERHANOU ABBEBE, *Évolution de la Propriété Foncière au Choa* (*Éthiopie*) *du Règne de Ménélik à la Constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971, esp. 34, 120, s. index; EgeClass 156–59, s. index; PerGov 267–80; TadTChurch 94–98.

Denis Nosnitsin

Šum šir

The Amharic phrase Š.š. (**ሹም፡ ሺር**) derives from the roots *šomä*/*mäšom* ('to appoint') and *šarä*/*mäšar* ('to demote'). This expression denotes a process of appointments to higher positions in the government (↗*Šum*), with the implication that every time someone is promoted, someone else must be removed from that position to make place for him. Although strictly speaking the announcement of a Š.š. episode designated the mere posting of a list of appointments, the process frequently connotated that those who had lost favour with the emperor were being demoted – typically through letters from the Ministry of Pen. Calling those so demoted the recipients of *šumät*, a promotion, had dual benefits: it enabled those demoted to save face, yet also preserved them in a pool of potential appointees whose loyalty could be counted on in the event of a more favorable appointment at a later time.

Although the expression was apparently known in earlier times, it became widely used only during the regime of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and, indeed, came to represent the quintessence of the political ethos of his regime. The Emperor's political prowess rested on mastery of a nonviolent mode of political control over all his appointees, manifested through a variety of techniques including widespread surveillance, *divide et impera*, and patterns of forgiveness. Š.š. figured as perhaps the most dramatic and subtle of these. It meant that since those who are appointed are subject to possible demotion, they must be always on good behaviour, for those demoted (or others) could come back to replace them. The feeling of uncertainty thus instilled becomes a motive of "good behaviour", which meant intense and unquestioning loyalty to the Emperor.

Š.š. episodes fascinated the public, in part from what was often perceived as an unjust demotion, as in the cases of dedicated public servants such as ↗Gärmame Nəway who was sent from the comforts of Addis Abäba to be governor of ↗Wälamo and then of ↗Ǧiǧiga in the late 1950s, and of Attorney General Bäräkät Ab Habtä Śəllase, who was exiled to be Mayor of Harär in the 1960s (Bereket Habte Selassie 2007). On the other hand, the adroitness with which the throne maneuvered these shifts aroused a certain admiration for the political skill they manifested.

Perhaps the most notorious case of Š.š. was that of *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs, one of the most powerful men at court in the immediate postwar decade. When Ḫaylä Śəllase I found his trusted courtier becoming too prominent and proactive, he banished him to a provincial position. The Emperor's words on that occasion exemplify both his adroitness and the way in which he flaunted his will over that of the Ethiopian public: "Although We Ourselves told you that both your heart and feet have become increasingly distant, you do not seem to have given it much weight. You have ignored our repeated request to divulge what it was you promised to tell Us in London. You have neglected your work and your character has changed. Since this might be because of overwork, and in order that you might correct yourself, We have decided to transfer you to another post" (Bahru Zewde 2004: 46).

With the introduction of more coercive forms of political control under the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council after 1974, the manipulation of political subjects by the centre became less subtle. Fear of demotion became replaced by fear of open harassment, threats, imprisonment, disappearances, and death. Yet the mindset that underlay the Š.š. syndrome has continued as has the more general underlying cultural disposition for indirect meanings exemplified by the poetic trope of ↗*sämənna wärq*.

Src.: BEREKET HABTE SELASSIE, *The Crown and the Pen: the Memoirs of a Lawyer Turned Rebel*, Trenton, NJ 2007, 227, 230.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, "The Fall of *Tsähafé Teʾezaz* Wäldä-Giyorgis: Reminiscences of the Victim", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 28–53; LevWax 187, 215.

Donald N. Levine

Šumbaš

Š. (**ሹምባሽ**, Tgn. also *šumbaši*, Ital. *sciumbàsci*, Ottoman Arab. *šumbāšī*) was an Italian military rank bestowed to Eritrean soldiers (↗*Askari*) commanding a company (*maresciallo*). Š. was the highest rank which could be achieved by an *askari*, placed above the *bulukbaši* (*sergente*, a head of a *buluk*, i.e. 'subsection'), and the *muntaz* (*caporale*), the lowest rank of a junior officer (Nicolle – Ruggeri 1997; Guerriero 2005). The Š. was split into two ranks, the head Š. ("sciumbasci capo") and the Š. A Š. was the junior officer or sergeant serving as intermediary between the indigenous troops and the commanding Italian officer. Also an indigenous commander of a police company (*carabinieri*) was called Š. (*sciumbasci zaptiè*). These terms were also used in Italian Somalia (alternative term: *jusbasci*).

When Italians took over the Egyptian Red Sea Province (↗Ottoman Empire) in 1885, and later proclaimed the colony of ↗Eritrea, they partially left the administrative and military system of the Egyptians untouched. Locals serving in the

Egyptian army of ↗Massawa and ↗Kärän, including mercenary forces (the *başibozuk* or *basci bazuk*, lit. 'damaged head', i.e. 'leaderless'), entered into Italian services. The Italians preserved the Egyptian–Ottoman military ranks and later employed them for all *askari* in Italian services.

The term acquired negative fame in Ethiopia during the ↗Italian war 1935–36, as it designated locals in the services of the enemy. Occasionally the term is still used today in polemics against political leaders, who allegedly do not serve "national interests".

↗Eritrea

Src.: KaneTDic 815.

Lit.: Ascanio Guerriero (ed.), *Ascari d'Eritrea – Volontari Eritrei nelle Forze Armate italiane, 1889–1941*, Firenze 2005; David Nicolle – Raffaele Ruggeri, *The Italian Invasion of Abyssinia 1935–36*, Oxford 1997 (Men at Arms 309).

Wolbert Smidt

Summer Institute of Linguistics

The SIL came into being in 1934 as a linguistic summer training course for two students, led by SIL's founder William Cameron Townsend. The course was repeated in 1935 with five students attending. Word about the course spread among linguists. This led to an invitation to the present linguistics institute of the University of Oklahoma, which resulted into the incorporation of the SIL in 1942.

According to the definition on SIL International's homepage, "SIL is a faith-based organization that studies, documents, and assists in developing the world's lesser-known languages". SIL focuses on community-based programs for lesser-known language communities. It assists in training local people to assume increasing responsibility for sustainable literacy programs in their own communities and languages.

SIL staff has been working in Ethiopia since the early 1970s. After the downfall of the *Därg*, SIL was duly registered as a Non-Governmental Organization in 1992. Since then, SIL's partners have included Addis Ababa University, the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), the Ethiopian Languages Research Center, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (previously: Youth, Sports and Culture), the Regional Bureaus of Education in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region and in the Beni Šangul–Gumuz Region, various partnerships on zonal and *wäräda* level, Ethiopian churches, and other agencies. Most recently, the Benč–Maǧi Zone and SIL Ethiopia signed an agreement on language development and a mother-tongue based multilingual education program for the languages spoken in the zone.

SIL works in partnership with local speakers to adapt or translate literature for publication on subjects such as nutrition, farming, health (including ↗HIV/AIDS), and some or all of the ↗Bible. SIL's involvement and the translation goals for each language are decided in close interaction with churches and communities, and often with other organizations. Workshops are also given within communities to train local leadership in language-related topics enabling them to become trainers themselves. The local language is used as the medium of instruction whenever applicable.

As a leader in researching the world's endangered languages through language survey, SIL facilitates language development to prevent the extinction of language and culture. In Ethiopia, the IES and SIL launched the *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia* (SLLE, 1992–95) to get a clearer picture about language development needs in Ethiopia. Many of these, plus current survey reports, have been published electronically (SILESR). SIL's publication *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World* is widely regarded as the most comprehensive reference volume of its kind. The 16th edition (2009) catalogues 6,909 known living languages.

In Ethiopia, SIL staff has taught at the Linguistics Department of ↗Addis Ababa University and gives ongoing training in such areas as ↗literacy, lexicography, discourse analysis, computer programs, etc.

For the purpose of assisting linguists in their fieldwork and research, SIL produces software for linguistic data management (SIL FieldWorks, Speech Analyzer, etc.), fonts (e.g., *Abyssinica SIL* for the Ethiopian context which is based on Ethiopic calligraphic traditions), publications (*LinguaLinks Library Linguistics Bookshelf*) and other resources.

Today, SIL International has a staff of over 5,000 from more than 60 countries. SIL staff has done linguistic investigation in more than 1,800 languages spoken by over 1.2 billion people in more than 70 countries. In Ethiopia, SIL is currently involved in more than 20 language development projects throughout the country.

Src.: M. Paul Lewis (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{16}2009; Hyatt Moore (ed.), *The Alphabet Makers,* Huntigton Beach ^{2}1991; Richard Pittman, *One Ship Sails East*, Waxhaw, NC 1987; SIL Ethiopia, *Partners in Language Development*, 2005, ms. (internet);

Id., *SIL Electronic Survey Reports* (*SILESR*), ms. (internet); SIL International, *Bibliography of the Summer Institute of Linguistics*, Dallas, TX 1992.

Ralph Siebert

Sumyafaᶜ Ašwaᶜ

S.A. (or Sumūyafaᶜ Ašwaᶜ, Sabaic SMYFᶜ ᵓŠWᶜ, Gr. Ἐσιμιφαῖος, and variants) was a puppet king of ↗Ḥimyar enthroned by the Aksumite invaders in the early 530s [A.D.].

S. is attested with certainty only in the undated fragmentary construction ↗inscription Istanbul 7608*bis* (l. 1), to which two more fragments (Wellcome A 103664 a, b) should be added, albeit they do not adjoin it, nor are immediately connected to each other. The contents of the whole inscription cannot be restored, but it is clear that he bore the so-called very long title of Ḥimyarite kings (ll. 1–2: *mlk/S[bᵓ/w-ḏ-Ryd-n/w-Ḥḍrmwt/w-Ymnt/w-ᵓᶜrb-hmw/Ṭwd-m | w-T]hmt*, 'King of Sa[baᵓ and of ḏū-Raydān and Ḥaḍramawt and Yamanat and of their Arabs of the highlands and of the c]oast') and was a vassal of the rulers of ↗Aksum (l. 3: [...*ᵓm*]*rᵓ-hmw/ngšt/ᵓksm-n*, '[...] their [lo]rds, the rulers of Aksum'; in l. 8 they are called *ᵓmlk/ᵓksm-n*, 'kings of Aksum'). The use of the Trinitarian formula at the beginning (l. 1: [*b-s*]*m/w-šr*[*ḥ/Rḥmn-n/w-bn-hw/Krśtś/Ġlb-n/w-mn*]*fs/qds*, '[in the na]me and with the suppo[rt of the Merciful and His son Christ the Victorious and the] Holy [Spi]rit') and at the end of the text (l. 16: ...*b-sm/Rḥmn-n/w-bn-hw/Krśtś/Ġlb-n* ..., '... in the name of the Merciful and His Son Christ the Victorious...') leaves no doubt as to his Christian faith. The dependence of his régime on the Aksumite state is perfectly rendered by the expression "kings of Ḥimyar and governors of the kings of A[ksum]" (l. 7: *ᵓmlk-m/l-Ḥmyr-m/w-ᶜqbt-m/l-ngšt/ᵓ*[*ksm-n*]; the existence of his coregents is not impossible). The name ↗Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa also occurs in this text, although with the omission of a character (l. 6: ... *s-mlk-n/ᵓl-ᵓbḥh/mlk/Ḥbšt* ..., '... to (?) the king Ǝllä A(ṣ)bəḥa, king of Abyssinia').

It is generally accepted that S.A. is identical with "Esimiphaios", who, according to Procopius of Cæsarea (*De bello Persico*, I, XX), belonged to the Ḥimyarite royal family and was set up as king by "Hellêstheaios" (i.e. Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa) before the latter's return to Ethiopia after the victory over the Jewish king "Dounaan" (Ḏū Nuwās; ↗Yūsuf Asᵓar Yaṯᵓar). He was still on the throne in April–September of 531, when the Byzantine Emperor ↗Justinian sent the ambassador Ioulianos (Julian) to both Hellêstheaios and Esimiphaios, and then was deposed by Abramos (↗Abraha).

The name SMYFᶜ alone, as well as with the epithet ᵓŠWᶜ, was borne by several members of the Yazᵓanite aristocratic clan in the early 6th cent., and in all probability the king S.A. was of the same origin. His identification with the author of CIH 621 dated from February of 631, although dubious, is not excluded.

Src.: CIH 621; Istanbul 7608*bis* (five extracts ed. as RES [= *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*, Paris 1900ff.] 3904, publ. Gonzague Ryckmans, "Une inscription chrétienne sabéenne aux Musées d'Antiquités d'Istanbul", *Le Muséon* 59, 1946, 165–72, pl. II; re-interpreted Jacques Ryckmans, "L'inscription sabéenne chrétienne Istanbul 7608 *bis*", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1976, 96–99, pl. I); Wellcome A 103664 (Alfred F.L. Beeston, "The South Arabian Collection of the Wellcome Museum in London", *Raydān* 3, 1980, 11–16); Procopius, *History of the Wars*, tr. by Henry Bronson Dewing, Books I and II, London 1914, 188–95.

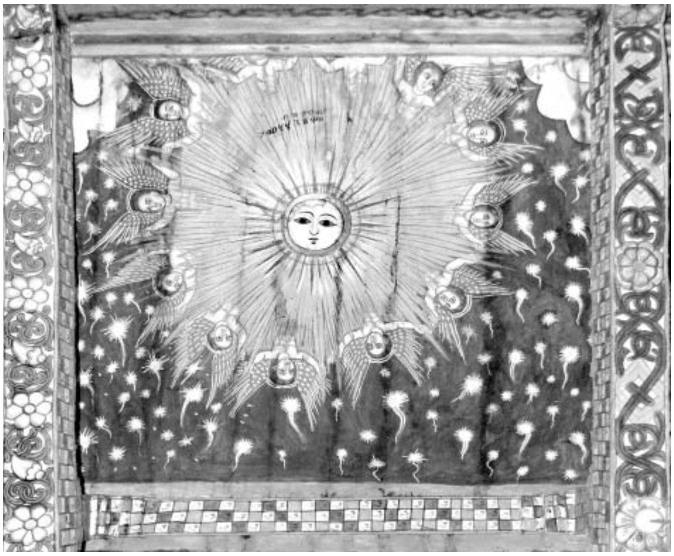
Lit.: CRStor 179–83; Alfred F.L. Beeston, "Problems of Sabaean Chronology", *BSOAS* 16, 1954, 37–56, here 38ff.; Joëlle Beaucamp et al., "La persécution des chrétiens de Nagrān et la chronologie ḥimyarite", *ARAM* 11–12, 1999–2000, 15–83, here 36ff., 80f.

Serguei A. Frantsouzoff

Sun

Ideas and practices associated with the S. (Gəᶜəz: **ፀሐይ**, *ṣ́äḥay*; Amh.: **ፀሐይ/ፀሐይ**, *ṣ́äḥay*; Tgn.: **ፀሐይ**, *ṣ́äḥay*; Orom.: *aduu*) are found throughout Ethiopian cultures. The movement of the S. above the earth causes the alternation of day and night, which is sometimes depicted as "someone going home at night and coming out in the morning" (LevWax 65; ↗Time and Space). The day is also divided up into sub-divisions which mark the movement of the S. across the heavens. While these may be socially determined in some instances, on the whole Hallpike's statement regarding the ↗Konso that "most of the divisions of the day are related to the S., and the degree of light it is producing, and its position in the sky" (Hallpike 1972: 173, esp. 174) would appear to hold true; elsewhere in Ethiopia as well.

The S. was also used as the basis for regulating the annual solar ↗calendar among those people who used this system rather than a lunar calendar. An important part of the Book of ↗Enoch (ch. 72–82), originating in late Judaism, describes the relationship between the 364-day solar calendar and the lunar year. A similar solar calendar appears in the Book of ↗Jubilees.



Creation of the Sun, mural on the ceiling of the second vestibule, Däbrä Marqos church, Goǧǧam, end of the 19th cent.; photo 2008, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Among some groups in southern Ethiopia traditions and myths identify clans or special groups, particularly kings with the S. or with the idea of descent from the S. (VSAe I, 47, 57, 185, 213; VSAe II, 105, 331). The S. (and in some cases the ↗Moon) thus became symbols for the eternity of God-given or divine ↗kingship. This idea is echoed in a passage in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* where, following the removal of the ↗Ark of the Covenant from ↗Jerusalem, King ↗Solomon has a vision in which the S. no longer illuminates the land of Judah, but sheds its light on "Rom" and Ethiopia. As he explains, "the sun that appeared unto me long ago when I was sleeping with the Queen of Ethiopia was the symbol of the holy [↗]Zion" (Budge 1932: 85). In this passage the S. appears to represent both divine favour and the Ark of the Covenant.

This theme of the S. and kingship, obviously inherited from the early Christian tradition, is also present in Ethiopian pictorial vocabulary. For instance in several representations of the ↗crucifixion the S. is depicted as a darkened eclipse and the Moon as a blood-red disc, which underlines the eschatological setting of the crucifixion (Balicka-Witakowska 1997: 67–72; ↗Eschatology). It was also suggested that some representations of the anthropomorphised solar discs placed in ↗*mäqdäs* or its vicinity (e.g., in the churches Betä Maryam ↗Lalibäla, Ǝmäkina Mädḫane Aläm (↗Ǝmäkina churches), ↗Gännätä Maryam, ↗Qorqor Maryam) recall the ancient concept of *Christus Sol Invictus* or *Christus Sol Iusticiae* (Lepage 1999: 953–56). The same idea lays behind the dedication of some monasteries and churches to Ṣäḥay i.e. Christ (e.g., ↗Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay Qʷəsqʷam). From the 18th cent., the apocryphal story about Jesus-Child walking in the S. ray (↗*Täʾammərä Iyäsus*) enters the painting programme decorating the south wall of the *mäqdäs*.

In the 19th cent. the idea of relation between kingship and the S. is present in the paintings (usually placed above the main door of a church) which represent the soul of a ruler ascending to heaven and juxtaposed with the picture of the S. The thought is clarified by the accompanying inscription in which the soul is compared to the S. (e.g., Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay in Säqota, s. DEEDS 1993:013: 007).

As among many peoples, Ethiopians viewed solar eclipses with awe and considered them portentous events. According to several passages in the ↗*andəmta* commentaries, eclipses were caused by a dark star called *Aqäd* which covered the S. (or the moon) every 500 years. "There is a dark star, which has no light, called *Aqäd*. Each 500 years it forms a conjunction with the sun (or) moon, and darkens it" (Pankhurst in PICES 8, 89 referring to personal communication with Roger Cowley). Such events were noteworthy and usually recorded in royal chronicles or other chronological works (e.g., a solar eclipse of 1241, ms. BN Éth. 126, s. Pankhurst in PICES 8 for more examples). Eclipses were often seen as prophetic in nature and believed to forecast "the death of the king and the coming of a terrible civil war" (Bruce in Pankhurst in PICES 8, 95). Even in recent years eclipses were the occasion for prayer and concern that drought, famine, or other calamity were imminent (ibid. 102).

In Ethiopic literature the image or the topic of 'light' (ብርሃን, *bərhan*) is used to represent Christianity and the true faith. The eclipse or other loss of S. light would thus be catastrophic not only on a practical level but also in an eschatological-theological sense. Thus the S. was used as a metaphor to explain the belief in the ↗Trinity. According to the *Gädlä* ↗*Ǝsṭifanos* there were some who taught that "the Father is Sun, the Son is light and the Holy Spirit its heat", but Ǝsṭifanos taught that all three persons of the ↗Trinity were "the S. of righteousness" (Getatchew Haile 2006: 38 [text] = 32f. [tr.]; cp. also the discussion of the concept by Piovanelli 1994).

While S.-worship does not appear as a major element in the traditional ↗religions of Ethiopia, it does form part of the image of pre-Abrahamic polytheism (cp. Leslau 1951: 26).

Although the S. is welcomed for its warmth on cold mornings and for causing seeds to germinate, it is also feared as a source of illness and even death. When the S. shines on soil moistened by rain or urine, it is believed to cause genital sores. Some Ethiopians believe that when the S. strikes a part of the body that is sweating or unclean, a kind of "sunstroke" may develop, in the form of an irritation, rash, or herpes. Excess exposure to the S. is also believed to cause headache, eye diseases, earache and other symptoms (Hodes 1997: 30f.).

↗Śəllase: Mäṣḥafä śəllase

Src.: Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menyelek*, London ^{2}1932; DEEDS [photo collection], Toronto University 1993, 013:007; Getatchew Haile, *The Gəᶜəz Acts of Abba Ǝsṭifanos of Gʷəndagʷənde*, Lovanii 2006 (CSCO 619, 620, [SAe 110, 111]), 38 [text] = 32f. [tr.]; Wolf Leslau, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven, CT 1951; ZotBNat 158, éth. 126.

Lit.: Richard Pankhurst, "History of Eclipses and Comets in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 89–110; Richard Hodes, "Cross-cultural Medicine and Diverse Health Beliefs. Ethiopians Abroad", *Western Journal of Medicine* 166, 1 January 1997, 29–36, here 30f.; CerPeople 31; Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, *La Crucifixion sans Crucifié dans l'art éthiopien*, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 1997 (Bibliotheca nubica et aethopica 4); LevWax 65; Christopher R. Hallpike, *The Konso of Ethiopia: a Study of the Values of a Cushitic People*, Oxford 1972; Claude Lepage, "Les peintures murales de l'église Betä Maryam à Lalibäla, Éthiopie (rapport préliminaire)", *Accadémie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres. Comptes Rendus* 143, fasc. 3, 1999, 901–67; Pierluigi Piovanelli, "Les controverses théologiques sous le roi Zar'a Yāʿqob (1434–1468) et la mise en place du monophysisme éthiopien", in: Alain Le Boulluec (ed.), *La controverse religieuse et ses formes*, Paris 1994, 165–87, here 204f.; VSAe I, 47, 57, 185, 213; VSAe II, 105, 331.

Steven Kaplan

Sundström, Gustaf Richard

S. (b. 18 August 1869, Sånga, Sweden, d. 16 June 1919, Kärän, Eritrea) was an early Swedish missionary in ↗Eritrea.

S. studied theology in Stockholm, medicine in London, and languages in Florence. Employed by the ↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen, he was stationed at Gäläb (s. EAE vol. 5) from 1898 to 1913 and at ↗Kärän from 1913 to 1919 where he supervised the erection of a new mission station. During this period he was appointed by the Italians as city physician for Kärän.

S. is remembered more for his linguistic work and scientific interest than for his activities as a missionary. In 1902 he started, together with Karl Gustaf Rodén, to prepare religious ↗Təgre songs, the *Cantici di Sion*, for publication. During the 1905 ↗Princeton Expedition, Enno ↗Littmann, greatly supported by S., obtained a collection of texts on the oral historiography of Təgre groups documented by S. (s. Paret-Schall 1955: 29; only one was published, Höfner 1961; LitPEA). S. took also part in excavations at ↗Adulis in 1906 before they were prohibited by the colonial administration (cp. Sundström – Littmann 1907). Objects from there were later received by a museum in Asmära and are now kept in the Eritrean National Museum (↗Archaeology). In 1907 S.'s assistant ↗Näffaᶜ Wäd ᶜƎtman, a young man converted by S., accompanied him as his informant to ↗Germany were Näffa and Littmann later worked together (LitPEA). S. translated religious texts such as parts of the Bible into Təgre (↗Bible translations, modern), produced a grammar and a Təgre–Italian dictionary. He also translated Təgre texts into Swedish (Sundström – Littmann 1906). He also recorded Təgre poems, proverbs, riddles, legends and historical traditions on a T.A. Edison ↗phonogram (ArEvang 358).

Works published in Asmära were partly posthumous. His translations of portions of the Bible were printed with the support of the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society in 1925. More unpublished manuscripts by S. were reported to be kept in four different places (Rodén 1938).

Src.: LitPEA; Karl Gustaf Rodén – Richard Sundström (ed., tr.), *Cantici di Sion. In Tigrè. Sionstoner*, vol. 1–3, Asmara 1910 [enlarged editions 1913, 1917, 1931]; Richard Sundström – Enno Littmann, *En sång på tigrē-språket*, Uppsala 1906 (Skrifter utgifna af K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala. 8, 6); Iid., "Preliminary Report of the Princeton University Expedition to Abyssinia", *ZA* 20, 1907, 151–82; Richard Sundström, *Martyrerna i Nagran. Öfvers. och bearbetning af det etiopiska originalet*, Stockholm 1910; Id., *History of the Mänsa People* [in English and Təgre], Asmara 1913, ^{2}1923; Id., "Sjukdomar och deras behandling av infödingar i Mänsa", *Le Monde Oriental* [Uppsala] 3, 1909a, 127–51; Id., "Kännedom om läkemedel och deras användning bland infödingarna i Mänsa", *ibid*. 3, 1909b, 152–73; Id., *ibid*. 8, 1914, 1–15; Id. (tr.), *Il libro di Isaia in lingua tigrè*, Asmara 1925; Id. (tr.), *I salmi di Davide*, Asmara 1925.

Lit.: ArEvang 357ff.; Gustav Arén, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia*, Stockholm 1999, 143; Nils Bohman (ed.), *Svenska män och kvinnor*, vol. 7, Stockholm 1954, 336;

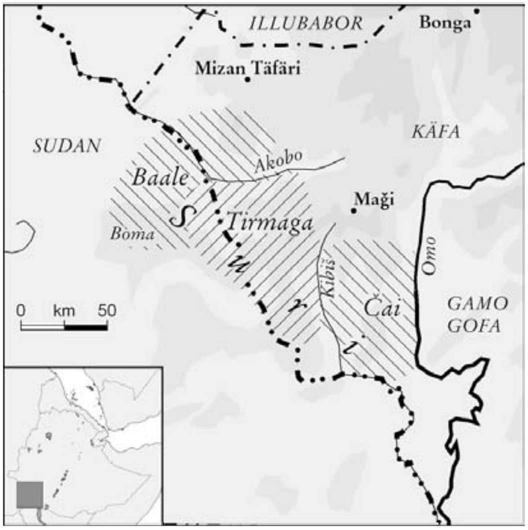
ErDizBio; Viveka Halldin Norberg, *Swedes in Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, 1924–1952*, Uppsala 1977 (Studia Historica Upsaliensia 92); Maria Höfner, "Überlieferungen bei Tigrē-Stämmen (I), ᶜAd Šēk", *AE* 4, 1961, 181–203; Rudi Paret – Anton Schall (ed.), *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik*: *Lebensbilder aus der Feder von Enno Littmann und Verzeichnis seiner Schriften. Zum achtzigsten Geburtstage am 16. September 1955 zusammengestellt*, Wiesbaden 1955, 16ff., 26-30; Nils Rodén, *Johannelunds missionsinstitut genom 75 år. Jubileumsskrift 1863–1938*, Stockholm 1938, 153f.

Bernhard Lindahl

Suri

S. (or Suuri) is an ethnic name which randomly applies to three groups living in south-western Ethiopia and in the adjoining area of Sudan (↗Čai, ↗Tirmaga and ↗Baale), speaking different languages (South-East Surmic for the Čai and Tirmaga, South-West Surmic for the Baale), but sharing similar cultural patterns, such as, e.g., the wooden or clay lip-plugs worn by the women. The name S. does, however, not apply to the ↗Mursi, another group which, though linguistically and culturally close to the Čai and Tirmaga, lives on the east bank of the Omo.

The ethnonym S. has now replaced the name Surma in scientific literature, but the latter is still used by the ↗Dizi and other highland peoples to refer to the three Surmic-speaking groups (Čai, Tirmaga and Baale) living in the lowlands between the ↗Omo and the Boma Plateau. It should be noted that other general terms are also used by other neighbouring ethnic groups to refer to this cluster: *Tama* by the ↗Meᵓen, *Ɖwòk* by the ↗Añwaa, and *ŋiKoroma* by the ↗Ñaŋatom and the Toposa.



The ethnonym "Suuri" is only used by the Čai and the Tirmaga on specific occasions, and only to distinguish themselves from surrounding groups. The case of the Baale, who live on both sides of the Ethio–Sudanese border, complicates the issue: Čai and Tirmaga may refer to the Baale as "Suuri" when they want, for a specific reason, to consider them as part of the same group; otherwise, they mostly call them *Balisèn*. The Baale of Ethiopia only reluctantly call themselves "Suuri", a name which, in their language, refers to the Čai and the Tirmaga, while among Baale-speakers of Sudan (who call the latter "Tirmaġa"), "Suuri" seems to be the name by which they refer only to themselves (cf. Klausberger 1985; Lyth 1947).

Lit.: Jon Abbink, "Violence and Political Discourse among the Chai Suri", in: Dimmendaal – Last 1998., 321–44; Id., "Ritual and Political Forms of Violent Practice among the Suri of Southern Ethiopia", in: *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 38, 150–52, 1998, 271–95; Christian Bader, *Les Guerriers nus*, Paris 2002; Gerrit J. Dimmendaal – Marco Last (eds.), *Surmic Languages and Cultures*, Köln 1998, 107, 376; Friedrich Wilhelm Klausberger, "Notizen zur Kultur und Sozialordnung der Boma-Suri in Süd-Sudan", *Wiener Ethnohistorische Blätter* 27, 1985, 49–76; Richard E. Lyth, "The Suri Tribe", *SNR* 28, 1947, 106–16; Peter Unseth, "Disentangling the two Languages called 'Suri'", *Occasional Papers in the Study of Sudanese Languages* 7, 1997, 49–69.

Suri elders playing a *hor* board game in the village of Korum; photo 1994, courtesy of Jon Abbink

Christian Bader

Surmic

The S. language family is a branch of the ↗Nilo-Saharan phylum, found in south-west Ethiopia and adjoining Sudan. In the past, this group had been known as "Didinga-Murle" (Tucker – Bryan 1956:87f.) and "Surma" (Bender 1971). The former term refers to two closely related languages of the S. family, and the latter is an ethnonym (s. ↗Suri). It was from this ethnonym that the term S. was derived.

The original geographic home of the S. peoples was probably somewhere near ↗Maği. The ↗Mağaŋgir have migrated north from there (Unseth – Abbink 1998:108), the ↗Murle have migrated clockwise around Lake ↗Turkana (Arensen 1983:56). Ethno-linguistic identities within the S. group have not been rigid, with ample evidence of people's identities shifting from one ethno-linguistic group to another (Tornay 1981; Turton 1979; Unseth – Abbink 1998).

Today, the various peoples who speak S. languages use various subsistence practices: some of them are nomadic herders, others settled farmers, or swidden farmers. They live in a variety of terrain, from the lowlands of Sudan and the banks of the ↗Omo to mountains over 2,300 m A.S.L.

The ↗Nilotic language group is considered the closest relative of S.; both groups combined probably constitute a separate unit within Eastern Sudanic, a subgroup of Nilo-Saharan (cf., e.g., Bender 1996:25–29).

The S. group is divided into Southern S. and Northern S. The South S. branch, in its turn, consists of South-western and South-eastern S. branches (Fleming 1983:532f.; Unseth 1988). The South-western S. languages, including Didinga and Tenet, are spoken mostly in Sudan (only ↗Baale and Murle are also present in Ethiopia). Other S. languages are spoken only in Ethiopia: ↗Meᵓen, the ↗Čai-Tirma-Mursi cluster and the ↗Kʷegu-Muguği cluster (South-eastern branch); and Mağaŋgir (Northern branch).

The classification is mostly based on lexicostatistic analysis, but the evidence of shared innovations, mostly from phonology and lexical domain, has also been brought into discussion. A possible lexical innovation in South S. is the root for 'fire' (Baale *gó*, Murle *goo* etc., vs. Mağaŋgir *máɗ*, with parallels in Nilotic). Furthermore, South-eastern branch is characterized by a phonological innovation **l* > **r*, and a number of lexical innovations ('cow' *bi* in Čai, Tirma etc., vs. *taŋ* in Mağaŋgir, Murle etc.). A shift from a quinary numerical system (found in Northern and South-western S.) to a ten-based system in South-eastern S. is another argument in support of this group as a genetic unit (Unseth 1988).

Lexical innovations that distinguish S. from the rest of Nilo-Saharan include **(r)er* 'to die' (Bender 1977:19) and **abi/u* 'big' with a reduplicated plural form. Other probable pan-S. roots include *kɛ(l)ɛg* 'animal' and *akaat*, *ʌkʌʌt* 'tongue' (*kaɗa* in Mağaŋgir).

Much foundational fieldwork and analysis of S. languages was done by H. Fleming and M. L. Bender. The most complete descriptions of Ethiopian S. languages are of Murle (Arensen 1982) and Tirma (Bryant 1999). The starting point for linguistic and anthropological research into S. studies is Dimmendaal – Last (1998).

All S. languages are presumed to be tonal, have implosive consonants, and have distinctive vowel length. Some have as many as nine vowel qualities, and more detailed study may confirm this in other S. languages, also. Strikingly, only Meᵓen and Kʷegu have sets of ejective consonants.

S. languages share a system of marking the number of both the possessed and the possessor in possessive pronouns (s., e.g., Unseth in EAE vol. 3, 627–29). They all distinguish at least four cases by suffixes. Number of nominals is typically marked by way of suffixation, either in the singular or in the plural; alternatively, both the singular and the plural are marked, e.g., by way of the common Nilo-Saharan *t/k* pattern. Adjectives are formed by stative relative clauses.

In Mağaŋgir and South-west S. languages, relative clauses (which include adjectives), demonstratives, adverbs, numerals, genitives, and possessive pronouns follow their heads; noun derivations and subject marking on verbs are marked by suffixes. Verb–Subject–Object order predominates in indicative main clauses. The existence of postpositions in these verb-initial languages is typologically exceptional (s. Arensen et al. 1997; Dimmendaal 1998b:43f.). In the South-eastern branch, there is considerable variation in word order. Contrary to Arensen et al. (1997), Dimmendaal (1998b) reconstructs for proto-S. a verb-second word order, with subject and object either preceding or following the verb.

Lit.: JONATHAN ARENSEN, *Sticks and Straw*: *Comparative House Forms in Southern Sudan*, Dallas, TX 1983 (International Museum of Cultures Publication 13); Id., *Murle Grammar*, Juba 1982 (Occasional Papers in the Study of Sudanese Languages 2); Id. et al., "Interrogatives in Surmic Languages and Greenberg's Universals", *Occasional Papers in the Study of Sudanese Languages* 7, 1997, 71–90; M. Lionel Bender, "The Languages of Ethiopia: a New Lexicostatistic Classification and Some Problems of Diffusion", *Anthropological Linguistics* 13, 5, 1971, 165–288; Id., "The Surma Language Group", *Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement* 7, 1977, 11–21; Id., *The Nilo-Saharan Languages: a Comparative Essay*, München 1996 (LINCOM Handbooks in Linguistics 06); Michael Bryant, *Aspects of Tirmaga Grammar*, M.A. thesis, University of Texas at Arlington 1999; Gerrit J. Dimmendaal, "Surmic Languages and Cultures: an Introduction", in: Id. – Last 1998a, 3–33; Id., "A Syntactic Typology of Surmic from an Areal and Historical-Comparative Point of View", in: Id. – Last 1998b, 35–81; Id. – Marco Last (eds.), *Surmic Languages and Cultures*, Köln 1998 (Nilo-Saharan 13) (Lit.); Harold C. Fleming, "Surma Etymologies", in: Rainer Vossen – Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst (eds.), *Nilotic Studies: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Languages and History of the Nilotic Peoples, Cologne, January 4–6, 1982*, Berlin 1983 (Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 10), vol. 2, 523–55; Moges Yigezu, *A Comparative Study of the Phonetics and Phonology of Surmic Languages*, Ph.D. thesis, Université Libre de Bruxelles 2002; Serge Tornay, "The Omo Murle Enigma", in: M. Lionel Bender (ed.), *Peoples and Cultures of the Ethio–Sudan Borderlands*, East Lansing, MI 1981 (Northeast African Studies Monograph 10), 33–60; Archibald Norman Tucker – Margaret A. Bryan, *The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa*, London 1956 (Handbook of African Languages 3); David Turton, "A Journey Made them: Territorial Segmentation and Ethnic Identity among the Mursi", in: Ladislav Holy (ed.), *Segmentary Lineage Systems Reconsidered*, Belfast 1979 (Queen's University Papers in Social Anthropology 4), 19–143; Peter Unseth, "The Validity and Unity of the 'Southeast Surma' Language Grouping", *NEASt* 10, 2–3, 1988, 151–63; Id., "Disentangling the Two Languages Called 'Suri'", *Occasional Papers in the Study of Sudanese Languages* 7, 1997, 49–69; Id., "Mağaŋgir", in: *EAE* 3, 627–29; Id. – Jon Abbink, "Cross-ethnic Clan Identities among Surmic Groups", in: Dimmendaal – Last 1998, 103–12.

Peter Unseth

Susənyos

Aṣe S. (**ሱስንዮስ**, regnal name **ስልጣን፡ ሰገድ**, Səlṭan Sägäd I; b. ca. 1571, d. 16 September 1632) was ruler of Ethiopia from 1607 to 1632. He was the son of Prince Fasilädäs and *wäyzäro* Ḥamälmal Wärq (the daughter of a provincial chief) and the great-grandson of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. S. was brought up at his father's residence in Goǧǧam. At around 1585, the ↗Oromo attacked the area, killing Fasilädäs and several others. S. was taken captive and resided amongst the Oromo for over two years. During this time, he learned their customs, language and warfare.

After the death of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl in 1597 and the accession of *aṣe* ↗Ya^{c}əqob, S. became a potential claimant to the throne. Consequently, he was deemed to be a threat by the leading nobles who contrived to exploit the inexperience of the new sovereign, Ya^{c}əqob. S. was thus forced to take refuge in Goǧǧam and Šäwa, where between 1597 and 1607 he lived the peripatetic life of a bandit, mainly amongst the Oromo.

In the meantime, Ya^{c}əqob began to draw the wrath of the nobles for displaying too much independence and was ultimately exiled to Ǝnnarya in September 1603. Ya^{c}əqob was succeeded by *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl, but the latter was immediately ousted by S., with the support of *ras* ↗Atnatewos and other dignitaries. However, the nobility feared that a robust monarch would check their political aspirations and ushered Ya^{c}əqob back from exile. Upon his return, S. was deserted by his Amhara supporters and Ya^{c}əqob was restored to the throne. The Emperor was prepared to give S. the lands of Amhara, Wäläqa, Mänz and Šäwa and his father's *g*^{w}*əlt* (PerChron vol. 1, 74f.) as a *quid pro quo* for accepting Ya^{c}əqob's authority, but the offer was rejected. On 10 March 1607, S. ultimately defeated and killed Ya^{c}əqob at the Battle of Gol, whereupon the victor reassumed the helm. To bolster his legitimacy, S. was anointed at the Church of Aksum, the ancient coronation site of Ethiopia's emperors, and took the name of Səlṭan Sägäd I (PerChron vol. 1, 123f.).

At around the age of 35, S. became the undisputed ruler of Ethiopia, but he inherited a kingdom fraught with trouble. The Emperor was constantly forced to fend off the intrigues of discontented nobles and dignitaries, including several of his own kin, whom he had personally elevated, and impostors claiming to be Ya^{c}əqob (BecRASO VI, 203–20). From the very outset of his reign, S. became embroiled in bitter struggles against assorted prophets and religiously-inspired insurrectionist movements, which challenged the Emperor's authority as well as his pro-Catholic tendencies.

Another of S.'s chief concerns was the Oromo, with which he was well-acquainted, as the Oromo had fought on his side before his rise to power. In less than a decade at the helm, and in stark contradistinction to his predecessors, S. managed to keep the Oromo at bay by stoking their inner rivalries (PerChron vol. 1, 79–86).

S. also launched several unprecedently fierce campaigns against other non-Christian groups. Following battles in Lasta, Bägemdər, and Goǧǧam between 1607 and 1615, many Agäw were either enslaved or exterminated (BecRASO VI, 325–30). The Emperor also devised a systematic plan for Christianizing the Agäw, which was presided over by his Jesuit allies (BecRASO XI, 434f.; ↗Jesuits). Although S. was driven to action by the need for resources, these campaigns were also essential to solidifying the empire's central authority on the periphery and its territorial integrity (AbSea 203).

At around the same time, the expanding imperial presence in the Lake ↗Ṭana region cast a shadow over the Fälaša (↗Betä Əsraʾel). In 1614, ↗Gedewon supported a rebellion that was spearheaded by the dispossessed nobility of Ṣällämt, Wägära and Səmen. In response, S. appointed ↗Yolyos (the husband of his favourite daughter) governor of Wägära, Səmen, Ṣällämt, Wag, and southern Təgray for the express purpose of subduing the insurrections. The Emperor and Yolyos laid siege on Amba Misraba, a Betä Əsraʾel fortress, and inflicted heavy losses on its defenders. Thereafter, he launched an extremely aggressive campaign against the Betä Əsraʾel; their lands were confiscated and many were killed, subjugated, or forcefully baptised, effectively bringing to an end Betä Əsraʾel's local autonomy (PerChron vol. 1, 154ff.; BecRASO VI, 443f.).

During S.'s reign, the Jesuit mission made considerable in-roads in Ethiopia. With the help of the Jesuit fathers, he constructed several stone churches near Lake Ṭana, a two-storied residential palace, and a bridge over the River Abbay (BecRASO V, 76f., 330). The Emperor developed a keen interest in religious reform and the Catholic faith. He encouraged the translation of Catholic texts into ↗Gəʿəz and one of his favourite pastimes was allegedly to listen to the religious discussions held in his court (PerChron vol. 1, 216ff.; BecRASO XI, 419–26). By 1622, he received communion from Father Pedro ↗Páez and officially converted in 1624 (BecRASO VI, 396–400).

Some scholars have suggested that with his conversion to Catholicism the Emperor attempted to establish an autocratic, centralized regime (Chernetsov in PICES 10, Ramos 1999). S. studied the Jesuits' political philosophy and their conception of an absolutist state and sought to bolster his authority by collaborating with the missionaries and other Portuguese elements (cf. also AbSea 194–227).

Missives that S. sent to the Pope and the Habsburg king indicate that the former endeavoured to renew his ties with the Portuguese in order to obtain the military aid for countering the Oromo's incursions (BecRASO I, 257–64). His royal chronicle, however, is relatively tight-lipped concerning the Jesuit mission and the rise of Catholicism in Ethiopia. Perhaps the author was wary of sullying the Emperor's reputation by portraying him as a benefactor of the Catholics.

The first signs of serious discontent to S.'s pro-Catholic policies surfaced in several provinces that had adopted a firm anti-Catholic position. In 1617, the residents of Šire fled from their decimated region due to the heavy tribute that was thrust upon their shoulders. The only group that remained was the clergy, who had received a larger share of the tribute for mediating between the government and the local population (CRAxum 74ff., 90ff.). That same year, *abunä* ↗Səmʿon offered his blessings to a rebel force – headed by Yolyos, the recently deposed governor of Təgray – which engaged the Emperor's army at Säda (Dämbəya) under the banner of the Ethiopian Orthodox faith and was defeated (PerChron vol. 1, 163–70; BecRASO II, 392–402; Perruchon 1987: 174).

The arrival of Alfonso ↗Mendes in 1625 marked a turning point in the Emperor's commitment to Catholicism vis à vis the Alexandrian faith. From that point on, S. gradually forced assorted governors to embrace the Catholic faith. Those who refused were dismissed, while the enthusiasm of the apostates varied. Nevertheless, the peasants and elements within the Ethiopian Church threw their support behind a spate of local insurrections, which were led by nobles. In 1628, ↗Täklä Giyorgis, the governor of Təgray and S.'s son-in-law, launched a pair of uprisings. These measures were supported by the local populace who, according to Mendes, had been compelled to accept the Catholic faith under duress (BecRASO XII, 361–78). As a result of the popular agitation and pressure exerted by the Oromo and rebel groups on the margins of the empire, the government began to totter (Perruchon 1897: 177–80).

By 1630, S. was forced to annul many of his pro-Catholic measures and thus allow the Orthodox Christians' to practice their faith (BecRASO XII, 428). Two years later, he abdicated the throne and transferred control to his son Fasilädäs, who would eventually restore the Ethiopian Church to its erstwhile standing. He died shortly after and was laid to rest with great pomp and ceremony at ↗Gännätä Iyäsus (BecRASO VII, 191–95).

Src.: BecRASO I, 257–64; III, 273–76, 299–442; IV, 27–74; V, 76f., 330; VI, 203–30, 385f., 396–400, 443f.; VII, 22, 159–95; XI, 334ff., 419–26, 434f.; XII; 361–78, 428; CRAxum 74ff., 90ff.; PerChron vol. 1, 74f., 79–86, 123f., 154ff., 163–70, 216ff. (text) = vol. 2, 58f., 95f., 119ff., 126–31, 167f. (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: règne de Susenyos ou Seltan-Sagad (1607–1632)", *RevSem* 5, 1897, 75–80, 173–89.

Lit.: AbSea 194–229; SEVIR B. CHERNETSOV, "The Role of Catholicism in the History of Ethiopia of the First Half of the 17th Century", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 205–12; IZABELA ORLOWSKA, "The Chronicle of Susneyos as an Ethiopian Source for Research on the Jesuit Period in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 2002, 422–34; MANUEL JOÃO RAMOS, "Machiavellian Empowerment and Disempowerment. The Violent Struggle for Power in 17th Century Ethiopia", in: ANGELA CHEATER (ed.), *The Anthropology of Power: Empowerment and Disempowerment in Changing Structures,* London – New York 1999, 191–205.

Leonardo Cohen

Susənyos

St. S. (Copt. **ⲥⲓⲥⲓⲛⲛⲓⲟⲥ**, Arab. سوسنيوس, Eth. **ሱስንዮስ**), one of the so-called ↗equestrian saints, died as a martyr in Antiochia during Diocletian's persecutions (284–316).

According to the Coptic Synaxarium, S. is commemorated by the ↗Coptic Church on 26 *Barmūdah* which corresponds to the 26 *Miyazya* in the Ethiopian ↗calendar. For that day, the Ethiopic ↗*Sənkəssar* contains a concise account of his life and martyrdom, in which two layers can be distinguished:

1) the historical core, which can be connected with the persecution of Christians at the beginning of the 4th cent. with added hagiographic elements and *topoi* such as S.'s marvellous conversion and baptism, his fight against the restoration of the worship of idols and the description of his death as a martyr, and
2) a *historiola* reflecting the popular beliefs of this time inserted in the hagiographic material: S. detected that his sister, possessed by Satan, gave birth to a monstrous son and that she is able to take by magic the shape of a bird or serpent and kill newly-born children. S. speared his sister, her child – considered the son of Satan, – her husband and husband's father for practicing magic.

The pattern of the story of S. can be traced back to the protective pre-Christian Near Eastern god Sasm (Sesem) whose fight against demonic forces has later influenced Jewish magic beliefs (Naveh – Shaked 1998: 111–22) as well as the Christian legend of S. (Fauth 1999) which is preserved in a large variety of versions: Greek, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Slavonic etc.

The extensive Vita of S. is included in the collection ↗*Gädlä sämaʿətat* in one case only (ms. BN d'Abbadie 179, used by ↗Esteves Pereira for the edition); it has the same narrative structure as the *Sənkəssar* notice but is more extensive and detailed.

Parallel to the presence of S. in the official ecclesiastical literature, there is a widely known version of S.'s story which occurs in many ↗magic scrolls. This text is comparatively widespread because it was believed to be an effective protective means for pregnant women, women who have gaven birth and newly-born children (cp. ↗Medicine). However, this version shares with the ecclesiastical tradition of the Vita of S. (*Gädlä Susənyos*) only one motif: the fight of the saint against the child-killing female demon. The other elements of the Vita (conversion to Christianity, wonders, martyrdom) are absent in the texts of the magic scrolls.

Another distinctive detail of the "magic" version of the story as reflected by the large majority of magic scrolls (Fries 1893 represents rather an exception) is that the child-killing demonic creature is not the sister of S. (as in the *Sənkəssar*, ColSyn XI, 578–81), but, according to the popular beliefs of the Ethiopians, the witch Wərzəlya. She is believed to cause the death of newly-born children, and be consequently defeated and speared, but not killed by S. To avoid her imminent death, Wərzəlya makes a kind of agreement with S.: she will never attack women who carry a text containing the name of the saint. The main elements of the magic version of S.'s story were taken from Coptic magical literature which also notes a "Susennios" who slays the demonic "Berzelia".

The Ethiopian iconography of this story follows Coptic representations. S. is depicted on the walls of churches with other equestrian saints (for ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase of Gondär, s. Jäger – Pearce 1974: 51f.; the oldest depiction is probably the one in the church of ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos) and on magic scrolls as sitting on his horse and piercing the recumbent Wərzəlya with his spear (Mercier 1992: 169, ill. 130; Wagner 1967, ill. 1; Worrell 1910, ill. 4). There are also representations of S. praying (Mercier 1979: 106, ill. 34; 1992: 168, ill. 129).

↗Martyrdom

Src.: RENÉ BASSET, *Les apocryphes éthiopiens*. IV. *Les légendes de S. Tërtag et de S. Sousnyos*, Paris 1894, 1–42; BudSaint 835ff.; ColSyn XI, 578–81; FRIEDRICH ERICH DOBBERAHN (ed., tr.), *Fünf äthiopische Zauberrollen*, Walldorf 1976; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed., tr.), *Acta Martyrum*, Roma 1907 [repr. Louvain 1962] (CSCO 37, 38 [SAe 20, 21]), 261–72 (text) = 239–49 (tr.) ["Gadla Susenyos seu Martyrium Sancti Sisinnii"]; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed., tr.), "La légende de Sousneyos et de Werzelyâ d'après le ms. éthiop. Griaule n° 297", *Orientalia* nova ser. 6, 1937, 179–83.
Lit.: BOGDAN BURTEA, *Zwei äthiopische Zauberrollen*, Aachen 2001, 70–79 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 1) (Lit.); SEVIR ČERNETSOV, "Efiopskaja kartina sobranija MAE (2594–14) i legenda o svjatom Sisinnii i Verzilje" ('The Ethiopian Picture of the MAE Collection [2594–14] and the Legend of St. Sisinnnij and Verzilja'), *Sbornik Muzeja antropologii i etnografii* (Leningrad) 1975, 200–07 (Lit.); WOLFGANG FAUTH, "Der christliche Reiterheilige des Sisinnios-Typs im Kampf gegen eine vielnamige Dämonin", *Vigiliae Christianae* 53, 1999, 401–25 (Lit.); KARL FRIES, "The Ethiopic Legend of Socinus and Ursula", in: *Actes du VIII^{ème} Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 2ème *partie, Section Sémitique*, Leiden 1893, 55–70; OTTO A. JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia*, Stuttgart 1974, 52; JACQUES MERCIER, *Zauberrollen aus Äthiopien*: *Kultbilder magischer Riten*, München 1979; ID. (ed.), *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard. Art et médecine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1992, 168f.; JOSEPH NAVEH – SHAUL SHAKED, *Amulets and Magic Bowls. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem ^{3}1998, 111–22; PAUL PERDRIZET, *Negotium perambulans in tenebris*: *études de démonologie gréco-orientale*, Paris 1922, 15f.; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Santi guerrieri a cavallo: tele etiopiche*, Clusone 1996, 45f., 124ff., ill. 1, 4, 11, 23; JOSEPH-MARIE SAUGET, "Sisinnio", in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* vol. 11, Roma 1968, col. 1246f.; EWALD WAGNER, "Die Illustrationen der äthiopischen Zauberrollen der Sammlung Littmann", in: WILHELM HOENERBACH (ed.), *Der Orient in der Forschung*: *Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5. April 1966*, Wiesbaden 1967, 706–32; GÉRARD VIAUD, *Magie et coutumes populaires chez les Coptes d'Égypte*, Saint-Vincent-sur-Jabron 1978, 112–31; HANS ALEXANDER WINKLER, *Salomo und die Karina. Eine orientalische Legende von der Bezwingung einer Kindbettdämonin durch einen heiligen Helden*, Stuttgart 1931; WILLIAM HOYT WORRELL, "Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen", *ZA* 23, 1909, 149–83 (esp. ed. and tr. 167–73), *ibid.* 24, 1910, 59–96, *ibid.* 29, 1914–15, 85–141.

Bogdan Burtea

Suyūṭī, as-

S. (السيوطي, full name Abū l-Faḍl ᶜAbdarraḥmān b. Abī Bakr Ǧalāladdīn as-Suyūṭī; b. 1445, d. 1505, Cairo) was an Egyptian Muslim learned man, considered the most prolific author of the whole Arabic-Islamic literature (for his biography and bibliography s. Haywood in EI^{2}; Brockelmann 1902: 143–58, 1938: 178–98).

In his almost unlimited literary activity, beside a *maqāma* (rhyming prose text) under the title *Nuzhat al-ᶜumr fī t-tafḍīl bayna l-bīḍ was-sūd was-sumr* (publ. Damascus 1349 H. = 1930/31 A.D., an anthology of texts in praise of women of different skin colour, s. Akbar Muhammad 1985: 59f.), S. specifically devoted two works to Ethiopians (*Ḥabaš*). These are the *Rafᶜ šaᵓn alḥubšān* (recently ed. in Saudi Arabia and Lebanon; Suyūṭī 1995/96) and the *Azhār al-ᶜurūš fī aḫbār al-ḥubūš* (ed. 1995 and 2006, s. Brockelmann 1902: 158, 1938: 198, for a list of its manuscripts). The latter is an abridgement of the former.

The *Rafᶜ* was conceived by S. as an enlarged and improved version of ↗Ibn al-Ǧawzī's *Tanwīr al-ġabaš*. It is made up of seven chapters and an introduction. The content basically aims at highlighting the high rank of the Ethiopians as an ethnic group: the most famous *Ḥabaš* of the past are mentioned and magnified, particularly those who lived at the same time with the Prophet ↗Muḥammad. The ↗*Naǧāšī* and his story are widely described and the Ethiopian words in the ↗Qurᵓān are listed and explained. The topic had been previously dealt with by S. in his *Itqān fī ᶜulūm al-Qurᵓān* (1968 vol. 2, 105–20) and *al-Mutawakkil* (s. also CerStud I, 3 n. 1 [= CerIslam 283 n. 1]).

While the relationships between Ibn al-Ǧawzī's *Tanwīr* and S.'s *Rafᶜ* have still to be analyzed in detail (but s. Rotter 1967: 16f. for a first general assessment), S.'s work on *Ḥabaš* seems to be the direct source of the *Ṭirāz al-manqūš fī maḥāsin al-ḥubūš* by ↗Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdalbāqī al-Buḫārī al-Makkī (Rotter 1967: 18f.).

Since earlier times, the works of S. have been apparently known in Ethiopia, as elsewhere in Africa (Sartain 1971). In the ↗*Futūḥ al-ḥabaša*, the author refers to S.'s *al-Kašf ᶜan muǧāwazat hāḏī l-umma al-alf* (Brockelmann 1902: 151, 1938: 187; published in the collection *al-Ḥāwī lil-fatāwī*, 1982/83 vol. 2, 86–92) to refute the silly sayings of some unlearned people about the approaching end of the world at the end of the first hegira millennium (BassHist I, 2f. = II, 3f.; Stenhouse 2003: 3).

In contemporary Ethiopia, S.'s *Rafᶜ* was widely used by Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq for the writing of his compendium of Ethiopian Islamic history and culture called *Manhal al-ᶜaṭšān fī taᵓrīḫ al-ḥubšān*.

Src.: BassHist I, 2f. = II, 3f.; CerStud I, 3, n. 1 [= CerIslam 283, n. 1]; AS-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Itqān fī ᶜulūm al-Qurᵓān* ('The Exhaustive Knowledge in the Science of Qurᵓān'), 2 vols., Cairo 1968; ID., *al-Ḥāwī lil-fatāwī* ('The Collection of legal Judgement'), 2 vols., Beirut 1982/83; ID., *al-Mutawakkil fīmā warada fī l-Qurᵓān bil-luġa al-Ḥabašīya wal-Fārisīya wal-Rūmīya wal-Hindīya was-Siryāniyya wal-ᶜIbrānīya wan-Nabaṭīya wal-Qibṭīya wat-Turkīya* *waz-Zanǧīya wal-Barbarīya* ('The Reliable Book on what there is in Qurᵓān from the Ethiopian, from the Persian, Greek, Indian, Syriac, Hebrew, Nabaic, Coptic, Turkish, African and Berber Languages'), Damascus 1348 H. [1929/30 A.D.]; ID., *Nuzhat al-ᶜumr fī t-tafḍīl bayna l-bīḍ was-sūd was-sumr* ('The Joy of Life in [Establishment] of Preference between the White, the Black and the Brown'), Damascus 1349 H. [1930/31 A.D.]; ID., *Rafᶜ šaᵓn al-ḥubšān* ('The Raising of the Status of the Ethiopians'), 1416H. [1995/96 A.D.]; ID., *Azhār al-ᶜurūš fī aḫbār al-ḥubūš* ('The Flowers of the Thrones: Information about the Ethiopians'), ed. by ᶜABDALLĀH MUḤAMMAD ᶜĪSĀ AL-ĠAZĀLĪ, KUWAYT 1995; *ibid*. ed. by YAḤYĀᶜ ANĀBNA – HĀNĪ HAYĀǦNA, Irbid 1427 H. [2006 A.D.]; ELIZABETH M. SARTAIN, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, vol. 1: *Biography and Background*, vol. 2: (ed., tr.) *Al-Tahaddut̠ biniᵓmat allah*, Cambridge 1975; PAUL LESTER STENHOUSE (tr.), *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*: *the Conquest of Abyssinia* [*16th Century*], Hollywood 2003, 3.

Lit.: AKBAR MUHAMMAD, "The Image of Africans in Arabic Literature: Some Unpublished Manuscripts", in: JOHN RALPH WILLIS, *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa*, vol. 1: *Islam and the Ideology of Enslavement*, London 1985, 47–74; CARL BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, Berlin 1902, Supplementband 2, Leiden 1938; JOHN A. HAYWOOD, "al-Suyūṭī", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 9, 951–54 (Lit.); GERNOT ROTTER, *Die Stellung des Negers in der arabisch-islamischen Gesellschaft bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert*, Bonn 1967; ELIZABETH M. SARTAIN, "Jalal ad-Din as-Suyuti's Relations with the People of Takrur", *JSS* 16, 1971, 193–98; SAYYID B. MUḤAMMAD ṢĀDIQ, *Manhal al-ᶜaṭšān fī taᵓrīḫ al-ḥubšān* ('The Source for the Thirsty in Regard to the History of Ethiopia'), [Sanᶜāᵓ] 2001.

Alessandro Gori

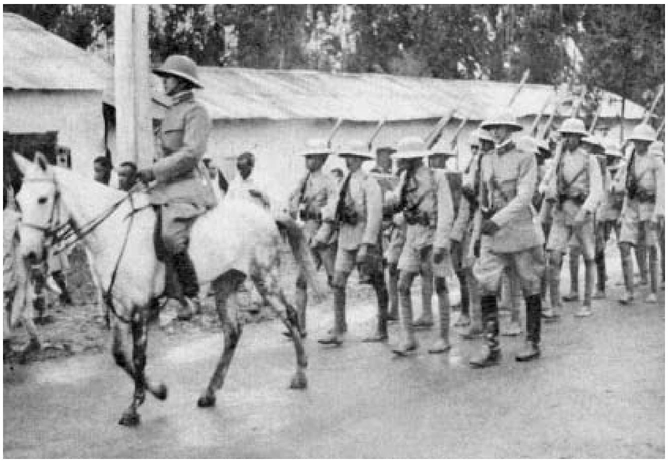
Sweden, relations with

Relations between S. and the Horn of Africa started in 1866 when the ↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen (EFS) selected the ↗Oromo lands for missionary work. The Oromo region was difficult to reach, however, therefore the Swedish missionaries decided to stay at ↗Massawa, from where they carried out work among the ↗Kunama in June 1866. Other missionary stations were founded in ↗Ǝmkullu and in ↗Gäläb (s. EAE vol. 5), ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga. The best-known student of the Swedish mission in Ǝmkullu, ↗Onesimos Näsib, translated Swedish songs into ↗Oromiffaa (s. also ↗Bible translations into Oromo). Five expeditions to reach the Oromo failed but temporary work at ↗Harär (1895–96), and finally, in ↗Naqamtee (1898) became possible.

The first official contact between the two countries was in June 1924, when *ras* Täfäri (later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) met the Swedish King Gustav V and Archbishop Nathan Söderblom. As a result, a few Swedes were attracted to Ethiopia, among them Fride ↗Hylander and Knut Hanner who later became Swedish Consul in ↗Addis Abäba. Swedish military staff was recruited in 1934 to train at the Holäta cadet school (↗Holäta Military Academy).

When the Italians attacked Ethiopia in 1935 (↗Italian war 1935–36), the Swedish Red Cross organized a mobile health service, equipped with Mission vintage cars and with Hylander as leader. When an ambulance was bombed on 30 December 1935, the dramatic news spread quickly in S. and the Swedish public became aware of Italian war crimes. The EFS suffered under the Italian rule over ↗Eritrea and had to withdraw; in 1935 several Swedish missionaries were expelled from Eritrea.

The pilot Carl Gustaf von Rosen bolstered the whole of the ambulance crews with his private airplane. He became an important adviser to the Ethiopian ↗Air Force when it was created in the 1940s–50s. Small Saab Safir planes were bought from S., and later 16 light Saab B-17 bombiers. Von Rosen was killed 1977 during an Somali attack in the Ogaden war.



Swedish officers with Ethiopian officer aspirants during a manoeuvre; from Rikli 1935: 72

Direct recruitment of Swedish professionals by the Ethiopian government started in late 1945. The main areas were education, health, aviation training in what later became known as ↗Däbrä Zäyt, and the training of police and of the ↗Imperial Bodyguard. A special case was the Imperial Board of Telecommunications which started operating in 1953, aided by an international loan.

Ethiopia was the first African country to receive Swedish technical development assistance from 1955 on. The first two projects were the Ethio-Swedish Building Technology Institute and the Ethio–Swedish Pediatric Clinic, followed by nutrition projects and by the construction of elementary schools in the countryside.

Ethiopian and Eritrean immigrants (some of them refugees) were well received in S. and were considered as one of the best integrated groups. By November 1975 there were some 900 Ethiopians in S. The changes of government in Ethiopia in 1974 and 1991 had no considerable impact on the relations. Among continuing long-term collaboration projects *Flora of Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Hedberg et al. 1989–2009) should be mentioned. ↗Ethiopian Airlines has introduced non-stop flights between Stockholm and Addis Abäba.

Swedish Universities offer Ethiopian Studies within African, Byzantine and Semitic Studies (such as currently in Uppsala or Falun). Early 20th cent. Swedish involvement in the region let to scholarly research. Among the prominent scholars the following should be mentioned: Karl ↗Winquist took an active part in translating the Bible into ↗Təgrəñña and ↗Təgre. Gustaf ↗Sundström participated in the 1905 ↗Princeton Expedition and obtained a collection of texts on the oral historiography of Təgre groups. Johannes ↗Kolmodin mainly studied the lesser-known languages of the region, and published collections of ↗Ḥamasen ↗oral literature. Oscar ↗Löfgren's work was mainly distinguished by his catalogues of Ethiopian manuscript collections in S. and his contribution to Ethiopian ↗philology.

The first Ethiopian manuscripts reached Uppsala in ca. 1716 through the hands of Henrik Benzelius, a Swedish Orientalist; it was only in 1894 that the next Ethiopian manuscripts were donated to the Uppsala University Library by August Bergman, an EFS missionary (LöfUpp 7).

Src.: *Tenaestelin* (Medlemsblad för Svensk-Etiopiska Föreningen) 1962–2008.

Lit.: GUNNAR AGGE, *I svart tjänst mellan vita stormakter. Tre år som abessinsk regeringsläkare i Ogaden*, Stockholm 1935; ID., *Med Röda Korset i fält*, Stockholm 1936; ArEvang; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia*, Stockholm 1999; HANS DOLLBRECHT, *Im Reiche des Negus Negesti Menelik II*, Berlin 1906, 219ff.; VIVEKA HALLDIN NORBERG, *Swedes in Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, 1924–1952*, Uppsala 1977 (Studia Historica Upsaliensia 92); INGA HEDBERG et al., *Flora of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, 7 vols., Addis Ababa 1989–2009; FRIDE HYLANDER, *Ett år i tält bland hedningar, muhammedaner och tabotister*, Stockholm 1934; ID., *I detta tecken – med svenska Röda Korset i Abessinien*, Stockholm 1936; LöfUpp 7; BENGT NEKBY, *Cadu - etiopisk utmaning – första avtalsperioden 1967–70*, Stockholm 1971; ANNA-LENA RÖSTIN, *Arvet i främlingars hand*, Stockholm 1936; AXEL B. SVENSSON, *Det återuppståndna Etiopien*, Stockholm 1948; VIKING TAMM, *I tjänst hos Negus*: *Aderton månader som krigsskolechef i Etiopien*, Stockholm 1936; ERIC VIRGIN, *Abessinska minnen*, Stockholm 1936 [English edition, *The Abyssinia I Knew*, London 1936].

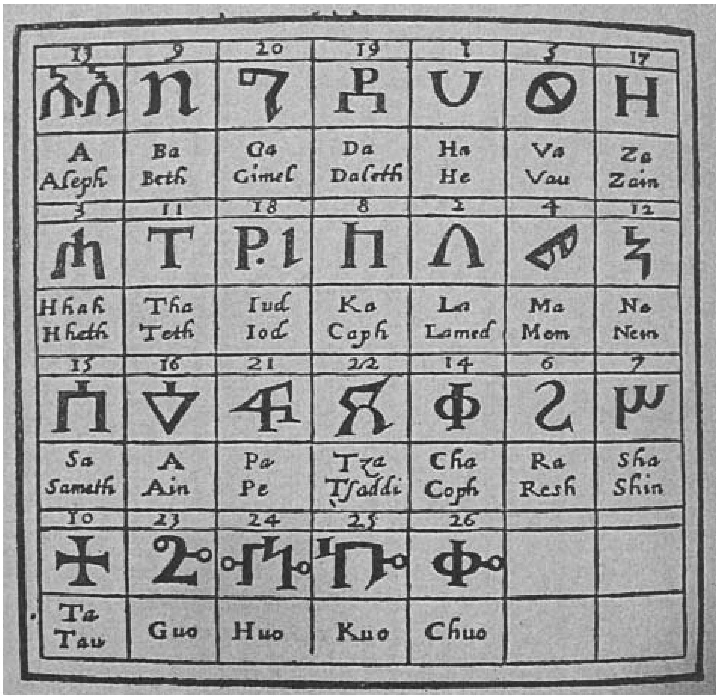
Bernhard Lindahl

Swedish Evangelical Mission ↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen

Switzerland, relations with

The first reports on Ethiopia by the Swiss date back to renaissance pilgrims, such as Hans Bernhard von Eptingen (1460) and Ludwig von Tschudi of Glaris (1519; cf. CerPal vol. 1, 256). The latter described Ethiopians in ↗Jerusalem, and their language and script, in a manuscript kept in St. Gallen (partly published in Lüthi 1936 and CerPal vol. 1, 370f.). The interest of humanists in Oriental languages led to the early printing of samples of the ↗Gəᶜəz script, e.g., by Sebastian Münster (1489–1552), professor at Basle University, in his *Chaldaica Grammatica*, published by Johannes Frobenius in 1527. Münster also made reference to Ethiopia in his *Cosmographia* (Basle 1544). Several 17th cent. publications from Geneva refer to Ethiopia, such as the *Opus de emendatione temporum* of the Orientalist Joseph Justus Scaliger, in which he discusses the script and the *Computus Ecclesiae Aethiopicae*. The Orientalist Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–67) of Zurich presented his research on Gəᶜəz in his *Promptuarium sive Bibliotheca orientalis* (Heidelberg 1658; Zürich 1664) which also shows his interest in Ethiopian history, similar to his correspondent ↗Ludolf (cp. de Fischer 1956: 278–81).

The first Protestant mission in Ethiopia was strongly linked with S. One of the first missionaries (1830–32, 1834) was the Swiss Samuel ↗Gobat, from Crémines, a student of the Basle Mission. Like later missionaries, he and his assistant, the carpenter Aichinger from Württemberg, associated themselves with the local power élite (e.g., the latter built the Č̣ərqos church for *däğğazmač* ↗Säbagadis in ᶜAddigrat before 1842). The ↗St. Chrischona Pilgermission was initiated by the Pietist Christian Friedrich Spittler, who actively propagated a mission to Ethiopia. In 1854 a number of students of this mission were prepared to go to Ethiopia, which was established in 1856 under mixed Swiss–British leadership. Gobat, who was the co-leader of the



13 A Aleph	9 Ba Beth	20 Ga Gimel	19 Da Daleth	1 Ha He	5 Va Vau	17 Za Zain
3 Hhah Hheth	11 Tha Teth	18 Iud Iod	8 Ka Caph	2 La Lamed	4 Ma Mem	12 Na Nem
15 Sa Sameth	16 A Ain	21 Pa Pe	22 Tza Tsaddi	14 Cha Coph	6 Ra Resh	7 Sha Shin
10 Ta Tau	23 Guo	24 Huo	25 Kuo	26 Chuo		

The Ethiopic letters ("Alphabet Ethyopique, ou des Nubiens") published by Claude Duret in 1619; from Duret 1619

mission, consecrated the Swiss Theophil ↗Waldmeier, who joined the mission shortly thereafter. Several Ethiopian pupils were sent by them to S. for education (Smidt 2005).

After the closure of the mission in 1868, all missionary endeavours (initiating a reform within the Ethiopian Church, converting the ↗Oromo and the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel) were continuously promoted and then re-initiated by Swiss missionary circles. One result was the Bible readers movement of ↗Ḥamasen, led by ↗Wäldä Śəllase Kənfu; another, the "Fälaša mission", continued by local converts (especially by ↗Mikaʾel Arägawi after his return from S.); and several attempts in Basle and the canton de Vaud of initiating an Oromo mission (e.g., with the help of the Bible translator ↗Ruufoo). The Oromo mission in Šäwa (1871–86) was joined by Germans and Ethiopians educated in S. (e.g., Johannes ↗Mayer). The "Fälaša mission" remained the longest under Swiss leadership. After Mikaʾel Arägawi, the Swiss Friedrich Flad of St. Légier, born in Ethiopia (son of missionary Martin ↗Flad), became its director in the 1920s, followed by his son-in-law Willy Heintze. ↗Sənəddu Gäbru, daughter of the Swiss-educated missionary, later official, ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa, and the first female Member of Parliament in Ethiopia, had studied in Lausanne, after receiving a first education in St. Chrischona.

The Flad family kept their good relations with the Ethiopian leadership, which was one reason why ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase's daughter ↗Ṣäḥay was educated in the house of Flad in Vevey. Due to these contacts, in 1936 Ḫaylä Śəllase repeatedly asked S. to grant him asylum to live in Vevey, but was rejected on the grounds of neutrality; in December 1936 S. recognized Italian ↗Africa Orientale Italiana.

Another aspect of Swiss involvement was scholarly, followed by political and economic involvements. The Orientalist Werner ↗Munzinger, son of the first Swiss president after 1848, established himself in the Eritrean border regions and became a leading ethnographer and linguist (on other explorers s. de Fischer 1956: 288ff.). As a governor in Egyptian service, supported by ↗Haggenmacher, he was responsible for Egyptian expansion into Ethiopia. ↗Mənilək of Šäwa had planned to hire Munzinger, but after the latter's death decided to employ Alfred ↗Ilg as his engineer and later chief advisor for foreign affairs. Upon his initiative, *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel visited Zurich in 1902. Victor Buchs from Estavayer-le-Lac (1866–1953) was a photographer and explorer in the highlands from 1889 to 1895, after settling in Massawa as the agent of an Italian firm. The ethnographer George ↗Montandon explored "↗Gimira" in the early 20th cent. S. had no colonial ambitions, which was an important reason why Ethiopian rulers invited the Swiss to establish themselves in Ethiopia permanently (e.g., the ↗Evalet family in 1898, followed by the Hess family in 1902 and others). The ↗postal system was built up first by Ilg, then by its Swiss Director Jean-Adolphe Michel from Bern. After the ↗League of Nations was founded in Geneva, Ethiopian delegations regularly visited S. (e.g., *blattengeta* ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase in 1923, 1936). Journalistic interest was keen beginning with Ilg's stay in Ethiopia (the most important documentation being the film and photos of

Martin ↗Rikli of 1935).

Economic relations were officially codified in 1933 by a treaty of friendship and commerce (interrupted in 1936). During the war, the merchant André Evalet became Swiss honorary consul in Addis Abäba, and later a delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross (1941–43), and assistant of the Swiss Emergency Aid Corps. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were established in 1952. Swiss diplomatic representation in Addis Abäba (since 1955) oversees relations (trade; missionaries; humanitarian activities, especially from the 1970s onward; Compensatory Financing Program). The development of bilateral relations is also reflected in more recently concluded treaties, e.g., agreements on the protection of investments (1998), on air traffic (2000) and on the co-operation in the field of science and technology (2008).

The Ethiopian legal system was influenced by Swiss law. The Swiss professor Jean ↗Graven developed the Ethiopian penal codes starting from the 1950s (↗Criminal codes; ↗Criminal Procedure Code). His son Philippe Graven, was also involved in the development of the Ethiopian legal system and taught law at Addis Ababa University in the 1950s to 1960s. André Evalet, during his exile in Eritrea, translated the Eritrean ↗Constitution into Amharic. Construction regulations (↗Urbanization) were drafted in 1959 by Edouard Perret, who successively became the Emperor's favorite architect (designing the ↗Jubilee Palace, the Parliament clock tower etc.).

Starting from the 1930s, S. was an important source for the import of arms. The industrialist Emil Georg Bührle (1890–1956) of Oerlikon exported arms from the beginning, and was nominated Ethiopian honorary consul in 1933. In 1954 Ḫaylä Śəllase included a visit of his weapons plant on his first state visit to S. The Oerlikon-Bührle Holding AG kept close relations with Ethiopia. In 1968 the company illegally delivered weapons to Egypt (zones of crisis being excluded from export from S.), Ethiopia providing cover for it by declaring that the weapons were purchased for its airforce. In addition, weapons were exported to Nigeria during the Biafra war, again covered by the Ethiopian government (Winter 1970: 39). In 1970 Dieter Bührle was convicted for this.

Scholarly interest in Ethiopia also continued throughout the 20th cent., especially at the Völkerkundemuseum of Zurich, but also other museums; geographers at Bern University have a focus on Eritrea and Ethiopia. In the 1970s the photographer Georg Gerster from Winterthur was crucial in promoting a better knowledge of the ancient rock-hewn churches and other cultural sites of Ethiopia (GerKir). The geographer Conrad Keller wrote on Ethiopian paintings; Ernst Friedrich Rohrer published on the material culture of the Amhara (s. also Lüthi 1936).

Src.: CerPal vol. 1, 256, 370f.; *Diplomatische Dokumente Schweiz (DDS), Datenbank*, Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, Bern; *Sammlung der Entscheidungen des Schweizerischen Bundesgerichts*, BGE 96 IV 155 (Urteil des Bundesstrafgerichts, Lausanne, 27. November 1970); SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal d'un séjour en Abyssinie pendant les années 1831–1832*, Paris – Genève 1835.

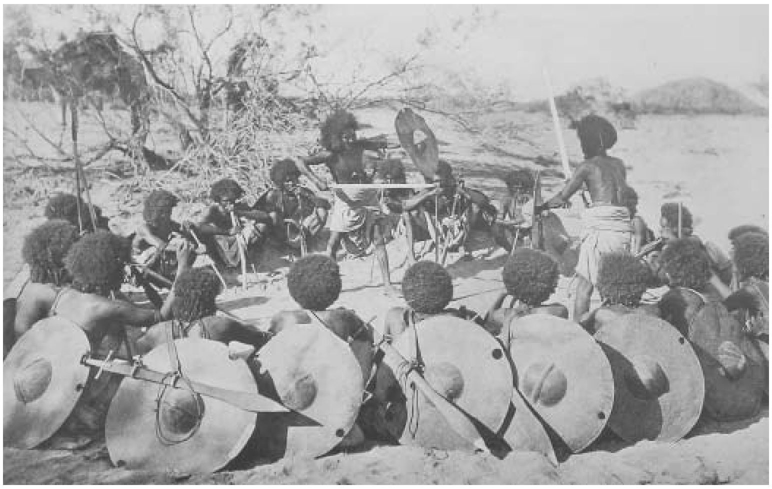
Lit.: [Autorenkollektiv], *Die Bührle-Saga, Festschrift zum 75jährigen Bestehen einer weltberühmten Waffenschmiede*, Zürich 1981; M. BAUMANN, "Der Afrikaforscher Adolf Haggenmacher von der Limmatau bei Lauffohr", *Brugger Neujahrsblätter* 91, 1981, 85–108; BERHANE TENSAY WOLDE SENBET, "The History of Ethio–Swiss Bilateral Co-operation: Present and Future Trends", in: ROGER PFISTER (ed.), *Beziehungen Schweiz–Afrika: Beiträge zur Konferenz vom 10./11. September 1999 an der ETH Zürich*, Zürich 2000 (Center for International Studies 34), 30–34; ELISABETH BIASIO, *Prunk und Pracht am Hofe Menileks. Alfred Ilgs Äthiopien um 1900*, Zürich 2004; CLAUDE DURET, *Thresor de l'Histoire des Langves de cest Vnivers*, Yverdon 1619 (ill.); "Emperor's Swiss Architect Passes Away", *The Ethiopian Herald*, 23 January 1993; ANDRÉ EVALET, *De Ménélik à Mengistu: un Suisse en Ethiopie*, Genève 1999; BEAT DE FISCHER, *Contributions à la connaissance des relations Suisses–Égyptiennes (d'environ 100 p. C. à 1949) suivies d'une esquisse des relations Suisses–Éthiopiennes (jusqu'en 1952)*, Lisbonne 1956; GerKir; WILLI LOEPFE, *Alfred Ilg und die äthiopische Eisenbahn*, Zürich 1974; KARL JAKOB LÜTHI, *Bibliographia Aethiopica/Äthiopisch in der Schweiz*, Bern 1936; MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935; LOUIS-BERNARD ROBITAILLE, "L'empreinte suisse en Ethiopie", *Jeune Afrique*, octobre 1996; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Les Africains de Bâle du 19$^{\text{ème}}$ siècle", in: THOMAS DAVID et al. (eds.), *De la traite des Noirs à la fin du régime de l'Apartheid: trois siècles de relations entre la Suisse et l'Afrique (XVIII^{e}–XXI^{e} siècles)*, Münster 2005, 209–25; HEINRICH THIERSCH, *Samuel Gobat, missionnaire en Abyssinie et évêque à Jérusalem*, Bâle 1885; WOLFGANG WINTER, "Die Heuchler von Lausanne", *Die Zeit* 49, 1970, 39, 56.

Wolbert Smidt

Swords and knives

S. (Gə^{c}əz, Amh., ሰይፍ, *säyf*, cp. Arab.; Tgn. ሰይፊ, *säyfi*, or ሴፍ, *sef*; Or. *goraadee*, *seefii*) are general cut and thrust weapons for close combat, with a double edged blade, cross guard, grip and pommel.

Although no S. have been found in Ethiopian archaeological sites, their existence in ancient times is proved by images on coins (↗Coinage; Munro-Hay 1989: 219). Records from the ↗Solomonic



A group of Beğa men attending a swordplay-training; in the foreground displayed are typical Beğa scabbards and shields; from Cooper 1928: 481

dynasty up to modern times document the usage of S. in the whole of Ethiopia. In many regions of Ethiopia S. were produced by local ↗blacksmiths but with imported steel. Already the ↗*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* refers to weapons imported from Egypt to Ethiopia, S. included as well as ↗iron and steel imports from India and in later times from Europe (Huntingford 1980: 21f.; PankBord 19f.; PankEcon 70; Amborn 1990: 60, 69ff.). Imported S. were of high value, and often richly decorated with gold, silver or tin (Schmitz 1963: 61; PankIntro 164). Many imported S. were reworked by native smiths to match the local taste; or foreign smiths were engaged at court. Already in the 15th cent., Turkish Mamluks were manufacturing S. for their Ethiopian masters.

The S.-grip was made out of wood or horn (rhinoceros or buffalo), less frequently out of metal or ivory; composite grips were produced from several materials, or had inlays. The hilt ended with a pommel out of horn or metal (brass, gold or silver, chased or ornamented). The scabbard, exclusively out of leather, was fitted to the shape of the S., often decorated with silver or gold wires, chains or trimmings. Luxury scabbards consist of two layers of leather, the upper one often made from stamped Moroccan leather; they might additionally have velvet coverings. The scabbard was carried by two leather straps across the shoulder (Amborn 1990: 152f.).

Since the Solomonic dynasty, nobles and high dignitaries wore luxury S. which were not used for fighting but for demonstrating their power (PankIntro 164; Spring 1993: 98, for ill. s. Spring 1993: pl. 22, 26). The royal ↗infantry and ↗cavalry were equipped with bows, arrows, ↗spears and S. (PankIntro 159; PankEcon 58; Spring 1993: 98). With these they fought the well mounted army of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in the 16th cent., which had S. alongside ↗fire-arms, spears and ↗shields (PankIntro 162; PankBord 191, 242). Turkish scimitars were part of the equipment of the royal troops in ↗Gondär from the 17th–18th cent. (PankIntro 173; PankBord 396).

In the 20th cent., soldiers of the royal guard carried luxury S. wrapped in red velvet when parading behind the emperor (Rohrer 1932: 120). S. have always been sought-after rewards for excellent service, as status symbols, or as barter objects (Spring 1993: 98).

In the whole of Ethiopia all kinds of straight S. were used (Rohrer 1932: 122). All these S. were worn on the right-hand side (Spring 1993: 98).

The ↗Nara used to hunt mostly with broad S. With these they attacked even ↗elephants and rhinoceroses (PankIntro 117). The ↗ᶜAfar were known for using bows and arrows, spears and S. in fighting (PankBord 63). The Amhara in Šäwa favoured until the 20th cent. a special double-edged S. with a curved blade, its shape resembling a sickle up to 120 cm in length. These curved blades enabled the aggressor to afflict serious injuries on the enemy (Benitez-Johannot – Barbier 2000: 96; Spring 1993: 99).

In southern parts of Ethiopia S. are still today used as weapons or for hunting (Rohrer 1932: 120f.; s. ills. VSAe I pl. 38, 5a/b, VSAe II pl. 16, 12, VSAe III 25f., 202, pl. 25.4). Among the ↗Dorze and ↗Zala S., carried by warriors on horseback, are used in battle or for ↗hunting elephant and giraffe (VSAe III, 202, 258). The equipment of ↗Yäm-warriors consisted of a spear, a shield and a short double-edged S. worn around the waist (VSAe III, 327).

Together with S. and K., daggers played an important role as weapons in Ethiopia. Prehistoric daggers could have been made from flint or ↗obsidian. The oldest evidence is found on a relief from the funeral temple of Hatschepsut who exchanged goods with the emperor of ↗Punt, Perehu. The relief depicts Perehu with a dagger, similar to those still found in Eritrea and Sudan (PankIntro 6f.; Schilde 1929: 94). Luxury daggers were a sign of prestige and wealth, though records of them are rare; a golden dagger was awarded by Susənyos to a ruler of southern Ethiopia (PankBord 369; Rohrer 1932: 124).

In southern Ethiopia daggers are not only an indicator of wealth but also of male maturity (Spring 1993:104). Many of the southern ethnic groups, such as the ↗Guǧǧi, ↗Arsi, ↗Gideᵓo, ↗Sidaama, ↗Wälamo and ↗Käfa, favour a curved, double-edged dagger (VSAe II, 44, 282, 426, pl. 16.10; Spring 1993:105). There are two types of daggers among the ↗Somali. In the south there are daggers in the shape of a leaf with an 8–10 cm blade, horn grip and leather scabbard, in the north (esp. ↗ᶜIssa) there are daggers with curved blades, a wooden grip with a brass pommel and brass decorations on scabbard and grip (Spring 1993, pl. 103; Rohrer 1932: 124). The ↗Hadándowa wear their daggers on wide belts around their chests (Spring 1993: 104).

K. are usually one-edged and are used rather as tools than weapons. Stone K. seem to be one of the first achievements of mankind, as prehistoric finds prove. Over thousands of years K. were made from different materials: stone (Chalcedony), ↗obsidian, bone, shell, bamboo, bronze and iron (about metal-deposits in Ethiopia s. ↗handicrafts; Munro-Hay 1989: 22, 241f., ills. 222–26; PankIntro 255f.; Amborn 1990: 69f.). K. show the same designs as S., despite their length.

Since antiquity European and Oriental "Turkish K." have been worn by the ↗*Təgre mäkʷännən* (PankIntro 182; PankEcon passim). Among some Oromo groups composite grips made out of several materials are favoured (Amborn 1990: 78). A leather scabbard, fitted to the K. is completed with leather strips that are tied to the belt (Hirschberg 1988: 308; Rohrer 1932: 124).

K. are still today essential equipment for many ethnic groups in the south as hunting weapons or tools for handicrafts (VSAe II, 138). A special curved slashing blade with a rounded head is used by the Guǧǧi, Arsi, Gideᵓo, Wälaytta and Sidaama (VSAe II, 282, 423, pl. 16.9; Hirschberg 1999: 163). Boorana and Guǧǧi use in addition a sharp pointed K., which they obtain, like other metal tools, from the ↗Konso. Special slaughter K. (VSAe I, 138; Amborn 1990: 79f.), K. for ritual acts (Benetiz-Johannot – Barbier 2000: 100; VSAe II, pl. 15.11), and several harvesting K. can be distinguished (VSAe I, pl. 33.1, 2; VSAe II, pl. 15.13; VSAe III, 93, 155, 299, pl. 24.6, 34.3; for harvesting ↗*ənsät* Amborn 1990: 59, 79f.). There is a custom among the ↗Banna, ↗Hamär and ↗Ṣamakko of tying K. to the left forearm. The grip of those K. reaches the back of the hand and is covered with leather. The same K. can also be tied around the waist or diagonally across the chest. Among the Ṣamay K. are valuable instruments of payment or barter objects (VSAe I, 352, 367, pl. 30.7).

A very special K. is the wrist K. of the Banna, ↗Turkana and Karo. The blade of the K. is a disc with a hole in the middle which is worn like a bracelet. When not used the sharp blade is covered with a leather protector; without this the K. is a lethal weapon (Hirschberg 1986: 180; VSAe I, pl. 36.9). The ↗Aari, ↗Mali and Banna also use a wide cutlass with curved blade which is affixed to a bent grip made of wood.

Src.: LIONEL CASSON, *The Periplus maris Erythraei*, Princeton, NJ, 1989; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, London 1980 (The Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, 151), 21f.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration*: *Vergleichende Untersuchung zu Spezialisten und Handwerkern in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990, 153f.; PURISSIMA BENITEZ-JOHANNOT – JEAN-PAUL BARBIER, *Shields*: *African, Southeast Asia and Oceania*, Munich – London – New York 2000, 100; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Eine axumitische Typenkopie als Dokument zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 46, 1996, 85–99; WALTER HIRSCHBERG – ALFRED JAMATA (eds.), *Technologie und Ergologie in der Volkskunde*, vol. 1, Berlin 1986; WALTER HIRSCHBERG (ed.), *Neues Wörterbuch der Völkerkunde*, Berlin 1988; ID., *Wörterbuch der Völkerkunde*, Berlin 1999; JACQUES MERCIER, *Zauberrollen aus Äthiopien*, München 1979; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *Excavations at Aksum*, London 1989, 22, 241f., ills. 222–26; ID., "A New Gold Coin of King MHDYS of Aksum", *Numismatic Chronicle* 155, 1995, 275–77; PankBord; PankEcon; PankIntro; ERNST F. ROHRER, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur der Amhara*, Bern 1932; WILLY SCHILDE, "Die Afrikanischen Hoheitszeichen", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 61, 1929, 46–152; CARL A. SCHMITZ, *Technologie frühzeitlicher Waffen,* Basel 1963; CHRISTOPHER SPRING, *African Arms and Armor,* Washington, DC 1993; VSAe I, 138, 352, 367; VSAe II, 44, 138, 282, 423, 426; VSAe III, 25f., 93, 155, 202, 229, 258, 327.

Ursula Hellwag

Sycamore

The S. (*Ficus Sycomorus*, Orom. *odaa*, Amh. ሾላ,

A sycamore tree on an early 20th-cent. postcard; from the collection of Lorenz Jensen, Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, University of Hamburg

šola, Tgn. **ሰግላ**, *sägla*, also *sagla*) is one of the larger ↗trees found in Ethiopia. It was among the species registered by ↗Schimper in 1844. S. trees grow in ↗bushlands, wooded ↗grasslands and ↗woodlands of the ↗*wäyna däga* agro-ecological zone. The ↗wood is used as fuel, the fruits (figs) are edible and the latex is used in traditional medicine. Beehives may hang in its crown. The leaves of the tree have a benefical effect on the soil condition.

Due to the large leaves a big specimen (up to a height of 25 m) may offer enough shade for different kinds of larger social gatherings and are therefore often found at market places. Culturally, the S. is held in high esteem and it is even considered as sacred among different ethnic groups and by the pre-Christian as well as folk ↗religions. Their custom does not allow such specimen to be cut (cp., e.g., KapMon 118ff.).

In different cultural settings the terrain under certain S. trees may, until today, be used as location for rituals and political assemblies, such as the ↗*bayto*-meetings in Təgrayan and Eritrean areas and especially the ↗*čaffee* of the ↗Oromo. Among the Oromo the ground under the S. served as a location for rituals including ↗sacrifices, oaths and ↗*gadaa* ceremonies. Many political assemblies regularly took place around sacred S., as it is indicated by the historical toponyms of the six most important Oromo assembly places: Odaa Bisil in Maccaa (↗Mäččа), Odaa Bultum in Bartuuma (↗Barentu), Odaa Nabee (Odaa Nabi) in ↗Tuulama, Odaa Garres (↗Boorana), Odaa Makoodi in Walloo (↗Wällo) and Odaa Rooba in Arsii (↗Arsi). However, the *muka yati* ('the tree of the meeting') is not always a S., other big trees may serve that purpose as well. The modern Oromo nationalist movements chose the *odaa* as a strong symbol of the "democratic" tradition of the *gadaa* system and of Oromo identity in general. The tree is depicted on the flag of the banned Oromo Liberation Front as well as on the official flag of the Oromiyaa Region.

Src.: National Botanic Garden of Belgium, Meise, Belgium, BR0000008403162.

Lit.: Azene Bekele-Tesemma – Ann Birnie – Bo Tengnäs, *Useful Trees and Shrubs for Ethiopia*, Nairobi 1993, 250; CerFolk 67; KapMon 118ff.; VSAe II, 105, 275, 316, 318, 339f.

Dirk Bustorf

Syncretism

S. is a concept describing the process of adoption, reinterpretation and merging of religious ideas and practices. S. may be understood as a "cultural laboratory" of religion in which confrontation and exchange with external systems are processed and sometimes new systems evolve. Berner's (1982) terminological model, roughly summarized here, differentiates between two levels on which S. may be considered: (1) the system as a whole and (2) the level of elements. Furthermore, he distinguishes between (a) systematization, S. of two or more religious systems, and (b) rationalization, i.e. internal S. of subsystems. S. on the system level may result in the irreversible formation of a new religious system, a "synthesis". In other cases systems may remain separate, while on the level of elements features are exchanged, adopted, or merged (Berner 1982: 92; 2001: 148f.; for a recent critical discussion of the concept of S. s. Stewart 1999: 40–62).

Despite the terminological accurateness of Berner's heuristic apparatus, the analysis of S.

continues to be difficult when applied to ethnographic field material. The complexity and ever shifting nature of the socio-religious field as well as the many ways of cultural mimicry often do not easily allow an identification of specific types of S. An element may be accepted from another religion in form but a different denotation may be ascribed to it or evolve through the interplay with the new context. In many cases it is not possible to figure out the origin or age of a given element.

Examples of syncretistic processes are manifold in Ethiopia and Eritrea. In principle, traditional ↗religions are more easily exposed to S. than ↗Christianity and ↗Islam. The latter religions are to a great extent based on written texts and, therefore, are comparatively standardized and conservative. However, in practice, the integration, and sometimes complete assimilation, of originally alien or heterodox elements were common throughout the history of these religions. Purist movements and reforms at times enforced a re-standardization and the official denial of any S. Important attempts to "purify" the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, for example, were made by *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I and *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. Since the beginning of the 19th cent., purist Islamic movements have been engaged in abolishing putative S. among their co-religionists (cp., e.g. ↗Ḥasän Ǝnǧamo).

The two world religions, however, could not always protect themselves from being re-structured by syncretistic processes into new religious systems. The former Islam of the ↗Hadiyya, for example, after being separated from the centres of Islamic learning during the 16th cent., and being influenced by local religions, developed into ↗*fandanaano*, a new self-contained socio-religious system (Braukämper 1992: 199–204; in PICES 13, 314). Likewise, Christianity, as such, could not survive in the southern regions after the end of the first Solomonic expansion period (15th to middle of 17th cent.). Only some "survivals" were maintained as part of, or parallel to, new autochtonous folk-religions, such as *anṭoqoṭora* among the ↗Ǝndägañ, or the old religions of the ↗Kambaata, or of the ↗Käfa (Bustorf in VarAeth; Braukämper 1992: 196–99, 203; BrKam 240–69).

A well-known syncretistic mechanism is the integration of elements of a local religion by a religious system encroaching from outside. This has once happened, e.g., in the case of the cult of the patron-spirit ↗trees (*adbar*) practised in Ethiopian Orthodox folk-religion. A typical example here is also the takeover of pre-Christian sacred places by the Church (e.g., ↗Yəḥa).

Certain fields of the socio-religious sphere, such as ↗healing and ↗magic, may facilitate S. on the level of elements. In order to be blessed or to overcome ↗disease, infertility and other afflictions, people tend to ignore religious (and ethnic) boundaries and, e.g., consult a religiously foreign healer or visit the shrine of a saint of another religion. This is the case, e.g., in the cult of *ayyo* ↗Momina (s. EAE vol. 5) at ↗Faraqasa which is attended by Muslims and Christians (Gemechu Jemal 2007). Similarly, the Muslim centre of ↗pilgrimage of ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn, is visited sometimes by Christians. Another example is the sacred sites on top of Mount ↗Zəqʷala, where a combination of Christian Orthodox and Oromo ritual traditions has been observed (Kriss – Kriss-Heinrich 1975).

Many syncretistic phenomena have a quite inter-religious character. The belief in certain ↗spirits and ↗possession cults, for example, crosses religious boundaries and by this fosters S. This is especially true in the case of the ↗*zar* complex, shared by Christians, Muslims and, in localized form, attested also in autochthonous religions. Moreover, some religious or magico-religious elements can be generally considered as inter-religious features, common to a great number of folk-religions (e.g., the belief in the evil eye [↗*Buda*]).

Syncretistic processes result from inter-religious (often also inter-ethnic) contact or confrontation. Thus, a multi-religious environment as well as missionary influences are conducive to S. In a multi-religious setting, for example, exogamous marriage rules may in some cases result in families practising the religion or cult of the husband's group parallel to, or combined with, that of the wife's group (s., e.g., ↗Bilin). In other cases the ↗conversion of one of the marriage partners is required (s., e.g., ↗Wällo).

Lit.: Ulrich Berner, *Untersuchungen zur Verwendung des Synkretismus-Begriffs*, Wiesbaden 1982; Id., "Synkretismus", in: *Handwörterbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*, Stuttgart 2001, vol. 5, 143–52 (Lit.); Ulrich Braukämper, "Aspects of Religious Syncretism in Southern Ethiopia", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 3, 1992, 194–207; Id., "A Vanishing Socio-Religious System: Fandano of the Hadiya", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 314–26; BrKam 241–75; Dirk Bustorf, "Some Notes on the Traditional Religious System of the Ǝndägañ Gurage", in: *VarAeth* 12–34; Gemechu Jemal Geda, *The Faraqasa Indigenous Pilgrimage Center*: *History and Ritual Practices*, M.A. thesis, Faculty of Sciences, University of Tromsø 2007; Burkhard Peter, *Kulturelle Identität und religiöses Bekenntnis*: *Synkretismus bei den Hadiyya Süd-*

äthiopiens, Mainz 1999; GEZAHEGN PETROS, "Symbolic Representations at Zeqwala Rituals: Religious Syncretism?", *Sociology-Ethnology Bulletin* 1, 37–41; CHARLES STEWARD, "Syncretism and its Synonyms: Reflections on Cultural Mixture", *Diacritics* 29, 3, 1999, 40–62; RUDOLF KRISS – HUBERT KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, passim.

Dirk Bustorf

Syphilis

S., according to Ethiopian tradition, was introduced into the country by the Portuguese in the 16th or 17th cent., and was later diffused by Arab and other travelling merchants (Parisis 1888: 132; MasMis vol. 3, 52; Mérab 1912, vol. 2, 72ff.). In the early 19th cent. Antoine d'Abbadie (1890: 596) was told by old Ethiopians that the ↗disease had arrived less than a hundred years earlier, while medicinal baths apparently for S. were constructed at Gondär in the 17th or early 18th. cent. Popular belief, in Ethiopia as elsewhere, linked S. with smallpox. S. was thus known in Təgrəñña as **ፍንጣጣ** (*fənṭaṭa*), whereas Amharic used this term for small-pox – and referred to the venereal disease as **ኩፍኝ** (*kuffəññ*). S., because of its assumed foreign origin, was also called ↗*färänǧ*'s disease; and, on account of its supposed arrival through the eastern lowlands, **የዓዳል፡ ፋንጣጣ** (*Yäᶜadal fanṭaṭa*) or **የዓዳል፡ ኩፍኝ** (*Yäᶜadal kuffəññ*).

S., because of sexual laxity, was widespread in Ethiopia (PankEcon 627–80; ↗Sexuality). Little stigma was attached to the disease. In the early 19th cent. Pearce (1831, vol. 1, 299) reported that it was "never kept secret, but, as soon as it is discovered, those afflicted make it known to all their friends and neighbours", – who would then visit to condole.

Traditional Ethiopian medical texts, and travellers's reports, indicate that a wide variety of local medicines, mainly but not exclusively herbal, were used in S. treatment. Some cures were taken orally; others applied externally (Pankhurst 1975: 202–09). Because of the seriousness of the disease it was soon also treated with foreign medicines. Sudorifics, principally sarsaparilla (the root of the smilax plant from Central America) and mercury compounds, which had revolutionized practice in Renaissance Europe, reached Ethiopia within a century. Vapour bathhouses (BruNile II, 211), known as **ወሻባ** (*wäšäba*), used for the treatment of S. were erected in the vicinity of the Gondär castles, and later reported at Ankobär and Ǝnṭoṭṭo (Pankhurst 1975: 211f., fig. 1, 2). The use of sarsaparilla, though soon abandoned in Europe, continued in Ethiopia throughout the 19th and early 20th cent. Ethiopian vapour baths by the close of the 18th cent. also made use of mercury products (Foster 1949: 107). Mercury ointment soon afterwards gained popularity, while Salversan, or Medicine 606, had reached Addis Abäba by 1912.

↗Epidemics

Src.: AbbGeogr 596; NICHOLAS PARISIS, *L'Abissinia*, Milan 1888, 132; MasMis vol. 3, 52; PAUL MÉRAB, *Médecins et médecine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1912; BruNile II, 212; Paris, BN, F.N.A., 21, 300; WILLIAM FOSTER, *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1949, 107; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*, 2 vols., London 1831, vol. 1, 299.

Lit.: TAYE HAILE, "Medicine for Syphilis", *Bulletin of the Ethnological Society of the University College of Addis Ababa* 1, 4, 1955, 32; PankEcon; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Old-Time Ethiopian Cures for Syphilis, Seventeenth to Twentieth Centuries", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 30, 2, 1975, 199–216; ID., "The Beginnings of Modern Medicine in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 9, 1965, 114–60; KARL FRIEDRICH SCHALLER, *Äthiopien–Ethiopia. A Geomedical Monograph*, Heidelberg 1972, 118f.

Richard Pankhurst

Syrian influences in Ethiopia

S.i. are the matter of discussion. Whereas some scholars both in the past and more recently provided material arguing for the existence of such influences, others regarded the material as not entirely convincing. When speaking about S.i., one has to bear in mind that what will be called "Syriac" influences concerns mainly the sphere of linguistics, testifying most often to direct contacts. The "Syrian" influences may, on the other hand, bear testimonies to direct but, more often, indirect contact, for instance, in cases of religious literary works that were often transmitted via the intermediary Arabic translations. The adjective "Syrian" is to be understood as derived not from the country name (Syria) but from the ethnonym Syrians, i.e. Aramaic-speaking Christians who inhabited (and, to a degree, still inhabit) the vast region including today's Syria as well as partly Iraq and Turkey. In view of some scholars, S.i. can be found in various spheres of Ethiopia's religious and cultural life.

The influence of the Syriac language (Christian Eastern Aramaic, originally the dialect of ↗Edessa into which the Bible was translated and which therefore gained a high literary status and prestige, also among the speakers of other Aramaic dialects) upon Gəᶜəz is a linguistic phenomenon, also of cultural relevance. Several scholars (s. below) have provided more or less extensive lists of loanwords from Syriac, but also from Jewish Aramaic dialects, similar enough to Syriac, so that it is difficult to decide which one is the actual source for the borrowing. Most loans belong into commercial and religious spheres, the examples for the latter including such notions as:

> *Bəryamin* (from Syr. *Bəryāmīn* 'Books of Chronicles', itself from poorly understood Hebrew *Dib̲rey hay-yamîm*); ↗*qäsis* (Syr. *qaššīšā* 'presbyter, priest'); *haymanot* ('[Christian] faith', from Syr. *haymānūṯā*); *arämi/arämāwi* ('Aramean, pagan', from Syr. *ārmāyā*, *ārāmāyā*: most Christian Arameans began to call themselves, and to be referred to by others as *Suryāyē* 'Syrians', while the older ethnic term 'Arameans' became synonymous with 'pagans'); s. also lists in Nöldeke 1910:32–46, Conti Rossini 1928:155, Marrassini 1990:38f., Witakowski 1990:191f., Marrassini 1999:328f.; Knibb 1999:27f.

The matter is in need of a deeper investigation. The theory that the so-called ↗Nine Saints were Syrian Monophysite monks has been recently proven wrong (Marrassini 1990, 1999). Nevertheless there must have been many other Syriac-speaking monks who did not leave traces in written sources, or else it would be difficult to explain the loanwords.

The participation of Syrians, including the Nine Saints, in Gəʿəz ↗Bible translation, once generally accepted, is now regarded questionable, at least in the Aksumite period (Marrassini 1999). Due to the fact that the oldest Ethiopian manuscripts are several hundred years later than the date of translation, it is difficult to prove whether the Syriac influences that are present there entered the text already in the Aksumite period or due to a later revision, for which Syro-Arabic Biblical manuscripts were used (examples from Ez in Knibb 1999:30ff.), in which case we are confronted with ultimately Syrian, if not Syriac, influences. Evidence of such S.i. can also be found in the Ethiopic N.T. translation, which may perhaps be more safely accepted for an early epoch (assuming that the names of Biblical figures would not be changed in the revision process): while many N.T. names have clearly Greek forms, e.g., *Bartolomewos*, there are cases such as *Wäldä Yona* (Mt 16:17; Gr. Βαριωνα or Βαρ Ιωνα; Syr. *Bar də-Yōnā*; Hoffmann 1972:358), which in Gəʿəz is not transcribed from Greek but translated from Syriac (Syr. *bar*, 'son').

Traces of the use of a Syriac *Vorlage* aside the Greek can also be found in ↗pseudepigrapha and apocrypha, e.g., in the *Lives of the Prophets* (Knibb 1985:19).

Another case of S.i. in literary sphere is mediaeval and post-mediaeval translations from Arabic, in which elements of Syriac origin, transmitted textually or orally, can be found. This is the case of, e.g., the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, the material of which is present in ↗*Qälemənṭos*, or the *Legend of* ↗*Abgar*, *king of Edessa*, added to the ↗*Täʾammərä Iyäsus*, but also transmitted separately. The name of Abgar's city (Syr. *ʾOrhāy*), the cradle of Syrian Christian culture, was known (via Arabic *ar-Rūhā*) in Ethiopia and used in the form Roḥa for ↗Lalibäla. The list of Syriac-writing authors whose works have been translated into Ethiopic, even though through Arabic, is long (s., e.g., ↗Aphrahat, ↗Ephrem, ↗Jacob of Serug and examples in Witakowski 1990:195f.).

Some works of Ethiopic theological literature contain excerpt of several Syriac (e.g., ↗Jacob Baradaeus) and Syrian (↗Severus of Antioch) writers. Within the ↗monastic literature, the so-called *Mäṣaḥəftä mänäkosat* contain three compositions of Syriac/n origin: ↗*Filkəsyos*, ↗*Arägawi mänfäsawi* and *Mar Yəsḥaq* (↗Isaac of Nineveh). Similar examples can be found in liturgical texts: e.g., the ↗*Anaphora of St. James, the Lord's Brother* is of Syriac origin (Hammerschmidt 1987:44f.).

Although the liturgy (↗*Qəddase*) has not been sufficiently investigated, several elements are almost certainly of ultimately Syriac origin, such as the use of the *flabellum* (↗*Märäwəḥ*).

↗Architecture of early Ethiopian ↗church building types was possibly derived from the Syrian pattern (Monneret de Villard 1937; Buxton 1970:97), whilst the influence may have been mediated via ↗Egypt (De Contenson 1961:41ff.). The patterns of basilicas excavated in ↗Adulis and ↗Mäṭära come from northern Syria (Anfray in PICES 4).

In art, it has been pointed out that the Abba Gärima Gospels (11th/12th cent.) had imported illuminated folios inserted that were produced in Syria-Palestine and exported to other regions of the Christian Orient (Leroy 1960; Buxton 1970:137).

Little, however, can be found in historical sources on direct Syro-Ethiopian contacts. Frumentius (↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) and Aidesios are said to have come from Tyre, i.e. the territory of the Patriarchate of Antioch. We know of Syrians officiating as metropolitans of Ethiopia in the 13th cent., during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak, most probably because no metropolitan was sent from Egypt at that time. His son *aṣe* ↗Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon regarded the situation as highly irregular (TadTChurch 69ff.), and sent letters both to the Patriarch of Alexandria, John VII, and to *sulṭān* Baybars requesting that a new metropolitan be sent. On the other hand, it happened that Ethiopians themselves were actively seeking consecration at the hands of the patriarchs of Antioch. An Ethiopian monk Tomas is known to have requested Patriarch Ignatius II David (1222–52) to be consecrated during the latter's visit to ↗Jerusalem. The Syriac historian who reports this, Grigoryos Bar ᶜEbroyo (ed. 1874: 656ff.), knew that this would be in violation of the rights of the Patriarch of Alexandria.

In general, the S.i. seem to be a natural consequence of the fact that both the Ethiopian and the Syrian Orthodox Churches belong to the same theological tradition, that opposes the Greek Orthodoxy as established at the Council of ↗Chalcedon in 451 (↗Jacobites). Over the centuries the contacts could take place in Jerusalem, in Egypt (where there was a Syrian monastery, Dayr as-Suryānī), or in Ethiopia, and even in Syria sporadically visited by Ethiopians (there are Ethiopic inscriptions in Wadi Qaddisha in Lebanon).

It should also be noted that for a long time Ethiopia, as an independent country with the official religion equal to that of the Syrian Orthodox Church, played an important role in the religious-political imagery of the Syrians. In the 7th cent. it found its expression in the *Apocalypse* of ↗Pseudo-Methodios, a composition with which the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* has connections.

Src.: GREGORII BARHEBRAEI *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* ..., ed., tr. by JOANNES BAPTISTA ABBELOOS – THOMAS JOSEPHUS LAMY, vol. 2, Paris – Lovanium 1874, 656ff.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Deux villes axoumites: Adoulis et Matara", in: *PICES* 4, 761–65; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "La *Collezione aksumita* canonico-liturgica", *Adamantius* 12, 2006, 43-70, here 146 n. 7 (Lit.); ID., "La tradizione scrittoria etiopica", *Segno e Testo* 6, 2008, 507–57, here 549ff.; DAVID BUXTON, *The Abyssinians*, London 1970; HENRI DE CONTENSON, "Les fouilles à Haoulti Melazo en 1958", *AE* 4, 1963, 39–60; CRStor I; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Wiesbaden ²1987 (AeF 25), 44f.; JOSEF HOFFMANN, "Das Neue Testament in äthiopischer Sprache: Probleme der Übersetzung und Stand der Forschung", in: KURT ALAND (ed.), *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* ..., Berlin 1972, 357–59; MICHAEL ANTHONY KNIBB, "The Ethiopic Version of the Lives of the Prophets, II: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Elijah, Elisha, Nathan, Ahijah, and Joel", *BSOAS* 48, 1, 1985, 16–41, here 19; ID., *Translating the Bible*: *the Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1999 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995); JULES LEROY, "L'évangéliare éthiopien du couvent d'Abba Garima et ses attaches avec l'ancien art chrétien de Syrie", *Cahiers archéologiques* 11, 1960, 131–43; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Some Considerations on the Problem of the 'Syriac Influences' on Aksumite Ethiopia", *JES* 23, 1990, 35–46; ID., "Ancora sul problema degli influssi siriaci in età aksumita", in: LUIGI CAGNI (ed.), *Biblica et semitica. Studi in onore di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999, 325–37; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, "Le origini dei più antichi tipi di chiese abissine", in: *Atti del 3º Congresso di Studi coloniali*, Firenze 1937, vol. 4 (III sezione: Storica – Archeologica), 137–51; THEODOR NÖLDEKE, "Lehnwörter in und aus dem Äthiopischen", in: ID., *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 31–59; HANS JACOB POLOTSKY, "Aramaic, Syriac, and Geʿez", *JSS* 9, 1964, 1–10; TadTChurch 69ff.; BERND MANUEL WEISCHER, "Historical and Philological Problems of the Axumite Literature", *JES* 9, 1, 1971, 83–93; WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "Syrian Influences in Ethiopian Culture", *Orientalia Suecana* 38–39, 1989–90, 191–202.

Witold Witakowski

ŚᶜZN(H)

Ś. (conventionally vocalized as Śəᶜazana; pseudo-Sab. ŚᶜḎNᵐ, Gr. Σα(ι)ζανᾶς, *Sa(i)zanâs*; cp. DAE I, 48) is the name attested for an arguably younger brother of King ↗ᶜEzana in four of the latter's ↗inscriptions: two in Gəᶜəz, with pseudo-Sabaic versions (RIÉ, nos. 185 I.3 and II.5, 185bis I.3 and II.5), and two in Greek (RIÉ 270.9, 270bis.7). Ś. is mentioned here with the king's other younger brother ḤDFH or *Ḥadəfah (ps.-Sab. ḤDFHᵐ, Gr. *Ἁδιφας, *Hadiphas*, *Ἁδηφας, *Hadēphas*): the two, actually brothers or half-brothers, led together a successful expedition against the ↗Beǧa tribes revolting in the north, and took a huge booty thereof.

In 356, the Byzantine Emperor Constantius II wrote a letter in Greek, fully quoted by Athanasius of Alexandria (*Apol. ad Constantium imperatorem*, 31, 1987: 158ff. = ed. Brennecke et al., 304ff.; cp. 29, *ibid.* 152f. = 302f.), to the Aksumite *týrannoi* ('lords, princes') ᶜEzana and Ś. (*Azanâ kaì Sazanâ*), requesting them to send back to the Arian patriarch George, in Egypt, Bishop Frumentius (↗Sälama Kaśate Bərhan), who had been unfittingly ordained by the Orthodox Patriarch Athanasius in Alexandria; at the end of the letter, the two addressees, clearly regarded as fellow Christians with whom discuss ecclesiastical matter, are greeted as *adelphoì timiṓtatoi* ('most honourable brothers').

Such a controversial document, introducing Ś. at the same level of ^{c}Ezana, raises the question of the former's status. Within the framework of the far-fetched "dual-kingship" theory, it has been suggested that he was a co-regent or, better, a co-ruler of his brother, as it would also appear from the much later traditions on ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa; in this connection, some of the coins bearing the name of ↗Ousanas have been identified as Ś.'s (Hahn 1983: 131f.; 1984: 130; s. already SerHist 100ff., 105, 108; but cp. Godet 1986: 190f.). Apart from Ousanas, who is rather likely to be ^{c}Ezana's elderly brother, and from Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa, for whose legend sounder interpretations can be resorted to (s. ↗Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa), it is true that, even if the text transmitted by Athanasius is an accurate copy, there are no means "of knowing how well-informed the Roman chancery was about the Ethiopian sovereign and his family" (MHAksum 156). Yet, given the late chronology of the letter vs. the earlier, still pagan inscriptions above (in which Ś. bears no special title, nor is he differentiated form the other king's brother), the possibility of a dual reign toward the end of ^{c}Ezana's tenure should be considered, for the sake of succession. If so, in elevating the rank of his brother (by then in charge of a specific area of the kingdom?), ^{c}Ezana could have simply followed the Roman example of Constantine I, who associated his sons with him as caesars, but remained the sole augustus until his death. If so, we do not really know, however, whether Ś. ever succeeded his famous brother.

Src.: RIÉ, nos. 185 I and II [= DAE IV, nos. 6 and 7], 185bis I and II, 270 [= DAE IV, no. 4], 270bis [= FHN III, no. 298; cp. p. 1096 and n. 687, and RIÉ IIIA, 6ff. and 12]; JAN M. SZYMUSIAK (ed., tr.), *Athanase d'Alexandrie. Deux apologies*, Paris 1958 (Sources chrétiennes 56), 86–175 [*Apol. ad Const. imp.*], here 152f., 158ff.; HANNS CHRISTOF BRENNECKE et al., *Athanasias Werke* 2, 8, Berlin 2006, 302–06.

Lit.: CRStor 132, 149f.; DAE I, 48, 50; ERIC GODET, "Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite", *Revue numismatique* 6^{e} sér., 28, 1986, 174–209, here 190f.; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurg. u. theolog. Anhang)", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 131f.; ID., "Further Reconsiderations on the Chronology of the Coinage of Aksum", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 24, 1984, 127–34, here 129f.; ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "Hadéfa", in: *DicEthBio* 80; ID. – BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Śə^{c}azana", *ibid.* 148; MHAksum 156, 205f.; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica*, ser. I, 15, I–II [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 18ff., 41ff.; SerHist 100ff., 105, 108.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

T

Täʾammər

T. (**ተአምር**, also **ተኣምር**) is the plural form of Gəʿəz *təʾəmərt* meaning 'sign, indication' (derived from the verb *ammärä*, 'to show, indicate'). In its broad sense, it refers to any sign, note, indication or conspicuous feature (cp. Amharic *mələkkət*); in the religious sense, it refers to a phenomenon appearing as a prodigy or omen, indicating the presence or intervention of divine power. It further denotes a happening considered by the beholders as logically inexplicable, violating or reversing the natural course of things (i.e. a miracle). However, in the Ethiopic Bible T./*təʾəmərt* corresponds to Greek τημεῖον, 'sign' (e.g., Mt 12:38), otherwise the term *mänkər*(*at*) is for 'wonders', corresponding to Greek θαῦμα/pl. θαύματα; *ḫayl*(*at*) means 'mighty work(s) (of God)', cp. Greek δύναμις/pl. δυνάμεις (e.g., in Mt 11:20; cp. all three terms in Acts 2:22, Rom 15:9).

The term T. came to be conventionally translated as 'miracles' mostly in respect to the specific genre of Ethiopian ↗hagiography (the same genre exists also in other Oriental and Occidental traditions). The first miraculous accounts which entered ↗Gəʿəz literature were those included in the ↗Bible; a few more became known thanks to later translations, like those described in the *Gädlä* ↗*sämaʿətat* or *Gädlä* ↗*ḥawaryat.* Remarkably, in the early samples of Ethiopian hagiography the miraculous accounts are mostly missing (e.g., the homilies in honour of ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan, ↗Kaleb) or kept short merely hinting at the intervention of divine power in earthly events (cp. the ↗angels calling Mäṭaʿ [↗Libanos] in the night, s. Getatchew Haile 1990: 36f.).

The proper examples of the genre of "miracles" came most probably with the introduction of the works devoted to St. ↗Mary, esp. the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, with the first accounts having been translated into Gəʿəz by the late 14th/early 15th cent. (cp. an early collection in Bombeck 2003: 217–33). However, it is difficult to trace back precisely the genesis of the Ethiopian T.-genre. In fact, all the Vitae of Ethiopian saints (cp. ↗*Gädl*) are expected to contain miraculous accounts which, along with the ↗*kidan*, were considered the main proof of the saint's sanctity and the main reasons to venerate and adore him. In many (but not in all) cases, the Vitae were extended by the descriptions of wondrous events which happened after the death of the saint, due to his miraculous intervention. In a few cases they took place when the saint was still alive (for ↗Yared, s. Conti Rossini 1904: 30f.; several such miracles for ↗Märḥa Krəstos, s. Kur 1972), but normally all the miracles are posthumous. Many of these stories seem to originate from oral folklore legends which were translated into Gəʿəz and given a characteristic literary shape. Typically, the T. are short narratives developing through three stages: 1) problem, 2) intervention of divine power [sudden change of the situation] on behalf of the saint, 3) solution of the problem [didactic conclusion].

The Vitae usually predate the collections of the respective T. In the manuscripts, they usually follow the Vitae. Each account is preceded by an introductory formula, e.g., **ተአምሪሁ፡ ለአቡነ፡** [...] **ጸሎቱ፡ ወበረከቱ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስሌነ**, *täʾammərihu läʾabunä* [...] *ṣälotu wäbäräkätu yähallo məslenä* ('The miracles of our father [...] May his prayer and blessing be with us'). In some cases T.-series count many dozens of stories (↗Täklä Haymanot); in a few cases, the Vitae are absent, and only the T.-series are available (↗Alaniqos, ↗Zärʾa Buruk).

The topics of the T. are somewhat stereotyped: healing, exorcism, resurrection, help in dangerous situations (war, captivity, attack by robbers, natural calamities etc.) to the venerators of the saint and punishment for those who disrespect him; visionary experiences and miraculous journeys etc. In many T.-series, subjects related to the everyday life dominate. Contributing less to the history of the Vita's protagonist, the T.-collections are considered manifold sources of information on the social history of Ethiopia (cp. Taddesse Tamrat 1970; Getatchew Haile in PICES 7).

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Acta Yārēd et Panṭalēwon*, Paris 1904, repr. Lovanii 1961 (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]); STEFAN BOMBECK (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte der heiligen Maria in einer alten äthiopischen Handschrift*, Bottrop 2003, 450–81 (text) = 217–33 (tr.); DillmLex 609, 668,

732; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily of Abba Eləyas, Bishop of Aksum, on Mäṭṭaʿ", *ABoll* 108, 1990, 29–47; KaneDic 158; KWKDic 228, 475, 641; STANISLAS KUR, *Actes de Marḫa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]); LesCDic 25, 269, 397.

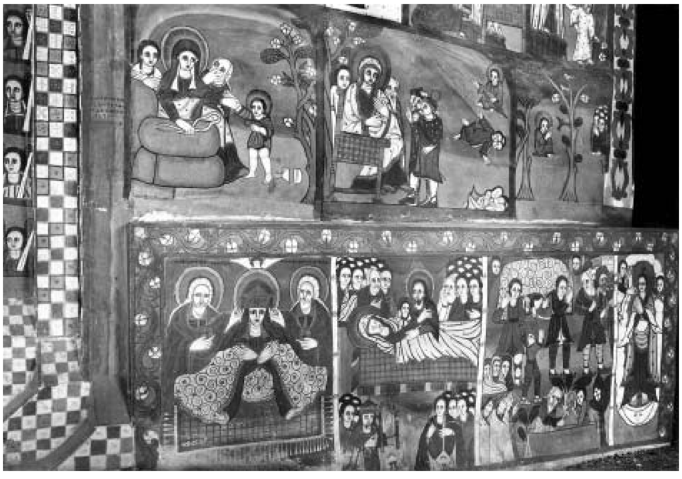
Lit.: GETATCHEW HAILE, "Ethiopian Christian Captives in the Territory of the *Arämi*", in: *PICES* 7, 113–23; FRIEDRICH HEYER, "Wunder äthiopischer Heiliger als fortgesetzte Wiederholung biblischer Wunder", in: *HirKrSaints* 155–60; PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes L'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di Semitistica 10), XXXIII–CIX, esp. L; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Hagiographies and the Reconstruction of Medieval Ethiopian History", *Rural Africana* 11 [*Special Issue*: *Ethiopia. Land and History*], 1970, 12–18.

Denis Nosnitsin

Täʾammərä Iyäsus

The T.I. (**ተአምረ፡ ኢየሱስ**, 'Miracles of Jesus'; CANT 45) is a lengthy apocryphal gospel, very popular in Ethiopia. It is also known as the *Alʾatqärfa* (**አልአትቀርፋ**, or also *Ǝlʾatqärfa* **እልአትቀርፋ**, etc.: the form of this incomprehensible word has never been systematized). Galbiati (1957: xlii, and later Löfgren 1960: 111) explained it as a corruption of Arab. *al-abuqrifā* ('apocryphon'; *b* and *t* in Arabic script being very similar).

The T.I. is primarily a translation of the Arabic *Apocryphal Gospel of John* (CANT no. 44), composed originally between the 8th cent., when one of its sources, the *Book of Rolls* (cp. ↗*Qälemənṭos*), seems to have been composed (GrafLit vol. 1, 287), and 1196, the date of the oldest known manuscript (van Esbroeck 1975: 598). Translation into Ethiopic was made perhaps as early as the 14th cent., and in any case before or during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, since it is known that he donated a manuscript of the T.I. to the monastery of Däbrä Kärbe (Löfgren 1961: 137). The earliest extant manuscript seems to be the 15th-cent. VatLib Cerulli et. 238 (Arras – Van Rompay 1975: 142).



Miracles of Jesus, wall painting in the church of Ǝnda ʿAdwa Śəllase; photo 1906 by Theodor Lüpke (Deutsche Aksumexpedition), courtesy of the Brandenburgisches Amt für Denkmalpflege, Wüsdorf

The T.I. is a collection of episodes, called "miracles" (↗*Täʾammər*), which follow the gospel story from the annunciation to St. ↗Mary up to her assumption, but completed with several original episodes (a list of 45 in Arras – Van Rompay 1975: 136f.; and 56 in Witakowski 1995: 288ff.). It is preceded by an introduction describing the creation, the mutiny of the angels, Adam's fall and Cain and Abel. Some of the original, non-canonical, episodes have a folkloric character and concern animals, such as the one concerning Jesus's help in restoring stolen cattle (no. 9), others involve O.T. figures who, resurrected for the purpose, testify to Jesus's divinity (e.g., Sarah, Rachel and Rebecca in no. 22).

Some of the manuscripts contain a longer version with additional miracles: a series of 13 taken from the ↗*Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (s. EAE vol. 5), sometimes added at the end of the T.I., sometimes as miracle no. 8, and the ↗Abgar and Jesus legend.

The sources of the T.I., which have yet to be investigated closer, include both the canonical and apocryphal gospels (↗Pseudepigrapha), e.g., the *Protevangelium of James* (↗*Lədäta lämaryam*) the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and the *Book of Rolls*. Many of the sources are of Syriac origin (arriving through Arabic), like, e.g., the above-mentioned Abgar story (Witakowski 1995: 290–98).

The text was used for liturgical and monastic readings: some manuscripts contain notes specifying when a given episode should be read (Witakowski 1995: 280). The reading usage apparently led to copying of chosen episodes in separate manuscripts, and even combining them with some episodes of the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, thus creating a new composition entitled *Täʾammərä Maryam wä-Iyäsus* (ibid. 281).

The popularity of the T.I. is testified by the existence of many manuscripts (containing all or some of the "miracles") that are extant in practically every major Western collection, as well as in Ethiopia (s., e.g., EMML I–X). The T.I. was published in Addis Abäba in 1940, and reprinted in 1993/94. There is no full critical edition yet, but Grébaut published the first 30 episodes in the ↗*Patrologia Orientalis* (1917, 1920, 1923) and a few more in various journals (1918–19, 1920–21, 1930), although on a limited manuscript basis.

The illuminated manuscripts of the T.I., which appear first in the second half of the 18th cent., are rare. Their miniatures show either stylistical transition from the First to the Second Gondärine school of ↗painting (e.g., Dublin, Chester Beatty ms. 913) or represent variants of the Second Gondärine style (e.g., Paris, BN d'Abbadie 226; London, BritLib Orient. 8824). The miracles performed by Jesus the Child, being a part of the pictorial suite based on the ↗*Nägärä Maryam* (s. EAE vol. 5), were included in the programme designed in the 18th cent. for circular churches, to decorate the southern wall of the ↗*mäqdäs*; the most often depicted narratives are: Child Jesus makes birds of clay and makes them fly; he walks on a sunbeam; he changes the children who are teasing him into monkeys; he carries water in his robe when his jar is broken.

Src.: Arab.: I. [= GIOVANNI] GALBIATI (ed., tr.), *Iohannis Evangelium apocryphum arabice*, Mediolani 1957 (Antiquitatis Christianae ex Oriente monumenta); OSCAR LÖFGREN (tr.), *Det apokryfiska Johannesevangeliet*, Stockholm 1967; Eth.: CRAbb 68f., no. 43 [ms. d'Abbadie 226]; EMML I–X; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed., tr.), *Les Miracles de Jésus*, Paris 1917, 1920, 1923 (PO 60 = 12:4, 71 = 14:5, 85 = 17:4), repr. Turnhout 1985, 1973, 1974; ID. (ed., tr.), "Un miracle de Notre-Seigneur", *ROC* 17, 1912, 427–31; ID. (ed., tr.), "La Pentecôte et la Mission des Apôtres", *ibid.* 21, 1918–19, 204–13 and 22, 1920–21, 57–64; ID. (ed., tr.), "La Legende du parfum de Marie-Madeleine", *ibid.* 21, 1918–19, 100–03; ID. – ALCIDE ROMAN (tr.), "Un passage eschatologique des Miracles de Jésus", *Aethiops* 3, 1930, 35–38; RaiCer 188, ms. Cerulli et. 238; StrBritLib 19ff., no. 16 [ms. Orient. 8824]; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **ተአምረ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ በልሳነ፡ ግዕዝ** (*Täʾammərä Iyäsus bäləssanä gəʿəz*, 'The Miracles of Jesus in Gəʿəz'), Addis Abäba 1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.].

Lit.: VICTOR ARRAS – LUCAS VAN ROMPAY, "Les manuscrits éthiopiens des 'Miracles de Jésus' (comprenant l'Évangile apocryphe de Jean et l'Évagile de l'Enfance selon Thomas l'Israélite)", *ABoll* 93, 1975, 133–46; CANT nos. 44–45, pp. 19–23; ENRICO CERULLI, "I manoscritti etiopici della Chester Beatty Library in Dublino", *MRALm* 9, 1962–65, 27–324, here 288ff.; STEPHEN GERÖ, "The Taʾāmra ʾIyasūs: a Study of Textual and Source-critical Problems", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 165–70; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Legend of Abgar in Ethiopic Tradition", *OrChrP* 55, 1989, 375–410; OTTO JÄGER, "Ethiopian Manuscript Paintings", *EthObs* 4, 1960, 354–91, here 383ff.; OSCAR LÖFGREN, "Zur Charakteristik des apokryphen Johannesevangeliums", *Orientalia Suecana* 9, 1960, 107–30; ID., "Ergänzendes zum apokryphen Johannesevangelium", *ibid.* 10, 1961, 137–44; MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, "À propos de l'Évangile apocryphe arabe attribué à saint Jean", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 49, 1975–76, 595–603; BORIS A. TURAEV [ed. by SEVIR CHERNETSOV], "The Infancy Gospel in the Ethiopian Literature", *Hristiansky Vostok* 1, 7, 1999, 434–47; SEVER J. VOICU, "Notes sur l'histoire du texte de l'Histoire de l'enfance de Jésus", *Apocrypha* 2, 1991, 119–32; ID., "Verso il testo primitivo dei Παιδικὰ τοῦ κυρίοῦ Ἰησου *Racconti dell'infanzia del Signore Gesù*", *ibid.* 9, 1998, 7–85; WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "The Miracles of Jesus: an Ethiopian Apocryphal Gospel", *ibid.* 6, 1995, 279–98.

Witold Witakowski

Täʾammərä Maryam

The T.M. (**ተአምረ፡ ማርያም**, 'Miracles of Mary'), a collection of narrative pieces focusing on the miracles (cp. ↗*Täʾammər*) performed by St. ↗Mary, is one of the most important works of ↗Gəʿəz literature.

The T.M. has accompanied the development of Ethiopian literature since the 15th cent., and has also come to play a prominent role in Ethiopian liturgy (↗*Qəddase*). It is read during the daily church services, each Sunday at the end of the Mass (before the final blessing) and during the 33 yearly Marian ↗feasts (s. Fritsch 2001:62ff., 216 no. 11, 253 and 314f. [but not compulsory for the Fast of the Assumption]; HabUff 242ff.).

One of the most popular Christian works, the T.M. also typifies the specific attitude of Ethiopian literature towards the gradual reception, assimilation and adaptation of foreign elements, as well as the creation of indigenous ones. The T.M. has a general paradigmatic value as an example of the way cultural East-West relationships developed during the Middle Ages, from West to East, but also from East to West (cp. CerMaria; CerLett; Cerulli 1956, 1966, 1968).

Miracles of St. Mary in Europe and the Christian East

The nucleus of the T.M. was composed in the 12th cent. in France, on the basis of the tales about the miracles performed by St. Mary in her main shrines in connection with an epidemic of ergotism (St. Anthony's fire). The text gained great popularity and was continually enriched by new stories circulated in the whole Catholic West, from Spain to Hungary, from Iceland to Italy, later on also in Greece and Cyprus. Since several older manuscripts started with the stories connected to Hildephonsus, the bishop of Toledo (657–67 A.D.), who was particularly devoted to St. Mary and authored the mariological opus *De*

Virginitate Sanctae Mariae contra tres infideles, it is to him that some traditions have ascribed the redaction of the miracles. In fact, the text was composed in Dominican circles and the languages were French, Latin (mainly used in prose texts), and all the vernacular languages of Europe (especially used in poems). Translated into Arabic between 1237 and 1289 (possibly in several stages) in the Latin Orient from a European manuscript, the T.M. spread to Palestine, Syria and Egypt, everywhere aquiring new episodes connected to the important places of Marian cult. Since the 17th cent., when reading from the miracles of Mary became part of the liturgical service of the ↗Coptic Church, only a fixed collection of 74 miracles was copied in Arabic manuscripts.

Miracles of St. Mary in Ethiopia

At the end of the 14th cent., probably on the initiative of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II the T.M. was translated into Gəʿəz from a Copto–Egyptian *Vorlage* which in its turn might have closely followed the European model. A manuscript prepared for *aṣe* Dawit and documented in 1967 by Diana ↗Spencer is still kept in the *ʿəqa bet* of ↗Amba Gəšän (containing 75 miracles according to Mercier 2004: 13f., 36f.). A contemporary manuscript, most probably written in the same scriptorium (presently kept in ↗Betä Ləḥem church, Gayənt), has only 15 miracles, added to the homiletic texts about St. Mary.

In Ethiopian manuscript tradition, the T.M. varies considerably in length, different manuscripts including any number of miracles between one (which can also occur as marginalia) to several hundred. In the unpublished list compiled by William Macomber, the T.M. in Ethiopian tradition contains up to 640 narratives. The "standard" collection, according to the tradition of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, should contain 365 miracles, i.e. one for each day of the year.

The T.M. played an important role in the promotion of the cult of St. Mary by *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. He introduced the reading of three miracles during the Sunday liturgy and during the services for Marian feasts, as well as sponsored the extensive copying of the text and its distribution to churches. During his time, the text of the miracles was preceded by an introduction (*Mäṣḥafä śərʿat*, 'Book of the Regulation', Budge 1923: xlvi–lvii; cp. CerMaria 17–22), authored by Zärʾa Yaʿəqob and dated to 1441/42 (*ibid.* 91ff.). It contained prescriptions concerning the readings of the T.M. and specified the rituals required at those occasions: particular blessings, chanting of Halleluiahs and salutations of St. Mary, prostrations in front of her icon, incensing etc. According to this text (known also as the *Canon of al-Muʿallaqah*, from the name of the famous church, lit. 'The Hanging One', in Old Cairo), the rules were established in the Coptic Church. However, they are known only from Ethiopian manuscripts, no Coptic or Arabic copy having come down to us. It seems that Zärʾa Yaʿəqob also stimulated the composition of new local miracles; some of them, connected to the Emperor (e.g., EMML no. 4618, fols. 132r–44v) and mirroring his religious ideas were obviously composed with propaganda purpose (cp. Getatchew Haile 1992: 65f.; cp. ↗*Raʾəyä täʾammər*).

At the turn of the 15th and 16th cent., the number of stories increased to a couple of hundred (e.g., 150 in the ms. of Veroli, Biblioteca Giovardiana, dating to 1517 [Cerulli 1933: 103, CerMaria 24]; 202 miracles in EMML no. 3872) and in the 17th and 18th cent. to over 300 (303 miracles in BritLib Orient. 637, of the second half of the 17th cent.; 316 in ms. BritLib Orient. 643, of 1717 [WrBriMus nos. 84, 91 resp.]; 354 in EMML no. 3051). Since the 17th cent., a canonical group of 33 miracles was repeatedly copied, but a varying set of other miracles followed in each manuscript. The additions consisted of some apocryphal stories about the life of St. Mary, partly taken from the ↗*Nägärä Maryam* (s. EAE vol. 5); the miracles worked by her and Child-Jesus during the journeys of the Holy Family in Egypt, Lebanon and Ethiopia, as told in the *Homily on Mount Qusqām* by ↗Theophilus of Alexandria (CANT no. 56; Conti Rossini 1912; cp. Davis 2008: 137ff.), in the *Vision* of ↗Timothy of Alexandria and other texts (cp. Ricci 1949, the miracle of the Virgin in Lebanon from ms. BN d'Abbadie 158 [CRAbb no. 56], fols. 163v–76r, with variants from ms. BritLib Addit. 16.193 [DillmLond no. 42], corresponding to Budge 1922: 202–35; Witakowski in MiscAethKur); excerpts or the whole narrative of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*lədäta lämaryam*, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*fəlsäta lämaryam*, readings from the ↗*Sənkəssar*, pieces from the ↗*Gädlä sämaʿətat* (their insertion might be explained as a consequence of the material transmission of text and illustrations, cp. CerMaria 71f.). Finally, stories recalling some historical events and monastic and political controversies were included: e.g., *aṣe* Dawit's campaign to ↗Sinnār, Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's campaign against ↗Aḥmad Badlay and his persecutions of the ↗Stephanites and the ↗Zamikaʾelites etc. (cp. Cerulli 1933; CerMaria 94ff.; Tedeschi 1971–73; Getatchew Haile 1982a, 1983, in PICES 6), as well as episodes from the lives of ↗saints, monks and nuns (cp. ↗Hagiography) recounting the intervention of St. Mary on their behalf (cp. Velat 1947, on a miracle in ms. BN d'Abbadie 222 [CRAbb no. 52], fols. 96r–98v [↗*Rədätä bərhan*]; Cerulli 1967, on two miracles concerning the Ethiopian community in ↗Cyprus from ms. VatLib Aeth. 272 [van Lantschoot 1962: 474ff.], fols. 186v–91v, and 169v–204r; Conti Rossini 1923–25, on a miracle concerning the purported translation of the *Mäṣḥafä ↗ḥawi* by patriarch Gabreʾēl b. Turayk, from ms. d'Abbadie 222 [CRAbb no. 53], fols. 110r–12r).

Apart from the miracles in which the events take place in Ethiopia, the overseas stories transmitted in the T.M. can be grouped into a few "literary cycles". According to the countries in which the events develop, the most important cycles are those of:

(a) Spain, Toledo, Oviedo, also including tales connected with the pilgrimage to Compostella, of which there is apparently no trace in the Western collections;
(b) Italy, esp. Rome and its churches (Santa Maria in Aracoeli, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Paolo *extra moenia*, San Lorenzo), but also Pavia and the pilgrimage route along the Via Francigena;
(c) France, cathedrals and abbeys which were the subject of the earliest collections (Laon, Soissons, Chartres, Coutances, Rocamadour, Mont Saint-Michel); after the translation of the collection into Arabic, probably in the Latin Orient, new tales were inserted, originating from
(d) Syria, esp. a group of tales concerning the church of Saint Mary of Ṣaydnāyā, at Damascus, earlier (since the 12th cent.) also circulating in Western collections;
(e) Palestine, with tales on ↗Jerusalem (also including the motif of the 'holy fire' ceremony at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) and Bethlehem;
(f) ↗Egypt, which plays the most important role among the Oriental cycles and has contributed tales connected with several monasteries: ↗Samuel of Qalamūn (Fayyūm), Macarius (desert of Scete), ↗Dayr al-Muḥarraq (Qusqām), Məṭmaq (al-Maġtas), the White Monastery of ↗Shenute, and others.

In Ethiopia, the creation of new miracles was followed by the tendency to adapt the foreign, in the first place European, events to a familiar milieu and ambience, e.g., by elimination or changing of European names (frequently distorted by Arabic intermediate versions), or mention of indigenous religious feasts etc. This process was already initiated by the Copts. In many Ethiopian manuscripts from the 18th and 19th cent., the miracles belonging to the original European series are simply omitted.

The selection of miracles seems to have been arbitrary, most probably depending upon the personal choice of the scribes or the persons who commissioned the manuscripts. Although the stories within a collection were not arranged according to any apparent criterion, there is a group of miracles present in almost every significant manuscript. The "canonical set" of 33 miracles fixed at the beginning of the 17th cent. begins with the episodes concerning Hildephonsus of Toledo and ends with a short hymn (↗*Akkonu bəʾəsi*), which recalls one of the Marian miracles and is followed by a supplication. The hymnographic pieces begin to be added at the end of each miracle in the 16th cent. (e.g., ms. Uppsala, O. Etiop. 11, cp. Cerulli 1956), and their number increased with every new miracle (e.g., Berlin, Petermann II Nachtrag 45, with 85 miracles and hymns [Cerulli 1957a]). The verses were sung by the congregation between the readings, which is the reason why they were included in manuscripts used for the services rather than in those meant for private devotion.

Src.: for editions, catalogues and manuscripts s. below; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS THOMPSON BUDGE (tr.), *Legends of our Lady Mary the Perpetual Virgin and her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1922; ID. (tr.), *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London 1923; CANT no. 56; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 5, 1933, 57–112, here 103–07 ["II. La guerra del 1445 tra il Negus Zare'a Yāʿqob ed il Sultano Badlāy …"]; ID., "Two Ethiopian Tales on the Christians of Cyprus", *JES* 5, 1, 1967, 1–9 (= *Abba Salama* 1, 1970, 178–85); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il discorso su Monte Coscam attribuito a Teofilo d'Alessandria", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 21, 1912, 395–471; ID., "Aethiopica", *RSO* 10, 1923–25, 502–05 ["§ 40. Sull'autore del *Maṣḥafa Ḥawi*"]; CRAbb; DillmLond; GETATCHEW HAILE, "On the Writings of Abba Giyorgis Säglawi from Two Inedited Miracles of Mary", *OrChrP* 48, 1982a, 65–91; ID., "Documents on the History of *Aṣé* Dawit (1382–1413)", *JES* 16, 1983, 25–35, here 34, n. 12; ID., "The End of a Deserter of the Established Church of Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 6, 193–203; LöfUpp 87–95; JACQUES MERCIER, *Vierges d'Éthiopie*, Montpellier 2004, 13f., 36f.; LANFRANCO RICCI, "La leggenda della Vergine al Libano e del Santo Gigār", *RSE* 8, 1949 [1950], 83–118; ARNOLD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "Inventaire sommaire des MSS Vaticans éthiopiens 251–299", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e testi 219), 453–512; BERNARD VÉLAT, "Fuoco sacro ed acque prodigiose a Gerusalemme e nel Gĕlo Makādā (Tigré)", *RSE* 7, 1948, 167–75; WrBriMus.

Lit.: DANIEL BARAZ, "Bartolomeo da Trento's Book of Marian Miracles: a New Insight into Arabic Collections of Marian Legends", *OrChrP* 60, 1994, 69–85; ID., "Coptic–Arabic Collections of Western Marian Legends –

the Reception of a Western Text in the East: a Case of Intercultural Relations in the Late Middle Ages", in: *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington 12–15 August 1992*, Roma 1993, part 2, 23–31; Id., "The Incarnated Icon of Saidnaya Goes West. A Reexamination of the Motif in the Light of New Manuscript Evidence", *Le Muséon* 108, 1995, 181–91; Verena Böll, "Maria auf der Wanderschaft. Das äthiopische Täamrä Maryam (Wunder Mariens) und die Kreuzzüge", in: Walter Beltz (ed.), *Die Folgen der Kreuzzüge für die Orientalischen Religionsgemeinschaften*, Halle 1997 (Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft 22), 151–64; CerLett 81–99; CerMaria; Enrico Cerulli, "Due codici di Upsala del Libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria", in: *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, Roma 1956 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 52), vol. 1, 151–79; Id., "Il Codice della Staatsbibliothek di Berlino del Libro dei Miracoli di Maria", in: *Scritti in onore di Giuseppe Furlani*, Roma 1957a (= *RSO* 32), 337–96; Id., "Traditions and Legends in Arabic and Ethiopic Literature on the Churches of Medieval Roma", *East and West* 9, 1958, 209–14; Id., "Un episodio della storia culturale medievale: il 'Libro dei Miracoli di Maria' nelle letterature europee e orientali", *Cultura e scuola* 19, 1966, 117–23; Id., "Leggende medievali romane in Oriente e leggende orientali nella Roma medievale", *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 79, 1968, 13–36; Stephen J. Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice. Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt*, Oxford 2008 (Oxford Early Christian Studies), 137ff.; Emmanuel Fritsch, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures 9–10), 115, 315; Getatchew Haile, *The Mariology of Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob of Ethiopia*, Roma 1992 (OrChrA 242), 65f., passim; HabUff 242ff., s. index; Ernst Hammerschmidt, "Die Marienkirche in Gethsemane und das äthiopische Ta'āmra Māryām", in: Wolfgang Dietrich (ed.), *Festgabe für Karl Heinrich Rengstorf zum 70. Geburtstag*, Leiden 1973 (= *Theokrathia. Jahrbuch des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum* 2, 19, 1970–72), 3–6; William Macomber, *The Miracles of Mary*, ms. [n.d.]; Aristide Marcandalli, *I miracoli di Maria. Spiritualità mariana e pietà popolare abissina*, Roma 2003 (Studi di spiritualità); RicLett 833, 842; Diana Spencer, "Trip to Wag and Northern Wällo", *JES* 5, 1, 1967, 95–108, here 103ff.; Louis Villecourt, "Les collections arabes des miracles de la Sainte Vierge", *ABoll* 42, 1924, 21–68, 266–87; Witold Witakowski, "Theodoxia and her Finding of the Holy Cross: an Ethiopic Version of the *Legend of the Finding of the Holy Cross* in the *Miracles of Mary*", in: *MiscAethKur* 253–69.

Editions and translations

Neither a critical nor a complete edition of the T.M. is so far available. An edition of the T.M. was published by Budge (1900), followed by two volumes of translations (1922, 1923). Groundbreaking studies on the T.M. and its relationship with Western and Arabic collections, also including editions and translations, were contributed by Cerulli (from 1933 to 1969, cp. esp. CerMaria). Besides scattered articles, partial German (Bombeck 2003: 450–76, with a facsimile edition of the ms. of the Betä Ləḥem church, Gayənt), French (Colin 2004) and Italian translations (Raineri 2007) have also been produced. The following is a list of complete and partial editions to date [s. also the bibliography above]:

Stefan Bombeck (ed., tr.), *Die Geschichte der heiligen Maria in einer alten äthiopischen Handschrift,* Bottrop 2003; Ernest Alfred Wallis Thompson Budge (ed., tr.), *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Life of Ḥannâ* (*Saint Anne*) …, London 1900 (Lady Meux Manuscripts, Nos. 2–5) [43 miracles]; Id. (tr.), *Legends of our Lady Mary the Perpetual Virgin and her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1922 [^{2}1933] [110 miracles]; Id. (tr.), *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London 1923 [^{2}1933]; CerMaria (Lit.); Enrico Cerulli, "Una tradizione medievale sulle origini di Venezia e le sue fonti orientali", *RSO* 24, 1949, 145–60; Id., "Il volo di Astolfo sull'Etiopia nell'*Orlando Furioso*", *RRALm* ser. 6^{a}, 8, 1932, 19–38, here 28–33; Id., "La festa etiopica del Patto di Misericordia e le sue fonti nel greco *Liber de transitu* e nel racconto latino dei Cinque Dolori di Maria", in: *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati,* Roma 1957b (Studi bizantini e neoellenici 9), 53–71; Id., "Tre nuovi documenti sugli Etiopi in Palestina nel secolo XV", in: *Studia Biblica et Orientalia edita a Pontificio Instituto Biblico* …, III, *Oriens Antiquus*, Roma 1959 (Analecta Biblica. Investigationes Scientificae in Res Biblicas 11), 33–47; Id., "Il 'suicidio della peccatrice' nelle versioni araba ed etiopica del Libro dei Miracoli di Maria", *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 19, 2, 1969, 147–79; Gérard Colin (tr.), *Le livre éthiopien des miracles de Marie (Taamra Mâryâm)*, Paris 2004 [213 miracles]; Getatchew Haile, "A Note on Writing History from Forgotten Documents", *NEASt* 2, 1, 1980, 71–75; Id., "Inside the Royal Confinement", *NEASt* 4, 1, 1982b, 19–25; Osvaldo Raineri, *Dal libro etiopico dei miracoli di Maria*, Como 2007 (Quaderni Fondation Carlo Leone et Mariena Montandon 6); Veronika Six, "Water – the Nile – and the *Tä'amrä Maryam*: Miracles of the Virgin Mary in the Ethiopian Version", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 53–68; **ተአምረ፡ ማርያም።** … **ግዕዝና፡ አማርኛ** (*Täᵓammərä Maryam. … Gəᶜəzənna amarəñña*, 'The Miracles of Mary … Gəᶜəz and Amharic'), ed. by Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase, Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.] [402 chs.; cp. HamSixBerl 37]; Salvatore Tedeschi, "Un sovrano musulmano citato nel Libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 21, 1971–73, 135–48.

The popularity of the T.M. in today's Ethiopia is demonstrated by quite a number of church editions (usually with an Amharic translation, cp. a list in HamSixBerl 37). The largest T.M. edition (Gəᶜəz–Amharic, with almost 400 miracles) was published in Ethiopia in 1995/96.

Manuscripts, catalogues and descriptions

Hundreds of manuscripts of the T.M. are known, including from one (also occuring as *marginalia*) up to several hundreds of miracles. Already Conti Rossini (1900: 632) lists 50 manuscripts of the work; for a list of catalogued manuscripts with references, cp. also Marrassini (1984–86: 93ff., no. 4, ms. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Acq. e doni 681, fols. 2–113, 130 miracles, 1728). It should be additionally noted that mss. Lady Meux 2 and 3 (publ. by Budge 1900, 1922 and 1923 [s. above]) are now ms. Oslo – London, Schøyen Collection, Ms. 248 (formerly Lady Meux 2 [= ms. A in CerMaria], ca. 1682–1706, 39 miracles) and ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 914 (formerly Lady Meux 3 [= ms. B in CerMaria], cp. Cerulli 1965a: 290f., 40 miracles). St. Petersburg collection now keeps mss. II.4 (95 miracles, second half of the 15th cent., from Jerusalem through Rome, ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori, cp. Cerulli 1965b) and VI.1 (not V.1 as in Marrassini), fols. 186v–199 (15 miracles, 17th cent., cp. Turaev 1906: 37–45, 123–26).

The other known manuscripts of the T.M. in European collections are (isolated or very small groups of miracles are not considered): Ṭānāsee 127 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 16 [1–7 plus 8–314 miracles, 17th cent.] (cp. SixTana III, no. 16); Ṭānāsee 165 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 54 [3 miracles, 17th cent.] (ibid., no. 54); München, Museum für Völkerkunde, 86–307647 [7 miracles out of a collection of 25, donated by *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob] (ibid. no. 180); München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. aeth. 107 [50 miracles, 18th cent.] (cp. SixBay no. 105); VatLib, Aeth. 323 [59 miracles, 19th/20th cent.] (cp. Raineri 1993: 136ff.); VatLib, Cerulli Etiop. 114, fols. 121r–40r [9 miracles, 19th cent.], Cerulli Etiop. 172 [48 miracles, 19th cent.], Cerulli Etiop. 173 [33 miracles, 18th cent., richly illustrated], Cerulli Etiop. 192 [33 miracles, 19th cent.], Cerulli Etiop. 196 [305 miracles, 1888/89], Cerulli Etiop. 319 [19th/20th cent.] (cp. RaiCer); VatLib, Raineri 54 [6 miracles, 19th/20th cent.], Raineri 55 [62 miracles, 1563–97], Raineri 56 [55 miracles, 18th–19th cent.] (cp. Raineri 1998); VatLib, Comboni Etiop. A 33, fols. 169r–218v [7 miracles, 17th/18th cent.] (cp. Raineri 2000, no. 33), Comboni Etiop. F 3 [15 miracles, 20th cent.] (ibid., no. 125), Comboni Etiop. F 9 [5 miracles, 20th cent.] (ibid., no. 131), Comboni Etiop. F 25, pp. 9–46 [4 miracles, 20th cent.] (ibid., no. 147), Comboni Etiop. H 1, pp. 1a–12c [8 miracles, 20th cent.] (ibid., no. 201), Comboni Etiop. H 8 [pp. 3a–48b, 4 miracles, 19th cent.] (ibid., no. 208), Comboni Etiop. S 1 [76 miracles, 20th cent.] (ibid., no. 273), Comboni Etiop. S 16 [6 miracles, 17th/18th cent.] (ibid., no. 288); Zürich, Völkerkundemuseum der Universität 16107, fols. 103ra–33rb (cp. Six 1996: 133ff., no. 11); London, Sam Fogg Collection [258 miracles, 1700–50, illustrated] (cp. Appleyard 1996: 92ff., no. 64; cp. also Id. 1993, nos. 16, 42, 43); Roma, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Museo Archivio Giuseppe Vedovato no. 28 [16th cent., illustrated] (cp. Bucarelli 2007, no. 28 [Inv. no. 134]); Oxford, Bodleian MS Aeth. d. 9 [74 miracles, 18th/19th cent.] (cp. Delamarter – Demeke Berhane 2007: 2f., no. 2).

A few hundred mss. of the T.M. are included in the EMML collection (s. EMML I–X, indices); a large number is known to exist in Ethiopia.

The following list of catalogues is limited to those contributions which are not mentioned in Marrassini (1984–86: 93ff.):

Src.: David Appleyard, *Ethiopian Manuscripts*, London 1993, nos. 16, 42, 43; Id., "Ethiopic", in: Bob Miller – Sam Fogg (eds.), *Manuscripts of the Christian East. Slavonic, Byzantine and Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Ancient China, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic*, London 1996 (Catalogue 18), 79–112; Osvaldo Bucarelli (ed.), *Museo Archivio Giuseppe Vedovato*, Roma 2007; CerMaria [Lit. with references to all mss. known up to 1943]; Enrico Cerulli, "I manoscritti etiopici della Chester Beatty Library di Dublino", *MRALm* ser. 8a, 11, 1965a, 277–324; Id., "Il codice di Leningrado del libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria", *RANLmor* ser. 8a, 20, 1965b, 1–19; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Manoscritti ed opere abissine in Europa", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 8, 1899, 606–37; Steve Delamarter – Demeke Berhane, *A Catalogue of Previously Uncatalogued Ethiopic Manuscripts in England: Twenty-three Manuscripts in the Bodleian, Cambridge, and Rylands Libraries and in a Private Collection*, Oxford 2007 (JSS Supplement 21); EMML I–X; Paolo Marrassini, "I Manoscritti Etiopici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987], 81–116; Osvaldo Raineri, "I manoscritti Vaticani etiopici 300–23. Inventario analitico", *Quaderni Utinensi* 7, 13–14, 1989 [1993], 105–44; Id., "Inventario dei manoscritti etiopici 'Raineri' della Biblioteca Vaticana", in: *Collectanea in honorem Rev. mi Patris Leonardi E. Boyle, O.P.* …, Città del Vaticano 1998 (Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae VI, Studi e testi 385), 485–548; Id., *Codices Comboniani Aethiopici*, In Bibliotheca Vaticana 2000 (Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti 47); RaiCer; Veronika Six, "Die aethiopischen Handschriften des Völkerkundemuseums der Universität Zürich", *OrChr* 80, 1996, 116–52; SixBay; SixTana III; Boris Turaev, *Efiopskija rukopisi v S.-Peterburge* ('Ethiopian Manuscripts in St. Petersburg'), St. Peterburg 1906 (Pamjatniki efiopskoj pis'mennosti 3), 37–45, 123–26.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska – Alessandro Bausi

Täᵓammərä Maryam in art

Many manuscripts of the T.M. are illuminated. There are twelve miniatures in the ↗Amba Gəšän manuscript. These are not directly related to the text and include, beside the scenes of the Annunciation and Presentation of Mary in the Temple, pictures of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II in front of St. Mary paying honour to her, from simple bowing to *proskynesis*. For some details gilding is used, an exception in Ethiopian ↗painting. Two illuminated manuscripts are known from the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob: in the Sam Fogg collection (s. Mercier 2000: 80) and München, Museum für Völkerkunde no. 86–307647 (SixTana III, no. 180). These, too, are illustrated with miniatures unrelated to the text and represent the iconic picture of St. Mary alongside with other

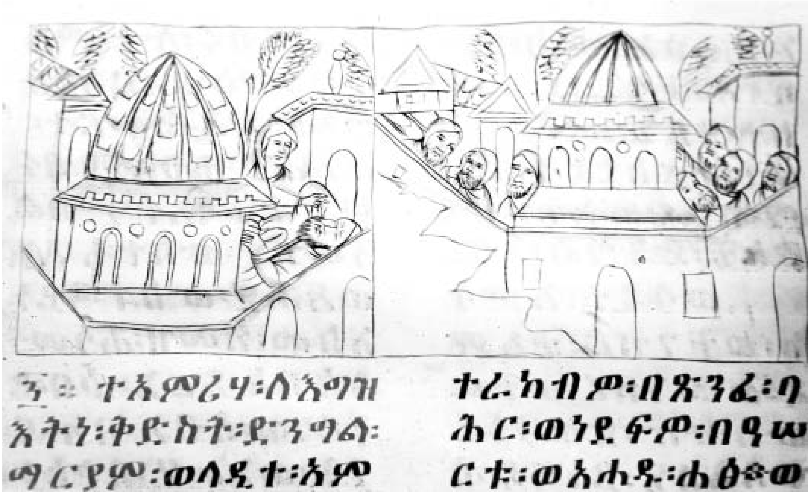


Fig. 1: A monastery and its church dedicated to St. Mary miraculously transferred to the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, executed by an anonymous European artist, ms. *Täʾammərä Maryam*, church of Tädbabä Maryam, Wällo, 15th cent., fol. unknown; photo 1971 by Diana Spencer

holy figures. The first illustrations of the miracles are preserved in the manuscript executed for *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl and kept in the church of ↗Tädbabä Maryam. This is a set of lightly coloured ink drawings (s. fig. 1), obviously executed by a European artist who is sometimes (on rather weak grounds) identified with Nicolò ↗Brancaleone (ChojPaint 394f.). The skilfully drawn illustrations are inserted into the text in different ways, at the beginning and at the end of each story, sometimes vertically along the outer margin. Several episodes are depicted within one illumination, side by side or each within a frame. The manuscript has not been studied in detail, nor has it been fully photographed, so that its exact content is obscure.

It is possible that this manuscript was known to the painter who, in the second half of the 17th cent., created a cycle of illustrations for 33 miracles of the ↗*Akkonu bəʾəsi* series. His work, in the style of the First Gondärine School of painting, was frequently copied (e.g., Jäger 1960; Bosc-Tiessé – Wion 1998). Each miracle is accompanied by one full-page miniature usually depicting more than one episode; only a few stories are displayed in two or three miniatures. The illustrations are accompanied by captions which either explain or summarize the events. One of the early examples is the manuscript executed for *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (London, BritLib Orient. 641), in which the pictures concerning the miracles are followed by the miniatures depicting the Passion of Christ and the Last Judgement. In most cases, however, the miracles are introduced by a series of miniatures illustrating the ↗*Kidanä məḥrät* story (e.g., mss. of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon and of ↗Däbrä Wärq, Goǧǧam; s. Annequin 1972) and are completed by the episodes of St. Mary's life (e.g., ms. BritLib Orient. 645) and/or by iconic pictures of her.

In the 18th cent., the same type of illustration was applied, but the introductory miniatures dedicated to the *Kidanä məḥrät* were usually omitted (e.g., ms. BritLib Orient. 648, probably executed for *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa). The manuscript decorated with 52 miniatures (presently Schøyen collection) which belonged to *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot and was inherited by *aṣe* ↗Dawit III (s. Mann 2005, nos. 43f.) deserves particular attention. Brought to England from ↗Mäqdäla, it entered the collection of Lady Meux of Theobalds Park and was used as model for the facsimile edition of the T.M., privately printed by her in 1900 and supplied with an English translation by Ernest Budge.

The tradition of narrative illustration of the T.M. declined in the 19th cent. Miniatures in the T.M. manuscripts either show the standardized portraits of St. Mary or the devotional pictures without connection to the text.

To the illuminated T.M. manuscripts with illustrated miracles listed in Jäger – Deininger-Engelhart (1961), Bosc-Tiessé – Wion (1998) the following can be added:

First Gondärine school of painting: church of Gännätä Maryam near Lalibäla; Aksum Ṣəyon; Ǝnda Ǝċċäge Kidanä Məḥrät (Tämben); ↗Däbrä Ṣärabi; ↗Zuramba (s. fig. 2).

Second Gondärine school of paintings: Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa, Maryam Tənsaʾe, Guya Täklä Haymanot; Ǝnda Śəllase, Aṣbi (not coloured); ↗Gundä Gunde (Agamä); Ǝnda Abba Ḥadara, Tägʷägəwa Yoḥannəs Wäldä Nägʷädgʷad (Tämben).

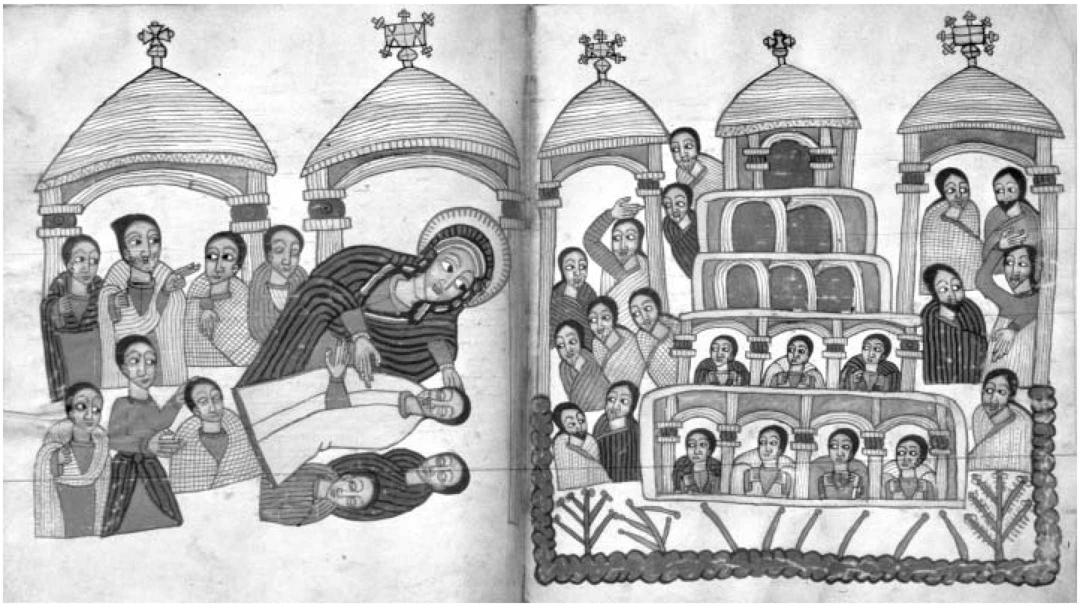


Fig. 2: The same miracle (s. fig. 1) in a *Täʾammərä Maryam* manuscript, monastery of Zuramba Arägawi, South Gondär, 17th cent., fol. unknown; photo 2005, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Src.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ – ANAÏS WION, "Inventaire des peintures datées du XVIIe au début du XIXe siècles: questions sur l'art gondarien (Éthiopie*)",* in: JEAN BOULÈGUE (ed.), *Autres sources, nouveaux regards sur l'histoire africaine,* Paris 1998 (Cahiers du Centre de recherches africaines 9), 215–24; EMML VIII, 45f.; IX, 191–99; X, 236–40; OTTO JÄGER, "Ethiopian Manuscript Paintings", *EthObs* 4, 1960, 366–70; ID. – LISELOTTE DEININGER-ENGELHART, "Some Notes on Illuminations of Manuscripts in Ethiopia", *RSE* 17, 1961, 45–60, here nos. 10, 12–15, 26f., 35, 52, 54, 60; SixTana III, 403–06; WrBriMus 46–58.
Lit.: GUY ANNEQUIN, "L'illustration des Ta'amra Maryam de 1630 à 1730. Quelques remarques sur le premier style de Gondar ", *AE* 9, 1972, 193–226; CerMaria; ChojPaint passim; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Documents on the History of *Aṣé* Dawit (1382–1413)", *JES* 16, 1983, 25–35 here 34, n. 12; MARILYN HELDMAN, "Metropolitan Bishops as Agents of Artistic Interaction between Egypt and Ethiopia during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", in: COLUM HOURIHANE (ed.), *Interactions. Artistic Interchange between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period*, Princeton 2007, 84–105, here 101f.; JACQUES MERCIER, *L'Arche Éthiopien*: *Art Chrétien d'Éthiopie*, Paris 2000, 80, 129f., 148, 157, 182; ID., *Vierges d'Éthiopie*, Montpellier 2004, 12–19, 31–37, 56f., 76f., 86f., 111; ID.,"Ethiopian Art History", in: *Ethiopian Art. The Walters Art Museum*, Baltimore, MA 2001, 45–73, here 51f., 60f.; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, "La Madonna di S. Maria Maggiore e l'illustrazione dei Miracoli di Maria in Abissinia", *Annali Lateranensi* 11, 1947, 9–90, here 57–62; DIANA SPENCER, "In Search of St. Luke Icons in Ethiopia",*JES* 10, 2, 1972, 67–95, here 75, 89f.
Ill.: AfrZion no. 99; GUY ANNEQUIN, *Aux sources du Nil Bleu, enluminures et peintures chrétiennes du XIe au XVIIe siècle*, Genève 1990, vol. 2, figs. 14–61; KATHLEN BICKFORD BERZOCK, *The Miracles of Mary*: *a Seventeenth-Century Ethiopian Manuscript*, Chicago, IL 2002; OTTO JÄGER, *Äthiopische Miniaturen*, Berlin 1957, nos. 6, 9, 18; JULES LEROY, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gonder Dynasty*, London 1967, 32ff., figs. 26–30; JACQUES MERCIER – SAM FOGG, *Ethiopian Art*, London 2001, nos. 19, 25; GRIFFITH MANN, *Art of Ethiopia*, New York 2005, nos. 43f.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Täʾammərä śəllase

The T.ś. (**ተአምረ፡ ሥላሴ**, 'Miracles of the Trinity') is a generic title applied to several collections of miracles worked by or related to the Holy ↗Trinity.

The first type T.ś. is known from a few recent manuscripts: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz orient. quart. 993 (18th/19th cent.), containing a text entitled **ተአምሪሆሙ፡ ለአብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ**, *Täʾammərihomu läʾab wäwäld wämänfäs qəddus*, 'Miracles of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit' and a ↗*sälam*-hymn to the Trinity (HamSixBerl no. 113), as well as EMML no. 4769 (19th cent.). The title *Täʾammərihomu* (*läśəllase*) appears, in fact, after the introduction. The work was studied and partly translated by Turaev (1912) on the basis of the Berlin manuscript.

While described as "Miracles", the work does not exactly conform to the form of ↗*täʾammər* known otherwise. The account is nothing but a re-narration of the Biblical history from the Creation to Num 17 ("rod of Aaron"), divided according to subjects. God is everywhere represented as the Trinity (relevant verbal forms being conjugated in 3rd pers. masc. pl.), also before the Creation (since the existence of the Father did not precede that of the Son and the Holy Spirit). Thus the author reconsiders and re-narrates different episodes of the O.T. from the "triadologic" point of view. Turaev (1912: 316–20) identified small inclusions of some apocryphal materials and similarities with such works as *Mäṣḥafä ↗məśṭirä sämay wämədr* and *↗Qälemənṭos* (in the description of the Creation), *Gädlä ↗Addam*, assuming also strong influence of the Apocalypse of ↗Peter. The text contains the story of the "pearl" (*baḥrəy*), i.e. St. ↗Mary, contained in Adam's body (as in ch. 68 of the *↗Kəbrä nägäśt*). Remarkably, ms. EMML no. 4769 contains a version of the T.ś. which is much longer than the one studied by Turaev and continues the narration – composed apparently in the same way – through the rest of the Bible and the Book of ↗Jubilees.

The work has been attributed to *abunä* ↗Bəṣuʿa Amlak of Ǝnda Śəllase since this name is mentioned in the introduction as that of the compiler of the work, and also on the basis of a story of a miraculous apparition of a "giant" to "a man" (the author?) who was in seclusion (Turaev 1912: 310f.; EMML no. 4769, 17.). This happened under *aṣe* ↗Naʿod (indeed, the time when *abunä* Bəṣuʿa Amlak was active).

Another work, also called T.ś., is a part of the treatise *Zena nägäromu läśəllase* (*↗Dərsanä śəllase*). Here, the collection of several dozens of miracles follows the collection of homilies (cp., e.g., mss. EMML nos. 150, 1882; Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek orient. 409). The miracles mostly conform to the pattern of *täʾammər*, telling of wonders worked by the Trinity both abroad (Egypt, Palestine etc., occasionally picking biblical stories) and in Ethiopia.

One more type of collection of miracles worked by the Trinity appears in mss. Roma, ANLin Conti Rossini 53, 62 (StrANL 154–57, 174–77), also entitled, confusingly, *Zena nägäromu läśəllase* (or **ሰይፈ፡ ሥላሴ**, *Säyfä śəllase*, 'Sword of the Trinity', or **ዜና፡ ሥላሴ**, *Zena śəllase*, 'History of the Trinity', the generic titles), in which a wondrous story follows a homily, for each day of the week. Three miracles published by Turaev (1912: 322ff.) originate from this kind of Trinity miracles. One short miracle (mss. Conti Rossini 53, fols. 32v–33v, and 62, fols. 132ra–va) seems to be the same text as in the 15th-cent. ms. VatLib Aeth. 89, fol. 28rv (GréTisVat 357). It is found also in orient. 409, fol. 61ra–va (SixDeu 310) and EMML no. 1882, fol. 61v (text in Turaev 1912: 322f.). The same collection is preserved in mss. VatLib Aeth. 177 (fols. 5–57v) and 180. Turaev (1917: 83ff.) summarizes its second, fifth and seventh miracles.

All three types of collections are connected, but the issue requires a proper study. A core or parts of the T.ś. may be very old, the rest is probably a recent elaboration. Despite the attribution of the T.ś. to an author from Eritrea, no testimony comes from there.

Only the collections of the second and third types appear to be really adopted for propagation of the cult of the Trinity.

Src.: EMML nos. 150, 1882, 4679; GréTisVat 354–60, ms. Aeth. 89; 637–42, ms. Aeth. 177; 644f., ms. Aeth. 180; HamSixBerl 211–15, no. 113 [ms. orient. quart. 993]; SixDeu 306–17, no. 135 [ms. orient. 409]; StrANL 154–57, 174–77 [mss. Conti Rossini 53, 62].

Lit.: Stefan Strelcyn, [Review of EMML I], *JSS* 12, 1977, 116–22, here 121; Boris Turaev, "Čudesa svjatoj troitsy. Efiopskij apokrifičeskij sbornik" ('Miracles of the Holy Trinity: an Ethiopian Apocryphal Collection'), *Hristianskiy vostok* 1, 3, 1912, 298–324; Id., "Iz efiopskoj otrečennoj literatury. III. Novaja rukopis' Čudes Sv. Troitsy" ('From the Ethiopian Apocryphal Literature. III. A New Manuscript of the Miracles of the Holy Trinity'), *ibid*. 6, 1, 1917, 82–86.

Denis Nosnitsin

Täʾammərat Amanuʾel

T.A. (**ተአምራት፡ አማኑኤል**, b. 1888, Azäzo, d. 1963, Jerusalem) was a ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel intellectual and teacher. His father, Fanta Dawit, was of Betä Ǝsraʾel descent, and his mother Ṭərunäš, was of noble Christian lineage.

T.A. was initially educated in the missionary school of ↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen in Asmära. In 1904, Jacques ↗Faitlovitch took him out of the school and sent him to Europe to study Jewish and secular subjects. From 1905 to 1907 he attended the Alliance Israélite Universelle school in Auteil, France, and then for more than a decade, the Rabbinic College in Florence under the guidance of Rabbi Zvi Marguilies, founder of the Pro-Falasha Committee. In 1921 he returned to Ethiopia via Palestine with Faitlovitch.

In 1923, T.A. was appointed principal of the "Fäläša school" in Addis Abäba. T.A. accepted Betä Ǝsraʾel students from the villages, including his nephew ↗Taddäsä Yaʿəqob. In 1928, on behalf of the American Pro-Falasha Committee, established in 1922, he purchased a site for the school of over 4,000 m² in the Giyorgis area.

Täʾammərat Amanuʾel in the Addis Abäba "Fälaša school", 1936; photo by Carlo Alberto Viterbo, courtesy of the Viterbo family

In 1931–32, T.A. travelled with Faitlovitch to the United States to gain financial support for the American Pro-Falasha Committee. He attended Columbia University for a short time, and also took an interest in the Black "Jews" in Harlem, who at times adopted the designation "Hebrews of Ethiopian descent".

Back in Ethiopia, T.A. acted as principal of the school, where he accepted other Betä Ǝsraʾel students who had studied in Europe, as teachers upon their return to Ethiopia. During this period, he also accompanied Carlo ↗Viterbo in his travels in Ethiopia. In 1937, in the wake of the reprisals following the attempted assassination of the Italian general Rodolfo ↗Graziani, T.A. was forced to flee to Egypt. He regularly corresponded with *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, and in 1940, joined the Emperor in exile in Khartoum.

After the Liberation, T.A. returned to Ethiopia and was given the task of reorganizing the Foreign Ministry. From 1948 to 1951, he held the position of cultural attaché of the Ethiopian Legation in Paris, working *inter alia* on federating Eritrea with Ethiopia. Throughout these years, T.A. continued to champion the cause of the Betä Ǝsraʾel, at times interceding on their behalf with the Emperor. However, he was unable to re-open the "Falasha School". T.A. corresponded ardently with Faitlovitch, but disagreed with him on several fundamental issues concerning the Betä Ǝsraʾel.

During his later years, T.A.'s relations with the Emperor became strained due to T.A.'s disdain for feudalism, his protest at the delay in instituting land reform, and his refusal to write the Emperor's biography. T.A. left for Djibouti in self-imposed exile and then, in 1955, moved from Asmära to ↗Jerusalem, where he acted as the Cultural Counselor at the Ethiopian Consulate. He died unmarried with no descendants.

T.A. was proficient in Amharic, Təgrəñña, English, French, Italian and Hebrew. He wrote numerous newspaper and scholarly articles, including notes on Betä Ǝsraʾel monks, translations of excerpts from ↗Susənyos's chronicle into Italian and an unpublished essay in Amharic on Gandhi. He believed that Ethiopian history had to be written in an objective manner by Ethiopians, who had yet to acquire self-sufficiency in education (s. also Bahru Zewde 2002:47).

Src.: WOLF LESLAU, "Taamrat Emmanuel's Notes of Falasha Monks and Holy Places", in: SAUL LIEBERMAN – ARTHUR HYMAN (eds.), *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, Jerusalem 1974, vol. 2, 624–37; TAAMRAT EMMANUEL, "Episodi della storia dei Falascia", *La Rassegna mensile di Israel* 11, 3, 1936, 83–92; ID., "En Exil au Caire: Un Representant Authentique des Falachas d'Abyssinie", *La Bourse Egyptienne,* 27 November 1938; ID., "A School for 'Falasha' Children in Ethiopia at the Time of the Italian Invasion (1935)", *Pe'amim* 58, 1994, 98–103; ID., "An Early Essay on Amharic Literature", *Bulletin de la Maison des Études Éthiopiennes* 11, 1997; EMANUELA TREVISAN SEMI, *L'Epistolario di Taamrat Emmanuel*: *Un intellettuale ebreo d'Etiopia nella prima metà del XX secolo*, Torino 2000; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Two Amharic Letters by the Falasha Leader Tamrat Emanuel", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2, 1986, 191–200.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia*, Oxford [u.a.] 2002, 47; ITZCHAK GRINFELD, "Taamrat Emmanuel-Mevasser Hatechiya shel Yehudei Ethiopia" ('Taamrat Emmanuel-Forerunner of the Revival of Ethiopian Jewry'), *Pe'amim* 22, 1985, 59–74; DANIEL SUMMERFIELD, *From Falashas to Ethiopian Jews*, London 2003, 54–59ff.

Shalva Weil

Täʾammərat Yəgäzu

T.Y. (**ተአምራት፡ ይገዙ**; also **ታምራት፡ ይገዙ**, Tamrat Yəgäzu; b. 1916, Tägulät Bulga *awrağğa*, d. 24 November 1974, Addis Abäba) was a high-ranking official of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's government.

T.Y. was the son of a certain *balambaras* Taffäsä and his wife Zäwditu Yəgäzu. He grew up in his mother's family and thus took the name of his grandfather *däğğazmač* ↗Yəgäzu Bähabte (FanTarik 307) who had been Minister of Commerce and ↗*käntiba* of Addis Abäba in 1918 (Greenfield 1965: 154).

After receiving his education at the Täfari Mäkʷännən School, T.Y. was trained at the

Täᵓammərat Yəggäzu; photo from the collection of the family

↗Holätä Military Academy where he rose to the rank of *šämbel*. With the coming of the ↗Italian war 1935–36 and after the Battle of ↗May Čäw, he continued to put up resistance against the Italian invasion.

Eventually T.Y. followed his grandfather into exile to Jerusalem, where, at the age of 20, he studied at a college and worked as a secretary for the *Täsfa Kokäb Maḫbär*, an association engaged in supporting the Ethiopian ↗resistance.

He returned to war after having trained troops in a military camp near Khartoum, called Soba, where the last preparations were being made for the return of Ḫaylä Śəllase I. T.Y. followed the Emperor through ↗Omedla into Goǧǧam on his return to Addis Abäba.

During the post-war period, T.Y., then Governor-General, remained an important personality and had numerous positions. He became General Secretary of the Ministy of War, the General Director of the Addis Abäba Municipality and he served as the Governor of Käfa and later Səmen. Above all he became president of the board of managers for the newly established Young Men's Christian Association in Addis Abäba from 1949 onwards. T.Y. served as committee chairman to screen members of the ↗Imperial Bodyguard and civilians who had been involved in the failed ↗coup d'état 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82) against the Emperor (Greenfield 1965: 407f.), after which he became a member of the ↗Crown Council.

After the monarchy's downfall, Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam was determined to eradicate all key members of the former regime (↗Revolution of 1974). On 24 November 1974, the new government executed T.Y. and 59 other senior government officials, civil servants, war veterans, and senior military officers.

T.Y. was married to Marta Ǝmməru, a daughter of *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase, from whom he had ten children.

Src.: HSLife 80, 141.

Lit.: FanTarik 307f.; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 154, 407f.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Täᶜaqəbo məśṭir

The T.m. (**ተዓቅቦ፡ ምሥጢር**, 'Custody of the Mystery') is a short Gəᶜəz text instituting the rules for securing the honour and safety of the Sacrament of the ↗Eucharist. The T.m. was composed in the 15th cent., during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, who is mentioned twice in the text as the one who instigated the rules. The T.m. is also mentioned in his Chronicle (PerrZarY 78).

The T.m. belongs to a group of texts composed and diffused in order to prescribe norms for the Sacramental rituals, such as the *Mäṣḥafä ↗ baḥrəy* for the ↗unction of the sick.

In order to promote to the utmost degree the honour and respect due to the Eucharist, and to avoid even the slightest carelessness, considering that the consecrated bread and wine are the very flesh and blood of Christ, the T.m. lays down harsh punishments to be inflicted upon those who lack respect, even unwittingly, e.g., those who let even a small part of the Holy Bread or a drop of the Holy Wine, fall on the ground or who emit them after ingestion, should be punished with 153 strokes of the whip (cp. N.T., Jn 21:11; BauSen 299 [text]) and five days of ↗fasting; if the bread or the wine prepared for the ↗*Qəddase* are not appropriate, the deacons or priests in charge should receive 24 lashes; if an insect drops into the chalice, 8 or 4 lashes. The authorities in charge of a church are held responsible for what happens in it, even if they were not directly implicated in the mishandling; this holds true even for the *aṣe* — in case it happened in one of the churches of the royal camp (↗*Kätäma*), which are, by the way, enumerated in the T.m. —, who should inflict upon himself three lashes and one day of fasting.

Some of the narrative texts written during the reign of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob – e.g., the miracle of St. ↗Mary in which, after saving a monk from Satan, Mary told him to ask his fellow monks why they prepared the Eucharist (Getatchew Haile 1992: 189–93); or the Vita of ↗Mäbaᵓa Ṣəyon (Budge 1898: 31) – also insist on paying due respect to the Eucharist, and illustrate by vivid examples the prescriptions of the T.m. (quoted in Heldman 1994: 196f.; in Bouanga 2007: 88–95).

Numerous copies of the T.m. exist. The most ancient manuscripts are EMML no. 1480 and BN d'Abbadie 69, from the 15th cent., in which the T.m. is copied together with the *Mäṣḥafä baḥrəy*.

↗Law: Canon law

Src.: CRAbb 160f., no. 141 [ms. d'Abbadie 69]; DillmBerl 28–31, no. 38 Berlin [ms. or. quart. 343]; EMML no. 1480,

fols. 107ff.; BauSen 299 (text) =155 (tr.) [§47]; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *The Life of Mabâᵓ Sĕyôn and Gabra Krĕstôs*, London 1898, 31, 35f., 65ff.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, “Il libro di re Zarᵓa Yāᶜqob sulla custodia del Mistero”, *RSE* 3, 1943, 148–66; GETATCHEW HAILE, *The Mariology of Emperor Zär’a Ya‘eqob of Ethiopia*, Roma 1992 (OrChrA 242), 189–93; PerrZarY 78, n. 3.
Lit.: AYDA BOUANGA, *Miracles et histoire dans la Vie de saint Mäb’ä Seyon* (*Ethiopie*: *XV*^{e} *siècle–XVIII*^{e} *siècle*), M.A. thesis, Université de Paris – I, 2007; MARYLIN HELDMAN, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon*: *a Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality,* Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 196f.

Anaïs Wion

Ṭabarī, aṭ-

Ṭ. (الطبرى, full name Abū Ğaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Ğarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī; b. 839, Āmul, Tapuria, d. 923, Baghdad) was the most famous historian and ↗Qurᵓān commentator of early Islam.

Ṭ. stemmed from a landowner family of Āmul in the Caspian region, prosperous enough to finance Ṭ.’s studies, including extensive travels to the best scholars of his time. In 870 he settled in Baghdad, devoting his time to teaching and writing. His books include law (*fiqh*), prophetic traditions (*ḥadīṯ*) and dogmatics, but his most important works are his voluminous commentary on the Qurᵓān (*at-Tafsīr* or *Ğāmiᶜ al-bayān ᶜan taᵓwīl āy al-Qurᵓān*, 30 vols. in the Cairo ed. 1954–57), and his world history (*Taᵓrīḫ ar-rusul wal-mulūk*, 8,054 pages in the Leiden ed. 1879–1901, 38 vols. in the Albany tr. 1985–95). Both works use the *ḥadīṯ* method, i.e. every topic is related to a primary source through a chain (*isnād*) of traditionists. Where the sources diverge, Ṭ. quotes more than one source for the same story. In his *History*, in which a few passages concern Ethiopia, Ṭ. arranges the traditions in the style of historical annals, the events being recounted yearly up to 302 H. [915 A.D.].

Ethiopia (as *al-Ḥabaša*, ↗Abyssinia) and Ethiopians are first mentioned in the overview of peoples descending from Ham (ed. vol. 1, 216f., 222 = tr. vol. 2, 15f., 20f.). Next, Abyssinia appears in connection with Bahman’s entrusting Ahasuerus b. Cyrus b. Ğāmāsp with the administration of Babylon and its environs, to which ↗India and Abyssinia belonged (ed. vol. 1, 653 = tr. vol. 4, 50). Several Ethiopian references are given in connection with South Arabian history, esp. the events of ↗Nağrān and the raid of ↗Abraha against ↗Mecca (ed. vol. 1, 898–966 = tr. vol. 5, 159–267).

Ṭ. further tells us that ᶜAbdšams b. ᶜAbdmanāf, the grand-great-uncle of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad, concluded a treaty with the Great ↗*Nağāšī* (*an-nağāšī al-akbar*), as a result of which the Meccans travelled regularly to Abyssinia (ed. vol. 1, 1089 = tr. vol. 6, 16). Quite exhaustively, Ṭ. then treats the first ↗*hiğra* (ed. vol. 1, 1181–98 = tr. vol. 6, 98–114), and ᶜAmr b. Umayya aḍ-Ḍamrī’s mission to Ethiopia, to hand over a letter from Muḥammad to ↗Aṣḥam b. Abğar (i.e. ↗Ǝllä Ṣaḥam, whose son, ↗Armaḥ, and father, possibly ↗Ḥataz, are also mentioned here), with the invitation to accept Islam: the ↗*Nəguś*’s answer was in fact positive (ed. vol. 1, 1568ff. = tr. vol. 8, 108ff.).

In his discription of the Umayyad and the ᶜAbbāsid periods, Ṭ. repeatedly mentions the ↗Dahlak islands as a place of exile for criminals and people out of favour (ed. vol. 2, 1351, 1359, 1777, vol. 3, 135 = tr. vol. 24, 80f., 89, vol. 26, 129, vol. 28, 71).

A ↗Beğa incursion in 241 H. [855/56 A.D.] is the last Ethiopia-related event in the *Annals*; the narration also gives some information about the people (ed. vol. 3, 1428–33 = tr. vol. 34, 141–45).
Src.: AṬ-ṬABARĪ, *Annales*, ed. MICHAEL JAN DE GOEJE, 3 vols., Lugduni Bat. 1879–1901 (text) = ID., *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, general ed. EHSAN YAR-SHATER, 38 vols., Albany, NY 1985–95 (SUNY series in Near Eastern Studies) (tr.).
Lit.: CLIFFORT EDMUND BOSWORTH, “al-Ṭabarī”, in: *EI*^{2} vol. 10, 2000, 11–15; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, “ᵓElla Gabaz/ᵓElla Ḥētāzā”, *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006 [2007], 115–41, here 115–30; CLAUDE GILLIOT, “Les oeuvres de Ṭabari”, *Mélanges de l’Institut Dominican d’études Orientales du Caire* 19, 1989, 49–90; ID., *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam. L’éxègese coranique de Tabari*, Paris 1990 (Études musulmanes 32), esp. 283–307 (Lit.); FRANZ-CHRISTOPH MUTH, *Die Annalen von at-Tabari im Spiegel der europäischen Bearbeitungen*, Frankfurt a.M. 1983 (Heidelberger Orientalistische Studien 5); FRANZ ROSENTHAL, “General Introduction”, in: AṬ-ṬABARĪ, *The History*, vol. 1: *General Introduction, and From the Creation to the Flood*, Albany, NY 1989, 3–164.

Ewald Wagner

Ṭäbibä ṭäbiban

The Ṭ.ṭ. (**ጠቢበ፡ ጠቢባን**, ‘Wisest among the Wise’, or ‘Sapiens sapentium’) is a hymnological composition in ↗Gəᶜəz.

The Ṭ.ṭ. consists of 100 five-lined stanzas. In some manuscripts, these are divided into seven sections to be read on each day of the week. The poem does not belong to the official liturgy and is obviously to be recited by monks only.

The title refers to the beginning: “O God, wisest among the wise [Ṭ.ṭ.], Almighty, do not ever age from the beginning. I, your servant, with feeble mind and fearful heart, do not dare to pray to you, o Lord, the prayer of salvation: 'Save me and free me of every murderer'".

The main purpose of the work is to glorify God. The author cites from Biblical history, apocryphal narratives and ecclesiastical literature. The Biblical characters mentioned in the poem (Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses) are to bear witness to God's grace and mercy.

The poem was published by Dillmann (DillmChr) after three manuscripts from the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. The oldest witnesses can be dated to the 17th cent. (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orient. quart. 1006 [2]; BritLib Orient 578 [1646 A.D.]), the date providing the *terminus ante quem* for the composition.

↗Gəᶜəz literature; ↗Hymns; ↗Mälkəᵓa gubaᵓe

Src.: EMML nos. 659, 4544, 4759 [18th cent.]; HamSixBerl 67f., no. 13 [ms. orient. oct. 997, fols. 3r–20v]; 68, no. 14 [ms. orient. oct. 998, fols. 3r–38r]; 71, no. 16 [ms. orient. oct. 1000]; 233, no. 126 [ms. orient. quart. 1006, fols. 101ra–107vb]; Murad Kamil, *Die abessinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Littmann in Tübingen*, Leipzig 1936, 23f., ms. Littmann 19; SixBay 33f., no. 11 [ms. Cod. Aeth. 11, fols. 23r–67r]; 76, no. 44 [ms. Cod. Aeth. 44, fols. 11r–22v (101 stanzas)]; Edward Ullendorff, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1951, 11, no. 57 [ms. Aeth. g. 3, fols. 3a–44v]; DillmChr 108–31 (ed.); Sebastian Euringer, "Ṭabiba ṭabibân", *OrChr* ser. 3, 9 [31], 1934, 240–60 (tr.); WrBriMus 119, no. 187.5 [ms. Orient. 575]; 121, no. 188.14 [ms. Orient. 578]; 130, no. 192.*2l* [ms. Orient. 581], 132, no. 196.1 [ms. Orient. 590].

Lit.: Carl Heinrich Cornill, "Noch eine Handschrift des 'Sapiens Sapientium'", *ZDMG* 35, 1881, 646–53; Ignazio Guidi, "'Qene' o Inni abissini", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 9, 1900, 463–510, here 463, n. 2; RicLett 843; Anton Schall, "Zum Text des Ṭabība Ṭabībān", in: *PICES* 2, 100–06; Ernst Trumpp, "Kritische Bemerkungen zum 'Sapiens Sapientium' in Dillmann's Chrestomathia Aethiopica", *ZDMG* 34, 1880, 232–40.

Ute Pietruschka

Taboo

T. are behavioural avoidance rules which have a ritual character and usually involve notions of purity and pollution. They occur in all ↗religions and ways of life, and serve to emphasize certain features of the cosmic and social order and, in particular, relate to the cognitive organization of both nature and society according to rules of symbolic classification. T. vary from group to group, and must be understood in the broader context of cosmology and social structure. T. are considered to protect individuals from "magical" contamination, be it ritually polluting or sacral. T. structure relationships between social groups and create distinctions of rank, prestige and "propriety" between people.

Dietary T. (cp. ↗Food) are among the most widespread and can be seen to operate on multiple levels both distinguishing groups from each other and making distinctions within groups. Thus, Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, Betä Ǝsraᵓel and Muslims in Ethiopia are prohibited from eating meat which has not been slaughtered by a co-religionist according to each tradition's specific practice (and blessing). In addition, all three groups share a common T. against the consumption of carrion or meat which is the product of hunting. They also have in common a T. concerning the consumption of certain animals, such as donkey, horse, pig, dog, ↗hippopotamus, rhinoceros and ↗elephant. In contrast to ↗Islam where it is allowed to eat everything not explicitly forbidden, according to the distinction of *halal* and *ḥaram*, among Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, generally those animals not listed as "pure" in the Bible cannot be eaten.

Many Cushitic-speaking peoples traditionally prohibit the consumption of ↗fish. Among the Oromo, for example, only those in dire straits eat fish, and the consumption of hippopotamus, hare, eggs and fowl are widely tabooed.

In some cases, however, dietary T. function within a particular social group prohibiting only certain members from either permanently or temporarily consuming certain foods or beverages. Among the Aari, a new mother is prohibited from drinking ↗milk or eating ↗honey until the child has been named. During pregnancy, it is strictly forbidden for Təgre- and Beǧa-speaking women to eat meat, drink milk or consume butter from an unknown source.

Rulers and other important officials are often subject to a variety of T. which distinguish them from other members of society (cp. ↗Kingship, divine). These include not only food T. but also avoidance of contact with profane persons, relationships, objects and activities. Among the Kəmant, the ↗*wämbär* could not hold a knife or any other weapon. Many chiefs or kings could only handle or consume certain food items. E.g., the Dizi chiefs (*kyaz*, *burǧi*) were not even allowed to touch wheat.

Similar avoidance rules are operative in the context of mediums of ↗possession cults and ritual experts of traditional ↗religions. Among the Oromo, e.g., the ↗*qaallu* must avoid contact with corpses and with ↗blood, including that of women during ↗menstruation or after giving ↗birth. Nor is he allowed to have contact with people who have recently had sexual intercourse, and mourners. The *qaalluu* is also subject to a variety of food T. including prohibitions against consuming ox and heifer meat, red onion, and certain grains. Konso ritual experts are prohibited from taking part in a ↗burial or even entering a sick person's hut. Among the Käfa the king and priests could not be touched by other members of society. Among the Boorana Oromo, however, the *qaalluu* must violate the normal rules of exogamy (or incest T.) in choosing his wife.

At the other end of the social spectrum, T. figure prominently in the social treatment of hunters (↗Hunting), tanners, smiths (↗Iron) and other craftsmen (↗Marginalized people, s. EAE vol. 5). Interestingly, these are often similar to the T. (for example, against the eating of sheep) which apply to respected figures in other societies. However, they are evaluated very differently. Such groups are often accused of violating the T.'s of the dominant society by eating forbidden foods and conducting sexual relations (↗Sexuality), particularly incestuous, considered as immoral and ritually polluting. Such accusations not only mark them as different, but justify their treatment as lesser, or, in some cases, barely human-beings.

People participating in rites of passage such as birth, ↗initiation, ↗marriage and burial are often subject to T. All groups have an incest T. which prohibits marriage and sexual relations among members of the same "family", although the definition of the latter varyies considerably between groups. Many cultures prohibit marriage between persons who have a common patrilineal ancestor up to seven generations, including not only biological kin, but adopted and fostered children and god-parents (↗Genealogy; ↗Kinship). Other groups prohibit marriage within the same clan (Maale, Meʾen, Suri), patrilineage (Konso), or moiety (Oromo).

Among many Ethiopian peoples, contact with a woman during a period of several weeks or even months after giving birth is prohibited. Accordingly, such women are secluded in special huts. Among the Beni ʿAmər, the father is prohibited from even looking at his wife and his new child during this period. Many groups including the Kəmant and Betä Ǝsraʾel seclude women when they are menstruating, and Ethiopian Christians restrict their participation in church activities. In Maale, women of childbearing age were not permitted in the royal compound. In some cases, moreover, gender-based T. are much broader. Thus, among the Konso, women, as in most Ethiopian societies, cannot sacrifice, slaughter, produce iron objects or even watch certain religious ceremonies.

Many T. exist to restrict the contact between sacral objects and the profane sphere. An important example is the ↗*tabot* of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians which is only allowed to be touched or seen by priests and deacons.

In some cases, certain actions or movements are tabooed. Huntingford (HuntGal 78) reports, e.g., that the Oromo do not point their fingers to the sky, as this would be an insult to ↗Waaqa, and use the middle finger, rather than the index finger to point at objects.

Verbal avoidance rules are a common feature. They are frequent especially in the context of sexuality, religion and ↗magic. T. can also apply to the use of ↗names of persons and certain supernatural beings. Thus, a newly married woman, for example, among the Gurage, is prohibited from using her husband's name when speaking to others. Among the Oromo, husbands, wives and in-laws are prohibited from using each others' names. Gurage girls who belong to a *mʷeyät* association, are forbidden to use the name of the *mʷeyät* itself, its chief and of certain animals. The name of their deity ↗Dämʷamʷit is to be avoided as well. Leslau also reports (1952) that the Gurage avoid the use of certain Gurage words because they sound similar to Amharic words with sexual connotations and vice-versa.

Lit.: YAQOB BEYENE, "I tabù alimentari e il cristianismo etiopico", *RSE* 38, 1996, 210–32; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Food Avoidances in Southern Ethiopia: Religious Manifestations and Socio-Economic Relevance", in: *PICES* 7, 459–61; CerPeople 66; DONALD DONHAM, *Work and Power in Maale, Ethiopia*, Ann Arbor, MI 1975, 24; DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003, passim; HabKön, esp. 133–70; CHRISTOPHER HALLPIKE, *The Konso: a Study of the Values of a Kushitic People*, Oxford 1972, 144, 154; HuntGal 28, 78, 133; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967, 77f.; WOLF LESLAU, "Taboo Expressions in Ethiopia", *American Anthropologist* 61, 1, 1959, 105–08; ID., "Footnote on Interlingual Taboos", *ibid.* 54, 1952, 274; MAWEJA MBAYA, "Linguistic Taboo in African Marriage Context: a Study of the Oromo *Laguu*", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 11, 2, 2002, 224–35.

Steven Kaplan

Tabot

The term T. (Gəʿəz, Amh.: **ታቦት**, pl. *tabotat*) is considered to have been borrowed into Gəʿəz from Jewish Aramaic (*tēḇūṯā* / *tēḇōṯa*) according to Nöldeke (1910: 37, 42); Rodinson suggests that it was borrowed from the Arabic of the Jews of Medina (1960–63: 64ff.; not from their Aramaic, as in LesCD 570). In Ethiopic, the term has two meanings, referring both to the altar tablet or slab that rests upon the altar chest (**መንበረ፡ ታቦት**, *mänbärä tabot*); occasionally, it may designate also the altar chest itself. In the Ethiopic Bible, it refers both to the O.T. Ark of Noah and the ↗Ark of the Covenant in which the Tablets of the Law were placed (s. LesCDic 570; DillmLex 560). In fact the altar slab is also called *ṣəllat* (**ጽላት**, sg. *ṣəlle*), which is traditionally considered to be the replica of the Tablets of the Law, "representing" it in each individual church. One more term, *məśwaʿ* (**ምሥዋዕ**), is used in reference to the altar as focal point of the liturgical service (cp. ↗*Qəddase*) and is, in principle, a fixed altar, whereas the T. is a mobile, portable altar-tablet, having the same significance as the fixed altar.

The T. is a consecrated wood or stone tablet that is placed upon the permanent altar chest for the celebration of the ↗Eucharist. This arrangement of dual components – fixed holy table (Taft 1991: 71) and the portable altar stone or tablet – is much like the altar structure of the ↗Coptic Church (s. Basilios in CE, vol. 1, 144; Grossmann in CE, vol. 1, 109; Burmester 1967: 21f.; Evetts 1895:269), and in accordance with the instructions of the ↗*Senodos* which states, "Let there be two altars [*kəlʾettu məśwaʿ*] in every church, one which is carried from place to place, like the stone of the children of Israel that was carried from place to place in the wilderness, and another that is not removed from its place" (BauSen 300f. [text]). The T. is, indeed, carved either out of wood or stone (or "marble", s. Caquot 1961: 88, 116), but there are indications that it was also made out of gold (cp. BassHist 313; Getatchew Haile 1988: 16, 2006: 62 [text]).

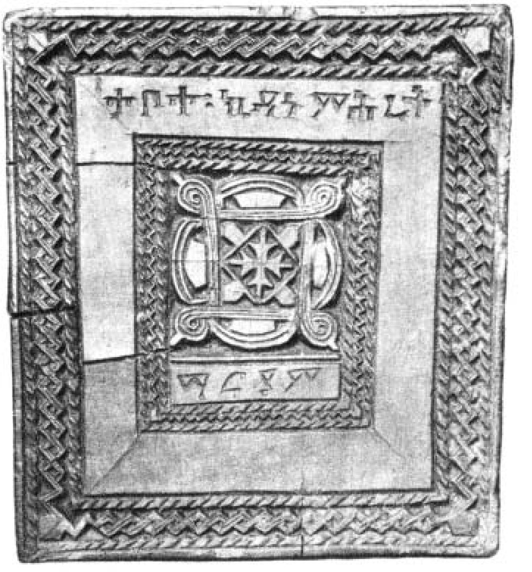


Fig. 1: Wooden *tabot* dedicated to St. Mary's "Covenant of Mary" (*Kidanä məḥrät*), 9,5 cm x 11 cm x 4 cm; from Buxton 1970: pl. 100

The ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* also instructs that the T. should be portable "like the stone of the children of Israel ..." (Guidi 1897: 16f. [text]; Paulos Tzadua 1968: 11), signifying to the symbolic relationship between the T. and the Tablet of the Law carried by the Israelites within the Ark of the Covenant (Getatchew Haile 1988: 13).

Although the dimensions of the T. are not standard (ranging from ca. 42 cm high x 39 cm wide to as small as 13 cm high x 11 cm wide), the T. panel must be large enough to accommodate the chalice (and paten), to be placed upon it during the liturgy.

Because the T. is so sacred that it may only be seen by the priests who can enter the enclosed sanctuary (cp. ↗*Mäqdäs*), literature concerning the T. is limited. Indeed, it is absolutely prohibited for the laity to see the T., and asking questions about the T. is unseemly.

The *Senodos* has an article ordering the consecration of the T. (BauSen 298f. [text]; cp. Conti Rossini 1943: 151f.). The ritual of consecration of the T. in the Ethiopian Church includes the reading of appropriate verses of the O.T. and N.T. (cp. ms. EMML no. 1206, fols. 167v–71r; cp. also BeckHuntAlvar 545f.). The fact that the ritual may only be performed by a Metropolitan (cp. ↗*Pappas*) created a substantial problem. Similarly, when a T. was polluted (when touched by unauthorized people, and/or by non-Christians), it had to be reconsecrated. Today, a T. is (re-)consecrated by bishops (cp. ↗*Eppisqoppos*).

Presently, many churches possess more than one T. However, the church takes its name from the primary T. and the annual feast of the T. is celebrated accordingly (cp. Fritsch 2001: 388). The festive introduction of the newly consecrated T. into a (new) church is called *nəgś* (lit. 'enthroning'); a church can be methaporically referred to as T. (also in such expressions as *tabot täkkälä*, lit. 'he planted a T.', meaning 'he founded a [new] church').

In the 16th cent., ↗Alvares (BeckHuntAlvar 76) noted that each Ethiopian church possessed a T., and a *mänbärä tabot*. He also observed the procession of the T. as the royal court of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl moved from one location to another, noting that always each T. was wrapped in precious fabrics and carried by four priests raised on their shoulders upon a stretcher or litter (ibid. 323f.). In present practice, on certain ↗feasts the T. is wrapped in a precious fabric and is carried from the *mäqdäs* with great ceremony on the head of a priest and paraded around the church or church enclosure (Agostinos Tedla da Hebo 1994: 150–55).

In the early 17th cent., the Jesuit priest ↗Barradas provided important information concerning the veneration of the T. He speaks of altar stones that they hold "in greater veneration than they show toward the most holy Sacrament that is consecrated and celebrated over them", and that they can only be blessed by an ↗*abun*, i.e. Metropolitan. He reports that most of the T. he saw were made of wood and often finely decorated with paintings or carvings, though he also saw some made of white stone. All were dedicated to ↗saints and decorated with appropriate inscriptions (Barradas 1996: 144f.).

The degree of veneration in which the T. is held cannot be overstated. At the time of its consecration, a new T. is dedicated to the name of God, Jesus, the Paraclete, St. Mary or a saint, and henceforth the T. is perceived as personifying, indeed becoming the presence of that saint in the church (Getatchew Haile 1988:13f.). Because the T. is believed to be endowed with sacred power, T. were carried into military campaigns with the expectation that they would bring victory. Sometimes T. were captured and, on occassion, ransomed or otherwise restored to their church, but sometimes T. fell into the hands of non-Christians (Getatchew Haile 1980: 76, 1988: 17).

By the early 20th cent., a few T. had been acquired by European museums (Hanssens – Raes 1951: 437 [seven purchased from the Oromo of ↗Wällo; the other originating from ↗Sänᶜafe, Eritrea]; Buxton 1970, pls. 100f., 252; BeckHuntAlvar 547). These form the basis of the following description of carved designs that typically decorate the recto face of T., dating from the early 16th cent. to the 18th cent. All T. are inscribed with the names of the saints to whom they are dedicated. A majority of these wood and stone T., i.e. those datable to the late 17th and 18th cent., are carved with cruciform designs similarly to those of the exterior panels of bilateral pendant diptychs of the same period (AfrZion 244, no. 102, fig. 33). Several early 16th-cent. T. are carved with a large cross that divides the panel into four parts, following the style of the painted design found on the exterior of a 15th-cent. triptych attributed to ↗Fəre Ṣəyon (Heldman 1994: 37, fig. 10). Patterns of decoration of T. changed over time and seem to have inspired the decorative patterns carved or painted upon contemporary wooden icon panels.

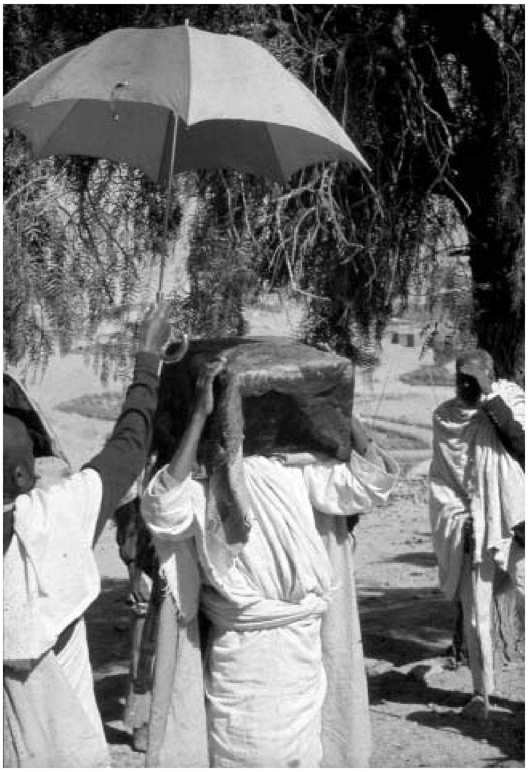


Fig. 2: Procession of the *tabot* of the church of Ǝnda Iyäsus, Aramo, Akkälä Guzay, Eritrea; photo 1974, courtesy of the author

Src.: Manoel Barradas, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici* (*1634*): *a Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by Elizabet Filleul, ed. by Richard Pankhurst, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 144f.; BassHist 313; BauSen 298–301 (text) = 115f. (tr.), §§ 44–54; BeckHuntAlvar 76, 323f., 545ff.; André Caquot, "Les actes d'Ezrā de Gunda-Gundē", *AE* 4, 1961, 69–121, here 88 (text), 116 (tr.); Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il libro di re Zar'a Yāᶜqob sulla custodia del Mistero", *RSE* 3, 1943, 148–66, here 151f. (text), 160 (tr.); DillmLex 257, 560, 1255; EMML no. 1206; Basil Tho-

mas Alfred Evetts (ed., tr.), *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries Attributed to Abû Ṣâliḥ, the Armenian*, Oxford 1895, 269; Getatchew Haile, *The Gəʿəz Acts of Abba Əsṭifanos of Gʷəndagʷənde*, Lovanii 2006 (CSCO 619, 620 [SAe 110, 111]), 62 (text) = 53f. (tr.); Ignazio Guidi (ed., tr.), *Il "Fetha Nagast" o "Legislazione dei Re", codice ecclesiastico e civile d'Abissinia*, Napoli 1897, 16f. (text) = Roma 1899, 19f. (tr.); LesCDic 554, 570; Kənfä Gabrəʾel Altayyä, **ሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Śərʿatä betä krəstiyan*, 'The Order of the Church'), Addis Abäba ^{2}1993 A.M. [2000 A.D.], 16f.; Libän Mäkʷännən Gäbrä Kidan, **ታቦት፤ ከቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ወደ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Tabot*: *käbetä mäqdäs wädä betä krəstiyan*, 'Tabot: from Temple to Church'), Addis Abäba 1993 A.M. [2000/01 A.D.]; *abba* Marqos Ityoṗyawi zädäbrä Bizän, **መጽሐፈ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ሢመት፡ ዘሥዩማነ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ኢትዮጵያዊት** (*Mäṣḥafä śərʿatä śimät zäśəyyumanä betä krəstiyan ityoṗyawit*, 'The Ritual Book of the Nomination of the Officials of the Ethiopian Church'), ms., *Mäggabit* 1933 A.M. – *Taḫśaś* 27, 1935 A.M. [1941/42 A.D.], 108–11; Paulos Tzadua (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast*. **ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት**. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 11; *abba* Yaʿəqob, **መጽሐፈ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ሢመት** (*Mäṣḥafä śərʿatä śimät*, 'The Ritual Book of the Ordinations'), ms., Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, 1971 A.M. [1978/79 A.D.], 1–15.

Lit.: AfrZion 244, no. 102, fig. 33; Agostinos Tedla da Hebo, "Il Tabot: la sua importanza religiosa e giuridico-cultuale nella Chiesa etiopica", *OrChrP* 60, 1, 1994, 131–57; Archbishop Basilios, "Antimension", in: *CE* vol. 1, 144; Oswald Hugh Ewart Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church…*, Cairo 1967, 21f.; David Buxton, *The Abyssinians,* London 1970, pl. 100 (ill.), 252; Christine Chaillot, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition,* Paris 2002, 102f.; Emmanuel Fritsch, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church,* Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures, Special Issue 9–10), 385–88 (Lit.); Getatchew Haile, "A Note on Writing History from Forgotten Documents", *NEASt* 2, 1, 1980, 73–77; Id., "A History of the *tabot* of Atronəsä Maryam in Amhara (Ethiopia)", *Paideuma* 34, 1988, 13–21; Ernst Hammerschmidt, "Kultsymbolik der koptischen und der äthiopischen Kirche", in: Ferdinand Herrmann (ed.), *Symbolik des orthodoxen und orientalischen Christentums*, Stuttgart 1962 (Symbolik der Religionen 20), 167–233, here 215f.; Peter Grossman, "Altar-Board", in: *CE* vol. 1, 109; Jean Michel Hanssens – Alphonsus Raes, "Une collection de tâbots au Musée Chrétien de la Bibliothèque Vaticane", *OrChrP* 17, 3–4, 1951, 345–50; Marilyn E. Heldman, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon: a Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 37, fig. 10; Robert F. Taft, "Altar", in: Alexander P. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York – Oxford 1991, vol. 1, 71; Theodor Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 37, 42; Richard Pankhurst, "Some Brief Notes on the Ethiopian Tabot and Mänbärä Tabot", *QSE* 8–9, 1987–88, 28–32; Alphonse Raes, "Antimension, Tablit, Tabot", *Proche Orient Chrétien* 1, 1951, 59–70; Maxime Rodinson, "Sur eth. t͟āb͟ōt, ar. t͟āb͟ūt et les noms sémitiques de l'Arche", *Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linquistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* (*GLECS*) 9, 1960–63, 64–68 (Lit.).

Marilyn E. Heldman

Tabot: Mänbärä tabot

M.t. (**መንበረ፡ ታቦት**, Gəʿəz, lit. 'seat, stand, throne of the *tabot*', pl. *mänabərtä tabot*[*at*]) is the so-called "altar chest", which, together with *tabot*/*ṣəllat,* i.e. the altar tablet, can cover the notion of altar (**ምሥዋዕ**, *məśwaʿ*).

The portable altar tablet needs the support of a table or chest, i.e. *mänbär*. It can be of various materials, sizes and styles (from a few centimeters in height to a sizeable piece; in joinery, monoxyle, in rock or metal) congruent with the sacred object it is meant to carry. M.t. is anointed when the *tabot*, normally already consecrated, is brought into a new church, the bishop saying a **ጸሎት፡ በእንተ፡ ቡራኬ፡ መንበር** … (*Ṣalot bäʾəntä burake mänbär* …, 'Prayer about the Blessing of the *Mänbär* …', s. the Pontifical by *abba* Yaʿəqob 1978/79: 171). This rite confers to the M.t. a certain level of sacredness and calls for appropriate reverence, best understood in reference to the prescriptions concerning the altars (cp. BeckHuntAlvar 518), and to the fact that they are not usually moved.

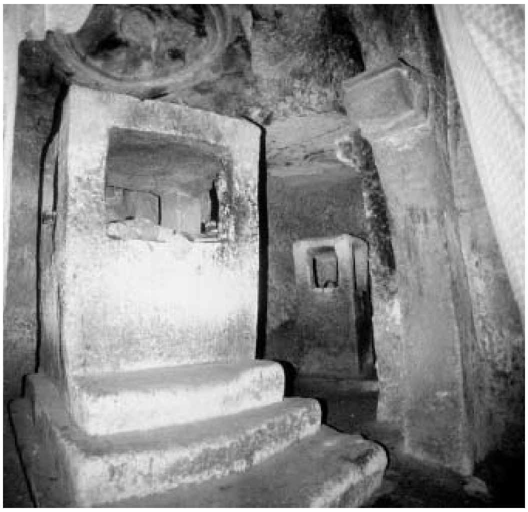
A tentative chronology of M.t. can be elaborated by a comparison of its types and forms and the comparative chronology of churches and their altar installations. In a number of cases, ↗inscriptions and pictorial presentations, engraved or painted, may provide some information.

The oldest M.t. were small, rather carefully crafted, adorned with carvings and angle ornaments, had four legs ensconced into holes (which are still visible in, e.g., Gundufru Śəllase near Aṣbi, and in ↗Dəgum); a few of them are hitherto extant in such ancient churches of East-Təgray as ↗Zarema Giyorgis, Agobo Qirqos, ↗Däbrä Sälam Mikaʾel.

The next stage of the development seems to have an early witness in ↗Mikaʾel Amba's church (1150 A.D.): it displays a triple chancel pointing to three sanctuaries, which implies as many altars. This phenomenon developed in the area of ↗Lalibäla, including at ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (Fritsch 2010), in the last 20 years of the 12th cent. and the first part of the 13th cent. (as witness the M.t. dedicated by *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla, s. Gigar Tesfaye 1984: 121f., pl. XI; Strelcyn 1979). There, additional M.t. were introduced into the pastophoria of the churches built hitherto (seeming pastophoria, archaizing churches? Cp. Fauvelle-Aymar et al. 2010) or placed side by side in sanctuaries of a new, open type, or in sanctuaries of the churches which seem to have retained the old disposition of liturgical space (↗Gännätä Maryam, Wəqro Maryam near Näbälät; cp. Fritsch – Gervers 2007:37f.). In a few cases monolithic (such as Lalibäla Śəllase, s. Bianchi Barriviera 1962:38f.; Gervers 2003:35), but mostly monoxyle, such M.t. are found in Lalibäla, Zoz Amba, Ṭəra [Ṭəla, Ṭəl] Asfäri Ǝsṭifanos, Bilbäla Giyorgis, and as far as ↗Däbrä Mäᶜar, ᶜUra Mäsqäl (Təgray). A number of these M.t. bear inscriptions (Strelcyn 1979:137; Gigar Tesfaye 1984:114f.; Bosc-Tiessé 2010). In several of these inscriptions, the M.t. itself is referred to as *tabot*; it is dedicated to a particular saint or group of saints who are often recalled in an engraved prayer and the top of such M.t. is decorated with a cross. These objects were probably not, therefore, mere M.t. but consecrated altars proper (*məśwaᶜ*) which did not require the addition of an altar-tablet to be used for the liturgy. Their being dated in the first half of the 13th cent. (s. ill., EAE vol. 3, 478) is supported by the presence of Lalibäla's name in the dedicatory inscriptions. Such M.t. do not appear in later periods; the introduction of these M.t. might have been connected to Metropolitans ↗Mikaʾel II, ↗Yəsḥaq or ↗Giyorgis.

Somewhat later M.t. have a specific dedication but lack other features; they were probably meant to receive a certain *tabot* (e.g., the Paraclete at Ṭəra Asfäri Ǝsṭifanos; the Four Living Creatures at ↗Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm). The presence of a number of *tabotat* in the region of Lalibäla originating from the time of the eponymous king confirms that their multiplication took place during his reign and with his involvement.

The "chest" of the M.t. usually has a cavity, called **ከርሠ፡ ሐመር**, *kärśä ḥamär* (lit. the 'womb of the ship'), accessible through an opening which is sometimes equipped with a small door. Originally, it was a storage place and may still be used for that purpose; several later rock-hewn altars have this feature on the east side. The legs of the M.t. "must be regarded as the last vestige of the original table-shaped form of the altar" (Grossman in CE vol. 1, 107). When feet are present, the cavity amounts to a doublet. Since the tiny size of many M.t. does not permit storage, the cavity can be considered a formal vestige which manifests faithfulness to the models received from the ↗Coptic Church. As a rule and despite a few exceptions (e.g., ↗Wäqen Gäbrəʾel), the cavity of the M.t. should be turned eastwards, as is the case of the Ethiopian rock-hewn altars and the altars in Egypt. Oddly, some of the ancient M.t. found in Lalibäla Golgota and elsewhere (e.g., at Mikaʾel ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi, ↗Gärᶜalta) have the cavity opened from two directions (east and south and east and north), with two doors (s. Bosc-Tiessé 2010).



Central and southern altars of Wəqro Mädḫane ᶜAläm, South Gondär; photo 2007, courtesy of Michael Gervers

After the re-establishment of the ↗Solomonic dynasty by *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak ca. 1270, the following period witnesses a greater variety in M.t. form and decoration. E.g., Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm possesses a wrought-iron M.t. adorned on three sides with flowery gilded brass crosses (Fritsch 2009, fig. 19). A M.t. of ↗Betä Ləḥem (ca. 1400), which might have originally been its main altar, is remarkable due to its decoration recalling the Ark of the Covenant (Fritsch – Gervers 2007:24, fig. 9).

In the 14th cent., three altars were often found in the churches, but there was no imposed number as it is demonstrated by the churches with room made for one – or two – altar only. They may be made of rock or wood. At the same time, the monumental, tall rock M.t. appeared, e.g. ,Wəqro Mädḫane ᶜAläm (South Gondär, excavated under *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arᶜad) based on the model which spread from the time of the Fāṭimids throughout Coptic Egypt. They are generally free-standing, about 2 m tall, and with a cavity opening towards the east, the shape of their upper part resembling the Coptic ciborium-shaped altar. Frequently they have arched openings on all sides; the back may also be blind in order to ensure the solidity of the structure. The general development seems to have been (Evetts 1895:269 [cp. ↗Abū Ṣāliḥ]) that the M.t. in the central part of the sanctuary is of ciborium-type whereas the side altars (M.t.) are simple cubes with a raised edge on all four sides, the sides being decorated with crosses, sometimes with a cavity in the east side (May Kado Giyorgis, ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon, Abba ↗Yoḥanni, Wäqen Gäbrəʾel, ↗Wəqro Maryam Näbälät). It is doubtful whether these altars were ever consecrated.

Some rock-hewn M.t. have a particular feature on their east side: a cavity opened through their back and reaching their top; they are therefore deprived of a real, complete table (↗Maryam Dəngəlat; the southern altar at Säḥart Ǝnda Iyäsus near Guğät; the southern altar at Däbrä Ṣəyon; the southern altar of Mikaʾel Barka near Aṣbi). All seem to belong to the same context of 14th/15th-cent. Təgray.

The shape of the monoxyle M.t. which have a shallow depression on the top, like that found in the 14th-cent. rock churches of Yäč̣əra Mädḫane ᶜAläm (near Kon, Wadla, North Wällo), indicates that they were meant to be completed by a *tabot*. This feature is similar to the raised top edge found on several Ethiopian M.t., also designed for a *tabot,* and is linked with the depression on Coptic altars meant for a consecrated wooden board (cp. Grossman in CE vol. 1, 107).

From the beginning of the 16th cent., most of the M.t. seem to derive from the ciborium-like Coptic altar. The examples include, e.g., the M.t. of ↗Gundä Gunde with paintings (perhaps, late 15th cent., s. Fritsch – Gervers 2007: 32, fig. 20). Peculiar is the wrought-iron M.t. at Ǝšätän Maryam (Fritsch 2009). This evolution is further illustrated by the M.t. of Guya Abunä Täklä Haymanot in which a niche-like opening gives access to its lower hollow part, a feature also present in the 18th-cent. M.t. of the nearby church of Č̣ih Śəllase (Tämben). Such M.t. represent the most common type: a high wooden box, crowned by four pinnacles and a canopy with a cross. Inside, it has two or three storage levels, which can be accessed from one or even four sides through doors. As a rule, the *tabotat* are stored on the top shelf, the sacred vessels on the middle one and the books and other paraphernalia on the bottom. The M.t. are often decorated with paintings (outside and in some rare cases inside). This type of M.t. is still in wide-spread use, although it does not exclude other forms. In the circular churches which became typical during the time of the ↗Gondärine kingdom, and are still common, as a rule there is only one single (high) M.t. (of this type) but several *tabotat*, used on their patronal days.

Such a single M.t. associated with the multiplicity of *tabotat* in one church is meant to satisfy the need of venerating several saints, resolving problems of space which could have been caused by the presence of several M.t., impossible to accommodate in a circular church. Another solution to the same problems is the "polysemic" *tabotat* (cp. Hanssens – Raes 1951, no. 1 with 35 names; cp. also nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8).

The tendency in the large modern cathedrals is to have wide sanctuaries hosting three M.t., in order to simultaneously celebrate Mass at all three of them, enhancing the solemnity of the ritual, and to have more ministers distributing Holy Communion to the faithful.

The cavity within the traditional M.t. is called *kärśä ḥamär* ('the 'womb of the ship') because it is likened to Noah's Ark (*tabotä Noḫ*), a symbol of salvation through the Church (cp. 1 Pet 3: 20–21), and the three levels inside are compared to the three storeys found in Noah's Ark (Gen 6:16). The symbolism of the parts of the M.t.'s parts is also explained in different versions of the ↗*Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan* (e.g., Griaule 1932: 8). There are a few representations of M.t. on miniatures and wood carvings (cp. Fritsch – Gervers 2007: 42f.).

↗Church buildings

Src.: Lino Bianchi Barriviera, "Le chiese in roccia di Lalibelà e di altri luoghi del Lasta", *RSE* 18, 1962, 5–76; BeckHuntAlvar 76, 518, 543–48, s. index; Dominique Bénazeth, *Catalogue général du Musée Copte du Caire*, 1. *Objets en métal*, Cairo ^{2}2008 (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 119), 383f.; Marcel Griaule, "Règles de l'Église (Documents éthiopiens)", *JA* 221, 1932, 1–42; Jean Michel Hanssens – Alphonsus Raes, "Une collection de tâbots au Musée Chrétien de la Bibliothèque Vaticane", *OrChrP* 17, 3–4, 1951, 345–50; Hishmat Messiha, "Portable Altars. Luxor Treasure (1893)", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 31, 1992, 129–34, pl. xvii–xix; Gigar Tesfaye – Jacqueline Pirenne, "Inscriptions sur bois de trois églises de Lalibala", *JES* 17, 1984, 107–26; Stefan Strelcyn, "Quelques inscriptions éthiopiennes sur des 'mänabert' des églises de Lalibäla et de sa région", *BiOr* 36, 1979, 137–56; *abba* Yaᶜǝqob, **መጽሐፈ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ሢመት** (*Mäṣḥafä śərᶜatä śimät*, 'The Book of Ritual of the Ordinations'), ms., Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, 1971 A.M. [1978/79 A.D.], 171.

Lit.: Claire Bosc-Tiessé, "Un nouveau rapport sur les autels de Ṭəra Asfäri Ǝsṭifanos et Lalibäla", *AE* 25, 2010, in preparation; Francois-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar et al., "Phasing Lalibela (Ethiopia): Making Sense out of a Non-Stratigraphic Archaeological Site", *Antiquity* 84, 2010, in preparation; Emmanuel Fritsch – Michael Gervers, "*Pastophoria* and Altars: Interaction in Ethiopian Liturgy and Church Architecture", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 7–50 (Lit.); Emmanuel Fritsch, "The Churches of Lalibäla (Ethiopia) Witnesses of Liturgical Changes", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 5, 2008, 69–112; Id., "The Altar in the Ethiopian Church", in: Basilius J.

Groen – Steven Hawkes Teeples (eds.), *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship: Acts of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Rome, 17–21 September 2008*, Leuven 2009 (Eastern Christian Studies 10), in preparation; Id., “The Liturgy for which Yəmrəhännä Krəstos’ Church was Built”, in: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska - Michael Gervers (eds.), *Ethiopian Churches II: Yemrehannä Krestos*, Milan 2010, in preparation; Michael Gervers, “The Rehabilitation of the Zaguë Kings and the Building of the Däbrä Sina–Golgotha–Sellassie Complex in Lalibäla”, *Africana Bulletin* 51, 2003, 23–49; Peter Grossman, “Altar”, “Altar-Board”, in: *CE* vol. 1, 105–07, 109; Claude Lepage, “Premier recherché sur les installations liturgiques des anciennes églises d’Ethiopie (X^{e}–XV^{e} siècles)”, *Documents pour servir à l’histoire de la civilisation éthiopienne* 3, 1972, 77–114.

Emmanuel Fritsch

Tädbabä Maryam

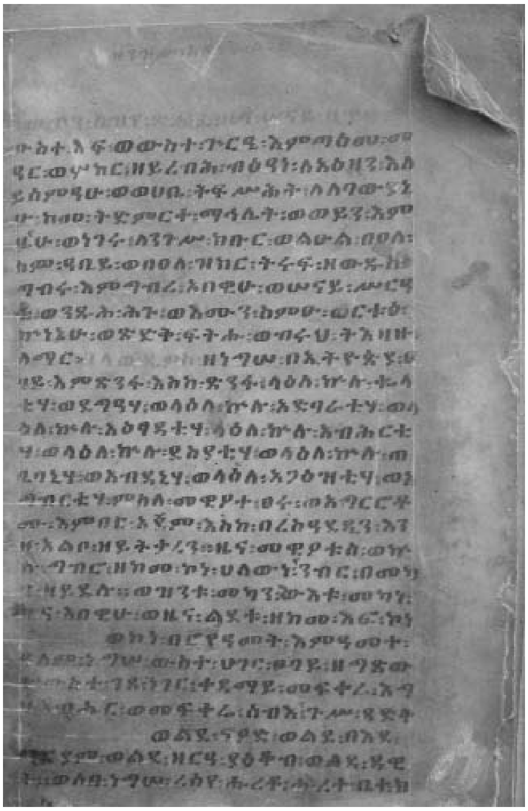
T.M. (**ተድባበ፡ ማርያም**) is a church located in Amhara ↗Sayənt, at the top of an ↗*amba*, which, in addition to being a natural fort, has artificial stone defences; a gate is known as Mäläs Sänqa (GuiIohan 188; Combes – Tamisier 1838: 208, 357).

T.M. was founded by *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos in 1552. His Chronicle is the main source for its early history (ConzGal 50–54, 58ff., 73; no mention in Kropp 1988). Its first head, with the title **በትረ፡ ያርክ** (*bäträ yark*, from Arabic for ‘patriarch’, KaneDic 916) was Afawä Dəngəl, a close advisor of Gälawdewos. The ↗*tabot* was consecrated by the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Ṗeṭros. There were 318 grantees and incumbents, a symbolic number that stressed the devotion of the royal institution to the Nicene Creed (↗Nicaea) in a context of strong tensions with ↗Catholicism. ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa was the mother church of T.M. (however, the pro-*Qəbat* Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, places T.M. in the network of the ↗Ewosṭateans; GuiIyas 16).

T.M. has always had a strong connection to another foundation of Gälawdewos, the church of Gälawdewos Mäkanä Sämaᶜt in ↗Bägemdər (South Gondär region). The members of the clergy of each church gather for the feasts in both places (and they were until recently tattooed *zä-Tä* or *zä-Gä*, respectively, s. Wion 2007).

According to the “short chronicles”, it was in T.M. that, during the reign of *aṣe* Gälawdewos, the ↗*mələkkət* was first introduced into the ↗*Dəggʷa*, by *azzaž* Gera and *azzaž* Raguᵓel.

Gälawdewos had most probably conceived of the church as his burial place. Some versions of the “short chronicles” report that, although the Muslims who killed him took his head to their



A folio of a manuscript of the chronicle of *aṣe* Gälawdewos; photo 2008, courtesy of Habtamu Mengistie

country, it was later buried in Antioch in the grave of St. ↗Gälawdewos, while the rest was buried in T.M. (BassÉt [II] 109; BegCron 33). T.M. became a royal necropolis. In 1563, T.M.’s abbot Zädəngəl sheltered the body of *aṣe* ↗Minas (CRHist 6ff.). According to some “short chronicles”, Minas was buried there. The “short chronicles” also mention different 15th-cent. sovereigns buried in T.M.: ↗Tewodros I, ↗Yəsḥaq, ↗Ǝndrəyas (BassÉt [II] 307f.; BegCron 11f., 69f.; ms. BN Éth. 141, fol. 13).

The present building was constructed in 1915 under the patronage of *ras* Mikaᵓel (Spencer 1972: 69). The coffins are kept in an old mausoleum which, according to the local priests, is the *mäqdäs* of the original ↗church building (ibid. 70).

T.M. remained in the focus of royal attention for centuries, being a key-point in terms of territorial control of the eastern border with ↗Goǧǧam.

During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, the clergy of T.M. had to convert to Catholicism. Susənyos’s brother, *ras* ↗Ṡəᶜəlä Krəstos, was appointed *bäträ yark* (PerChron 239), and the church received numerous land grants to reward its members for their conversion (Pennec 2003: 235ff.; BecRASO VII, 91ff.; XII, 465–72).

In 1695, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I stopped at T.M. on his way to a campaign in Šäwa. He entered according to the royal rituals (*bä-sərᶜatä mängəśtu*) and donated royal vestments (*ləbsä mängəśtu*; GuiIohan 188; BassÉt [II] 307f.; BegCron 69f.).

T.M. remained quite distant from the theological debates between the *Qəbat* and *Täwaḥədo* during the ↗Gondärine period. At the end of the 18th cent., however, T.M. was active in the new theological debates. In 1792, the monks of Däbrä Libanos appointed ↗*əč̣č̣age* Wäldä Yona from T.M., a strong supporter of the ↗*Sost lədät* doctrine (CerDLib II, 155f.). He fought against the Coptic metropolitan, *abunä* ↗Yosab, and upon the latter's death in 1803, with the support of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gugsa, seized the *abun*'s land (BlunChr 475; CRReal 98).

Among T.M.'s most precious regalia (Spencer 1972: 75f., 91f.) are two objects most probably commissioned by *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. They might have been placed in the custody of T.M. at the time of its foundation. One is a small manuscript of the ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam*, dedicated to Ləbnä Dəngəl, with illustrations attributed to ↗Brancaleone (Spencer 1972: 75; ChojPaint 393ff., 445ff.). T.M. also possesses a triptych representing the Virgin with the Child in the central panel and an archangel on each of the lateral panels, tentatively identified as a 16th-cent. Cretan icon (Spencer 1972: 88). The Ethiopian clergy attributes the icon to St. Luke and refers to it as *Śəᶜəlä adḫəno* ('Picture of Salvation'), for it is only taken out of the *mäqdäs*, where it is kept, during times of trouble (Spencer 1972: 70ff; Heldman 2005: 127, 129f., 136f.). T.M. also possesses a peculiar cross called *Näwa bägᶜu*, with engravings of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, a seraphim, the figure of the crucified Christ in high relief and ram's head on the shaft (Spencer 1972: 72f.; Balicka-Witakowska in PICES 10, vol. 1). Also, an Adoration of the Magi can be attributed to the 16th-cent. painter Lázaro de ↗Andrade.

Cardinal ↗Massaja visited T.M. ca. 1848 and reported that the "natural fortress" of T.M. had four churches where over a 100 clergy served. From a fellow Catholic missionary he heard that the people there venerated a book written in a foreign language, and that it was an autel canon printed in Venice.

In 1927 *aläqa* ↗ᶜAlämu Ḫaylä Maryam was asked by Empress ↗Zäwditu to paint the murals in T.M. He was assisted by his nephew, ↗Ǧämbäre Ḫaylu.

Diana Spencer, who visited T.M. several times in the early 1970s, reported on the cult of ↗relics there. The church claimed to possess the relics of 75 Oriental saints. When they are taken out of the church during celebrations, they are covered with a veil and carried around the church on the head of a monk like a *tabot*. Also, a very popular ↗pilgrimage takes place every year in T.M. for the Nativity of Mary (↗*Lədäta lä-Maryam*) on 1 *Gənbot*.

Src.: BassEt [I] 336, 360f. (text) = [II] 109, 307f. (tr.); BecRASO VII, 91ff., XII, 465-72; CerDLib III, 155f.; CRHist 6ff. (text) = 8ff. (tr.); CRReal 24f. (text) = 98 (tr.); EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, vol. 1, Paris 1838, 208, 357; ConzGal 50–54, 58ff., 73 (text) = 150–53, 156f., 163 (tr.); GueCopMen 564, s. index; GuiIohan 180 (text) = 188 (tr.); GuiIyas 17 (text) = 16 (tr.); KaneDic 916; MasMis ed. Paris 1887, vol. 1, 186–89; PerChron 239; BlunChr 190f. (tr.) = 475 (tr.); interviews with the clergy of Gälawdewos Mäkanä Säaäᶜət, October 2007.
Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 31; STÉPHANE ANCEL, *Épiscopat et encadrement des pratiques religieuses en Éthiopie chrétienne contemporaine*: *caractéristiques et évolutions*, Ph.D. thesis, INALCO, Paris 2006, 76, 177; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "Is Näwa Bäg'u an Ethiopian Cross", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 105–24 ChojPaint 393ff., 405, 445ff.; DerDom 239f., 306f.; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "St. Luke as Painter: Post-Byzantine Icons in Early Sixteenth-Century Ethiopia", *Gesta* 44, 2, 2005, 125–48; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie). Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation, 1495–1633*, Paris – Lisbonne 2003, 314ff.; DIANA SPENCER, "In Search of Saint Luke Icons in Ethiopia", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 67–95, here 77f.; EAD., *The Woman from Tedbab*, Surrey 2003.

Anaïs Wion

Taddäsä Bərru

Brigadier General T.B. (ታደሰ፡ ብሩ, b. 1907, Abote, Sälale, d. 18 March 1983, Addis Abäba) was an Ethiopian military officer. In 1936 his father went to the Northern Front to fight against Mussolini's invading army and was killed by poison gas. Three months after she had been informed about her husband's death, T.B.'s mother died of grief.

T.B. attended the ↗*nəbab bet* of Sire Mädḫane ᶜAläm in ↗Sälale. After leaving school, T.B. formed a guerrilla band, which joined a corps of patriots under his uncle *balambaras* Beka and awaited the arrival of the invaders in his place of birth in order to try to repulse them. However, his insurgency group was attacked by local bands armed by the Fascists and T.B.'s insurgency force had to join the larger and better equipped “fifth column” near Finčaʾa cave, Sire Mädḫane ʿAläm. After a day-long fight, T.B. was captured together with his group and was handed over to the Italians and transported to Mogadishu.

On arrival at Danane, on the north-east coast of the then Italian Somaliland, T.B. was sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labour. During the five years of occupation, his tasks were to pull water wagons and break stones.

After *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I had returned to Ethiopia in 1941, the British military commander who captured Mogadishu identified T.B. as a promising soldier and sent him to Mombasa to undergo military training under British officers. Subsequently T.B. was raised to the rank of sergeant and sent back to Ethiopia where he participated in the ↗War of Liberation.

After the war T.B. joined Ḫaylä Śəllase’s newly organized army. He achieved the ranks of sergeant major and, after being moved to Harär province, second lieutenant. On the Emperor’s initiative, T.B. then joined the ↗Holäta Military Academy. From there, he was transferred to the 5th Army Battalion at Addis Abäba. In 1944 T.B. was appointed as a training officer at Holäta. Two years later he was raised to the rank of deputy commander of the 29th Battalion. After having served for three years as a commander of the 24th Battalion with the rank of Major, T.B. was appointed deputy administrative chief of the Third Division.

When the post-war ↗police force was organized, T.B. became lieutenant colonel of the police. In 1957 he was entrusted with training the *fäṭno däraš* or special force unit. In 1958 T.B. was raised to the rank of colonel and was appointed deputy commander of the Police Force. In this position, he was instrumental in foiling the abortive ↗coup d’état 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82) led by General ↗Mängəśtu Nəway. With his specially trained force he attacked the rebels and occupied Bole airport which enabled the leader of the loyalists, General Märəd Mängäša, to make contact with the Emperor, using the Ethiopian Airline’s civil aviation radio, and to get reinforcements by air. T.B. was appointed brigadier general by Ḫaylä Śəllase and the first commander of the Territorial army based on traditional forces, which he hoped would foil another rebellion by the army, if it ever occurred again.

In February 1962 Nelson Mandela, the leader of the armed wing of the anti-apartheid African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, came to Ethiopia to attend a meeting of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa (↗Pan-Africanism). Following Mandela’s request, the Emperor ordered T.B. to give Mandela military training. After returning home, Mandela mobilized the ANC to start a clandestine armed struggle. Charged with the crime of travelling to Ethiopia without official permission, sabotage, high treason and conspiracy he was convicted to life imprisonment. During his 1990-visit to Ethiopia following the ANC’s victory against Apartheid, the first person he asked for was T.B. and he was saddened to hear his mentor’s fate.

Nelson Mandela (left) with Taddäsä Bərru; photo 1962, courtesy of the author

T.B. became the organizer and first president of the *Yäfidäl Särawit* (‘Alphabetization Brigade’) which carried out a wide-scale ↗literacy campaign. As recounted to this author in 1966, he initially refused to join the ↗Mäč̣č̣a and Tulama Association, but later became a member when thinking he was an Amhara, Prime Minister ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld warned him that the *fidäl serawit* might galvanize the Oromo masses. Soon T.B. was arrested on the accusation that he tried to lead the Mäč̣č̣a and Tulama Association to overthrow the imperial regime. He was brought to trial and sentenced to death by the Supreme Court. The Emperor commuted the verdict to life imprisonment.

On the eve of the ↗Revolution of 1974 T.B. was released with other political prisoners. Realizing that the people who came to power were in his view as chauvinistic as their predecessors, T.B. took up arms to fight for the liberation of the Oromo. However, he was captured and executed by the order of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam who falsely accused him of opposing the *Därg*’s “land to the tiller” programme.

Lit.: ᶜAbbay Qalä Krəstos, **የ፲፱፻፶፫፡ የመንግሥት፡ ግልበጣ፡ ሙካራ** (*Yä1953 yämängəśt gəlbäṭa mukkara*, 'The 1953 Coup d'État Attempt …'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.]; Fäntahun Əngəda, **በቀደማዊ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ አስተዳደር፡ ጎልተው፡ የወጡ፡ ፖሊቲካዊ፡ ችግሮች** … (*Bäqädämawi Ḫaylä Śəllase astädadär goltäw yäwäṭṭu politikawi čəggəročč* …, 'Political Problems which Appeared during the Reign of Ḫaylä Śəllase I …'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.]; Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: the Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, New York 1994; Olana Zoga, **ግዘትና፡ ግዞት** (*Gəzätənna gəzot*, 'Excommunication and Exile'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992 A.D.]; Yəlaq Ḫaylä Maryam, **የሌ/ኮሎኔል፡ ወርቅነህ፡ ገበየሁ፡ ልዕለ፡ ስራና፡ የ፲፱፻፶፫ቱ፡ ዓመት፡ መፈንቀለ፡ መንግሥት፡ ትክክለኛ፡ ገጽጣ** … (*Yäle/kolonel Wärqənäh Gäbäyyähu ləᶜəlä səranna yä1953tu ᶜamät mäfänqälä mängəśt təkəkkəläñña gäsṭa*, 'The True Appearance of the Deed of Lieutnant Colonel Wärqənäh Gäbäyyähu and the 1953 Coup d'État …'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003 A.D.].

Paulos Milkias

Taddäsä Yaᶜəqob

T.Y. (**ታደሰ፡ ያዕቆብ**, b. 1913, Sämano, Säqqält, Dämbəya, d. 2005) was a ↗Betä Əsraᵓel figure and civil servant. He was the son of Nəguśe Ǧämbär and Yäšiharäg Gäbrä Maryam, the sister of ↗Täᵓammərat Amanuᵓel. In 1925, T.Y. joined as a student the Falasha School in Addis Abäba founded by Jacques ↗Faitlovitch. From 1930 to 1937, he was sent to study in Cairo, first at the Jewish school Moise de Cattani Pacha and then at the Lycée Français.

Taddäsä Yaᶜəqob in his home in Addis Abäba; photo 1988, courtesy of the author

In 1940, T.Y. worked in the Secretariat of the Secret Service of the British army in ↗Khartoum. In October 1940, he was appointed chief of the Propaganda Unit of the Goǧǧam Front on behalf of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. After the Liberation, from 1941 to 1944, T.Y. was Director of the Ministry of Finances in Ethiopia. In 1952 he was appointed Director-General of the Mines in the same Ministry and four years later he acted as Assistant Minister of the Ethiopian Electric Light and Powers Authority. In 1958 he was appointed Vice Minister of Finances and in 1960 Vice-Minister of Agriculture. In December 1961, he was made Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Cabinet, a post he held till 1966, when he was appointed High Public Service Commissioner. He acted as President of the Advisory Council of the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia from 1964 till 1974, when he was imprisoned under the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council.

T.Y. received numerous awards, such as the Ethiopian Star of Victory, the Grand Officer of the Order of Mənilək II, the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Ethiopian Star, the Campaign and Africa Stars from the British government and the Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour from the French government.

T.Y. became an advocate for the modernization of the Betä Əsraᵓel through ↗education. In the 1950s, he served as treasurer of Faitlovitch's Pro-Falasha Committee, which established a school in Asmära and he was instrumental in dispatching two groups of youth to study in ↗Israel. When "Operation Solomon" took place in 1991, T.Y. preferred to remain in Ethiopia, where he died.

Lit.: Shalva Weil, "Taddesse Yaqob of Cairo and Addis Abeba", *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 2, 1–2, 2006, 233–43.

Shalva Weil

Tadewos

Abunä T. (**ታዴዎስ**, birth name Harägä Wäyn; b. 1895, Gännätä Ləᶜul Maryam, Wällo, d. 19 December 1964 [10 *Taḫśaś* 1957 A.M.], Jerusalem) was one of the first five bishops of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church consecrated by the Archbishop (later the first Ethiopian Patriarch) *abunä* ↗Basəlyos.

T. received traditional church ↗education first near his home village (↗*nəbab bet*) and later in Azawur Kidanä Məḥrät (↗*zema bet*) and Märṭo

Iyäsus, Gondär (↗*qəne bet*). He completed ↗*mäṣḥaf bet* at Däbrä Tabor.

In 1927/28 T. came to Addis Abäba and started teaching at the Männagäša Qəddus Giyorgis church.

Later, he went to ↗Jerusalem where he was appointed as the ninth head of the Ethiopian Monasteries in Jerusalem.

During the Italian occupation (1936–41), T. was active in the ↗Resistance from abroad. He consoled the Imperial family who took refuge in ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān, and supported the patriotic movement by sending motivating letters and material help. He was active with propaganda among the ↗diaspora.

On 2 September 1951 T. was ordained bishop and installed at the Gore diocese. There T. was active in reenergizing the Church's influence after the five years of occupation. He aspired to secure development for this remote part of the country. He reportedly appealed to the clergy to act as role models for others by working hard. He himself was known to work in his garden and on church agricultural lands (Märša Aläk̲äññ 2004: 138).

In his last years, T. for health reasons stopped his service as Archbishop and went to ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa and in 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.] to Jerusalem. He was buried there.

Src.: MÄRŠA ALÄK̲ÄÑÑ, ዜና፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን (*Zena p̣ap̣p̣asat ityop̣yawəyan*, 'History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 136ff.

Mersha Alehegne

Tadewos of Däbrä Bartarwa

Abunä T. (ታዴዎስ; fl. second half of the 14th cent.), the founder of Däbrä Bartarwa, in ↗Tämben, locally venerated as a ↗saint, was born in Səbṭa (probably in Eritrea). The main source on his life is his Vita, preserved in only one manuscript (BN d'Abbadie 177, 18th cent., fols. 4r–59r), also containing hymns in honour of T. and hagiographic texts about T.'s nephew and disciple ↗Filmona. A microfilm of another manuscript of the *Gädlä Tadewos* is reported to be preserved at IES (mf. 118).

When the mother of T. died, his sister Yolyana took care of the family until she left for ↗Däbrä (Maryam) Q^{w}äḥayn, to take the monastic habit from *abunä* Barnabas. Soon she was followed by T.'s father Elsa^{c}; later he briefly returned to his children, to divide his possessions among them and to take T. and his sister Məkhənä Maryam to Däbrä Q^{w}äḥayn. There, T. received his education and was ordained deacon. Elsa^{c} and his children were later compelled to leave the monastery, due to the jealousy of other monks. They lived in the "wilderness"; then Elsa^{c} and Yolyana died (on 26 *Gənbot* and 1 *Näḥase*, resp.; unusually, the Vita tells that both received the ↗*kidan*).

T. went to *abba* ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgzi^{ɔ} and received the monastic habit from him. He was ordained priest. Staying in a wild remote area, he started working miracles, crossing the River Wär^{c} without touching the water. Also he excelled in ascetic deeds (e.g., he remained ten days bound to a tree; he lost his sight after looking for three days at the sun – but received it back from an angel). From (↗Däbrä) Tä^{ɔ}amina, he sent his two disciples Elyas and Filmona to look for a suitable place to settle. Thus Däbrä Bartarwa was founded, where T. placed a ↗*tabot* devoted to St. ↗Mary.

The Vita gives few details of T.'s live and contains instead lengthy passages in anticipation of T.'s death, including a trip to the "third heaven" and heavenly ↗Jerusalem, where T. was frustrated to see that the martyr Victor received more "golden columns" than he, but was cheered up by the promise that his children would be pardoned "without questioning" till the 10th generation.

A rare case among Ethiopian ↗saints, T. is said to have become a martyr (cp. ↗Martyrdom), since he and some of his disciples fell victim to robbers. The thieves came once and stole some things; knowing that they would come again and anticipating death, T. nevertheless forbade his disciples to leave the place. As the robbers returned (on 29 *Ṭəqəmt*), they were unable to enter the church, its doors having been blessed by T. They set the church on fire, and T. and his disciples Ǝndrəyas and Märqoryos, who stayed "embracing" the *tabot*, died. Later, T.'s disciple Krəstos Bezanä found the bodies; T. resurrected for a while, and gave him his last blessing. Monastic vestments of T., as well as the *tabot* and a manuscript with the "Vita of Barbara" were found undamaged by the fire.

The Vita reports that T. was buried in (Däbrä) Tä^{ɔ}amina, while the Miracles of T. report that his grave is in Däbrä Bartarwa. However, this monastery (which could be located not far from Däbrä ^{c}Asa of *abba* ↗Yoḥanni) seems to have disappeared long ago.

Despite T.'s veneration of two ↗Sabbath-days, his adherence to the Ewosṭatean movement (cp. ↗Ewosṭateans) looks doubtful. The Vita of T. is an example of a less elaborate, old hagiographic writing. His relation to Däbrä Täᵓamina still needs clarification.

Src.: Maurice Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Actes de Filmona*, Louvain 1958 (CSCO 35, 36 [SAe 181, 182]), s. index; CRAbb 193, no. 187 [ms. d'Abbadie 177]; Riccardo de Santis, "Il Gadla Tādēwos di Dabra Bārtārwā", *Annali Lateranensi* 6, 1942, 9–116.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, [review of De Santis 1942], *RSE* 3, 1943, 334–40; KinBibl 91, no. 147; Osvaldo Raineri, "Taddeo di Dabra Bārtārwā", in: *EncSan* 1123–25 (Lit.); Boris Turaev, "Nekotorye žitija abissinskih svjatyh po rukopisjam byvšej kollektsii d'Abbadie" ('Some Vitae of Abyssinian Saints after the Manuscripts from the Former d'Abbadie Collection'), *Vizantijskij vremennik* 13, 2, 1906, 256–333, here 291–300.

Susanne Hummel

Tadewos of Däbrä Maryam

Abunä T. (**ታዴዎስ**; b. Ṣəlaləš, Šäwa; fl. 14th cent.) was a saintly monk credited with the foundation of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Maryam, or Däbrä Ṣäqʷän, on the island of the same name in Lake ↗Ṭana. He should not be confused with the homonymous founder of Däbrä Bartarwa.

The main source of T.'s biography is his Vita (↗*Gädl*). It was composed in the 15th-cent., but the existing copies are much younger. The text also provides information on local practices and is thus a vivid mirror of the socio-political, economic and religious situation of 13th–14th cent. ↗Šäwa.

According to his hagiography, T. was born to a well-off family who migrated to Šäwa during the ↗Zagʷe period or during the restoration of the ↗Solomonic dynasty. The Vita frequently emphasizes a close relationship between T. and the other famous son of Ṣəlaləš, *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, as well as the resulting close connection between the two monastic communities, Däbrä Maryam and Däbrä ᶜAsbo (↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa). T.'s father was from the priestly community in Ṣəlaləš. T. received a traditional ↗education from Ḥəywät Bənä Bäṣəyon, a relative of Täklä Haymanot. T.'s sister was captured together with Täklä Haymanot's mother by the Agäw king ↗Motäläme. She married Motäläme's son and gave birth to ↗Elsaᶜ. T. converted Motäläme and returned with his nephew, who would later become the second abbot of Däbrä Libanos, to Ṣəlaləš, where they encountered Täklä Haymanot, who later gave both the monastic habit. T.'s monastic genealogy thus traces back to ↗Baṣälotä Mikaᵓel, the father of Šäwan monasticism. T. and Elsaᶜ entered the community of Däbrä ᶜAsbo, where T. committed himself to an ascetic life. He left Däbrä ᶜAsbo after Elsaᶜ's death.

T.'s Vita is not consistent considering the date of the founding of Däbrä Maryam. One version gives a date during the lifetime of Täklä Haymanot; another version gives a date following the dispute with *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob, the initiator of the Christianization program. In any case, T., who was familiar with "pagan" and Muslim practices flourishing in the Lake Ṭana area, was charged with missionary work in the region. He left Däbrä Libanos together with ↗Anorewos and ↗Samuᵓel and they reached the area of Däbrä Ṣäqʷän where the local people under the Muslim ruler Mayuṭ venerated pagan objects. The monks destroyed these. Mayuṭ, though pleased with their fight against "paganism", felt threatened and arrested the monks. T. succeeded in converting the king and others to Christianity. With the support of the ruler, he settled there. Shortly before the end of his life, he established the community of Däbrä Maryam. Its first leaders were local people, converts from Islam.

T. was one of the twelve ↗*nəburä ᵓəd* who were active in the missionary program of *abunä* Yaᶜəqob. In this context, T. is mentioned in many other hagiographies, together with ↗Bäträ Maryam, ↗Zäyoḥannəs, and Anorewos. Though his engagement in the missionary activities was at first identical with the military target of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, his resistance to the marital practices of the Christian rulers (cp. ↗Marriage; ↗Matrimony) is also mentioned.

The Vita is completed by a cycle of miracles (↗*Täᵓammər*). Some were performed by T. already during his childhood, prefiguring his elusive status, his tendency towards the spiritual life and easy understanding of religious secrets. These miracles also prefigure his refusal to become an ordinary member of society, rejecting marriage to the woman his parents had chosen and dedicating himself to an ascetic life in the wilderness. His acquaintance with a monastic tutor (in his case Täklä Haymanot), the miraculous journey travelling on a cloud to Jerusalem and the view of the celestial community are also mentioned, as is the promise of the ↗*kidan* when he is nearing the end of his life.

T.'s ↗*täzkar* is commemorated on 29 *Ṭərr*. It is not mentioned in the ↗*Sənkəssar* and is apparently only a local feast.

Src.: HamTana II, 9, 52ff., 56, 63, 75f., 167; Osvaldo Raineri, "Tādēwos", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 1125–26; Veronika

SIX, *Die Vita des Abuna Tādēwos von Dabra Māryām im Ṯānāsee*, Wiesbaden 1975 (VOHD Suppl. 18).
Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, *Les îles de la mémoires. Fabrique des images et écriture de l'histoire dans les églises du Lac Tana, Éthiopie, XVIIᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècle*, Paris 2008, 53f.; KapMon 93–98, 118–23, 130; KinBibl; OSCAR LÖFGREN, [review of Six 1975], *Acta Orientalia* 1977, 337–41; EIKE HABERLAND, [review of Six 1975], *Mundus* 13, 1977, 138–39; TadTChurch 176, 186.

Veronika Six

Tädewos of Täᵓamina ↗Däbrä Täᵓamina

Tädla Bayru ᶜOq̱bit

Däǧǧazmač T.B. (ተድላ፡ ባይሩ፡ ዖቅቢት; b. 27 March 1914, Gärämi, Ḥamasen, d. 1984, Stockholm) was an ardent advocate of Ethio–Eritrean union and the first Chief Executive of Eritrea upon federation with Ethiopia (↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation) in 1952. He attended the Swedish missionary school (↗Evangeliska Fosterland Stiftelsen) in Asmära, and the Istituto Magistrale in Florence (1926–33), a rare opportunity for a young Eritrean during Italian rule. He served as a teacher and headmaster at schools in Kärän, Aq̱ordät, ᶜAd Täkälezan and ᶜAdwa from 1934 to 1940. He worked briefly as interpreter for the British Political Officer in ᶜAdwa in 1941 before coming to Asmära where he served as assistant to the Senior Civil Affairs Officer.

Although T.B. held the highest office given to Eritreans under the ↗British Military Administration (B.M.A.), he resigned this position in August 1946 protesting the B.M.A.'s policy in Eritrea and became a fulltime activist in the ↗Maḫbär fəq̱ri hagär transforming the rather nebulous organization into a full-fledged unionist party that sought the total integration of Eritrea with Ethiopia. His uncompromising irredentist stance was a major factor in the failure of the Bet Giyorgis meeting in 1946 where attempts were made to bridge the gap between unionists and separatists by proposing a formula of "conditional" union that would allow unity with Ethiopia while retaining a measure of autonomy for Eritrea. T.B. and the radical unionist youth around him fought this half-way solution vehemently and succeeded in marginalizing ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam and other proponents of conditional union by castigating them as "quislings" who were doing the bidding of foreign powers.

Tädla Bayru holding a speech as the Chief Executive of Eritrea; from ZRErtra 419

Under T.B.'s dynamic leadership as the secretary general, the ↗Unionist Party was able to expand its network over much of Eritrea and emerged as the most powerful political force in the late 1940s. He led a number of delegations to the ↗United Nations (UN) meeting at Lake Success where Eritrea's future was being discussed and made spirited presentation of the unionist cause. He was also largely responsible for the impressive performance of the Unionist Party during the visit of the ↗United Nations Commission for Eritrea in 1950, convincing the team that no formula that overlooked unionist aspirations would work in Eritrea.

Once the UN mandated Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation was established in 1952, T.B. and his colleagues in the Unionist Party, fully backed by Ethiopian authorities, dominated the new Eritrean government and allowed very little space to their former protagonists. As the Chief Executive of the Eritrean government with the title of *däǧǧazmač*, T.B. showed little regard for the Eritrean ↗constitution and even less respect for the opposition. He used his position to harass and undermine his former personal rivals. He was accused of ordering the assassination attempt on his archenemy, Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam and eventually forcing him into exile in the fall of 1953. Family members of *ras* ↗Täsämma Asbärom, former opponent of the Unionist Party, were removed from their positions as chiefs and district officers and some of them imprisoned under various pretexts. To further weaken his opponents, T.B. declared martial law and gave himself power to order the detention of any person for a period of up to six months.

T.B.'s vindictiveness and increasingly dictatorial tendencies aroused the ire of even his unionist compatriots in the executive and legislative branches. Although harboring different grievances and aspirations, ardent unionists such as *qes* ↗Dəmeṭros Gäbrä Maryam and implacable separatists including ↗Idrīs Muḥammad Ādam (later founder of the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front, ELF) joined forces in the ↗Eritrean Assembly to remove T.B. from office. T.B. tried to stave off the opposition by suspending the Assembly more than once, but this only played into the hands of his opponents who appealed for the intervention of the Emperor and succeeded in forcing his resignation in July 1955. He was succeeded by *däğğazmač* (later *bitwäddäd*) ↗Asfəḥa Wäldä Mikaʾel as Chief Executive.

Däğğazmač T.B. moved to Addis Abäba where he was appointed member of the Ethiopian Senate first and later ambassador to Sweden whence he defected to the ELF in 1967, of which he became a spokesman. Although he briefly joined the Supreme Council of the ELF, he was unable to work with his former political enemies and soon withdrew from the Eritrean political scene.

Lit.: Alämsägäd Täsfay, **አይንፈላለ ፲፱፻፵፩–፲፱፻፶** (*Aynəffälalä 1941–1950*, 'We shall Not be Separated 1941–1950'), Asmära 2001; Id., **ፌደረሽን፡ ኤርትራ፡ ምስ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ካብ፡ ማትየንሶ፡ ክሳብ፡ ተድላ** 1951–1955 (*Fädäräšən Erətra məs Ityopya*: *kab Matyänso kəsab Tädla, 1951–1955*, 'The Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation: From Matyänso [Anze Matienzo] to Tädla [Bayru], 1951–1955'), Asmära 2005; Lloyd Ellingson, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941–1950", *JAH* 18, 2, 1977, 261–81; Ruth Iyob, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence*: *Domination, Resistance, Nationalism 1941–1993*, Cambridge 1995, 61–98; Shumet Sishagne, *Unionists and Separatists*: *the Vagaries of Ethio–Eritrean Relation 1941–1991*, Hollywood, CA 2007; Tekeste Negash, *Eritrea and Ethiopia*: *the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997, 37–68; ZRErtra 419 (ill.).

Shumet Sishagne

Tädla Gʷalu

T.G. (**ተድላ፡ ጓሉ**; d. 1868) was the son of Gʷalu Märəd, himself a grandson of *dağğazmač* Ḫaylu, who was the son of *ətege* ↗Bərhan Mogäsa's daughter ↗Wälättä Ǝsraʾel. He thus saw himself as the heir of *ətege* Məntəwwab's political legacy. The members of this lineage contested the political affairs of Goğğam between themselves from the mid-18th cent. through to ca. 1870, when they were supplanted by Adal Täsämma (*nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot), a representative of their principal rival lineage, based in neighbouring (new) ↗Damot.

T.G. is first mentioned as "a school boy" in the early 1830s (IES ms. 254, fol. 59), which suggests a birth date in the 1810s or 1820s. His early years were dominated by the Damot rulers, *däğğazmač* ↗Bərru and his son Goššu. However, the political situation changed radically with the rise of *däğğazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu (later *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) and his victory at the Battle of ↗Ayšal in June 1853. Kaśa repeatedly tried to appoint his own people to rule Goğğam, and T.G. led the struggle to resist these appointees.

In 1853 T.G. assumed the title of *däğğazmač*, basing himself at Mänqʷärär, later known as ↗Däbrä Marqos (IES ms. 254, fol. 63). Early in 1856, Tewodros campaigned in Goğğam (ZanLitTeo 26; IES ms. 254, fol. 66; MonVidTheod 16ff.). T.G. fled to the fortress of Ǧibälla, soon emerging to challenge the Emperor's appointees, a challenge he sustained until his death. Repeated attempts by Tewodros, including an expedition at the end of 1857 and the beginning of 1858 (ZanLitTeo 31f.; RubActa II, no. 29), to subdue T.G. culminated in 1863 at the Battle of Enğabara, when he inflicted heavy losses on the Goğğam troops, but failed, yet again, to capture T.G. (IES ms. 254, fol. 72v/73r; MonVidTheod 30f.; RubTew 80ff.). While we have repeated references, starting in 1859 and continuing to his death early in 1868 (IES ms. 254, fol. 75), to T.G.'s rebel status, we learn little more about him, other than that his two sons, Nəguśe and Dästa, fought to control his patrimony (RubActa II, nos. 41, 72, 148, 160, 197 and 220).

Src.: *aläqa* Täklä Iyäsus, **የጎጃም፡ ታሪክ** (*Yägoğğam tarik*, 'History of Goğğam'), IES ms. 254; ZanLitTheo; MorTeo 143–80; MonVidTheod 16ff., 30f. [text] = 20f., 38 [tr.]; RubActa II.

Lit.: RubTew 67f., 75, 80ff.; RubInd 173, 227, 241.

Donald Crummey

Täfäri Bänti

T.B. (**ተፈሪ፡ በንቲ**, also Täfäri Bänte; b. 1921, d. 3 February 1977, Addis Abäba) was a Brigadier General and Ethiopian Head of State from 1974 to 1977.

T.B. was born in a partially assimilated Oromo family in the vicinity of Addis Abäba and joined the army at the age of 20. Selected for training in the ↗Holäta Military Academy, he began a successful military career with service in all four Ethiopian ↗Army divisions and assignment as military attaché in Washington in the late 1960s. T.B. was appointed commander of the Second Army in ↗Asmära in September 1974 where he favoured vigorous efforts to suppress Eritrean insurgency.

T.B. was selected by Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam to succeed the murdered ↗Aman Mikaᵓel ᶜAndom as (acting) head of state on 28 November 1974 for his leadership qualities, i.e. integrity, patriotic feelings, and humble origin. He had a reputation as an effective leader and disciplinarian, but had refrained from political involvement. This was, no doubt, the prime reason he appealed to Mängəśtu as replacement of Aman as front man for the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council (*Därg*). In his new position he soon developed a keen interest in political consolidation of the 1974 ↗Revolution. In a public speech as early as July 1975 he showed an inclination to compromise with civilian leftists who opposed military leadership of the Revolution. In a speech on the first anniversary of the Revolution in September 1975 he announced a plan for early formation of a political party to implement the policies of the Revolution: "The day is not far when peasants, workers and progressive elements will be constituted under one progressive political party to assume the high responsibilities of the state" (*Ethiopian Herald*, 13 September 1975). The project provoked a period of intense rivalry between *Därg* fractions.

During the year which followed infighting in the *Därg* led to the death of several of its members. T.B. moved steadily toward closer association with opponents of Mängəśtu to the point where, on 29 December 1976, after nine weeks of negotiations, the *Därg* adopted a "reform" which made T.B. Head of State as Chairman of the *Därg* and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. This was, in effect, a coup against Mängəśtu and his supporters, many of whom were removed from the *Därg* and sent to the provinces or abroad. T.B. had become more convinced than ever that a party was necessary. In a speech in Revolution (*Abyot*) Square on 30 January 1977 T.B., dressed in civilian clothes, declared: "In the absence of a party it is difficult to channel the energy of progressive forces [...] Had this been sufficiently realized during the last 2½ years we would have had a national party by now [...]" (*Ethiopian Herald*, 1 February 1977).

Mängəśtu was not to be so easily pushed aside. He proceeded to mount a counter-coup which resulted on 3 February 1977 in a bloody shootout which culminated in the death of T.B. and five of his supporters. The next day Mängəśtu in a speech in Revolution Square denounced T.B. as having attempted a fascist coup. The *Därg* met again from 7–11 February and elected Mängəśtu Chairman and Head of State.

Src.: *Ethiopian Herald*, 13 September 1975 and 1 February 1977; RENÉ LEFORT, *Ethiopie: la Revolution Hérétique*, Paris 1981.

Lit.: ANDARGACHEW TIRUNEH, *The Ethiopian Revolution, 1974–1987*, Cambridge 1993, 156–90; DAWIT WOLDE GIORGIS, *Red Tears*, Trenton, NJ 1989, 22–29, 56, 89; MARINA OTTAWAY – DAVID OTTAWAY, *Ethiopia, Empire in Revolution*, New York – London 1978, 131–43; TEFERRA HAILE SELASSIE, *The Ethiopian Revolution, 1974–1991*, London – New York 1997.

Paul B. Henze

Täfäri Mäkʷännən ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I

Täfäri Šaräw

T.Š. (ተፈሪ፡ ሻረው, b. early 20th cent., Addis Abäba, d. 1978, Addis Abäba) was one of the first Ethiopian factory owners; he also became Ethiopian ambassador to Sweden. In 1931, he allegedly became the owner of the ↗Ambo Mineral Water Bottling Plant, which was later transferred to the Imperial Estate and nationalized in the 1970s.

Following the Italian Invasion T.Š. held various government positions. He was considered a protégé of *ras* ↗Mäsfən Sələši who appointed T.Š. to a position in the Ḫaylä-Śəllase I Foundation in 1954, which was viewed with suspicion by the powerful Minister of Pen, *ṣäḥafe təᵓəzaz* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs (ClapHS 115). T.Š. had been disliked by Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs, and other leading families in Ethiopia. His appointment to a ministeral post was rejected, and he stood under house arrest for some time. He was sent to Sweden as a kind of political exile. In 1960, while ambassador to Sweden, T.Š. supported the abortive ↗coup d'état 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82). He was among the few Ethiopians abroad who spoke in favour of the coup. He openly accused Ḫaylä Śəllase I of amassing a private fortune in foreign banks and of his oppresive and corrupt rule. After this statement he was dismissed from his post. He lived in Sweden for 16 years and did not return until after the fall of the Ḫaylä Śəllase regime.

T.Š. was married to *wäyzäro* ↗Lule Täsfaye, who was head of the Ethiopian Women's Association.

Lit.: *Addis Admas*, 28 March 2009; ClapHS 115; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia, a New Political History*, London 1965, 137, 292, 403f.; ROBERT L. HESS, *Ethiopia: the Modernization of Autocracy*, Ithaca, NY 1970, 141, 188; MolLit 378.

Amḫa Märsᶜe Ḫazän – Red.

Täfäri Wäsän

Wag šum T.W. (**ተፈሪ፡ ወሰን**; b. 1842, Lasta, d. 1874, Goǧǧam) was a leader of ↗Lasta. His father was *wag šum* Wäsän, who was assassinated a few years after his son came to power. T.W. succeeded his father at a young age but was soon deposed and imprisoned by his cousin *wag šum* ↗Gäbrä Mädḫən. However, he escaped from his confinement and joined the court of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, where he commanded a cavalry force of 10,000 men.

T.W. participated in Tewodros's campaign in ↗Wag against the rebellious Gäbrä Mädḫən. He captured his cousin and presented him to the ruler while he allowed the *wag šum's* son, Gobäze Gäbrä Mädḫən (later *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II), to escape. Later, Tewodros imprisoned T.W. at ↗Mäqdäla for fear that he would join the rebellion of Gobäze, whose father had been hanged by Tewodros in 1858. Following the death of Tewodros in 1868, T.W. was released by the British forces of the ↗Napier expedition and immediately joined the court of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II. At the Battle of ↗ᶜAssäm in 1871 between *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kaśa Mərč̣a (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV), T.W. managed to escape and was later reconciled with *aṣe* Yoḥannəs.

As a gesture of pacifying the region, which was disgruntled over the imprisonment and later death of their kin *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis in his confinement in ↗Təgray, T.W. was confirmed to his traditional title of *wag šum* and the administration of his area. In 1874 he built the church of Mädḫäne ᶜAläm at ↗Säqoṭa. The same year, *wag šum* T.W. accompanied *aṣe* Yoḥannəs in his campaign to ↗Goǧǧam and died there during the campaign.

Src.: BTafY 97ff., 119; IsKrapf [1968] 482; CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1969, 85, 363; ZanLitTheod 33f.

Lit.: RubTew 75f.; WUDU TAFETE, *A Political History of Wag & Lasta, C. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 124–27, 138, 144–47, 155f.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Täfärra Wärq Kidanä Wäld

Ṣäḥäfe təʾəzaz T. (**ተፈራ፡ ወርቅ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ወልድ**; b. 1905, Addis Abäba, d. 10 July 1979, Addis Abäba) was a high-ranking politician. Born to Kidanä Wäld Bisäwwər and Däǧǧyəṭnu Garädäw, he received primary education at Mänagäša Qəddus Giyorgis Church and later studied English and theology at a Swedish Evangelical Mission (↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen) school.

In 1937, T. began to work as an English translator at the British Legation. Following the assassination attempt on General ↗Graziani, he was accused of involvement and was imprisioned by the Italians. Along with other 300 Ethiopian exiles, T. was taken to the Italian island of Asinara. He could, however, soon be transfered to Naples and was subsequently released and transported to Great Britain. There, he met with *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and worked for the Abyssinian Refugee Fund. In 1940 T. joined the British campaign to liberate Ethiopia (↗War of Liberation) and in Khartoum he served as liaison officer and interpreter between the British officers and the Emperor. He marched from Khartoum to Goǧǧam with the Emperor and arrived in Addis Abäba on 5 May 1941 (Abärra Ǧämbäre 2004: 11–65).

In 1941, T. was appointed Special Secretary of the Emperor (Spencer 1984: 120). From his office he also administered the Betä Saydä Ḫaylä Śəllase I Hospital, the Ethiopian ↗Air force, the ↗Harär Military Academy and Empress Mänän's Handicraft School. His loyalty to the Emperor earned him the appointment as the Minister of Pen (↗*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*; Abärra Ǧämbäre 2004: 71) in 1954. In 1957, he was appointed Minister of the Imperial Court during which office he introduced reforms in palace administration (Markakis 1974: 219). In 1974 T. was appointed as a member of the ↗Crown Council (Abärra Ǧämbäre 2004: 71). With the onset of the ↗Revolution, he was incarcerated by the military government and executed (Zäwde Gäbrä Śəllase 2008: 80). He was married to Asäggädäčč Kiros and had two daughters.

Known for his hard work and tenacity, T. rarely appeared in public. He visited more than 50 countries either escorting the Emperor or alone (Abärra Ǧämbäre 2004: 87–99). He was awarded 11 orders in Ethiopia and 40 orders from 29 other nations (ibid. 98–101). Among his accomplishments was the erection, jointly with Sylvia ↗Pankhurst, of a committee in Ethiopia to raise funds for the construction of the Princess Ṣ́äḥay Memorial Hospital. He also served as a board member of the memorial building for Prince ↗Mäkʷännən Ḫaylä Śəllase and of the Board of Trustees of the Bäʾata Maryam Church, the memorial of Mənilək II. From 1947–74 he served as the first chair for the Director's board of the Ethiopian ↗Red Cross Association (Abärra Ǧämbäre 2004: 96).

Lit.: ABÄRRA ǦÄMBÄRE, **ብቸኛው፡ ሰው፡ ጸሐፌ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ተፈራ፡ ወርቅ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ወልድ** (*Bəččäññaw säw, Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*

Täfärra Wärq Kidanä Wäld, '"The Lonely Man", *Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* Täfärra Wärq Kidanä Wäld'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 11–65, 71, 96, 98–101; FanTarik 301f.; JOHN MARKAKIS, *Ethiopia*: *Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*, Oxford 1974, 219; MockWar 179, 396; JOHN HATHAWAY SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay*: *a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac, MI 1984, 120f.; ZÄWDE GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, **በደርግ፡ ለተሠዉ፡ ሰማዕታት፡ መታሰቢያ** (*Bädärg lätäśśäwu säma^cətat mättässäbiya*, 'In Memory of the Martyrs of the *Därg*'), Addis Abäba 2001 A.M. [2008 A.D.], 80.

Fentahun Tiruneh

Taffäsä Habtä Mikaʾel

Fitawrari T. (**ታፈሰ፡ ሀብተ፡ ሚካኤል**; b. 5 June 1900, Addis Abäba, d. 16 April 1964, Addis Abäba) was viewed as one of *ras* Täfäri's (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) young reformers.

T.'s father, *fitawrari* Habtä Mikaʾel Habtä Śəllase, died early, and T. grew up with his uncle *däǧǧazmač* ↗Abba Wəqaw Bərru. In 1918, T. started government service as secretary to his uncle who at that time was governor of ↗Gimira. Later they became estranged due to T.'s support of *ras* Täfäri. In 1921, T. moved to Addis Abäba and worked as chief of security of the Chemin de fer franco-éthiopien (↗Railways). On 27 September 1925 he became *grazmač* and was nominated governor of ↗Illubabor. On 31 December 1929, T. became *fitawrari* and governor of ↗Ǧiǧiga, where he was credited with building a road link between Ǧiǧiga and Hargeisa. In 1930, he moved to Addis Abäba and was made head of department at the Ministry of Works. After one year, he became the Minister of Works. During this period, he was responsible for the Ethiopia–British Somaliland Border Commission (↗Boundaries; ↗Wälwäl).

In 1936, during the Italian invasion, T. served on the eastern front with *däǧǧazmač* ↗Näsibu, where he was responsible for logistics (↗Italian war, 1935–36). After the defeat of Ethiopia, T. went to Paris where he became an instructor of Amharic at the École des Langues Orientales (↗INALCO). He returned to Ethiopia in 1945 and served as Minister of Works, Justice, as well Post, Telephone and Telegraph. T. also served as Ambassador to Egypt and France. On 1 November 1957, he became a member of the Senate, and on 20 June 1959, vice president of the Senate (↗Parliament). He retired in 1961.

T. was married to *wäyzäro* Mulatäwärq, by whom he had six children, one of whom, Habtä Śəllase Taffäsä, was head of the Ethiopian Tourism Bureau in the 1960s and 1970s.

Taffäsä Habtä Mikaʾel; photo ca. 1959, from the collection of the author

Src.: **የአርባ፡ ማስታወሻ** (*Yä^carba mastawäša*, 'Rememberance of the 40th Day'), May 1964 (obituary).
Lit.: CHRISTIAN CURLE (ed.), *Letters from the Horn of Africa 1923–1942*: *Sandy Curle, Soldier and Diplomat Extraordinary*, Barnsley 2008, 92; KTMast 79; MÄRSƎ^cE ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **ትዝታዬ፡ ስለራሴ፡ የማስታውሰው** 1891–1923 (*Təzzətaye səlärase yämmastawəsäw*, *1891–1923*, 'My Memoirs, 1891-1923'), Washington, DC 2009, 221f.

Amḫa Märs^ce Ḫazän

Ṭäǧǧ

Ṭ. (Amh. **ጠጅ**, Tgn. **ሜስ**, *mes*; Orom. *daaḍi*) is an alcoholic beverage (↗Drinks) produced by the fermentation of ↗honey and consumed throughout Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The use of Ṭ. in Ethiopia is believed to go back to ↗Aksumite times. Certainly, by the 16th cent. it was being used to honour warriors, as when *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl let the hero ^cAqba Mikaʾel drink Ṭ. in his presence.

In the 19th cent., in the northern highlands and in parts of the south, e.g., ↗Wälaytta, the drink was controlled by royalty, who restricted consumption, e.g., to honoured individuals and soldiers. King ↗Ṭona of Wälaytta in the 19th cent. filled large shields with Ṭ. for his great warriors to drink from "like lions".

Often, only royally designated women were allowed to brew Ṭ. and to deal with any bee products (↗Bees and beekeeping). *Ǝtege* ↗Ṭaytu was responsible for ca. 50 richly decorated ↗horn containers of highest-quality Ṭ., whose carriers had a higher status than those with undecorated or leather containers (Prouty 1986:138). At his ↗*gəbbi* in Ǝnṭoṭṭo Mənilək II had a special glass-door cabinet just for storing Ṭ. as well as a separate area of the court for making it. ↗Käfa, on the other hand, produced the drink in quantities indicating a wide usage.

Production

Cold water and dark raw honey including the comb are heated (1:4 ~ 1:7 v:v). Honey from Goǧǧam and of coffee and *mäsqäl* blossoms are considered the best for Ṭ. Crushed dry-heated or boiled ↗*gešo* (twigs and bark; sometimes leaves), ca. one-third the weight of the honey, is added a few days later. The new mixture is fermented in a covered container in a dark room, from a few days to a month. Most recipes call for repeated stirring during this time. The floating residue is removed. More honey (or the first honey) may be added. At this point, the Ṭ. is ready, though fermentation continues without added bitterness up to the bacterial tolerance level.

Highest quality Ṭ. will be aged, traditionally underground, for as long as six to twelve months. Variations are many, including re-crushing the *gešo* and adding various ingredients to give a different flavour or a special "kick". These include, e.g., vernonia, ↗sorghum, ↗maize, wheat, ↗*čat*, fennel, ↗coffee, *araqe*, but also secret ingredients. For a stronger drink, even poisonous additives such as ↗*əndod* and *aṭäfari* (*Datura stramonium* or *Cannabis sativa*) may be employed.

So-called filtered Ṭ. is a higher quality Ṭ. with higher quantities of the essential ingredients and extra honey added before sealing. Ṭ. should be amber-coloured, cloudy and slightly effervescent, with a woody and bitter-sweet taste. Fine Ṭ, aged 6–12 months, has been compared to cognac and Bordeaux. A less alcoholic Ṭ. is made mostly with ↗sugar and aged a week or less. There is also **ብርዝ** (*bərz*), a minimally fermented honey water, and distilled Ṭ.

Biochemistry

Various yeasts and the lactic acid bacteria present with the *gešo* and honey convert sugars into alcohol and lactic acid, producing the aroma and flavour. Ṭ. is mildly acidic (pH ~ 4). The alcohol content ranges from 5% to over 20%. Besides being intoxicating, Ṭ. has a number of nutritive qualities, including providing calories (1.49 mg/ml – 3.73 mg/ml), B vitamins, some protein (0.33 – 4.66 mg/ml), and amino acids and nitric oxide (both desirable for fertility; Bekele Bahiru et al. 2001), and fluids.

Social aspects

The most common place to consume Ṭ. is the **ጠጅ፡ ቤት** (*ṭäǧǧ bet*, 'Ṭ. house'). Usually, Ṭ. *bets* are inexpensive, function as a social space to pass the time, to pass on information and rumours and to carry out various kinds of disputations. Women are not common clients in urban establishments, though they frequently work in or run them. Especially in the north, ↗*azmari* will play and sing. In the countryside, Ṭ. *bet* are normally run by local women or men, whereas in ↗Addis Abäba, ↗Gurage and ↗Amhara predominate.

Ṭ. houses have multiplied greatly in Addis Abäba. The first arose at the end of the 19th cent. and were run by women brewers. By 1908 ca. 50 ↗*ṭälla* or Ṭ. sheds were reported, growing to over 1,000 shortly thereafter. A number of these housed prostitutes, giving them a reputation still encountered at times today (↗Prostitution). These establishments were sanctioned by the government, the taxes on them rumoured to go straight to the imperial treasury.

Ṭ. is served in thick Florence glasses with flared openings (**ብርሌ**, *bərəlle*). Raw beef or braised beef or lamb or yam sandwiches are served at many Ṭ. *bets*, and *qolo* or other finger food may be sold.

Ṭ. plays an important role as a drink for special occasions. Thus, it is consumed at festivals, ↗weddings or ↗*täzkar*, during special meals at home, and in traditional and expensive restaurants. Ṭ. is also used in the preparation of ↗spices and of ↗food in general.

Because Ṭ. is more expensive to make than *ṭälla* and because of its royal aura, Ṭ. enjoys respect as the national drink. Nevertheless, attempts at mass marketing have met with little success. The amount of Ṭ. produced in Ethiopia is unknown, but an estimate of recent annual production, based on 80 %–90 % of Ethiopian honey being used for Ṭ. and 23,000 tonnes of honey, would lie between 40–150 million litres.

Lit.: AMARE GETAHUN, *Some Common Medicinal and Poisonous Plants Used in Ethiopian Folk Medicine*, Addis Ababa 1976; BEKELE BAHIRU – MEHARI TETEMKE – ASHENAFI MOGESSIE, "Chemical and Nutritional Prop-

erties of ‘Tej,’ an Indigenous Ethiopian Honey Wine: Variation within and between Production Units”, *The Journal of Food Technology in Africa* 6, 3, 2001, 104–08; IID., “Yeast and Lactic Acid Flora of Tej, an Indigenous Ethiopian Honey Wine: Variations within and between Production Units”, *Food Microbiology* 23, 3, 2006, 277–82; GIRMA FEYISSA, “View from Arada: Life in a Tavern”, *Fortune* 5, 234, 24 October 2004, 19; EIKE HABERLAND, “Honigbier in Äthiopien”, in: GISELA VÖLGER (ed.), *Rausch und Realität*: *Drogen im Kulturvergleich*, vol. 1, Köln 1981, 170–73; GRAHAM HANCOCK, *The Beauty of Addis Ababa*, Nairobi 1995; KELKILACHEW ALI – MILLION TAFESSE, *Ethiopian Village Studies*: *Shumsheha, Last, Wollo*, Addis Ababa – Oxford 1996; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menelik II*: *Ethiopa 1883–1910*, Trenton, NJ 1986; QUALITY AND STANDARDS AUTHORITY OF ETHIOPIA, *Test Report CTR/1393/04*, 2004; RUTH SELINUS, “ The Traditional Foods of the Central Ethiopian Highlands”, *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies*: *Research Report* 7, Uppsala 1971; Y. TERAMOTO – R. SATO, “Characteristics of Ethiopian Honey Brew”, *Brewer International* 4, 10, 2004, 39–40; SALLY VOGEL – ABEBA GOBEZIE, “Ethiopian ‘Tej’”, in: KEITH H. STEINKRAUS (ed.), *Handbook of Indigenous Fermented Foods*, New York 1983, 367–68.

Kim Dammers

Tägulät

T. (**ተጉለት**, traditional form **ተጕለት**, Tägʷəlät) is an area north of ↗Däbrä Bərhan in northern ↗Šäwa.

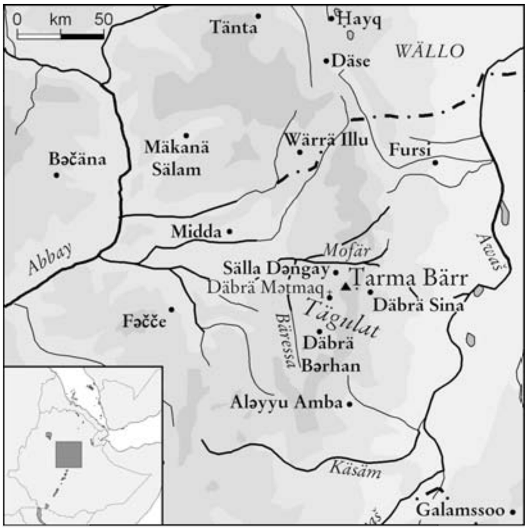
In modern scholarly literature, T. proper is considered to be the ↗*qʷälla* areas bordered by the Mofär River in the north and the Bäressa in the south. Sometimes the district of ↗Wägda to the south is also included. The T. lowlands are crosscut by a number of rivers, tributaries to the Mofär and the Bäressa, and travel is generally difficult. In everyday speech “T.” tends to cover all the area west of ↗Ṭarma Bärr, i.e. south of Mänz and north of Däbrä Bərhan. The latter seems to correspond rather well to the T. of the period before ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī.

T. can possibly be identified with Märᶜade of Islamic sources, threatened by ↗Ṣabraddīn b. Dalḥuy of Ifat.

↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon is reported to have appointed a governor over T. in 1332/33 (MarAmdS 52).

T. and Däbrä Bərhan were imperial towns during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (BTafA 365). This Emperor also founded the church of ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq in the area. The historical town of T. has not been located, but there is a small village named T. some 7 km west of ↗Sälla Dəngay.

Däbrä Bəṛhan was an important imperial town until it was conquered by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhim al-Ġāzī. During the Muslim and later the Oromo invasions, Christian communities survived in the inaccessible river valleys of T. and similar districts.



T. is mentioned as one of several Šäwan districts or chiefdoms paying homage to *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I on his visit to Šäwa in the late 17th cent.

T. was incorporated into the rapidly expanding principality of Šäwä during the rule of *märᵓəd azmač* ↗Asfa Wäsän (1775–1808), or perhaps even earlier as a consequence of the massacre of the Oromo in the Däbrä Bəṛhan area during the rule of ↗Amməḫa Iyäsus. Thereafter T. appears as an administrative unit within Šäwa. In some tables of the land tax system (cp. MahZekr), T. seems to refer to a rather restricted area, since Sälla Dəngay, Wärana and Wägda are listed separately. In the late imperial period, T. was merged into one *awrağğa* with ↗Bulga (Tägulät–Bulga *awrağğa*), which covered a much wider area, including the *wäräda* of ↗Ankobär, Assagərt, ↗Kässäm, Wärana, Basso, ↗Morät, ↗Angoläla and Qəmbəbit.

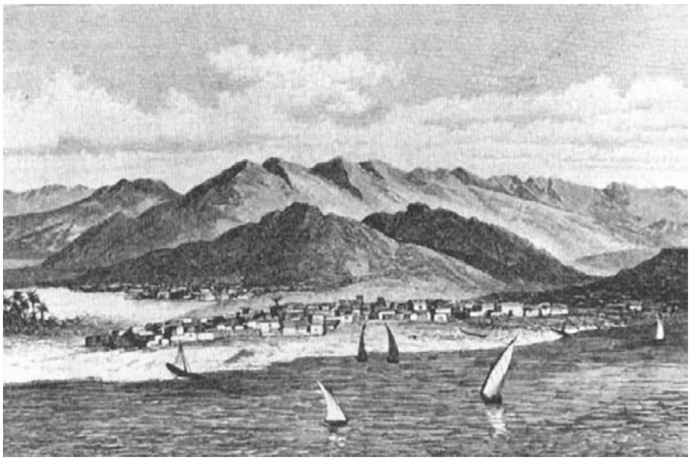
The leading families of T. were very close to the Šäwan dynasty, and many key officials originated from this area, e.g., *däğğazmač* ↗Gärmame Wäldä Ḥawaryat (for others s. ↗Addisge).

Src.: BTafA 155, 245, 291, 299, 492, 495 et passim; AWTarik 69, 85, 104; GueCopMen 64; IsKrapf 289; MarAmdS 52f., 56f., 217; CHARLES FRANÇOIS XAVIER ROCHET D’HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la Mer Rouge, dans le pays d’Adal et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1841, 210–13; MahZekr.
Lit.: StStud 87, 152–57.

Svein Ege

Tağūra/Tağurra

T. (ᶜAfar: Tagórri, Arabic Tuğurra, Tağurra, French Tadjoura) is a historical port and an ↗ᶜAfar town in today’s state of ↗Djibouti. It is located on the northern coast of the Gulf of T.



Tağūra at the beginning of French colonization on a 19th-cent. sketch; from MasHist 123

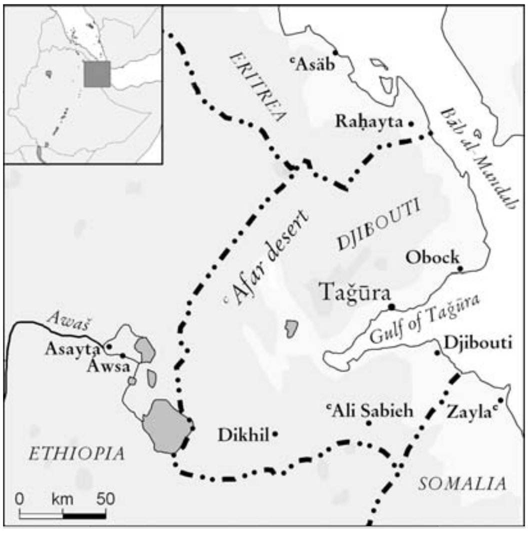
Its ^{c}Afar etymology is **tagor-li* ‘which has water-skins (*tógor*, pl. of *tagrá*)’, which is a reference to its permanent well. The first mention of the town in Arabic (تجر, *tğr*) might be on al-↗Idrīsī’s map dated 1154 (but erroneously located). It could be also on the map of the astrologer and geographer al-Bīrūnī (973–1048) if one agrees to read *tğr* instead of نجد (*nğd*), north-west of ↗Zayla^{c}. The first European mention of the Gulf, “este rio entra quatro jornadas”, is on Lopo Homem’s map (1554) before Almeida’s (1662). The town itself is located on Diego Homem’s map (1565).

Until the 19th cent., the town was not visited by European travellers, which explains that T. was erroneously placed by European geographers on the southern coast of the Gulf of T. (e.g., Dellile’s map in Laroque 1716). The French merchant Dufey is the first recorded European to reach the port, in September 1838, coming from ↗Ankobär. After him, T. became the head of the main trail to Šäwa through the ^{c}Afar deserts. The governor of the Egyptian Red Sea Governorate, which nominally included T., Werner ↗Munzinger disembarked there with Egyptian troops which were, however, defeated on the outskirts of ↗Awsa (15 November 1875). Until the beginning of French domination, T. was among the main ports through which slaves were exported to the Arabian Peninsula, along with Zayla^{c} and ↗Berbera. ↗Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šaḥīm, from Zayla^{c} monitored this slave trade from Ifat to Ambabbo, a coastal hamlet west of T. where slaves were kept waiting for embarking (↗Slavery).

The town was originally divided into two quarters: Gala^{c}to upwards and Saḥarriytó where Yemeni merchants coming from Šiḥr had their stores. T. is known for having seven mosques including a *maqām* on the beach east of T. dedicated to “*šek* Maḥammad Darbēn”, Ibrāhīm Abū Zaḥarbūi, a saint of Harär buried in Zayla^{c}.

The first *sulṭān* of T., *dardar* “^{c}Asa” Kāmil is recorded in the middle of the 15th cent. The rule of alternation between the Dīnitté and the Burḥanto, the two main branches of the Ad^{c}ali ruling tribe was established at the beginning of the 17th cent. Among the insignia of power were the drums *dinkāra* (Arabic *naqqāra*; Ethio-Semitic *nägarit*) which the rulers of the Kingdom of ↗Dankali did not have. The first treaty (Traité de Paris, 11 mars 1862) founding the French colony of ↗Obock mentions the names of the Dīnitté heir to the sultanate “Mohamed, son of sultan Hammed” (Ḥummad b. “Ad^{c}allom” Maḥammad), and his future Burḥanto vizir “Hammed, son of the late sultan Mohammed” (Ḥummad b. Maḥammad b. Mandaytu). The latter also signed a second “Traité d’amitié et de cession” (21 September 1884) with the French governor Léonce ↗Lagarde.

T. suffered numerous fire-outbreaks in 1814, 1866 (when raided by the troops of the *sulṭān* of Awsa), 1893, 1897, 1905 which weakened its development. In 1855, the town had around 3,000 dwellers. 30 years later, Paul ↗Soleillet (1886:41)



indicates 700 to 800 inhabitants, showing that the town had not recovered from the 1866 raid.

Src.: YOUSSOUF KAMAL, *Monumenta cartographica Africae et Aegypti*, 16 vols., Le Caire 1926–51; ALBERT KAMMERER, *La mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'Antiquité*: *Essai d'histoire et de géographie historique*, 2 vols., Le Caire 1929 (Mémoires de la Societé géographique d'Egypte 15); JEAN DE LAROQUE, *Voyage dans l'Arabie Heureuse*, Paris 1716; CHARLES FRANÇOIS XAVIER ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la mer Rouge dans le pays d'Adel et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1841; PAUL SOLEILLET, *Voyages en Ethiopie* (*janvier 1880–octobre 1884*): *Notes, lettres et documents divers,* Rouen 1886.

Lit.: RALPH A. AUSTEN, "The Islamic Red Sea Slave Trade: an Effort at Quantification", in: *PICES* 5, 443–67; GEORGES MALECOT, *Les Voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1972; MorDicAfar.

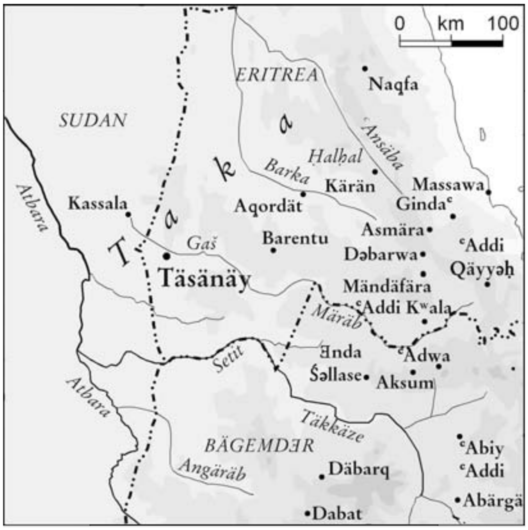
Didier Morin

Taḫśaś ↗Calendar (Month)

Taka

T. was an Egyptian, later Sudanese province (*mūdirīya*), which in Egyptian times extended into today's western lowlands of ↗Eritrea. The ↗Beğa Hadándowa and Hallenga are the dominant population of T. and there are also minor ↗Təgre groups, called there Ḥasa (also Ḫasa), arabophone Šukrīyah and even other migrants such as ↗Hausa, ↗Fellata and other Sudanese. T. has fertile lands and is crossed by the rivers ↗Atbara, and ↗Gaš. It is characterized by savannah, which is burnt annually by the local population in order to cultivate durra.

In 1840 the Jebel al-T. (or ↗Kassala) area was occupied by Egyptian forces and the province of T. formally established, with Kassala as its capital. The borders to the south fluctuated according to the degree of control over the nomadic populations and their immediate sedentary neighbors in the Eritrean highlands. The nomadic Təgre-speaking populations of the ↗Barka lowlands, in today's Eritrea, entered into a loose vassalage under the governors of T., paying tribute and occasionally serving as irregular soldiers. Starting from the 1850 raid, carried out by them, the ↗Bilin highlands were also considered a dependency of T. Its north-western part ↗Ḥalḥal became included through the conversion of the population to Islam. ↗Kärän, however, was only claimed by T., but never permanently occupied; following raids a number of its inhabitants were enslaved and brought to T. (↗Slavery). Also the ↗Kunama territories were in parts included into T., mainly ↗Ilit and Sokodas, which were Islamized.



T. was an important centre for the *Ḫatmīya* Sufi order starting from about 1800 (↗Islamic brotherhoods; Trimingham 1965: 233f.; cf. also TrIslam 244f.), which gained a sizeable followership in Eritrea. Its seat is the township of Ḫatmīya in Kassala, with the tomb of Ḥasan al-Mīrġanī (d. 1869).

From 1883 T. was partially occupied by the Mahdiyya forces led by ᶜUṯman Diqna, Kassala capitulating in July 1885 (↗Mahdists). In 1886 the last Egyptian troops capitulated near Sawākin (ErlAlula^2 100f.). The Italian advance into the Eritrean lowlands from 1887 brought the latter into conflict with the Mahdists; local opposition against the Mahdists among the Təgre and ↗Beni ᶜAmər helped the Italians to advance steadily, until in July 1894 Kassala itself was occupied by them. In December 1897, however, they had to give up T., after which it was taken over by the British (Hollis 1941: 39). This was followed by the May 1902 treaty, in which, in turn, the British recognized Italian possession of the Kunama lowlands.

Economically, the fertile T. lowlands flourished due to cotton plantations near the Atbara and Gaš rivers, which were started already in the 1870s under the Governor-General, ↗Munzinger, and much advanced under British rule after 1897. T. was then replaced by the *mūdirīya* of Kassala.

Src.: GUILLAUME LEJEAN, "Voyage au Taka (Haute Nubie)", *Le Tour du Monde, Nouveau Journal des Voyages* 11, 1865, 97–160; MunSt.

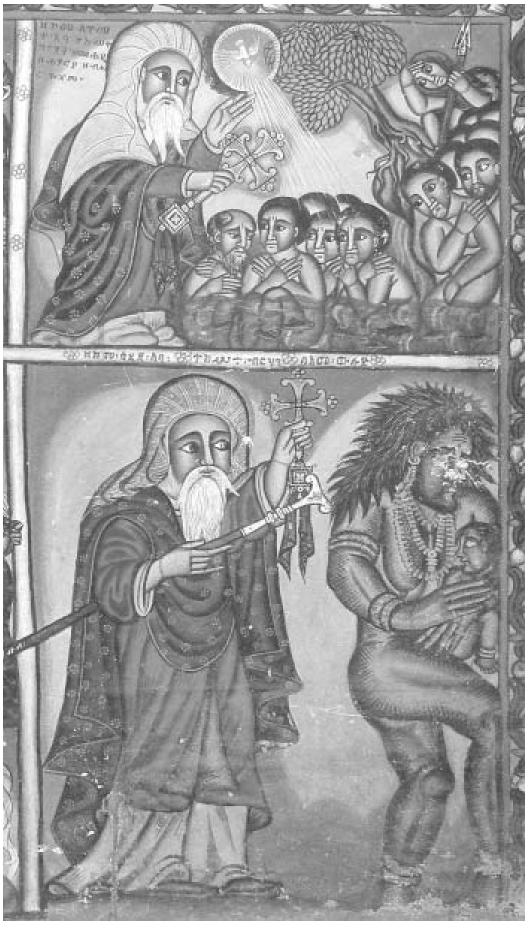
Lit.: Duncan C. Cumming, “The History of Kassala and the Province of Taka”, *SNR* 20, 1, 1937, 1–45; DouinIsm III, index; ErlAlula²; Christopher M. Hollis, *Italy in Africa*, London 1941, 39; Peter Malcolm Holt, “Kasala”, in: *EI²*, vol. 4, 686–87; KilHistDic 281f.; John Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1965, 233f.; TrIslam 244f.

Wolbert Smidt

Täkäśtä Bərhan

Abunä T.B. (**ተከሥተ፡ ብርሃን**, fl. second half of the 14th cent.) is a saint of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church who is considered to be the founder of the monastery of ↗Dima Giorgis, in Goǧǧam.

T.B. was a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II; the main source on his life is his Vita (↗*Gädl*), still inedited (cp. KinBibl no. 148 reporting a few hagiographic documents, and a microfilm in the IES; perhaps also EMML no. 80, fols. 44r-46; Raineri in EncSan 1129f.). According to this source, he was born to the pious Mälkä Ṣədəq and Dəlbäᵓiyäsus, in ↗Šäwa. On the day of his conception, they saw a pillar of light, and before the birth his future was revealed to them in a vision. He was baptized as Bäkimos; later he was ordained deacon and then went to Goǧǧam. There, he was ordained priest and entered the monastic life.



Abunä Täkäśtä Bərhan baptizing people (above) and expelling Ǝmmä Wəlud (below), mural painting, late 18th–beginning 19th cent., Dima Giyorgis, Goǧǧam; photo 2007, courtesy of Denis Nosnitsin

While wandering in Goǧǧam, T.B. reportedly founded such churches as Qädamawit Maryam, Moṭa Däbrä Mikaᵓel, and Č̣älämit Maryam in ↗Bəčena. He then left Goǧǧam and went to Təgray, evangelizing ↗Adyabo, and then served in Aksum as ↗*nəburä əd*. On his return to Goǧǧam, he preached in the region of Dima, from where he expelled a female demon called Ǝmmä Wəlud (also Ǝmmä Mäwlad, equated in the Vita with Šotälay) who brought sickness and death to small children.

The Saint was called T.B. by “9,999” people whom he baptized at once. He established a monastic community of Dima and let a ↗*ṣäbäl* spring flow from a rock nearby. He died on 10 *Mäggabit* and was buried in Dima. His successor *abba* Tomas brought to Dima the *tabot* of St. ↗George of Lydda and established the place as ↗*gädam* under *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq.

Src.: AmhChurchD vol. 2, 451ff. [99ff.]; KinBibl 91, no. 148; EMML no. 80, fols. 44r–46.

Lit.: Osvaldo Raineri, “Takaśta Berhān”, in: *EncSan* 1129–30; Friedrich Heyer, *Die Heiligen der Äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37), 124; Rudolf Kriss – Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, 70.

Joachim Persoon

Takkälä Wäldä Ḥawaryat

Däǧǧazmač T.W.Ḥ. (**ታከለ፡ ወልደ፡ ሐዋርያት**; b. ca. 1900, Bulga, d. 16 or 27 November 1969, Addis Abäba) was a ↗Resistance leader. Born into a ↗*balabbat* family, he married into the Šäwan nobility. His wife was Askalä Wäldä Amanuᵓel, a descendant of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase. T.W.Ḥ. received traditional education at the Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguᵓel church.

T.W.Ḥ. started his career during the rule of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu at the municipality of ↗Addis Abäba. During the ↗coup d’état 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081) he sided with his close friend *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I). T.W.Ḥ. was then appointed deputy governor of ↗Käfa, judge in the antislavery court, customs director at ↗Gore, secretary general of the Ministries of Interior, Public Works, Transport and Agriculture. He received the title of *blatta* (↗ *Blattengeta*) in 1935.

T.W.Ḫ. was a staunch supporter of Ḫaylä Śəllase until the ↗ Italian war 1935–36, when he advocated a guerrilla warfare. He tried to dissuade Ḫaylä Śəllase from leaving the country and proposed to move the government to the distant south-west. This notwithstanding, he was put in charge of the administration of Addis Abäba when the Emperor moved with the army to the north.

When Ḫaylä Śəllase went into exile, T.W.Ḫ., together with other patriots, continued to lead a guerrilla war against the Italians. He retreated for some time to Khartoum and, before Ḫaylä Śəllase's return in 1941, he participated in a meeting in Gondär, together with several hundred Patriots. There the future government of Ethiopia was discussed, and more constitutionalism demanded (in which an elected ↗ Parliament would be given increased power), even considering republicanism. T.W.Ḫ. also visited Ethiopian refugees in Kenya and re-entered Ethiopia together with British forces in 1941. He was wounded and taken prisoner by the Italians, but after being released reached Addis Abäba at about the same time as the Emperor.

T.W.Ḫ. was made Governor General of Šäwa, but his loyalty to Ḫaylä Śəllase was found lacking. He was imprisoned for more than two years but in 1945 was appointed deputy ↗ *afä nəguś*. Personal intrigues and envy in the entourage of the Emperor forced the demotion of T.W.Ḫ. to governor of the distant ↗ Boräna, where he was accused of fomenting tribal war. For once, his case was investigated, and he was acquitted. From 1957 to 1961, T.W.Ḫ. held again the position of *afä nəguś* and was then detained at his house outside Addis Abäba for several years without charge or trial.

T.W.Ḫ. died, gun in hand, at his home in Addis Abäba, in 1969, when security forces arrested him for suspected involvement in an attempt to assassinate the Emperor. The University Students' Union, then at the height of its opposition (↗ Student movements), spread a pamphlet about the life and death of T.W.Ḫ., in which the government actions against him were condemned and his figure was praised.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia,* Oxford – Addis Ababa 2002, 22, 36, 73f., 106, 119, 177f., 204; RANDI RØNNING BALSVIK, *Haile Sellassie's Students: the Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution 1952–1977,* East Lansing, MI 1985, 64, 264; PATRICK GILKES, *The Dying Lion,* London 1975, 178, 228–34, 242; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia, a New Political History,* London 1965, 155f., 174f., 220–23, 227–30, 233f., 236, 243, 246ff., 255, 261, 273, 278ff., 290–93, 298, 311, 353, 394.

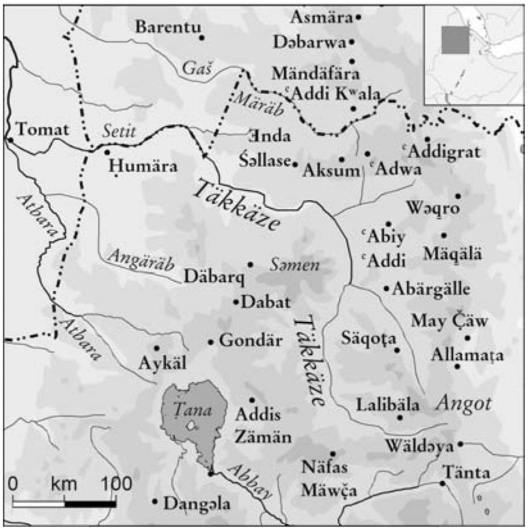
Randi Rønning Balsvik

Täkkäze

The T. (**ተከዜ**, also **ሰቲት** Setit in Eritrea) is a major river of Ethiopia. Together with the ↗ Nile (↗ Abbay) it is one of the big westward flowing rivers of the Ethiopian highlands. From its source until it flows into the ↗ Atbara it has a length of ca. 608 km.

The main head of the T. rises in the central Ethiopian Highlands near Mount Qäč̣č̣ən in ↗ Angot, south of ↗ Lalibäla. From its sources it flows west, north, then it flows west again, forming the westernmost border of Ethiopia and Eritrea for ca. 100 km. It enters the Sudan near ↗ Ḥumära (ca. 500 m A.S.L.) and at Tomat it reaches the Atbara, of which it represents the major tributary. Its main tributaries in Ethiopia are from north to south: on the right bank, Gumalo, "Tocoro", Fərafəra, Wär^{c}i, "Gheoa", "Arek^{w}a", "Sullo", Ṣəlläre, Məri and "Tahali"; on the left bank "Q^{w}älema", Zärema, Atäba, "Bembea", Šäḥa, Bälägaz, Mənna, "Nili" (HuntGeogr 34).

The T. has cut a deep gorge into the volcanic material of the Tertiary (Trap Series), the Mesozoic sediments (Jurassic) and the Precambrian rocks in the lower parts of the valley. The canyon which it has created is the deepest in Africa and one of the deepest in the world. The valley looses its canyon character near the Sudan border. The catchment area of the T. (Ethiopian part) is 67,900 km^2. Run-off depends heavily on



The Täkkäze River near the so-called Chinese dam, western Təgray; air photo 2008, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

the precipitation scheme of the catchment area. Substantial rainfall begins in March, maximum flow of water is reached in July and August, being ca. 5 m above normal level.

Most parts of the T. valley belong to the ↗*qʷälla* climatic zone (↗Climate; ↗Ecological zones), lying below 1,500 m A.S.L. The bottom of the canyon reaches only 1,000 m A.S.L. east of Səmen mountains. The *bäräḵa* zone begins near the common T. border of Ethiopia and Eritrea. Depending on the altitude, the climate in the canyon ranges from warm to hot and it is relatively dry because of high evaporation and low precipitation in comparison to the mountain areas around. Vegetation represents the climatic and pedological conditions, i.e. riparian formations along the river, largely depending on altitude and edaphic requirements. Generally shrubs and trees are in abundance. Vegetation of most areas on the slopes of the valley is deciduous woodland with a closed but light canopy of 5–12 m high deciduous trees with lower stratum of small deciduous trees and shrubs and scrub. The fauna of the river includes various fish species and crocodiles.

The T. is already attested in Aksumite ↗inscriptions, such as ʿEzana's inscription, where it is spellt "Täkkäzi" (RIÉ no. 189 = DAE IV, no. 11, ll. 8, 15, 29, 40; CRHist 138; HuntGeogr 56ff.). In Gəʿəz the word *täkkäze* means 'river'. Therefore, wherein the Bible the Nile is referred to as "the river", in Gəʿəz this was rendered as "T." or "May T.". The transfer of the name to the river T. is a reflection of its original identification with the Nile, of which T. is the affluent closest to the coast and thus best known to the ancient geographers. In the same meaning T. figures in medieval texts.

The T. canyon and the canyons created by its tributaries have isolated several regions from each other, mainly the Səmen massif and the Lake ↗Ṭana region from the northern and north-eastern plateaus of Eritrea and Təgray. The canyon served as a southern limit to the hegemony of the Aksumite kingdom. Later, during the era of the Solomonic kingdom, it marked the northern limit to its Emperor's dominion and to Amhara expansion (PollEr 29). The areas along the T. are also among the earliest to have adopted Christianity and long remained important centres of Christian life (cp. ↗Lasta, ↗Waldəbba).

In 1534–35, ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ravaged the areas north of the T. and south of Šire and crossed it in 1536 on his way to Dämbəya. In 1539, the Muslims overran the same areas (HuntGeogr 134). In January 1831, on the southern banks of the T. the Battle of ↗May Ǝslamay took place.

The banks of the T. were also active centres of ↗Resistance to Italian colonialism and amongst the most contested areas during the ↗Italian war 1935–36 (cp. Bartnicki – Mantel-Niećko 1978, vol. 2, 501, 504f.; Greenfield 1965: 208). In 1936 the Italians secured the area and built a road over the old route from Šire to Däbarq and a bridge over the T. (↗Africa Orientale Italiana). The bridge stayed in use until the 2000s when it was replaced.

The earliest accurate descriptions date to the Jesuit period, such as by Pedro ↗Páez and Manoel ↗Barradas (BecRASO II, 270f.; V, 24; IV, 81, 85, 88, 193, 240, 258). Since the late 18th cent., several European travellers have also explored its canyons. In 1770, James ↗Bruce described it and explained the name as originating from *taka* 'terrible' (BruNile^{3}, vol. 4, 347–51). In 1807, Nathaniel ↗Pearce informed on its sources (cp. SalTrav 278) and Combes and Tamisier provided an ample account of the fauna and flora of the river (Combes – Tamisier 1838, vol. 1, 293–309).

The old and important trade route from the ↗Red Sea to the Lake Ṭana region and the south (via ↗Aksum) had to cross the T. Today's modern road from ↗Gondär to Aksum is quite identical with the old route. Parallelly, another route starts from ↗Däbarq through the Səmen mountains leading more directly to Aksum.

In the 19th and early 20th cent., agriculture and settlements seem to have been almost inexistent in the valley below circa 1,500 m A.S.L. for climatic and sanitary reasons. Only some small areas of cultivation and pastures were situated further down. Such areas were used because of good local conditions (i.e., sources for irrigation, soil quality, seasonal grass etc.). There are also semi and fully nomadic people in the lowlands. Because of population pressure it has become common to settle in lower and more unattractive parts of the valley in the 20th cent.

Recently, construction of a large dam at Ozentari, north-east of Amhara state, has been completed. The dam has been developed and built by the state-owned Chinese National Water Resources and Hydropower Engineering Corporation, now known as Sinohydro. It is the largest of its kind in Africa and is expected to produce 300 megawatts of electricity from a reservoir holding 9.3 billion m^3 of water.

Src.: BecRASO II, 270f.; IV, 81, 85, 88, 193, 240, 258; V, 24; BruNile^3, vol. 4, 347–51; Edmond Combes – Maurice Tamisier, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, Paris 1838, vol. 1, 293–309; CRHist 138; DAE IV, no. 11 = RIÉ no. 189; SalTrav 278.
Lit.: Andrzej Bartnicki – Joanna Mantel-Niećko, *Geschichte Äthiopiens: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, tr. by Renate Richter, Berlin 1978, vol. 1, 228, vol. 2, 501, 504f.; Hans Hurni, *Ethiopia, Agroecological Belts. Scale 1: 1,000,000* [map], 3 sheets, ed. by Soil Conservation Research Program (SCRP), Addis Abeba – Bern 1995; EMAtlas; Richard Greenfield, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 208; HuntGeogr 34, 56ff., 134; MesfGeogr; PollEr 29; Alfons Ritler, *Forest, Land Use and Landscape of Central and Northern Ethiopia, 1865–1930,* Bern 2003 (Geographica Bernensia, African Studies Series 19; Lit.); Egbert Westphal – Josina Marina Cornelia Westphal-Stevels, *Agricultural Systems in Ethiopia*, 2 vols., Wageningen 1975 (Agricultural Research Reports 826) (Lit.).

Alfons Ritler – Red.

Täklä Alfa

T.A. (**ተክለ፡ አልፋ**; fl. first half of the 16th cent.) was a saintly monk from Goǧǧam who rose to prominence as the abbot of the monastery of ↗Dima Giyorgis.

According to his Acts, T.A. was born on 21 *Ṭərr* in Gofč̣ema, Wäsän Amba, and baptized with the name of Ǝndrəyas. His father Aron, originally from Šäwa, and his mother Orni, from Maya, had settled in Goǧǧam in the late 15th cent. According to the usual topos, T.A. fled home a few days before an arranged marriage, thus beginning his spiritual wanderings. He arrived at Däbrä Dima, where he took the monastic habit from abbot Matewos. He then travelled around Goǧǧam, among other things founding a church dedicated to St. George in his native Wäsän Amba.

At the age of 30, T.A. was appointed abbot of Däbrä Dima Giyorgis by *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl at the suggestion of metropolitan ↗Marqos, therefore between 1508 and 1530. He thus headed the monastery during the troublesome period of the wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ). Whilst at the beginning he granted ↗asylum in his monastery to monks fleeing from southern regions, eventually he too had to flee the approaching Muslim army across the Nile (referred to as ↗Giyon throughout the text), settling in Mäqdäla.

Like many other saints who never could perform a real pilgrimage to ↗Jerusalem, T.A. is described as the protagonist of a miraculous heavenly journey to the holy city. He died on 8 *Taḫśaś*, at the age of 75, and was buried in Dima.

The main source on the life of T.A. is his hagiography transmitted in a manuscript kept at Däbrä Dima and copied in two parts for ↗Cerulli by *aläqa* Kənfu in 1922 (VatLib, Cer. Aeth. 184 and 271 [formerly 184a and b], ed., tr. Cerulli 1943). This manuscript contains the ↗*gädl*, divided into seven chapters, one for each day of the week, the miracles (↗*Täᵓammər*; 22 original and one added later) and a ↗*mälkəᵓ* in honour of the saint. The text was most probably written by a contemporary of the saint (possibly a monk from Däbrä Dima) shortly after the latter's death, i.e. in the mid-16th cent. Apart from its historical references, T.A.'s hagiography is interesting for literary allusions to such works as the ↗*Ǝgziᵓabəḥer nägśä* and the ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam*, indicating their diffusion by the mid-16th cent.: e.g., T.A. reads from the Acts of the Armenian St. Ripsima on the day of her feast, 6 *Taḫśaś*.

T.A. is also mentioned in the Short Chronicles (BassÉt 324, BegCron 8); and is briefly commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on the day of his feast, 8 *Taḫśaś* (GréSyn IV, 688).

Src.: BassÉt 324, BegCron 8; Enrico Cerulli, "Gli Atti di Takla Alfa", *Annali IUO* 2, 1943, 1–87 (Lit.); Id., "Inni della chiesa abissina", *RSO* 12, 1929–30, 361–407, here 391–94; RaiCer 132, 210f. [Vat. Cer. Aeth. 184 and 271]; GréSyn IV, 688; KinBibl 91f., no. 149; MasMis^{2} vol. 1, 118f.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Täklä Giyorgis

T.G. (**ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**, fl. 1605–29, b. Ǝndärta, d. 1629, Gännätä Iyäsus?) was an Ethiopian nobleman. He first came into contact with *aṣe* ↗Susənyos around May 1605, when he was *šum* of Daḫana, north of Lasta (PerChron 57, 344; HuntGeogr 170). Towards June–July 1614 he was appointed over Səmen (PerChron 116) where he fought a rebellion whose leader claimed to be *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob. In Səmen he fixed his *kätäma* in Zutarya (PerChron 116). In 1619, already as *däǧǧazmač* and *təgre mäkʷännən* and with the help of Təgrayans he led a campaign in the region of Taḫa (PerChron 158, 162f.; close to Kassala?, cf. HuntGeogr 46). The following year, together with *aṣe* Susənyos, he fought the Oromo in Təgray (PerChron 173f.).

Shortly after the arrival of Jerónimo ↗Lobo, T.G. escorted the missionary in search of Christovão da ↗Gama's bones (Lobo 1971: 417ff.). Towards 1628–29, when he was *təgre mäkʷännən* and *baḥər nägaš* he rebelled against Susənyos due to the latter's support of the Jesuit mission (PerChron 227; ↗Jesuits). Among his allies were two *baḥər nägaš*, a certain Yoḥannəs, who was based between Dəbarwa and Massawa, and one Gäbrä Maryam (BecRASO XII, 362f.; VII, 18f.). In parallel, T.G. was also involved in an internal feud in Təgray against other *šum* – i.e. one *baḥər nägaš* ᶜAmdä Mikaᵓel – who disputed his power and eventually became allies with Susənyos against him (PerChron 228). He was however captured by ↗Qəbᶜa Krəstos and sent to ↗Gännätä Iyäsus (PerChron 229f.). There he was tried and sentenced to death (BecRASO VII, 22, 29ff.; XII, 362, 366; also IV, 55).

Reportedly, T.G. had two wives, both Susənyos' daughters: he married first Gälilawit and on her death Wängelawit (PerChron 230; also BecRASO XII, 361). However, the marriage with Wängelawit was celebrated without her consent, as she was living openly with one ↗Zäkrəstos (BecRASO VII, 18). Previously, Wängelawit had been the wife of Wäldä Ḥawaryat, who was Susənyos's faithful servant (PerChron 158; BassEt II, 129). According to Lobo, it was the discovery of this relationship that decided T.G. to launch his rebellion, which he must have been planning for a long time with other powerful nobles of Təgray (Lobo 1971: 425–34).

Src.: BassEt II, 129, 133; BecRASO III, 384; IV, 55; VI, 436; VII, 18f., 22, 29ff.; XI, 476; XII, 361ff., 366; BegChron 48; DombrChr 197; Jerónimo Lobo, *Itinerário e outros escritos inéditos*, Porto 1971, 417ff., 425–34; PerChron 57, 116, 158, 162f., 173f., 227–30, 247, 344 (tr.); Jules Perruchon (éd.), "Notes sur l'histoire de l'Ethiopie. Règne de Fasiladas ou Alam Sagad (1632–1667)", *RevSem* 5, 1897, 360–72; *ibid*. 6, 1898, 84–92.

Lit.: HuntGeogr 46, 170; Hervé Pennec, *Des jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean* (*Éthiopie*): *Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation* (*1495–1633*), Université de Paris I-Sorbonne 2000, 148; *Ibid*., Paris [u.a.] 2003, 195–203; Michel Perret, *L'histoire de l'Ethiopie vue du Tigre … et autres lieux: essais, notes, réflexions*, Paris 1988, 153.

Dimitri Toubkis

Täklä Giyorgis

Nəguś T.G. (**ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**, r. 1779–84, 1788–89, 1794–95, 1795–96, 1798–99, 1800, d. 1800) was the son of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs II, and younger brother of *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot II (for the dates, s. CRAxum 60f.). Later generations, who viewed him as the last of the ↗Gondär monarchs to rule with any authority in his own right, knew him by his nickname **ፈጻሚ፡ መንግሥት** *Fäṣṣame Mängəśt* ('Ender/Fulfiller of the Kingdom'). His reign was turbulent, to say the least, and he ruled for six distinct periods, the shortest being the last, March to June 1800. Although increasingly the pawn of the great lords of ↗Bägemdər and ↗Təgray, he was an active figure during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

T.G.'s first period on the throne was the most notable. At the beginning of 1779 he was brought from the royal prison of ↗Wähni Amba to replace his brother on the throne. Two years later, accompanied by important members of his brother's court, *ras* Ayadar not least among them, he embarked on the first of a number of major campaigns, this one against *däǧǧazmač* Gädlu of ↗Wälqayt (BlunChr 22–38 [text]). In October 1781, he suppressed opponents of his rule in ↗Mäčča, in western Goǧǧam, where he also collected the tribute of ↗Agäw Mədər and received the submission of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq (ibid. 38–42 [text]). In June 1782, he returned to Goǧǧam campaigning against *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kənfu Addam, who had deposed his brother. He had the captured Kənfu blinded. In August of 1782 he was in ↗Ǝste, where he favored the church of Ǝste Gälawdewos. In November 1782, he was back in Gondär, where the building of his principal foundation, Däbrä Məṭmaq Maryam, was underway. It was staffed with clergy belonging to the "house of *abunä* Täklä Haymanot". By the time of its completion, some years later, it had become one of the major churches of his time (CrumLand 148ff.; for its charter, s. ms. of Täᵓammərä Iyäsus, Illinois/IES, 88.XII.17–18). In that same month he embarked on another major campaign, this one to Bägemdər and ↗Wällo, but also with an eye to Təgray and its rebellious ruler, *däǧǧazmač* Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel. He was the last of the Gondärine rulers directly to intervene in Wällo, where he also received the tribute of ↗Šäwa (BlunChr 48–65 [text]), returning to Gondär at the beginning of May 1783. He made appointments in Goǧǧam and received tribute from as far away as Ḫamasen and ↗Säraye. In February 1784, he suffered the first of his depositions, this one at the hands of an alliance of *däǧǧač* ↗Ali Gʷangul of Yäǧǧu and *ras* Ḫaylu (ibid. 95f. [text]). However, with the falling out of Ali and Ḫaylu, in 1788, he returned to the throne.

One of the lasting acts of his second period of rule was the appointment of Ali as *bitwäddäd* and *däǧǧazmač* of Bägemdər, a major stage in the rise of Ali and his successors to dominance in the central highlands and as kingmakers in Gondär. However, with Ali's death, in 1789, and the succession of his brother, Aligaz, T.G. was again deposed, this time in favor of *aṣe* ↗Həzqəyas, a son of Iyasu I.

Five years later, in January, 1794, T.G. was restored for 15 months, only to be deposed again. Again restored, in February 1798, he granted asylum status to Däbrä Məṭmaq (BlunChr 173 [text]). During this period, he enjoyed a developing relationship with *däǧǧač* (later *ras*) ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray (ibid. 179f. [text]), who brought him rich tribute, in return for which T.G. granted him four years of Təgray revenue (these last years of his rule are also documented in CRReal 783–95, 798, 803f. [text]; and CRNuov 7, 9, 10 [text]). Wäldä Śəllase married T.G.'s daughter Səḥin (CRReal 830 [text]).

Deposed again in 1799, T.G. withdrew to Təgray and the protection of Wäldä Śəllase, then to ↗Waldəbba, whence, in 1800, for the last time he was placed on the throne, reigning from March to June. He was buried at Aksum (CRReal 824 [text]). The abuse which he suffered in his latter years inspired lamentations from his chronicler (BlunChr 178 [text]).

T.G. was very active in the granting of ↗*gʷəlt*, for which the most important source is the marginalia in BritLib (ms. Orient. 777, fols. 16, 283–87). In addition to his own Däbrä Məṭmaq, he favored ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase in Gondär. BritLib Orient 784 (fol. 209), records the granting of *gʷəlt* to *däǧǧač* Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel, in recognition of Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel's having enthroned him. The *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* records a number of his *gʷəlt* grants in Təgray (CRAxum 50f., 54, 57 [text]).

Src.: BlunChr 22–42, 48–65, 95f., 173, 178ff. (text) = 233–62, 270–96, 340ff., 449, 456, 458f. (tr.); CRAxum 50f., 54, 57 (text) = 60f., 65, 68 (tr.); CRNuov 7, 9, 10 (text) = 361ff. (tr.); CRReal 783–95, 798, 803f., 824, 830 (text) = 862–70, 889, 893 (tr.); Illinois/IES, 88.XII.17–18 [Täᵓammərä Iyäsus, ms.]; WrBriMus 255, no. 350, fols. 16, 283–7, 287 [ms. Orient. 777]; 232ff., no. 344, fol. 209 [ms. Orient. 784].

Lit.: CrumLand 145, 148ff., 181f., 195, 198f.

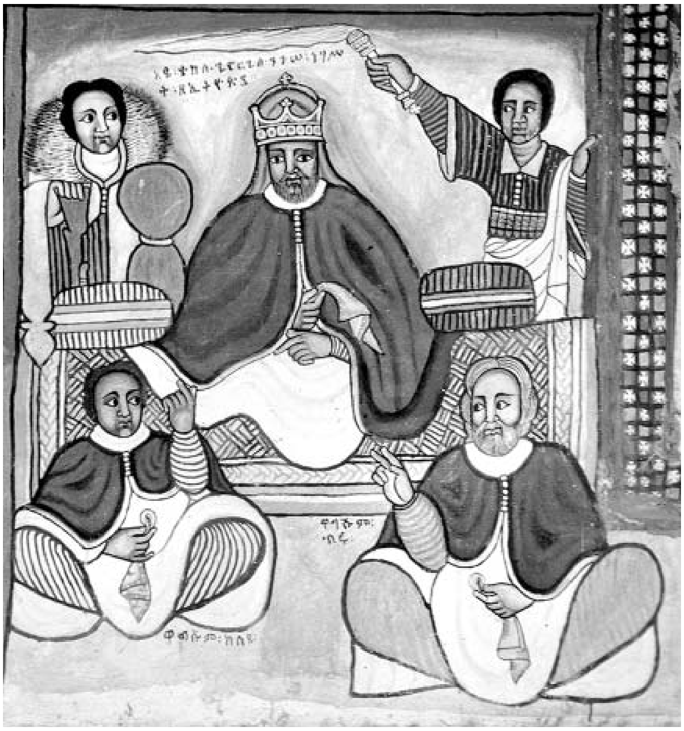
Donald Crummey

Täklä Giyorgis II

Aṣe T.G. (**ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**, birth name Gobäze, b. 1836, d. ca. October 1873) reigned from 1869 to 1871. Born to *wag šum* ↗Gäbrä Mädḫən, he lived some years at the court of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, who appointed him *däǧǧazmač* and governor of ↗Wag in 1862 (BTafY 63 n. 76).

In 1863, Gobäze rebelled, fled into exile, gathered an army with the help of members of his family, particularly his maternal uncle *däǧǧazmač* ↗Mäšäša Säyfu, and took control of Lasta (ZewYohan 21). He pursued his conquest while Tewodros had to face other rebellions and drought was ravaging part of the country. In 1865 he invaded Təgray, overrunning ↗ᶜAdwa. There, counting on the support of a large sector of the population (cf. Fusella 1953:82), he confined to an ↗*amba* the mother and brother of Kaśa Mərča (↗Yoḥannəs IV). However, the two adversaries came to a temporary agreement and Gobäze married Kaśa's sister, ↗Dənqənäš Mərča (Ricci 1947:51, n. 1). In 1867, Kaśa rebelled again against Gobäze and tried to obtain the support of the British and Egyptians (ibid. 52, n. 1).

During this period Gobäze was in close communication with the captives at ↗Mäqdäla and even contemplated an attack on the *amba*, which never took place (RubInd 256). Just before Lord ↗Napier's arrival in 1867 he marched towards ↗Wägära to fight and kill his principal rival, ↗Ṭəso Gobäze (on Gobäze's ambivalent attitude



Aṣe Täklä Giyorgis II (middle) with *wag šum* Käbbädä (left) and in front of him *wag šum* Bərru (right), wall-painting by *abba* Dästa, Däbrä Samuʾel, Adil Badil, Goǧǧam; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

towards the Napier expedition cf. ZewYohan 23; RubActa III, nos. 8, 11, 32 and 33).

In 1868 Napier estimated that Gobäze had about 60,000 men under his command (ZewYohan 22). His force allowed him to seize the supreme power shortly after the death of Tewodros, in August 1868. Gobäze was crowned on the plain of Zäbiṭ by *abba* Gäbrä Iyäsus, who in the absence of a metropolitan in Ethiopia had been appointed *əč̣č̣äge* for the occasion (CerDLib III, 162, 171). His claim to the throne might have been ideologically based on his title of *wag šum*. Theoretically as a descendant of the ↗Zagʷe kings (GueCopMen vol. 1, 146, n. 2), the *wag šum* would have had the right to stand in for Solomonic throne in the absence of a Solomonic claimant (Bərhanu Abbäbä, personal communication, Addis Abäba 2005; cp. ↗Lasta).

T.G. surrounded himself of various royal symbols. By his throne name he associated himself with his predecessor ↗Täklä Giyorgis I, the last emperor of the Gondärine period. Since Täklä Giyorgis I was known under the nickname ፍጻሜ፡ መንግሥት (*Fəṣṣame Mängəśt*, 'Ender/Fulfiller of the Kingdom'; RubInd 32f.), Gobäze intended his reign as a renewal and drew on the imperial legacy of ↗Gondär. Thus he is associated with an attempt to give back to the churches of Gondär the position they had enjoyed in the past; he restored their lands and rebuilt those lately ravaged by Tewodros (CrumLand 206; Crummey 1988:23f.; ms. BN Éth. 259, fol. 6v). He also arranged for a special burial and commemoration for *abunä* ↗Sälama. His new name and title were displayed on two seals engraved to announce his coronation (Pankhurst 1973:204; Rubenson 1965:77; Tornay – Sohier 2005:42f.).

T.G. also pursued an active foreign policy in order to assert his authority, as he faced different rebellions and failed to gain from his rivals acknowledgement of his new rank, especially from Mənilək of Šäwa (↗Mənilək II) and Kaśa. He contacted the British and Egyptian governments and with the mediation of a Catholic missionary approached the French government in 1870. In a letter to Napoleon III, he declared he would welcome French merchants and a consul (RubActa III, 62, doc. 49; RubInd 274). T.G. used a marriage policy to pursue his political ambitions. He married his daughter to a relative of *ras* Adal Täsämma (*däǧǧazmač* ↗Täklä Haymanot; Ricci 1947:51 n. 2) and gave to Adal the government of ↗Goǧǧam (GueCopMen 127, n. 6). He also granted his son, Wäräñña, the title of *ras*.

T.G.'s fate was sealed when he went to fight Kaśa to put an end to his threat. The two armies met in Təgray and fought on 21 June 1871. A great number of his troops were injured or captured and T.G. was wounded during a second clash on 11 July, whilst he was leading a cavalry charge. He was taken prisoner, blinded and with members of his family brought to an *amba* where a few years later, perhaps in October 1873, he died, perhaps executed (Marcus 1975:35; cf. BTafY 94–115; for iconography, s. Wion 2000:316–19). A number of sources are available about his reign: diplomatic foreign archives, correspondence and several Ethiopian chronicles. T.G.'s own chronicle, written by *aläqa* ↗Lämläm, has never been published (ms. BN Éth. 259).

Src.: Bərhanu Abbäbä, personal communication, Addis Abäba 2005; BTafY 63, n. 76, 94–115; ChMonV 44, ms. Éth. 259 – Mondon-Vidailhet 72, fols. 8r–22v [*aläqa* LÄMLÄM, **የአጼ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ የአጼ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾaṣe Täklä Giyorgis yäʾaṣe Yoḥannəs tarik*, 'The History of *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis and *aṣe* Yoḥannəs')]; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Le lettere del *dabtarā* Assaggākhāñ", *RSE* 12, 1953, 80–95; *ibid.* 13, 1954, 20–30; GueCopMen 127, n. 6, 146, n. 2; MorTeod; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Una cronaca breve sul regno di Yohannes IV", *RSO* 22, 1947, 47–59; RubActa III nos. 8, 11, 32, 33, 49.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, "Imperial Legitimacy and the Creation of Neo-Solomonic Ideology in 19th-Century Ethiopia", *Cahiers d'études africaines* 109, 1988, 13–43; CrumLand 206; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 35; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Letter Writing and the Use of Royal and Imperial Seals in Ethiopia Prior to the Twentieth Century", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 179–207; SVEN RUBENSON, "The Lion of Judah. Christian Symbol and/or Imperial title", *ibid.* 3, 2, 1965, 75–85; RubTew; RubInd 32f., 256, 274; SERGE TORNAY – ESTELLE SOHIER, *Empreintes du temps*: *les sceaux des dignitaires éthiopiens du règne de Téwodros à la régence de Täfäri Mäkonnen*, Addis-Abeba 2007, 42f.; TSTarik IV, 39–42; ANAÏS WION, "Un Grec en Éthiopie à la fin du XIXe siècle: le *Balambäras* Giyorgis", *AE* 16, 2000, 309–38; ZewYohan 21ff.

Estelle Sohier

Täklä Ḥäwaryat

Abba T.Ḥ. (**ተክለ፡ ሐዋርያት**; d. 1455) was a Šäwan monk, the abbot of Däbrä Ṣəmmona (Däbrä Gäbärma) in ↗Mugär.

According to his Acts, T.Ḥ. was aggressive in his missionary activity and is said to have flogged a non-Christian priest in public and burnt the houses of others. T.Ḥ. is said to have had a number of encounters with the ↗*ayhud* in Ṣällämt and Səmen. In particular he is credited with converting them and strengthening the faith of some who had only superficially converted. His life took a dramatic turn when he was invited to the court by Queen Žan Källäla to give spiritual counsel to her and her son ↗Bäʾədä Maryam (who should perhaps also be identified with the Emperor's son Gälawdewos). Although he was initially welcomed at court by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, he fell into disfavour when he criticized the emperor for allowing the popular custom of games played on ↗*Mäsqäl* in which many were injured and for his generally violent behaviour towards his subjects. T.Ḥ. was accused of plotting the overthrow of the Emperor and was beaten repeatedly and thrown into a ditch. He died in prison and was buried in Yäčär, in ↗Tägulät, the monastery of *abba* Bärsoma. Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob is said to have mourned his death and, shortly before his own death, to have commanded that T.Ḥ.'s body be translated. This was done at the beginning of the reign of Bäʾədä Maryam.

T.H.'s Acts were written shortly after his death in the 15th cent. Not all manuscripts contain the story of his clash with Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob. E.g., it does not appear in the text transmitted by ms. BN d'Abbadie 67 (published by Conti Rossini 1910). However, his "martyrdom" and the translation of his relics are found in ms. EMML no. 6700 (Getatchew Haile in EtRicci). His status as a "martyr" is also attested to in other sources (EMML no. 1521; Kur 1972: 41f.).

Src.: EMML nos. 1521, 6700; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta sancti Abakerazun*, II. *Acta sancti Takla Hawāryāt*, Louvain 1910 (CSCO 56, 57 [SAe 24, 25]); GETATCHEW HAILE, "Martyrdom of Abuna Takla Hawaryat of Shoa and the Translation of his Relics", in: *EtRicci* 93–113; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 1, 501–35, here 519–27; STEVEN KAPLAN, "A Source for the History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) from the *Life* of Abuna Takla Hawaryat", *Pe'amim* 15, 1983, 124–33 (Hebrew); STANSILAS KUR (ed., tr.), *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 41f. (text) = 38 (tr.).

Lit.: DerDom 155, 157; TadTChurch 240, 242; KinBibl 92, no. 150; KapMon 65f., 78–81, 102f.

Steven Kaplan

Täklä Ḥawaryat Täklä Maryam

Bäǧərond T.Ḥ. (**ተክለ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ተክለ፡ ማርያም**; b. June 1884, Säyya Däbr, Šäwa, d. April 1977, Hirna) was a prominent statesman and administrator, as well as an important figure in the history of ↗Amharic literature.

T.Ḥ.'s ancestors were Oromo horsemen, who eventually settled in ↗Šäwa and were christianized. T.Ḥ. received basic traditional church ↗education. At the age of nine he moved to ↗Harär with his elder brother who became a secretary to *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel. T.Ḥ. stayed there in the household of the *ras,* where he was brought up as a family member together with the young Täfäri Mäkʷännən (future *aṣe* ↗Ḥaylä Śəllase I) and ↗Ǝmməru Ḥaylä Śəllase. T.Ḥ. once accompanied *ras* Mäkʷännən on the ↗ᶜAdwa campaign.

Later, *ras* Mäkʷännən entrusted T.Ḥ. to Count ↗Leontiev. Having obtained Mənilək's permission, the *ras* sent T.Ḥ. to ↗Russia in 1896/97. There, he was adopted by Colonel Malihanov, and joined St. Petersburg military school and later Michael Artillery School. In 1908 he returned to Ethiopia only to find that neither his knowledge of artillery nor of Russian were in demand.

Emperor ↗Mənilək II is said to have expected him to know how to produce cannons, not how to place them. Therefore, in 1908/09, T.Ḥ. was sent to France to study agriculture.

On his return, T.Ḥ. was appointed the head of Addis Abäba municipality, but was soon dismissed for being too enterprising and independent-minded (Bahru Zewde 2002: 59).

T.Ḥ. was always open to new reforms. First he thought there might be a possibility to implement changes with the help of the young successor to the throne, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu. He had to realize, however, that Iyasu did not share his passion for reforms. Considering the development of his country to be his primary objective, T.Ḥ. did not hesitate to change political loyalties and so, abandoning his former allegiance, he joined the party of *ras* Täfäri. This brought fruitful results.

In 1917 T.Ḥ. was appointed governor of ↗Ǧiǧiga, part of Täfäris's own fief of Harärge. T.Ḥ. brought this economically backward region to prosperity through development projects such as fort construction, digging wells and stimulating local agriculture. He nevertheless was removed from this position (seemingly as a result of his disagreement with Täfäri, who reinstated some officials dismissed by T.Ḥ. for inefficiency). After a few years of idleness, he was suddenly promoted to the governorship of ↗Čärčär. During his tenure as governor, he introduced fixed taxes and salaries, financed military reorganization and carried out a series of other reforms. Through his innovations, T.Ḥ. managed to increase dramatically revenue from the province. Probably his most important achievement was the foundation of a new town, Asbä Täfäri, said to be one of the best planned towns in Ethiopia (Bahru Zewde 2002: 61). These reforms were not however welcomed by conservative officials. Consequently T. was accused of mismanagement and suffered a six months long imprisonment.

Later, after Täfäri became Emperor, T.Ḥ. was given the task of drafting the first Ethiopian ↗constitution, which was finished in 1931 (s. MahZekr 769–92). That same year, he received promotion and rose to ministerial level with the title of ↗*bäǧərond* as Minister of Finance. Yet his appointment lasted for less than a year; apparently on account of his overzealous attempts to Europeanize the ministry, T.Ḥ. was removed from this position and made Ethiopian representative in London, Paris and Geneva, at the ↗League of Nations.

T.Ḥ. soon (1934) found himself at the centre of diplomatic debate surrounding the growing tensions between Ethiopia and ↗Italy, but could do nothing to help his country's case. When Italian–Ethiopian war began (s. ↗Italian war 1935–36), T.Ḥ. hurried back to Ethiopia, but soon fled to Madagascar. When he finally returned, he retired to Hirna, and occupied himself there with his agricultural interests.

Apart from his political and administrative activities, his name is also closely linked to the emergence of Ethiopian drama (s. ↗Amharic literature) and ↗theatre. He created one of the first drama pieces in Amharic which incorporated his view of progress through enlightenment. Between 1912 and 1916 T.Ḥ. wrote a satirical piece entitled **ፋቡላ፡ የአውሬዎች፡ ኮሜዲያ** (*Fabula yäʾawrewočč komediya*, 'Fable. The Comedy of Animals') which was modelled after the fables of La Fontaine and Krylov, and is said to have been written for *ləǧ* Iyasu, with the aim of teaching him "by examples and precepts" (MolLit 51). In this play T.Ḥ. heaped ridicule on the conceited and arrogant Ethiopian authorities, as only superficially westernized, but in reality deeply provincial. The play was not staged because of opposition from conservative officials, which led to a general abolition of plays at that time, until the ban was reversed by Ḫaylä Śəllase on his succession to the throne in 1930.

↗Gərmaččäw Täklä Ḥawaryat

Src.: Luigi Fusella, "Le Biografie del blāttengētā Ḫeruy Wålda Sellāsē", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987], 15–52, here 40; GebMolIyas s. index; HSLife 179, 186, 217, 221; KTMast 44, 56; MahZekr 759–92, 799, 800–31; *fitawrari* Täklä Ḥawaryat Täklä Maryam, **ስለ፡ እርሻ፡ ትምህርት** (*Səlä əršа təmhərt*, 'A Teaching about the Agriculture'), Addis Abäba 1930 A.M. [2005/06 A.D.]; Id., **ኦቶባዮግራፊ። የሕይወቴ፡ ታሪክ** (*Otobayografi. Yäḥəywäte tarik*, 'History of My Life'), Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2005/06 A.D.].

Lit.: Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford 2002, s. index (Lit.); ClapHS 34f., 141; J. Calvitt Clarke III, "Seeking a Model for Modernization: Ethiopia's Japanizers", *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 10–11, 2004, 7–22; MockWar s. index; MolLit 48–72; Lanfranco Ricci, "La «Komidiyā» di Takla Hāwāryāt (letteratura amarica)", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 193–203.

Maxim Zabolotskikh

Täklä Haymanot

T.H. (**ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት**, also Täklo, b. ca. 1532/33, d. 1568) was an Ethiopian nobleman. He was a son of ↗Dägälḥan, governor of Bale and brother-in-law of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (cp. KrLebD 6 and n. 19, 54 [tr.]), and as such is mentioned already in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Minas (Esteves Pereira 1888:27 [text]). In the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl the name of this person, with one exception, appears only in the apocopated form "Täklo" (CRHist 5; cp., however, also Esteves Pereira 1888:34 [text]).

T.H. married Amätä Yoḥannəs who died during the rainy season of 1576 (BassHist 403; CRHist 26, 55). He took part in the wars against *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī; he fought at Waṣəl, the "fifth gate" of Betä Amhara (BassHist 283, n. 1, 403 [tr.]; cp. also CrawItin 49f.; DerDomTh 9–20 and n. 15). There, the Christians were defeated and "4,000 soldiers" were taken prisoners and converted to Islam. T.H. escaped and it is said that he stayed for four months at Qəda, in Zəbul (BassHist 405, 409 [tr.]).

T.H. was one of 'the great men among the people' (**ዓበይተ፡ ሕዝብ**, *ʿabbäytä ḥəzb*) of Minas's reign (CRHist 3, l. 21; cp. KrLebD 53, 61 [text]), after whose death in 1563 he did not immediately acknowledge the new ruler *aṣe* Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl. Later, however, he submitted to him and became one of the leading supporters and advisers of the ruler (CRHist 18f., 26).

Furthermore, T.H. fought against Fasilu and his supporters who wanted to dissuade ↗Ḥamälmal from making peace with Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl (CRHist 22ff.). *Azmač* T.H., as a powerful personage in the Empire, set up a ↗*kätäma* of his own at Gabar Guban (CRHist 37) in order to weather the rainy season in 1566. Several times he provided military support to Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl, for instance after the rains in 1568 against ↗Hadiyya, followed by "his partisans called Ḥawaš, accustomed to battle" (CRHist 46). The Chronicle of Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl makes another allusion to T.H.'s army mentioning "30 troopers and many shield warriors" (CRHist 18).

Src.: BassHist 403, 405, 409 (tr.); CRHist 5, 18f., 21, 26, 28, 37, 46, 55; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed., tr.), **ዜና፡ ሚናስ።** *Historia de Minás, ʾAdemás Sagad, rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888, 27, 34 [text] = 45, 51 [tr.]; KrLebD 6, 53, 61 [text] = 6 and n. 19, 54, 61 [tr.], s. index.
Lit.: CrawItin 49f.; DerDomTh 9–20 and n. 15

Dimitri Toubkis

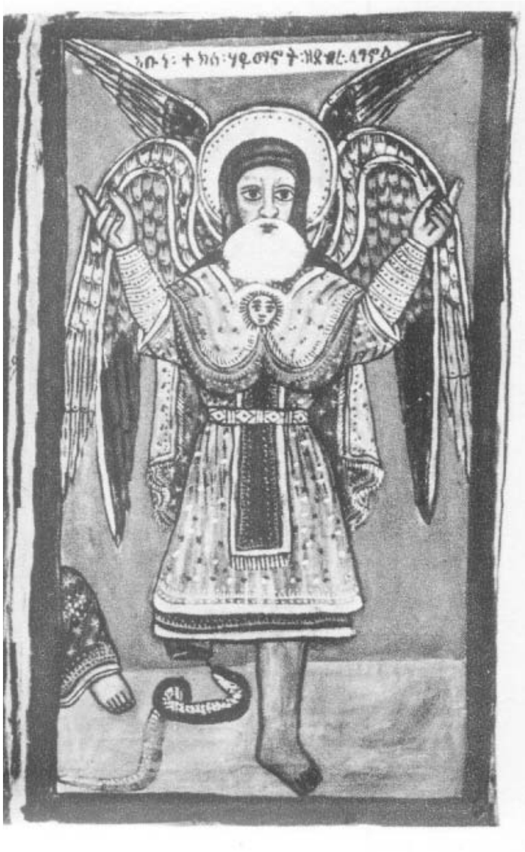
Täklä Haymanot

Abunä T.H. (**ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት**; d. 1313[?], Däbrä Libanos, Šäwa) is one of most revered ↗saints of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. He is credited with evangelizing vast regions of central and southern Ethiopia and founding the famous monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos in Šäwa. Some traditions also credit him with an important political role during the re-establishment of the ↗Solomonic dynasty by *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak.

Hagiography

The main source on T.H. is his ↗hagiography, a large corpus of texts containing works of different genres with a complex history, which were written and reworked beginning with the late 14th cent. at the earliest up to the time of the ↗Gondärine kingdom.

1. The main stream of the tradition is represented by the Vita (↗*Gädl*), preserved in at least 22 manuscripts in Europe, more than 20 microfilms in EMML, 3 manuscripts in possession of the Ethiopian community in ↗Jerusalem, 5 in IES; many are still unrecorded. Several recensions are known:
   a) the short *Sənkəssar* recension (with at least two sub-recensions, s. Nosnitsin 2007);
   b) the so-called Waldəbba recension owes its name to its editor Conti Rossini (ed. 1896; English tr. also in Budge 1906), who thought that Täklä Ṣəyon, the scribe (/author) was "a native of Təgray", since he calls himself "son of *abba* ↗Samuʾel of Waldəbba" and mentions his spiritual father *abba* Täklä Iyäsus (cp. CerPal vol. 2, 409, 419, 421 and CerDLib I, 229 n. 1). It is a brief and early (first half of the 15th cent. at the latest; Cerulli's hypothesis on the 16th-cent. dating [CerLett 73] should be dropped) version, archaic in style, witnessed by two manuscripts only (Paris, BN Éth. 136, 15th cent. [ZotBNat 203f.]; Mondon-Vidailhet 37, paper, 19th cent. [ChMonV 24]). Ms. Éth. 136 might have been written outside Ethiopia and may be linked to the Ethiopian community in Jerusalem. The local tradition of Waldəbba refers to old relations with Däbrä Libanos (monks from there coming to ↗Waldəbba as early as 1397 A.M., Bärrihun Käbbädä 1990/91:80; AmhChurchD vol. 4, 37).
   c) the "Ḥayq" recension is represented by a small group of interrelated texts, the archetype of which is still to be reconstructed. It was designated "Ḥayq version" after EMML no. 1834, from ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Əsṭifanos, or "the 1st Däbrä Libanos recension" (DerDomTh 77, after Éth. 697, brought by the ↗Duchesne-Fournet mission, and the text roughly trans-


አቡነ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ዘደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ

Abunä Täklä Haymanot; from Buxton 1970, pl. 87

lated in Duchesne-Fournet 1908: 340–431). This recension is witnessed by mss. Éth. 342 (late 15th cent., s. GrébGriaule II, 18ff.; with full and good text), Ṭānāsee 162 (SixTana III, 202–06), IES 1340 (photos of a few loose leaves, as old as Éth. 342), EMML no. 8742. It might have been written as early as ca. 1425–26, under *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq, and was probably linked to ↗Yoḥannəs Käma (Derat 1998: 76f.; DerDomTh 77; cp. also Nosnitsin 2003: 149, n. 40).

d) the so-called Däbrä Libanos recension (= DLr), the most widespread one, became known in Europe thanks to ↗Urreta, ↗Almeida and Pedro ↗Páez (Esteves Pereira 1899; s. Pennec in HirKrSaints), and in full through the edition of Budge (1906, after the beautifully illuminated ms. BritLib Orient. 728) which, despite deficiencies in methodology and the "non-scholarly" aims of the editor, for a long time remained the main source of information on T.H. The DLr can be described as a compilation of the preceding recensions with some additions. At least two sub-types of the text exist. The first was written in the year 7007 "of grace", i.e. 1515 A.D. (the date is missing in Budge 1906, but is apparently found in other mss., s. Conti Rossini 1899: 267, CerLett 73, without precise reference), i.e. during the "golden age" of the monastery. The second is the result of reworking, most probably in the "house of Täklä Haymanot" at ↗Azäzo, in the late 17th cent. This sub-recension, meant to bring the text into conformity with the story of the saint and his "pact" with Yəkunno Amlak as presented in the ↗*Bəʿəlä nägäśt*, included some additional material, e.g., the genealogy of the Ethiopian emperors and the "carnal genealogy" of T.H., as well as a reference to T.H.'s purported role in the re-establishment of the Solomonic dynasty (cp. Nosnitzyn 2000; Nosnitsin 2003: 145, n. 30). The catalogues usually do not distinguish between the sub-types of the DLr. The Ethiopian Church editions mainly follow the second sub-type of DLr.

A unique case for ↗Gəʿəz literature, the DLr was the *Vorlage* for the Arabic version of T.H.'s Vita produced during *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos's reign, which constituted the basis of T.H.'s fame in the ↗Coptic church (Nosnitzyn 2000).

The manuscript tradition of the DLr is relatively recent, known manuscripts do not date prior to the 17th cent. (the most important witnesses may have perished when Däbrä Libanos was destroyed by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in 1532). Additional identifying work is necessary for many manuscripts plainly described as containing the Vita of T.H. (e.g., mss. BN d'Abbadie 40; Mondon-Vidailhet 94; cp. WrBriMus, EMML catalogues).

2. The miracles (↗*Täʾammər*) of T.H. frequently follow upon his Vita and are represented by three sets of 22 miracles each: for his conception on 24 *Mäggabit*, for his birth on 24 *Taḫśaś*, for his death on 24 *Näḥase*, and for the translation of his ↗relics on 12 *Gənbot*. Each of the series is preceded by a homily. The *translatio* set is represented in at least two recensions (cp. Nosnitsin 2003: 145–59). In some manuscripts, the *translatio* miracles end with a colophon referring to the 15th year of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl's reign (1523/24 A.D.), but the early 16th-cent. ms. 2258 of the Schøyen Collection (Mercier 2000: 64f.) has no date and refers only to *əč̣č̣äge* P̣eṭros. Finally, a few manuscripts contain a

short set of miracles T.H. performed "in the country of Šäbäl" (a district in East Goǧǧam, s., e.g., EMML nos. 2190, 3667; St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies Orlov 35).

3. Sometimes included in the manuscripts with the Vita, the spiritual genealogy of T.H. is also represented in several recensions (for the "longer" one s. Getatchew Haile 1982–83).
4. There are a number of various ↗hymns in honour of T.H. (ChRep nos. 53, 58, 106, 211, 235, 256, 261).

A deeper philological study and edition of the main recensions of T.H.'s Vita remains a desideratum.

History and veneration

The size of T.H.'s hagiographical corpus makes the reconstruction of his life difficult. The earliest source is the least informative (Nosnitsin 2007); the overviews of T.H.'s life and activities are usually made on the basis of the DLr (cp. SerHist 282f., TadTChurch 160–69; DicEthBio; Tedeschi in EncSan). Only recently has a proper understanding of the complexities in the gradual development of T.H.'s hagiography started to emerge and be applied in historical studies (s. Derat 1998, DerDomTh and DerDom). The mentions of T.H. in other sources mostly depend on his Vita.

Despite the large amount of information, the "core" in T.H.'s legend is concise. T.H. was born in Ṣəlaləš, Šäwa, in the locality Zorare (which is said to be today's ↗Ǝtissa in ↗Sälale). His father Ṣägga Zäʾab was a priest, and his mother Ǝgziʾ Ḫaräya was of noble descent; they were probably among the early Christian migrants to Šäwa (cp. TadTChurch 160–69). When ↗Motälämi of Damot invaded Šäwa, he captured Ǝgziʾ Ḫaräya and wanted to marry her, but the Archangel Michael came to her rescue and brought her back to Ṣägga Zäʾab. Soon afterwards she conceived and on 24 *Taḫśaś* gave birth to a boy who was baptized Fəśśəḥa Ṣəyon.

When the boy grew up, Metropolitan *abunä* ↗Qerəllos consecrated him deacon and later priest (all versions of T.H.'s Vita indicate that Bənyami [corresponding to Benjamin II, 1327–39?] was the Alexandrian patriarch at that time). In a revelation, he received an order from Christ to start missionary activities and was given a new name, T.H. (lit. 'plant of the faith'; in reality, perhaps, his monastic name). T.H. preached in the neighbouring areas; overcoming the resistance of the "warlocks", he baptized several regions and entered Damot, where he was able to convert Motälämi, who became his devoted follower.

Later, T.H. travelled to other sanctuaries, staying for some time in the monastery of *abunä* ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel (where he most possibly received the monastic habit) and visited some well-established monastic communities of northern Ethiopia. T.H. returned to Šäwa, passed through ↗Wägda and, accompanied by some disciples, settled in Gərarya (the place name seldom appearing in the sources, e.g., MarAmdS 53, 203f.), where he established his monastic community (ca. 1284). Initially, the nuns and monks lived in a cave without being separated. Towards the end of his life, T.H. withdrew into seclusion and placed himself standing between iron spikes; after several years, one of his legs "broke" and fell off (the episode frequently represented in traditional ↗painting). He died at the age of 99 on 24 *Näḥase* and was buried in the same cave.

Hagiographic works devoted to T.H. contain a large amount of information still to be deciphered and properly understood. Some episodes must be considered "literary elaborations" of various hagiographic *topoi*, like the spectacular struggles with Motälämi (development of the *topos* of the "indestructible life", probably due to the literary influences from the ↗*Gädlä sämaʿətat*), or multiple pilgrimages to ↗Jerusalem. Many others hint at the historical (yet poorly known) realities of 14th–15th-cent. central and southern Ethiopia, which was exposed to evangelization after *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I's campaigns. The baptism of Motälämi refers to the adoption of Christianity by the early rulers of Damot; Zeb Däḫar (Conti Rossini 1896: 117, 139) appears to be a noble from ↗Wäǧ (Getatchew Haile in PICES 15, 253f.); for the possible meaning of Mälbärädi, the "capital" of Motälämi, s. EAE vol. 3, 1036, etc. The travels of T.H. may also be to more than random places, alluding to the centres of his cult (like ↗Ḥawzen, formerly the seat of ↗*təgre mäkʷännən*). The versions of the Vita contain mention of historical personalities (cp., e.g., ↗Ros Näbiyat), many representing complex historical issues (like T.H.'s relations to ↗Iyäsus Moʾa, ↗Zena Marqos). T.H.'s role in the re-establishment of the Solomonic dynasty, at least as it is recounted in the *Bəʿələ nägäśt*, appears to be a 17th-cent. literary invention (s. Conti Rossini 1922), yet he did indeed live during the last part of the ↗Zagʷe period.

After T.H.'s death, his veneration, along with the popularity of the DLr, spread following the growth of his monastery's importance. Accordingly, the solemn translation of the saint's relics took place several times, being recorded in various writing (Nosnitsin 2003; the most solemn one, "in a golden sarcophagus", was performed by abbot ↗Märḥa Krəstos and *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod; the last one took place in 19th cent., s. Pankhurst 1994). The popular veneration centred on Däbrä Libanos was remarkable already in the 15th–16th cent., and remains strong until today, interpolating with that of other local saints, especially in the central and some southern parts of Ethiopia (cp. Levine in PICES 2, 211, for Mänz; with more complex historical background for ↗Wälamo/ ↗Wälayyta, s. Tsehai Brhane Selassie 1975). T.H. is one of the few saints to whom such religious associations as ↗*maḫbär* are devoted.

T.H. figures in many other Ethiopian hagiographic texts, in particular those of his closest disciples, the fact reflecting the influence of both his monastery/ "house" (to which many other monasteries were affiliated) and/or his Acts, but only in rare cases – historical events (cp., at least, ↗Zena Marqos, ↗Qäwəsṭos, ↗Anorewos, ↗Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi, ↗Tadewos of Däbrä Maryam).

Many ↗*tabot*s are consecrated in the name of T.H. Apart from the annual feasts of T.H. on 24 *Näḥase*, 24 *Taḫśaś* and 12 *Gənbot*, the Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church commemorates T.H. on the 24th day of each month. T.H. is the only Ethiopian saint canonized by the Coptic Church, which commemorates him on 24 *Misrā*, 24 *Kīhak* and 12 *Bašans*.

Src.: AmhChurchD vol. 4, 37; Bärrihun Käbbädä, **የዋልድባ፡ ገዳም፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäwaldəbba gädam tarik*, 'The History of the Monastery of Waldəbba'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.], 80; CerLett s. index; ChMonV 24, Mondon-Vidailhet 37 [ms. Éth. 223]; 57, Mondon-Vidailhet 94 [ms. Éth. 281]; CRAbb 192, no. 185 [ms. d'Abbadie 40]; Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (ed., tr.), *The Life and Miracles of Tâklâ Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Lîbânôs* ..., London 1906; ChRep nos. 53, 58, 106, 211, 235, 256, 261; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il 'Gadla Takla Hāymānot', secondo la redazione Waldebbana", *MRALm* ser. 5a, 2, 1896, 97–143; Jean Duchesne-Fournet, *Mission en Ethiopie, 1901–1903*, vol. 1, Paris 1908, 340–431; EMML nos. 2190, 3667, 8742; Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, *Vida do Padre Täklä Haymanot, pelo P. Manoel de Almeida*, Lisboa 1899; **ገድለ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Gädlä Täklä Haymanot*, 'The Vita of Täklä Haymanot'), Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1953 A.D.] (different editions); Getatchew Haile, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38; Id., "*Ras* ᶜAmdu: His and His Ancestors' Role in Ethiopian History", in: *PICES* 15, 251–59; GrébGriaule II, 18ff., ms. Éth. 342 = Griaule 38; Donald Levine, "On the History and Culture of Mänz", in: *PICES* 2, 204–11; MarAmdS 53, 203f.; Paolo Marrassini, "Una nuova versione geez della disputa fra Takla Haymanot e Motalami", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 3, 1980, 163–98; Jacques Mercier, *L'arche éthiopienne: art chrétienne d'Éthiopie*, Paris 2000, 64f.; Boris Turaev, *Efiopskie rukopisi v Sankt Peterburge* ('Ethiopian Manuscripts in St. Petersburg'), St. Petersburg 1906 (Pamjatniki efiopskoj pis'mennosti 3), 84f., no. 43 [ms. Orlov 35 = Ef. 18]; SixTana III, 202–06, ms. Ṭānāsee 162 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 51; WrBriMus 196, no. 304 [ms. Orient. 728]; ZotBNat 203f., ms. Éth. 136].

Lit.: David Buxton, *The Abyssinians*, London 1970, pl. 87 (ill.); CerDLib I, 228–32, II, 137ff., 141ff., 149f.; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 8, 1899, 197–285, here 266f.; Id., "La caduta della dinastia Zagué e la versione amarica del Beᶜela Nagast", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 31, 1922, 279–314; CerPal vol. 2, 409, 419, 421; Marie-Laure Derat, "Une nouvelle étape de l'élaboration de la légende hagiographique de Takla Hāymānot (ca. 1214–1313)", *Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Africaines* 9, 1998, 71–90; DerDomTh; DerDom (Lit.); DicEthBio 157f. (Lit.); Rudolf Kriss – Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975 (s. index); Denis Nosnitzyn, "Zur Literaturgeschichte der Vita des heiligen Täklä Haymanot: die arabische Fassung", *AAP* 62, 2000, 93–112; Id., *Žitie Tekle Haymanota kak proizvedenie srednevekovoj efiopskoj literatury* ... ('The Vita of Täklä Haymanot as a Work of Medieval Ethiopian Literature ...'), Ph.D. thesis, St. Petersburg State University 2002; Id. [Denis Nosnitsin], "Mäṣḥafä fəlsätu lä-Täklä Haymanot: a Short Study", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 137–67; Id., "The Ethiopic Synaxarion: Text-Critical Observations on Täklä Haymanot's Commemoration (24 *Näḥase*)", *OrChrP* 73, 2007, 141–83; István Ormos, "The Life of Täklä Haymanot as a Source for the Study of Popular Religious Practices in Ethiopia", *The Arabist* 9–10, 1994, 305–32; Alula Pankhurst, "Däbrä Libanos Pilgrimages Past and Present, the Mystery of the Bones and the Legend of Saint Täklä Haymanot", *The Sociology Ethnology Bulletin* 1, 3, 1994, 14–26; Hervé Pennec, "Le récit hagiographique de Täklä Haymanot au service des Jésuites d'Éthiopie (XVIIe siècle)", in: *HirKrSaints* 248–57; SerHist 282f.; Salvatore Tedeschi, "Takla Hāymānot", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 1132–38; TadTChurch 160–69; Tsehai Brhane Sellassie, "The Question of Damot and Wälamo", *JES* 8, 1, 1975, 37–46; TurIz 81–100.

Denis Nosnitsin

Täklä Haymanot I

Aṣe T.H. I (**ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት**, known as *ərgum/ rəgum* ['damned'] T.H.; r. 1706–08) was the eldest son and immediate successor of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. His mother was Iyasus's concubine ↗Mäläkotawit.

T.H. came to the fore in 1705 as his father's health radically declined. Although he appears to have favoured T.H.'s younger half-brother, Dawit, in June of that year Iyasu appointed T.H. ↗*bitwäddäd* and withdrew himself from affairs of state. Iyasu spent the rest of 1705 at different sites around Lake ↗Ṭana. In March, 1706, he called T.H. to join him. T.H. consulted with the court notables, most prominently *ras* ↗Fares and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis of Səmen. They warned him that if he went Iyasu might imprison him on ↗Wähni Amba putting Dawit on the throne instead (BegCron 82), and proclaimed T.H. I emperor. In October 1706 the court pressured the deposed Iyasu to join the imprisoned royal princes at Wähni Amba. On his refusal, Iyasu was murdered by Mäläkotawit's brothers Dərmən (Darmän) and P̣awlos (BassÉt 57–60).

The latter years of Iyasu's reign had been beset by doctrinal controversies in which the ↗*Qəbat* party locked horns with the monks of Däbrä Libanos, who advocated a more conservative Alexandrian position (↗*Täwaḥədo*). These same controversies raged during T.H.'s brief reign and were probably responsible for its violent end.

T.H.'s reign was marked by serious unrest with the appearance of at least three different rebels, such as a false ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, and a number of plots amongst the court nobles (BassÉt 61; DombrChr 81f., 94). At least some of the unrest was due to his refusal to accommodate *Qəbat* doctrine, a major expectation of many of his initial backers. *Qəbat* monks approached him after his accession, appealing to him to end their exile. He refused, announcing that faith was not a matter to be decided by proclamation, unlike affairs like ↗*rəst* and ↗*gʷəlt* (BassÉt 58). T.H. held another council at which, again, *Qəbat* doctrine was condemned, and gave land in Gorgora to Iyasu's great foundation, and a bastion of resistance to *Qəbat*, the Gondär church of ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase, to support *täzkar* services in his father's memory.

T.H. was assassinated in Agäw Mədər in 1708. He was succeeded by his uncle ↗Tewoflos.

Src.: BassÉt 56–63 (text) = 167–75 (tr.); BegCron 82–91; DombrChr 238–48 (tr.); GuiIohan.
Lit.: CrumLand s. index; PankHist I, 142f.

Donald Crummey

Täklä Haymanot II

Aṣe T.H. (**ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት**, throne name Ṭəbäb Sägäd; r. 1769–77) was the elder son of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs II, the brother of ↗Täklä Giyorgis, who succeeded him on the throne, and the father of ↗Sälomon III. T.H.'s mother was *wayzäro* Abalä Maryam (ms. BritLib Orient. 511, fol. 26).

T.H. was put on the throne by *ras* ↗Mikaˀel Səḥul of Təgray on 17 October 1769 (BlunChr 1). He was the third person to occupy the throne in 1769, following ↗Iyoˀas and ↗Yoḥannəs II, both murdered by Mikaˀel Səḥul. These machinations were the outgrowth of the internecine struggles amongst the Ethiopian nobility, struggles entailing alliances, which shifted with bewildering rapidity. In making T.H. emperor, the most immediate conflict was amongst Mikaˀel, the Oromo uncles of Iyoˀas, and the ↗*Qʷäräñña* faction centring on Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), Iyoˀas's grandmother. In this power struggle other nobles of Bägemdər and Goǧǧam played supporting roles, but soon stepped centre stage.

For over a year and a half, T.H. was little other than a tool of Mikaˀel Səḥul, to whom he showed public deference. Together they campaigned in Goǧǧam, where, at the Battle of Fageta, they defeated Fasil, a representative of one of the two principal noble lineages of the province. At the beginning of March 1770, T.H. and *ras* Mikaˀel were back in Gondär, having received the obeisance of some of the notables of Bägemdər (BlunChr 8). When the clergy of ↗Azäzo came to salute T.H., he sent them first to Mikaˀel, who had put him on the throne. In May T.H. and Mikaˀel returned to Goǧǧam, where, again they fought with Fasil, then returned quickly to Gondär. With a strong alliance forming against them of notables from Bägemdər and Goǧǧam, they now left for ↗ᶜAdwa, the seat of Mikaˀel's power, taking with them the sacred royal icon, the ↗*Kʷərˀatä rəˀəsu* (BlunChr 12; BruNile III, 477ff.). At this point T.H.'s own retinue was reduced to his immediate circle of relatives and intimate supporters. While Mikaˀel and T.H. passed the rains of 1770 in Təgray, the conspirators entered Gondär and proclaimed as emperor a certain Susənyos. Late in December T.H. and Mikaˀel returned to Gondär, where they chased out Susənyos and suppressed dissidence with great severity (BlunChr 18; BruNile IV, 59–82). However, Mikaˀel was soon to be brought down by an alliance between *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wänd Bäwäsan and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Goššu, following a succession of battles at ↗Sarbakusa, to the south-east of Gondär (BlunChr 18f.; BruNile IV, 110–204). At the very end of May 1771, the rebels invested Gondär and imprisoned Mikaˀel, whom they sent back to Təgray in chains.

T.H. survived the overthrow of his protector by another six years. He resisted becoming the tool of Wänd Bäwäsan and in this he was supported by an alliance of Fasil, Wänd Bäwäsan's former ally, Goššu, and ↗Ḫaylu Ǝšäte, who restored T.H. to Gondär (BlunChr 85). At this point the dating of events becomes vague. T.H. managed successfully to repel one attempt by Wänd Bäwäsan to put T.H.'s brother, ↗Täklä Giyorgis, on the throne. However, T.H. eventually managed to alienate Ḫaylu Ǝšäte, now one of his principal supporters. Ḫaylu Ǝšäte joined with *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq of Goǧǧam. They marched on Gondär in 1777 and this time T.H. withdrew to the monastery of ↗Waldəbba, "preferring the kingdom of heaven" to his earthly kingdom (BlunChr 88), where he apparently died soon after.

The reign of T.H. is one of critical transition away from the active monarchy of ↗Bäkaffa, ↗Iyasu II and ↗Iyoʾas towards the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. T.H.'s brother and successor, Täklä Giyorgis, was known as **ፍጻሜ፡ መንግሥት** (*Fəṣṣame Mängəśt*, 'Ender/Fulfiller of the Kingdom'), but T.H.'s own reign presaged much that was to occur under his brother.

Our information about T.H. is curiously skewed towards the beginning of his reign. The chronicle (BlunChr), which gives us the most coverage of the reign, is, in many ways, more concerned with *ras* Mikaʾel and then with *däǧǧazmač* Ḫaylu Ǝšäte. James ↗Bruce, who visited Ethiopia in 1770 and 1771, provides us the greatest detail. He met T.H. and provides a vivid, if eurocentric, view: "He was a prince of a most graceful figure, tall for his age, rather thin, and of the whitest shade of Abyssinian colour […] His features, even in Europe, would have been thought fine. He was particularly careful of his hair, which he dressed in a hundred different ways. Though he had been absent but a very few months from his native mountain, his manners and carriage were those of a prince, that from his infancy had sat upon an hereditary throne. He has an excellent understanding, and prudence beyond his years" (BruNile II, 709f.).

T.H. was also active, as had been his predecessors, in the granting of land. Many, if not most, of these grants, involved church lands, some specified as ↗*rim*, some as ↗*gʷəlt*. At least two of his grants were in support of the founding of churches by noblemen (BritLib Orient. 745, fol. 225; Orient. 777, fol. 284). His major foundation was the church of Gondär Däbrä Ṭəbäb. The founding document is testified to by nine different copies, the fullest of which would appear to be in a manuscript copy of the ↗*Nägärä Maryam* (BritLib Orient. 604, fol. 4; CrumLand 145, 297 n. 4).

Src.: mss. BritLib Orient. 511, fol. 26, Orient. 604, fol. 4, Orient. 745, fol. 225, Orient. 777, fol. 284; BruNile II, 709f., III, 477ff., IV, 110–204; GuiIyas 251 (text) = 260 (tr.); BlunChr 1–88 (text) = 203–330 (tr.) and passim.
Lit.: JAMES BRUCE, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, Edinburgh 1805 (ill.); CrumLand 145, 297 n. 4.

Donald Crummey

Täklä Haymanot

Ǝč̣č̣äge T.H. (**ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት**; b. Təgray, d. 24 May 1755) was the head of the community of ↗Däbrä Libanos (of Šäwa) at ↗Azäzo four times, in 1710–11, 1718/19–24, 1728–32/33, and in 1740, under four successive emperors (Rossignol 2004: 125 but s. CerDLib III, 171). At other times he probably lived in a monastery on ↗Daga island of Lake ↗Ṭana (BegCron 100, 119).

T.H. was first appointed *əč̣č̣äge* on 3 April 1710, after a vacancy of a year and six months (Raineri 1992: 229; BegCron 92, 94). He was dismissed for unclear reasons under *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos on 26 August 1711 (BegCron 94). He was reappointed under ↗Dawit III, in ca. 1718/19, but soon dismissed by the monks of his community (BegCron 111; GuiIohan 307 [tr.]). He was again in office from 30 October 1728 (under *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa) until 1732/33 when he was dismissed by *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II. Finally he was reappointed on April–May 1740 (BegCron 119; GuiIyas 32 [tr.]). It is not known how long he remained in charge that time, but he was no longer in office when he died in 1755. At that time the head of the community of Däbrä Libanos was probably *əč̣č̣äge* Ewosṭatewos (ca. 1736–37, ca. 1754/55–29 May 1756), who may already have been in office or who perhaps succeeded T.H. upon his withdrawal and death (GuiIyas 174 [tr.]).

T.H.'s successive appointments and dismissals seem to have been the result of hostility and discord between the monks of the community of Däbrä Libänos and the various emperors. His good relationship with Bäkaffa (witnessed by a manuscript in which he is styled "brother" of the Emperor, CerDLib III, 151; Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase 1926/27: 248) may have been a source of tension between T.H. and the monks.

T.H. participated in the theological controversies between the ↗*Täwaḥədo* and ↗*Qəbat* parties, as his position of *əč̣č̣äge* required, supporting the *Täwaḥədo* party.

T.H. was buried in Azäzo Täklä Haymanot (GuiIyas 174), at that time the most important monastery of the "network" of Däbrä Libanos.

Src.: BassÉt 178, 186, 199, 209 (tr.); BégCron 92, 94, 100, 102, 105, 111, 119; DombrChr 266, 268 (tr.); GuiIohan 276, 287 (text) = 295, 307 (tr.); GuiIyas 31, 34, 50, 51, 57, 68, 90, 163 (text) = 32, 35, 53, 55, 60, 73, 97, 174; EMML nos. 2901, 3012, 3372; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Il regno di Iyasu I, re d'Etiopia dal 1682 al 1706 (traduzione del testo etiopico edito in Perr N XV)", *OrChrP* 58, 1992, 213–40; WrBriMus 140f., no. 209 [Orient. 598], fol. 208; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne*, 'The Book of the *Qəne*'), Addis Ababa 1918 A.M. [1926/27 A.D.], 248.

Lit.: CerDLib I, III; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Takla Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38; ELSA ROSSIGNOL, *L'aqqäbe sä^{c}at et l'eccage*: *deux hauts-dignitaires éthiopiens entre l'Eglise et l'Etat* (*$16^{ème}$–$18^{ème}$ s.*), M.A. thesis, Université Paris I – La Sorbonne 2004, 125.

Elsa Rossignol

Täklä Haymanot

Nəguś T.H. (**ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት**, birth name: Adal Ṭäsämma, horse name: Abba Ṭena; b. ca. 1850, Ǧabi Ṭähnan, Däga Damot, d. January 1901, Däbrä Marqos) was a notable of ↗Damot and ↗Goǧǧam proper who dominated the political arena in his home region in the last quarter of the 19th cent. He apparently did not aspire to the Imperial throne, and, hence, served instead as a vassal to the emperors *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV and *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. His descendants also dominated the gubernatorial office of the region for decades after his death.

T.H., originally known as *ləǧ* Adal, was the son of *däǧǧazmač* Täsämma Goššu (G^{w}alu, according to some sources; a native of Damot and a descendant of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq) and *wäyzäro* Məʾəllad Wäldä Səʾul. No mention is made of his siblings, if he had any. Little is known about his early life and education, except that his father died while Adal was young, and that he was brought up by a relative. When, towards the end of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II's reign, the political stability of the country was shaken, Adal bid for power in his native region by rebelling against his foster parent, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Tädla G^{w}alu, the appointee of Tewodros II. Both Tädla and Tewodros died soon thereafter, but the struggle for power continued with their successors. Adal finally submitted to *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis who appointed him ↗*ras*, confirmed him as governor of the whole of Goǧǧam and gave him his sister, *wäyzäro* Laqäč, in marriage. Unlike many of his contemporaries who frequently adjusted their private life to the prevailing political circumstances, T.H. sustained this connubial union to the end of his life.

Nəguś Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam; from Pankhurst – Gérard 1996: 52

The reign of Täklä Giyorgis was cut short by Kaśa Mərča (later *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV) who had granted asylum to *ras* ↗Dästa Tädla, the rival of Adal. After the coronation of Yoḥannəs IV in 1872, Dästa was reinstated and Adal rebelled again. He defeated and killed his rival about two years later, and subsequently submitted to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs through the mediation of the clergy. The sovereign appointed him governor of Goǧǧam and ordered him to quell rebellions in ↗Bägemdər and ↗Səmen. *Ras* Adal was successful in his assignment, and Yoḥannəs rewarded him with a gift of ↗firearms, encouraging him to expand his governorate south of the ↗Abbay. Adal sent his military commander, *däǧǧazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Däräso Ṭäbo, and subdued ↗Guduru, Hooroo, ↗Leeqa, western ↗Wälläga and the ↗Gibe kingdoms. In January 1881, Yoḥannəs crowned him *nəguś* T.H. of Goǧǧam and ↗Käfa at Sämära. The addition of Käfa (which was not yet under his control) meant on the one hand an encouragement to continue the conquest, or retrieval, as Yoḥannəs would have liked to conceive it, and on the other hand a confirmation of T.H.'s family claim to have descended from the royal house of Käfa. Mənilək, who had a similar plan of conquest and who now felt encircled by a neighbouring power, was disturbed by T.H.'s success and an open conflict ensued. Mənilək sent his Oromo general, *ras* ↗Gobäna Dač̣i to the Gibe region to confront *ras* Däraso in Limmuu, and the latter withdrew to Goǧǧam without fighting. The conflict culminated at the Battle of ↗Ǝmbabo (1882), in which T.H. was wounded and taken captive by Mənilək. In the peace negotiation that followed, under the auspices of Yohannəs IV, T.H. lost much of his conquest to Mənilək, but he regained most of his captives and weapons. He was reinstated as governor of Goǧǧam and Damot, excluding ↗Agäw Mədər which was temporarily given to *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda.

During the peaceful years of his rule, T.H. dedicated his efforts to the development of his governorate. He encouraged and subsidized skilled people, particularly local craftsmen. He was also interested in the development of trade and communications throughout his dominion which he eventually expanded westward to ↗Mätäkkäl and the neighbouring areas. In so far as Goǧǧam was scarcely visited by foreigners, T.H. had less access to Western innovations than Yoḥannəs and Mənilək. However, in 1880–81, he authorized the Italian traveller, Gustavo ↗Bianchi, to construct a bridge for him over the Abbay. Bianchi drew a plan, for which the King secured the release of Antonio ↗Cecchi, who had been detained by the Queen of ↗Geeraa. Later he employed Augusto ↗Salimbeni to build a bridge over the Tämč̣a River, some 45 km north of ↗Däbrä Marqos, and took part in the construction himself in order to encourage his people. He also built many churches, the most famous being that of St. Mark at Däbrä Marqos, after which the capital, Mänqorär, was renamed. His administration in general was efficient and just, qualities which made him popular in Goǧǧam both during his lifetime and afterwards.

His reign, nevertheless, hardly enjoyed peace for long periods of time. In the late 1880s, ↗Mahdist forces from the ↗Sudan encroached into south-western Ethiopia, and Yoḥannəs commanded T.H. to defend Bägemdər. He checked the invasion in 1886–87, but was defeated when a new force came in 1888–89. One of his daughters, Məntəwwab, was taken captive and subsequently died in the Sudan under dubious circumstances. ↗Gondär was burnt down by the invaders. Yoḥannəs blamed T.H. for this and authorized Mənilək to fight the Mahdists. Mənilək simply held a military parade in Bägemdər and returned home via Goǧǧam where he incited T.H. to rebel against Yoḥannəs, as a result of which the sovereign devastated Goǧǧam before he marched onto ↗Mätämma.

After the death of Yoḥannəs at Mätämma in March 1889, T.H. surrendered himself to Mənilək who had declared himself the King of Kings of Ethiopia. T.H. was confirmed in office and remained loyal for the rest of his life. He participated in the conquest of Käfa in 1891 and 1897–98 as well as in the campaign of ↗ᶜAdwa. *Aṣe* Mənilək expressed his appreciation by recrowning him in 1894.

T.H. died of illness and was buried at his capital, Däbrä Marqos. He was survived by his wife, *wäyzäro* Laqäč, three sons – *ras* ↗Bäzzabbəh who had married a granddaughter of Mənilək, ↗Zännäbä Wärq Mikaᵓel, *däǧǧazmač* Bäläw who was frequently in conflict with his father, *däǧǧazmač* Śəyyum who eventually styled himself *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot – and a daughter, *wäyzäro* Nəgəśt. The first and the third sons governed Goǧǧam in the first three decades of the 20th cent., but neither of them was nearly as popular as T.H.

Src.: GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *Alla terra dei Galla. Narrazione della spedizione Bianchi in Africa nel 1879–80*, Milano 1884; ChMonV 44, ms Éth. 259 – Mondon-Vidailhet 72, fols. 8r–22v [*aläqa* LÄMLÄM, **የአጼ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ የአጼ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ታሪክ** … (*Yäᵓaṣe Täklä Giyorgis yäᵓaṣe Yoḥannəs tarik*, 'A History of *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis and *aṣe* Yoḥannəs')]; GIRMA Y. GETAHUN (ed., tr.), *The Goǧǧam Chronicle*, vol. 1: *Edition* (publ. online by the British Academy as Fontes Historiae Africanae, new ser. 10, *www.britac.ac.uk/pubs/src/fha/goggam/index.cfm*), vol. 2: *Introduction, Translation and Annotation of Select Chapters*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1991; COUNT EDWARD GLEICHEN, *With the Mission to Menelik 1897*, London 1898; BTafA; GueCopMen s. index; *aläqa* TÄKLÄ IYÄSUS, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäᵓityopya tarik*, 'History of Ethiopia'), ed. by SƎRGƎW GÄLAW, Addis Abäba 2002 A.M. [2009/10 A.D.], 113–205.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia: Negus Täklä Haymanot Abba Tena of Godjam 1850–1901 and His Sons, and Negus Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyyé Abba Säggud, c. 1859–1918", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 29–55; RICHARD A. CAULK, "Territorial Competition and the Battle of Embabo", *ibid.* 13, 1, 1975, 65–88; FanTarik 288–91; HABTAMU MENGISTIE, *Lord, Zèga and Peasant: a Study of Property and Agrarian Relations in Rural Eastern Gojjam*, Addis Ababa 2004 (Forum for Social Studies, Special Monograph Series 1), 86–117; HerTar; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ፡ ከንግሥተ፡ ሳባ፡ እስከ፡ ታላቁ፡ የአድዋ፡ ድል** (*Yäᵓityopya tarik, känəgəśtä Saba əskä tallaqu yäᵓAdwa dəl*, 'A History of Ethiopia from the Queen of Sheba to the Great Victory of Adwa'), ed. by SÄNNAYT TÄKLÄ MARYAM, Addis Abäba 1999 A.M. [2006/07 A.D.], 121, 128, 130, 173; RICHARD PANKHURST – DENIS GÉRARD, *Ethiopia Photographed*:

Historic Photographs of the Country and its People taken between 1867 and 1935, London 1996, 52 (ill.); RubInd; Tsega Endalew Etefa, *Inter-ethnic Relations on a Frontier: Mätäkkäl (Ethiopia), 1898–1991*, Wiesbaden 2006 (AeF 69), 68ff.; ZewYoh.

Bairu Tafla

Täklä Haymanot

Abba T.H. (**ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት**, b. ca. 1822, Memsah, near ^{c}Adwa, d. 4 January 1902, Ḥalay) was a Catholic priest. His father was a *qeši* (↗*qäsis*) of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church attached to the church of Maryam Šewito, eight km north-east of ^{c}Adwa. Among the companions of Giustino De ↗Jacobis there were two with the same name: T.H., "The Elder", who was instrumental in obtaining land for De Jacobis at ↗G^{w}al^{c}a, and T.H. "The Younger", who referred to himself as "The Writer", and who is the subject of this entry.

T.H. first met De Jacobis at the Mädḫane ^{c}Aläm church in ^{c}Adwa. He eventually became his associate and followed him to G^{w}al^{c}a. After completing further theological studies he was ordained a Catholic priest of the Ethiopian rite at G^{w}al^{c}a by Guglielmo ↗Massaja in early 1847.

In 1848 T.H. was appointed to go to Gondär with Giovanni ↗Stella and he repeated the journey on 19 May 1851 in the company of Fr. Biancheri with the intention of delivering a letter from Pope Pius IX to *ras* ↗Ali Alula approving the use of the Gə^{c}əz rite by Catholic priests. When writing in January 1853 De Jacobis mentioned that he had just received from T.H. a treatise on the Sacraments from T.H. and also an Ethiopian Gə^{c}əz Ritual.

When *abunä* ↗Sälama and *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II stepped up the persecution of Catholics, T.H. was arrested with others on 15 July 1854 and on 28 July he was put in the *gənd* and deprived of food and water. After almost a year he was released, thanks to foreign intervention, and returned to ↗Ḥalay on 14 August 1855.

T.H. showed his loyalty to De Jacobis's methods and refused the new catechism, hastily introduced by the succeeding bishop Mgr. Pierre-Louis ↗Bel. This earned him suspension from his priestly duties in 1867. Later he was reinstated by Mgr. Touvier and appointed a member of the commission headed by Jean-Baptiste ↗Coulbeaux that published the Catholic Gə^{c}əz Missal (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qəddase*) in 1890 at Kärän. Later, T.H retired to Ḥalay where he wrote in Amharic the biography of De Jacobis.

Src.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Fonti storiche etiopiche per il secolo 19: 1. Vicende dell'Etiopia e delle missioni cattoliche ai tempi di Ras Ali, Deggiac Ubie e re Teodoro, secondo un documento abissino", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 25, 1916, 425–550; Id., *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, Asmara 1908, here vi, 44–57 (IV. "L'ambasciata francese a Negusé"); Jean-Baptiste Coulbeaux (ed.), **ሥርዐተ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ ዘቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ካቶሊካዊት፡ እንተ፡ በኢትዮጵያ** (*Śər^{c}atä qəddase zäbetä krəstiyan katolikawit əntä bä^{ɔ}ityoṗya*, 'The Missal of the Catholic Church in Ethiopia'), Kärän 1890; Giustino De Jacobis, *Scritti: Diario, Epistolario,* 2 vols, Roma 2003; Mauro da Leonessa (ed.), *Lettere di Abba Tecle-Haymanot di Adua*, 4 vols., Roma 1939; Osvaldo Raineri (ed.), *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici* (*Secoli XII–XX*), Città del Vaticano 2003; Täklä Haymanot, **አቡነ፡ ያዕቆብ** (*Abunä Ya^{c}əqob*), French tr. by Jean-Baptiste Coulbeaux, *Abouna Yacob ou le Vénérable Justin de Jacobis*, Paris 1914.

Lit.: Salvatore Arata, *Vita del Beato Giustino de Jacobis*, Roma 1939; Jean-Baptiste Coulbeaux, *Vers la Lumière: Le Bienheureux Abba Ghèbrè-Michaël*, Paris 1926; OMahPh.

Kevin O'Mahoney

Täklä Haymanot

Abunä T.H. (**ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት**, given name Mäk^{w}əriya, later Mälaku; b. 18 September 1917, Maḫdärä Maryam, Gondär, d. 4 June 1988, Addis Abäba) was the third Patriarch of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC).

T.H. was born to Wäldä Mika^{ɔ}el Wändəmmu and Zäwditu Kaśa in Gondär. Upon his father's death, Zäwditu returned with the child to Bəč̣äna where T.H. started his traditional church education at Yäräz Mika^{ɔ}el church. He then went to Maḫdärä Maryam and served as a ↗*diyaqon* until deciding to become a ↗hermit.

In 1933/34 he went to Däbrä Mänkərat Täklä Haymanot in Wälaytta (Märša Alläk̲äññ 2004: 63). There he changed his name to Mälaku and started the strict spiritual exercises as a hermit under the close scrutiny of *abba* Dästa. He continued his church education (↗*Mäṣḥaf bet*) under abbot *mämhər* Wäldä Iyäsus, and took the monastic order in the same monastery. He was ordained priest under *abunä* ↗Qerəllos in Addis Abäba. Because of his calligraphic skills he became the monastery's scribe. Most of the manuscripts kept at Däbrä Mänkərat were copied by T.H.

T.H. was active in evangelizing Wälaytta but also supported the local community in getting access to modern infrastructure. His popularity made him one of the five candidates selected to replace the forcibly removed, and later executed, second Patriarch of the EOTC *abunä* ↗Tewoflos.

T.H. was appointed Patriarch on 31 August 1976. His ordination was condemned by the

Abunä Täklä Haymanot during a visit in Aksum; photo courtesy of St. Mary Photo, Aksum

Coptic Church, the All Africa Conference of Churches and the World Council of Churches. Though presumed by many, including the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council, to be unlearned and easy to manipulate, T.H. turned out to be a true religious leader who resisted the anti–Church politics of the *Därg*. He revised the Parish Council and Sunday School structures in the churches of the country. He also opened six training centres for clergy in different regions of the country to provide the EOTC with young leaders and scholars. He increased the number of dioceses and ordained 28 new bishops. During his period the EOTC opened 36 orphanages. Children who were reared there became traditional scholars who would later hold leading church offices.

In 1986, while laying the foundation for a new church at Däbrä Mänkərat Täklä Haymanot, T.H. fell ill. He was hospitalized in Ṭor Ḫayločč hospital in Addis Abäba he finally died. T.H.'s funeral on 6 June 1988 at the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba was attended by high level church and state officials. A monument was erected at the Qəddəst Śəllase cemetery.

Src.: Archive of the EOTC, file no. 200, folder no. 10936 ["*Abunä* Täklä Haymanot"], file no. 200, folder no. 742 ["Däbrä Mänkərat"].

Lit.: MÄRŠA ALLÄḴÄÑÑ, **ዜና፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን** (*Zena p̣ap̣p̣asat ityop̣yawəyan*, 'History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 63; [CHURCH COUNCIL of the EOTC], **ዜና፡ መዋዕል፡ ዘተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Zena mäwaᶜəl zä-Täklä Haymanot*, 'The History of Täklä Haymanot'), Addis Abäba 1977 A.M. [1985/86 A.D.].

Mersha Alehegne

Täklä Iyäsus Waqǧəra

Aläqa T.I. (**ተክለ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ዋቅጅራ**, also known as Täkle; b. 1867/68, Albasa, Kutay, d. 28 February 1936) was a church educated artist, historian and genealogist who flourished under the patronage of *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam.

He was born as Nagaroo to Oromo parents, Waaq Ǧera and Galanee. At the age of seven he was captured in a raid conducted by *däǧǧazmač* Yälemtu Goššu, and grew up in his captor's home at Däbrä Ṣəmmuna, eastern Goǧǧam. He was baptized there as T.I. and learnt Amharic. He received a traditional church education at ↗Dima Giyorgis, and became a highly skilled deacon and traditional artist. He went into *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot's service in 1889 and worked with the master painter *aläqa* Ḫaylu on murals, illuminations and engravings in the palace as well as in the churches and monasteries of Goǧǧam, including Dima Giyorgis, ↗Däbrä [Śäḥay Qəddus] Marqos and Ṭamayit Giyorgis. Toward the end of the 1890s, he was made an *aläqa* over ṣəd Maryam.

In 1896/97, after eleven years of research, he completed his first major work, *The Genealogy of* [*the Peoples of*] *Goǧǧam*, a unique and highly interesting document. Täklä Haymanot's death in 1901 deprived him of a generous patron. *Ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot had him jailed briefly, having used him to forge a seal of one of his father's officials. Ignored and frustrated, and suffering, by then, from a malady which affected his sight, T.I. appeared to have abandoned painting and engraving. He dedicated himself to writing the *Chronicle*, covering the entire period of Ethiopian history, paying greater attention to events in Goǧǧam from the time of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq until 1925.

T.I. was laid to rest in Däbrä Śäḥay Qəddus Marqos, where many of his paintings, illuminated manuscripts and engraved holy vessels form part of the treasures of the church.

T.I. wrote in the style of traditional narrative ↗historiography, focusing on leading actors, with their changing fortunes explained by means of destiny or divine intervention; he employed a language akin to the ↗Historical books of the Bible. His *Genealogy* and *Chronicle,* however, were not commissioned works, and as such are remarkably free from flattery and vain praise of his royal patron, as well as from self-censure.

A fuller account of his life and works will have to wait for a proper assessment of his artistic output along with critical editions of his literary works.

Src.: GIRMA GETAHUN (ed., tr.), *The Goǧǧam Chronicle*, vol. 1: *Edition* (publ. online by the British Academy as Fontes Historiae Africanae, new ser. 10, *www.britac.ac.uk/pubs/src/fha/goggam/index.cfm*), vol. 2: *Introduction, Translation and Annotation of Select Chapters*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1991; *aläqa* TÄKLÄ IYÄSUS, **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäzämän tarik*, 'History of Times, i.e. Annals'), ms. EMML no. 4802 [cp. EMML no. 1411]; ID., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ታሪክ/የንጉሥ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Yäʾityopya tarik/Yänəguś Täklä Haymanot*, 'A History of Ethiopia [and] of *Nəguś* Täklä Haymanot'), IES ms. 254; ID., **የጎጃም፡ ታሪክ** (*Yägoǧǧam tarik*, 'The Goǧǧam Chronicle'), ms. copied by Mäsärät Səbḥat Läʾab for the British Academy, [1979], 388–402, 407, 426, 435f., 442, 444, 446, 448, 460, 467, 493, 507, 510, 526ff.; ID., **የጎጃም፡ ትውልድ፡ በሙሉ፡ ከዓባይ፡ እስከ፡ ዓባይ** (*Yägoǧǧam təwləd bämulu käʿabbay əskä ʿabbay*, 'The Genealogy of Goǧǧam as Encompassed by the Blue Nile'), ms. n.d., 82.
Lit.: REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, "The Achievement of Emperor Téwodros II of Ethiopia (1855–1868): from an Unpublished Manuscript by Aleqa Tekle–Iyesus ('Aleqa Teklé') of Gojjam", *NEASt* 5, 3, 1998, 7–11.

Girma Getahun

Täklä Maryam

T.M. (**ተክለ፡ ማርያም**, regnal name Ḥəzbä Nañ; r. 1430–33) was a younger brother of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq.

After Yəsḥaq's death in 1430, a troublesome period began. He was first succeeded by his son ↗Ǝndrəyas, but the latter only stayed in power for a few months. According to the contemporary Arab historian al-↗Maqrīzī, another son of Yəsḥaq, Sälomon (may be his regnal name) briefly succeeded Ǝndrəyas. Eventually, power was assumed by T.M.

According to some versions of the "short chronicles" (BassÉt I, 12; BegCron 12), T.M. was the third son of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II and reigned for four years. Another version (DombrChr 155) states that T.M. and his son ↗ʿAmdä Iyäsus reigned for five years (this narrative omits T.M.'s other son and probable successor ↗Śərwä Iyäsus). A version from Gondär claims that T.M. and his two sons reigned for five years. The differences between the versions, though not necessarily contradictory, reveal a certain uncertainty in the historical recollection of succeeding generations, and the confusion during and particularly after T.M.'s rule.

T.M. is associated with the church of Däy Giyorgis next to Däbrä Bəsrat in ↗Morät, Šäwa (Chojnacki 1969: 45, 47f.). It was probably a royal foundation of this ruler, a theory which appears to be confirmed by the still visible ruins, comparable to those of other churches of this type such as ↗Mäkanä Śəllase and the old ↗Märṭulä Maryam.

Src.: BassÉt 12 (text) = 102 (tr.), 242 n. 101; BegCron 12; DombrChr 155; FotCr 92; MaqIlmam^2 39.
Lit.: STANISŁAW CHOJNACKI, "Däy Giyorgis", *JES* 7, 1969, 43–52, here 45, 47f.; TadTChurch 280f.; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 511–15.

Marie-Laure Derat

Täklä Maryam Sämharay Sällim

Abba T.M. (**ተክለ፡ ማርያም፡ ሰምሃራይ፡ ሰሊም**; b. 23 August 1871, Kärän, d. 30 November 1942, Rome) was an important Eritrean Catholic scholar.

His parents, Sämharay Ṣəllim and Ḥəyar Däbrom, came to Kärän from Šeb Sälläba, near ↗Däbrä Sina, to the east of the city. In 1883 T.M. joined the Catholic Seminary of Kärän, established by Vincentians in 1869. There he was influenced by the prominent defender of the Gəʿəz Catholic rite *abba* Täklä Haymanot Täkläzgi, the linguist *mämhər* ↗Kəflä Giyorgis of Ankobär, and the language teacher Stahl (OMahPh 219). At the same time, T.M. studied printing at the Lazarist ↗printing press, established in Kärän in 1878/79.

On 27 May 1893 T.M. was ordained in Kärän by Jean Crouzet and became parish priest in Ḥalib Mänṭal.

In 1894 the French missionaries were replaced by the Italian ↗Capuchins. T.M. returned to Kärän taking up teaching at the Seminary and resuming editorial work for the former Lazarist printing press, being the only person who knew how to use it. T.M. provided technical and editorial assistance for the publication of numerous books including the first Catholic version of the ↗Psalter, the translation from Italian of the *Le figlie di Maria* (**ናይ፡ ደቂ፡ ማርያም፡ መጽሐፍ**, *Nay däqqi Maryam mäṣḥaf*). During this period he also produced his book of ↗*Säwasəw*.

T.M. was an active missionary who introduced ↗Catholicism in his native area Šeb Sälläba, Robto, and served at the ancient Church of Mägarəh and Bämbi. In 1899, T.M. was the delegate of the Vicariate of Eritrea to the worldwide exposition hosted in Turin, Italy.

In 1910, the Apostolic Prefect Michele Carbonara transferred T.M. to ↗Jerusalem with the position of rector and chaplain for the Catholic Gəᶜəz rite pilgrims to the Holy Land. T.M. established contact with the Ethiopian Orthodox monks of ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān, which helped him deepen his knowledge of the Liturgy in relation to other Oriental Churches. At this time, T.M. took an active stance for the purification of the Gəᶜəz rite from Latin influences, criticizing Coulbeaux for introducing Latin passages in his 1890 Gəᶜəz translation of the Missal (*Mäṣḥafä ↗qəddase*). He compared the current Catholic Gəᶜəz Missal with the texts contained in the Ethiopic and Copto-Arabic manuscripts in Jerusalem and demanded "purification of liturgical texts", deleting Latin insertions and making only very few dogmatic corrections to the Ethiopian text.

T.M. actively assisted the Ethiopian Orthodox community of Jerusalem during the dispute for the ownership of the holy places. He provided the results of his research on the ownership rights to *ṣäḥafe təᶜəzaz* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase when he was on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1921, and to Empress ↗Mänän, when she came accompanied by Gäbrä Śəllase and *blatta* ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase in 1922.

In 1927 T.M. was sent to Rome, being replaced in Jerusalem by *abba* Täklä Maryam Kaḥsay. From September 1927 to May 1933 T.M. taught at ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori. During this period he continued to promote the idea of intensifying Catholic efforts in Eritrea (cp. his letter to the ↗Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus of 28 June 1929). However, his presence was inconvenient for the Capuchin friars. As a result of tensions, he left Rome for France on 11 July 1933. Until 1936, when he returned to Rome to teach Gəᶜəz and Amharic at the University of Rome, he served as a chaplain for the Catholic community in Paris. During his stay there, he consulted manuscripts of the ↗Bibliothèque Nationale and wrote his findings in the manuscript **ጦማሬ፡ ፓሪስ** (*Ṭomare Paris*, 'The collection of Paris').

T.M.'s research and teaching paved the way for many students to better understand the liturgical identity of Ethiopians and Eritreans. The late Eparch of Eritrea *abunä* Abrəha Francis was one of his last disciples.

Src.: archives of the Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus, of Santo Stefano dei Mori, of the Eparchy of Asmara; *abba* Täklä Maryam Sämharay, **የግዕዝ፡ ቋንቋ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Yägəᶜəz qʷanqʷa säwasəw*, 'The *Säwasəw* of Gəᶜəz Language'), Kärän 1899 A.M. [1906/07 A.D.]; Id. (ed.), **ፊደል፡ ቋንቋ፡ ኢትዮጵያ** (*Fidäl qʷanqʷa Ityopya*, 'Fidäl Language of Ethiopia'), Kärän 1897 A.M. [1904 A.D.]; **ትምህርተ፡ ሀሳብ** (*Təmhərtä həsab*, 'Learning to Count'), Roma 1913; Id., **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዋስው፡ ዘልሳነ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ በልሳነ፡ ርእሱ** (*Mäṣḥafä säwasəw zäləssanä mäṣḥaf bäləssanä rəʾəsu*, 'The Book of *Säwasəw* of the Language of the Book in the Same Language'), Roma 1931 A.M. [1939 A.D.]; Id., **ክፍለ፡ ሰዋስው፡ ሣልስ** (*Kəflä säwasəw śaləs*, 'The Third Part of the *Säwasəw*'), Roma 1902 A.M. [1910 A.D.]; Id., **መርሐ፡ ጸሒፈ፡ መላእክት** (*Märḥa ṣäḥifä mälaʾəkt*, 'Guide on Writing Letters'), Roma 1901 A.M. [1909 A.D.]; Id., **መምህረ፡ ልሳነ፡ ግዕዝ** (*Mämhərä ləssanä gəᶜəz*, 'Teacher of Gəᶜəz Language'), Roma 1903 A.M. [1911 A.D.]; Id., **ፍጡን፡ መልመዴ፡ ፊደል፡ ወንባብ፡ ዘልሳነ፡ ግዕዝ** (*Fəṭun mälmäde fidäl wänəbab zäləssanä gəᶜəz*, 'Quick Drilling in the Gəᶜəz Syllabary and Reading'), Roma 1903 A.M. [1911 A.D.]; Id. (Tecle Mariam Semharai Selim), *De Indumentis Sacris Ritus Aethiopici*, Roma 1930; Id., *De SS. Sacramentis Secundum Ritum Aethiopicum*, 1931; Id., *La Messe de Notre Dame dite Agreable Parfum de Saintete*, Rome 1927; Id., *Règles speciales de la messe éthiopienne*, Roma 1936; Id., *Modo facile di seguire la Santa Messa in rito alessandrino etiopico*, Roma 1938; Id., "Notae circa liturgiam aethiopicam", *Ephemerides liturgicae* 42, 1928, 440–43, 507–31; Id., "La messa secondo il rito etiopico", *L'Oriente Cristiano e l'Unità delle Chiese* 1–3, 1936–38, 177–81; Id., "Nel trigesimo", *Osservatore Romano* 82, 303, 30 December 1942.

Lit.: CerPal; Enrico Cerulli, "Abba Tekla Maryam Semharay ed i suoi studi etiopici", *Oriente moderno* 22, 1942, 516–17; Marcel Cohen – Roger Schneider, "Le troisième chapitre de la grammaire par Abbā Takla Māryām W.S.", *RSE* 13, 1954 [1955], 31–44 and 14, 1955–58 [1959], 7–27; Kirsten Stoffregen Pedersen, *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, Jerusalem 1983; OMahPh 219; Metodio da Nembro, *La Missione dei Minori Cappuccini in Eritrea (1894–1952)*, Roma 1953.

Uqbagaber Woldeghiorghis

Täklä Näbiyat ↗Stephanites ↗Gundä Gunde

Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya

T. (**ተክለ፡ ጻድቅ፡ መኵሪያ**, b. 11 September 1913, Asagərt, near Ankobär, d. 23 July 2000, Addis Abäba) was an eminent scholar, prolific Ethiopian historian and a statesman. He received a church ↗education at Rufaʾel Church in Gullallee, Addis Abäba, where his father, *märigeta* Mäkʷəriya Gulte, was a ↗*däbtära*. He then began to work as a private secretary for *bitwäddäd* ↗Wäldä Ṣadəq and at the age of 19 entered into an arranged marriage with *wäyzäro* Kassaye Dästa. In pursuit of a modern education he studied for three years at the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School. During the Italian occupation (1936–41) T. was held in Danane prison camp in Italian Somaliland for over two years.

After the liberation T. joined Ḫaylä Śəllase I's government. Fluent in Italian, at the Ministry of Education, he was assigned to translate Luca ↗Pietromarchi's *Storia di Abissinia* (Rome 1936–38). In 1945, he was promoted to the post of Secretary General of the Ministry of Education. In 1952 he was appointed First Secretary at the Ethiopian Embassy in Paris after which he carried out research at the ↗Bibliothèque Nationale.

In 1945/46 he published the first volume of his opus magnum on Ethiopian history, which was to cover from Aksumite times up to the reign of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II (TSTarik I–IV).

In the 1960s T. worked as Consul General in Jerusalem and as Ambassador in Yugoslavia and in the same decade published four studies written in French. In the 1970s he returned to Ethiopia as Minister of State of the Antiquities Administration. He was also the chairman of the committee charged with drafting the second volume of the Emperor's autobiography (HSLife [Amh.], vol. 2).

After the Ethiopian ↗Revolution of 1974 T. was appointed Minister of Culture, Sports and Youth, and later chairman of the conference for drafting a new constitution. Still, disappointed with the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council, he retired from civil service in December 1974 and devoted his time to various initiatives he considered valuable: he contributed to UNESCO's *General History of Africa* and took an active part in the International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies. T. carried out research in the National Archives of France, Britain, Italy and the United States of America. His studies resulted in a trilogy on the reigns of Emperors Tewodros II, ↗Yoḥannəs IV and ↗Mənilək II written in Amharic.

T. presented the history of his nation from an Ethiopian rather than Eurocentric point of view. Renowned for his mastery of Amharic, he wrote in a clear and comprehensible language which made his writings ideally suited for school education and very popular in Ethiopia. He left an unpublished biography.

Src.: HSLife [Amh.], vol. 2; Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya, **ከጣዖት፡ አምልኮ፡ ወደ፡ ክርስትና** (*Käṭaᶜot amləko wädä krəstənna*, 'From Idolatry to Christianity'), Addis Abäba 1940 A.M. [1947/48 A.D.]; Id., *L'empereur Zara Yaicob et sa lettre à la communauté éthiopienne de Jérusalem*, Jerusalem 1963; Id., *Les animaux ouvrier et aristocrates*, Jerusalem 1963; Id., *Les nomes propres, les noms de bâptème et l'étude généalogique des rois d'Ethiopie* (*XIII–XX siècles*) *à travers leur noms patronimiques*, Belgrade 1966; Id., *L'Église d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1967; Id., **የግራኝ፡ አህመድ፡ ወረራ** (*Yägrañ Ahmäd wärära*, 'The Invasion of Ahmäd Grañ'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]; Id., **አጼ፡ ቴዎድሮስና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት** (*ˀAṣe Tewodrosənna yäˀityopya andənnät*, '*Aṣe* Tewodros and the Unity of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.]; Id., **አጼ፡ ዮሐንስና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት** (*ˀAṣe Yoḥannəsənna yäˀityopya andənnät*, '*Aṣe* Yoḥannəs and the Unity of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; Id., **አጼ፡ ምኒልክና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት** (*ˀAṣe Məniləkənna yäˀityopya andənnät*, '*Aṣe* Mənilək and the Unity of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; TSTarik I–IV.

Lit.: Beletu Kebede, "Takla Sâdiq Makuryâ. Tekle-Tsadik Mekurya: un grand historien contemporaine de langue amharique", *Bulletin de la Maison des Etudes Ethiopiennes* 1, 1992, 53–61; Sevir B. Černetsov, "Tekle-Tsadyk Mekurija (sentjabr' 1915 g.–ijul' 2000 g.)", *Hristianskij Vostok* 3, nov. ser., 2001 [2002], 542–53 (Lit.); Richard Pankhurst, "Tekle-Tsadik Mekouriya", *IES Bulletin* 23–24, 2000, 31–35; Rita Pankhurst, "In memoriam Tekle Tsadik Mekouria (1913–2000)", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 201–10 (Lit.); Lanfranco Ricci, "Un dignitario etiopico tra passato e presente" *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 117–34; Id., "Taklaṣādeq Makuriyā`", *ibid.* 43, 1999 [2000], 213–15.

Ewa Wołk

Täklä Śəllase

Ṣäḥafe təˀəzaz T.Ś. (**ተክለ፡ ሥላሴ**, fl. 1612–38, d. 9 March 1638) was a royal chronicler. Of Oromo origin, he was also known by his Oromo nickname "Ṭino", which referred to a person of small stature (PerChron 160). According to the "short chronicles", at the end of Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl's reign T.Ś. was, together with a certain Abib, the head of a group of priests who were famous for their practice of ↗*qəne*. The other priests were Maᶜəqäbo, Asbe, Zäpäre, Nəway, Näbaro and Sänkoräs (BegChron 40).

It is not known when T.Ś. joined Susənyos's camp. He was already the Emperor's principal secretary when ↗Śəᶜəlä Krəstos converted to Catholicism, which occurred towards 1612 (BecRASO III, 432; also VII, 277; XI, 283; Pennec 2003:222 and note 119). According to Esteves Pereira, however, he took up his duties as *ṣäḥafe təˀəzaz* only in July 1619 (PerChron XVIII).

Of great intelligence, T.Ś. was the Emperor's counsellor and intimate friend (BecRASO III, 374; VII, 393; PerChron 69). He was also befriended by the Jesuit fathers (↗Jesuits) and became one of their principal informants at court (BecRASO II, 15; III, 374, 386, 432; VI, 229, 299, 309). T.Ś. was one of the staunchest supporters of Catholicism and the friend of such pro-Catholic figures as Śəᶜəlä Krəstos, ↗Bukko and ↗Qəbᶜa Krəstos (BecRASO III, 386; VI, 333f.; VII, 393; XI, 468, 474; XIII, 175, 400).

As official royal historiographer, T.Ś. accompanied the Emperor during his journeys and stayed in his *kätama* during the rainy season. He might have been the author of the greatest part of the royal chronicle, from ch. 23 to ch. 79 ca., thus continuing the first part written by ↗Məhərka Dəngəl until he was replaced by a third chronicler (cf. Toubkis 2004: 107–34). In the text, he has his own voice independent from the Emperor and relies on his own testimony (PerChron 160, 174).

T.Ś. gave up his duties towards 1628–29 and retired to Təgray together with Qəbᶜa Krəstos (PerChron XXII). According to Manoel de ↗Almeida, he was dismissed from office at the instigation of the anti-Catholic Ləssanä Krəstos (BecRASO VII, 3). After the Emperor had seized his property, he went into exile in ↗Fogära where he lived with some priests that were in hiding there (BecRASO XIII, 69; on his death, cf. BecRASO VI, 396; VII, 209; XIII, 400; PerChron XXIV).

↗Historiography

Src.: BecRASO II, 15; III, 374, 386, 432; VI, 229, 299, 309, 333f., 396; VII, 3, 209, 277, 393; XI, 283, 474, note 2, 468; XIII, 69, 175, 400; BegChron 40; PerChron XVII–XXVI, 18, 22, 24, 40ff., 69, 160, 174 [tr.].

Lit.: Hervé Pennec, *Des Jésuites au royaume du prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation 1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 222 and n. 119; Dimitri Toubkis, *"Je deviendrai roi sur tout le pays d'Ethiopie". Royauté et écriture de l'histoire dans l'Ethiopie chrétienne* (*XVIe–XVIIIe siècles*), Université de Paris I, 2004, 107–34.

Dimitri Toubkis

Täklä Ṣəyon ↗Saints, local

Täklä Ṣəyon Ǝnyäw

Aläqa T.Ṣ. (**ተክለ፡ ጽዮን፡ እንየው**; b. 1820, Ḥarr Amba, Šäwa, d. 1881, Jerusalem) was a famous 19th-cent. ↗*andəmta* scholar.

T.Ṣ. studied under different masters of traditional ↗education including *arat ᶜayna* Goššu of Goğğam (cp. ↗*Mäṣḥaf bet*, ↗Moṭa Giyorgis).

T.Ṣ. was a known advocate of the *Sost lədät* doctrine (↗*Ṣägga*) which led to his persecution under ↗Tewodros II and ↗Yoḥannəs IV, and his excommunication by *abunä* ↗Sälama [III] in Gondär (BTafA 64). T.Ṣ. refused, however, to take an active part in the council of ↗Boru Meda in 1878 and argue with his adversaries when he learnt that Yoḥannəs IV had nicknamed him "Täklä Ləyon" (lit. 'the plant of Leo [i.e. Leo I, the pope of Rome, 440–61]'; Mängəśtu Lämma 1966/67: 154f.); and T.Ṣ., offended, withdrew.

T.Ṣ. took the monastic vow at the monastery of Däbrä Dəmaḥ in Goğğam (↗Dima Giyorgis). According to *aläqa* ↗Lämma Ḫaylu's reminiscences, T.Ṣ. took the monastic order without accepting the ↗*Täwaḥədo* doctrine and dropping *Sost lədät*, only in order to obtain the trust of the community and gain access to the monastery's famous collections (Mängəśtu Lämma 1966/67: 159).

In the late 1860s, *nəguś* ↗Mənilək invited T.Ṣ. to Šäwa and appointed head of the St. George church at ↗Fəqre Gəmb, near Ankobär. There he met Guglielmo ↗Massaja (BTafA 66). This meeting probably made him more open to Catholic doctrine. T.Ṣ.'s pro-Catholic position eventually led him to be rejected of the majority of traditional church scholars. T.Ṣ. eventually fled the country and went to ↗Jerusalem where he died and is buried.

T.Ṣ. is cited as one of the informants of his nephew ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis Gäbrä Mäsiḥ for the latter's *Yägalla tarik* (BTafA 68).

Src.: AmhChurchD vol. 4, 129f.; BTafA 64, 66, 68; HerTar 67, 79; Mängəśtu Lämma, **መጽሐፈ፡ ትዝታ፡ ዘአለቃ፡ ለማ** (*Mäṣḥafä təzzəta zäʾaläqa Lämma*, 'The Book of *aläqa* Lämma's Reminiscences'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 154f., 158f., 162.

Lit.: Roger Wenman Cowley, "Mämher Esdros and his Interpretations", in: *PICES* 6, 41–67; Id., "Old Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition", *JES* 12, 1974, 133–75; Id., "New Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 26, 1977, 144–92.

Mersha Alehegne

Täklil: Mäṣḥafä täklil

The M.t. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ተክሊል**, 'Book of Crowning') is the ritual of ↗matrimony of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC). Its title is due to the fact that bride and groom wear crowns during the ↗wedding ceremony.

Manuscripts of M.t. are extremely numerous, cf., e.g.:

CRAbb II, 462, no. 72 (d'Abbadie 213), fols. 1r–20r; HamSixBerl 226, no. 119 (orient. quart. 999), fols. 3r–33v; WrBriMus 93, no. 137 (Orient. 550), fols. 48–56; 94, no. 139 (Orient. 788), fols. 51–62; GrébGriaule I, 172f., Éthiopien 335 (Griaule 31), fols. 33r–61r; EMML I, 31, no. 31, fols. 159r–192v; I, 53, no. 48, fols. 75r–99r; II, 232, no. 502, fols. 3r–23r; II, 261, no. 528, fols. 26r–43v; II, 425, no. 669, fols. 54r–63v; III, 186, no. 864, fols. 76r–89v; etc.

Guidi (GuiSLett 75) dates the composition of the M.t. tentatively to the 17th cent., at least in its present form. Studies on the textual history of the M.t. are missing.

The M.t., as it has been edited by the Patriarchate of the EOTC, consists of three parts, corresponding to the three parts of the rite. The first part, for the Service of Betrothal (**ሕፅዓት**, *ḥəṣ́ᶜat*; the rite is also known as **ሥርዓተ፡ ፍኅረት**, *Śərᶜatä fəḫrät*, lit. 'Rite of Betrothal'), is composed of six "commandments" (**ትእዛዛት**, *təʾəzazat*). In this part, the bride and the bridegroom confirm their voluntary agreement to marry in front of the priest and the public and exchange testament rings (for prayers, s. the entry on Matrimony: Service, part I, 1–16). The second part, the Service of Matrimony (**ከብካብ**, *käbkab*), contains the reading for the rite celebrated on Sunday after the matins (s. ibid., part II, 25–27). The third part is the actual rite of the Holy Matrimony (**ሥርዓተ፡ ምሥጢረ፡ ተክሊል**, *Śərᶜatä məśṭirä täklil*, lit. 'Rite of the Mystery [i.e. 'Sacrament'] of Crowning', s. Matrimony, ibid. 29–39, for the list of prayers).

The M.t. in the edition of the EOTC (1964, 2001/02) also includes the **ጸሎተ፡ መዐስባን** (*ṣälotä mäᶜassəban*, lit. 'prayer for widow[er]s/divorced', also referred to as **ጸሎተ፡ ሰብሳብ፡ ካልእ** …, *Ṣälotä säbsab kaləʾ* 'prayer for the second marriage'), which is the rite for remarriage.

Src.: MARIUS CHAÎNE (ed.), "Le Rituel éthiopien – Rituel de la confirmation et du mariage", *Bessarione* 29, 1913, 255–83; ChAbb; EMML I, II, III; GrébGriaule I; HamSixBerl; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ተክሊል** (*Mäṣḥafä täklil*, 'The Book of Crowning'), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1964 A.D.], ^{2}1994 A.M. [2001/02 A.D.]; ID. (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ክርስትና፤ መጽሐፈ፡ ተክሊል፤ መጽሐፈ፡ ቄደር፤ መጽሐፈ፡ ቀንዲል** (*Mäṣḥafä krəstənna, Mäṣḥafä täklil, Mäṣḥafä qedär, Mäṣḥafä qändil*; 'Ritual of Baptism; Ritual of Crowning; Ritual of Penance [lit. 'Jar']; and Ritual of Unction'), Addis Abäba 1993 A.M. [2001 A.D.]; WrBriMus.

Lit.: GuiSLett 75; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Celebrazione del matrimonio nel rito etiopico", in: GIUSTINO FARNEDI (ed.), *La Celebrazione cristiana del matrimonio: Simboli e Testi. Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Liturgia, Roma 27–31 Magio 1985*, Roma 1986 (Studia Anselmiana 93. Analecta liturgica 11), 307–41.

Stefan Weninger

Täklo ↗Täklä Haymanot

Täkʷəlädäre

T. (**ተኰለደሬ**, also Täkulädäre, Tähuladäre) is a highland territory in southern ↗Wällo, to the west of Lake ↗Ḥayq, located between the mountains of Ambassäl and the escarpment of Wärrä Babbo. T. is an area where three rivers have their sources: the Bäšəlo (watershed of the ↗Nile), the ↗Millee and the Borkänna (watershed of the ↗Awaš). Two lakes, Ḥayq and Ardibo, are also found in T. (for location s. map for Tänta). It is situated in the altitudinal zone of ↗*wäyna däga* (ca. 1,800 m A.S.L.). The area is hilly, slopes are soft and soils fertile. Being propitious for cultivation, T. is a very densely populated area. Nowadays T. is a *wäräda* of South Wällo zone of the Amhara *kəlləl* with a population of 117,856 (CSA 2008) inhabitants. Its main town is Ḥayq.

According to local traditions corroborated by ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis, this territory owes its name to a certain Täkle or Täklu, originating from Därha, in Bägemdər (BTafA 383). He is alleged to have been a priest who was sent by *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (presumably in 1622 after a campaign in Angot) to protect Christian communities around Lake Ḥayq. Johann Ludwig ↗Krapf recorded a similar tradition: "T. is said to have derived its name from a priest called Teclo, […] principally feared for his magical reputation, the country was called Tehooladere. Adare is for adara [*addärä*] – he rested, passed his time" (IsKrapf 419). According to traditions, this eponymous person and his successor called Ǧari founded the local ruling family of the Arreločč.

The Arreločč chiefs are remembered in the collective memory for having received several groups of Oromo migrants (such as Wärrä Wayyu, Wärrä Ṭayyä, Wärrä Babbo) granting them land and allying with them. Amongst the last migrants to settle in T. were the ↗Mammädočč, who would later rebel against the Arreločč and become the main local power in Wällo. In the 1830s, the hegemonic ambition of ᶜAli Marəyye, the chief of T., were thwarted by a coalition of neighbouring chiefdoms which supported his rival Amäde "Abba Šawol" who then took over power. The population of T. was decimated by this conflict, and, in the following years, by a cholera epidemic and a famine (IsKrapf 398–401). Then, T. came under the domination of the Mammädočč of ↗Wärrä Himäno and followed the process of integration of Wällo into the Christian Ethiopian kingdom.

Src.: BTafA 383; Guida 322; IsKrapf 398–401, 419.

Lit.: ABEBE FISSEHA, *Land Tenure in Tahuladare Warada from c. 1799–1974*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1987; MESFIN WOLDE MARYAM, *Suffering under God's Environment: a Vertical Study of the Predicament of Peasants in North-Central Ethiopia*, Bern 1991; ZERGAW ASFERA, *Some Aspects of Historical Development in 'Amhara/Wällo' (ca. 1700–1815)*, B.A. thesis, Haile Selassie I University, Addis Ababa 1973, 10–13.

Eloi Ficquet

Talbot, David Abner

T. (b. late 1910s, British Guiana, d. 1988, Addis Ababa) was a journalist, writer, editor and a staunch Pan-Africanist, active in the United States and Ethiopia. As a young man he migrated from British Guiana to the United States where he graduated from the University of New York. There he associated with African students, edited a monthly magazine, *The African*, and was involved in social and African American emancipatory struggles. He was a cousin of T.R. Makonnen, the organizer of the 5th Pan-African Congress held in Manchester in 1945 (↗Pan-Africanism).

In 1943 T. met the Ethiopian vice-minister Yəlma Därässa at Howard University, Washington, D.C. The politician was travelling on an official mission, and offered T. a position in Ethiopia, along with other African Americans. His 1944 journey to Ethiopia with six other professionals is related with much humour in the first chapter of his book *The Musical Bride*, which seems to be the story of *käntiba* Gäbru Dästa's (↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa) daughter, a gifted musician.

A few months after his arrival in Ethiopia, T. took over the editorship of the ↗*Ethiopian Herald*, a weekly English-language newspaper founded in 1943 from William M. Steen, an African American. He remained editor for about 15 years, made it a daily in the late 1950s and recruited well-known journalists such as Yaᶜəqob Wäldä Maryam. For many years as well, T. held Sunday morning radio broadcasts where he discussed international issues such as South Africa or the newly independent African nations. He edited numerous speeches of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I translated into English. A prolific writer, he published fiction and various essays.

T. married an Egyptian lady, and he had a five-*gaša* farm in the surroundings of Ambo, where Caribbean migrants occasionally worked for him. T. was indeed close to the growing African American and Caribbean community in Ethiopia. He was President of the Ethiopian World Federation in Ethiopia, a Pan-African organization established in 1937 in New York and he met the delegates of the Back-to-Africa fact-finding missions sent from Jamaica in 1961 and 1964. He was instrumental in the granting of land in ↗Šašämänne to Black settlers.

T. was a public figure in Ethiopia. His character and jokes are vividly narrated by his colleague Yaᶜəqob Wäldä Maryam. Within the Pan-Africanist generation which came to settle in Ethiopia to contribute to its post-war development, the length of T.'s stay was equalled by few others. Despite the Ethiopian revolution, the loss of his property, and years of abject poverty, he remained in Ethiopia until his death. His history is little-known and his biographical data still incomplete. He helped to consolidate relations between Ethiopians and African Americans and demonstrated the relevance of Black skills for African development. They would all benefit from further research.

Src.: DAVID A. TALBOT, *Contemporary Ethiopia*, New York 1952; ID., *The Musical Bride*, New York 1962.

Lit.: GIULIA BONACCI, *Exodus*! *L'histoire du retour des Rastafariens en Ethiopie*, Paris, 2008; FIKRU N. GEBREKIDAN, *Bond without Blood*: *a History of Ethiopian and New World Black Relations, 1896–1991*, Trenton, NJ 2005; JOSEPH E. HARRIS, *African-American Reactions to War in Ethiopia, 1936-1941*, Baton Rouge, LA 1994; YACOB WOLDE MARIAM, *Brief Autobiography and Selected Articles*, Addis Ababa 2003.

Giulia Bonacci

Ṭalḥa b. ᶜAbbās

Ṭ. (طلحة بن عباس; r. 1569–71), a ↗Harär ruler, was the son of the *wazīr* ↗ᶜAbbās b. Abūñ b. Ibrāhīm and, thus, a grand-nephew of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"). He led the rebellion of the religious party against the renegade ↗ᶜUṯmān b. Badlāy, after *gärad* ↗Ǧibrīl, the first leader of the insurrection, had been killed in a battle near ↗Zaylaᶜ (21 May 1569) against ᶜUṯmān's general *sīm gärad* Bäläw Muḥammad. Ṭ. gathered the partisans of Ǧibrīl and defeated *gärad* Muḥammad Hargāy, who had remained in Harär to protect the town while ᶜUṯmān marched against the rebels in Awsa.

The religious men of Harär agreed to make Ṭ. ruler of Harär on 16 June 1569. The fact that a member of Grañ's family was once again ruler was a cause of great joy, and the enthronement was accompanied by much celebration. On hearing about these events, ᶜUṯmān stopped fighting.

Ṭ. did not meet the expectations of the religious party. Not did he bear the secular title ↗*sulṭān*, instead of the religious title ↗*imām*, but he also neglected the *ǧihād* and undertook no raids against the non-believers. He was deposed on 2 May 1571 and succeeded by ↗Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān b. Badlāy.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 54, 64 (text) = 59f., 68f. (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 154, 166f. (text) = 161, 171, 173 (tr.)].

Lit.: CerStud I, 17 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 311f.]; TrIslam 96.

Ewald Wagner

Ṭalḥa b. Ǧaᶜfar b. Yūsuf

Šayḫ Ṭ. (طلحة بن جعفر; b. ca.1853, d.1936) was a renowned Ethiopian Muslim teacher and author who organized an armed protest against the Christianizing policy of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV.

According to one tradition, Ṭ. was born in the village of Arera Fura in ↗Argobba, ↗Ifat, to an illustrious and pious family. His grandfather, Yūsuf Qanqe "Aba Asiya" (d.1835/36), was a famous saint of Däwwäy in south-east ↗Wällo. Another tradition makes Doddota (also in Däwwäy), or Dinsär (in Argobba) the birthplace of Ṭ. (Kemal 2007:10).

Ṭ. acquired his early Islamic education under a number of local scholars. E.g., *šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* Bašīr (d. 1964/65 A.D.) of Č̣anno in Ifat taught him Qurᵓānic exegesis at Arräf Lebbe. Later, Ṭ. started teaching at Mäyti on the Reqqe-Qallu frontier (Caulk 1972). An innovative teacher, he chose Amharic as a medium of religious instruction and a vehicle for the propagation of Islam. He also wrote treatises in Amharic, written in Arabic script (*ᶜaǧamī*), the best-known being *Tawḥīd inna fiqh* (i.e. Amh. *Täwḥid ənna fiqh*, original title *Hadīyat aṣ-ṣubyān* ['Gift for the Infants'] or *Tuḥfat al-iḫwān* ['Gift for the Brethren']).

The Council of ↗Boru Meda in 1878 and the massacre of an estimated 20,000 Wällo Muslims at the hands of Yoḥannəs's troops at Bäkke in Qallu in 1880–81 (Muḥammad Tāǧaddīn ms. 231f.; Conti Rossini 1935:468f.) were the events that inspired Ṭ.'s organized rebellion. *Aṣe* Yoḥannəs and the Šäwan *nəguś* ↗Mənilək launched a joint expedition from ↗Tähuläddäre in March 1880; further campaigns in 1881 and 1882 followed. In a raid which lasted from 28 November 1882 to 26 January 1883 they ravaged Arbobba and Qallu as far as Däwwe (ms. Paris, BN Mondon-Vidailhet 74, fol. 78v). Local Muslim sources remember the death of a number of *ᶜulamāᵓ* of Qallu including *šayḫ* Ḥabīb and *šayḫ* Abboyye on 5 December 1882; the latter was the paternal uncle of Ṭ. (Muḥammad Tāǧaddīn ms. 30).

In November 1885 there was another major uprising in which ↗Mästawät and ↗Libän Amäde, two representatives of the ↗Mammädočč dynasty, took part. Yoḥannəs ravaged Gärfa and the frontier districts of ↗Awsa. Ṭ. intercepted and launched a raid against the Emperor's commanders of local regiments (Giannini 1943:236). During one such raid he defeated a column led by a certain *bäǧərond* Näwte at Kilkillo in Däwwäy.

Besides establishing a working alliance with the local dissident Muslim chiefs, Ṭ. also sought financial, material and military support of the ruler of ↗Awsa, *sulṭān* ↗Maḥammad "Illalta" Ḥanfaḍe.

After the arrival of the Italians, whether on the Italians' or his own initiative, Ṭ. began to collaborate closely with them. He was instructed to occupy the territory around Lake Ašänge before Mənilək's army arrived on its way to ↗Ambalage. Ṭ. abandoned the Italians during the initial stages of the battle of 7 December 1895 and boosted the morale of the Ethiopians by spreading the news of the Italian defeat (Baratieri 1899).

In 1896, Ṭ. was reconciled with Mənilək II, following the mediation of a Yäǧǧu *šayḫ* Nurəyye ᶜUmar, in an official ceremony held in the ↗*Gəbbi*. In a letter from Mənilək to Nurəyye of 10 November 1896, the Emperor recognizes the legitimacy of Ṭ.'s revolt (in defence of religion) and confirms his decision to forgive him. Whilst he shows appreciation of the role of elders in resolving disputes, he criticizes Ṭ. for failing to submit to him after the death of Yoḥannəs. Mənilək's own punitive expeditions to eastern Wällo remain unmentioned.

Ləǧ ↗Iyasu appointed Ṭ. as governor of Wäddessa, and Ṭ. readily moved to ↗Čärčär in ↗Harärge, resenting the fact that he had become an object of popular veneration in Ifat. Iyasu is also believed to have sent Ṭ. to Somalia to foment an anti-European revolt in collaboration with *sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ↗ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan. After the overthrow of Iyasu in 1916, T. was detained for several years but later released and reinstated as governor of Wäddessa. According to one informant, Ṭ. was sentenced to death during the reign of ↗Zäwditu, by the Šäwan nobility but pardoned by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I).

Ṭ. died shortly before the Italian occupation, and was buried at a place called Goro. He was survived by several sons and daughters, children he had had by several wives at different times (Kemal 2007:11).

Src.: ms. BN Mondon-Vidailhet 74 (Gäbrä Śəllase Wäldä Arägay, *Yäšäwa tarik*); BTafA, s. index; Oreste Baratieri, *Mémoires d'Afrique* (*1892–1896*), Paris 1899; George Fitz-Hardinge Berkeley, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik*, London 1902; GSMen; Carlo Giannini, "La conquista scioana dell'Aussa", *RSE* 3, 1, 1943, 223–36; Muḥammad Tāǧaddīn Aḥmad, *Iᶜlām al-aġbiyāᵓ bi-ḥayāt ᶜuẓamāᵓ Ityūbiyā min al-ᶜulamāᵓ waᵓl-awliyāᵓ wa-salāṭīn al-Islām wa-asāṭīn al-asfiyāᵓ* ('Information for the Ignorant about the Lives of the Ethiopian Personalities: Learned Men, Saints, Muslim Rulers and Celebrities of

Clear Fame’), ms.; National Record Office, Khartoum, Mahdia 1/34, folder 16; PrRosDic; ṬALḤA B. ǦA^{c}FAR B. YŪSUF, *Tawḥīd innā fiqh sila Islām ḥāymānūt yammigalṣ maṣḥāf* (‘Theology and Jurisprudence, a Book Explaining the Islamic Faith’), ed. by SAYID IBRĀHĪM, Addis Ababa 1958/59; CARLO ZAGHI, *La spedizione Capucci e Cicognani in Abissinia, con lettere e documenti inediti*, Rocca S. Casciano 1934.

Src.: RICHARD A. CAULK, “Religion and the State in Nineteenth Century Ethiopia”, *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 23–41; ENRICO CERULLI, “Canti amarici dei musulmani di Abissinia”, *RRALm* ser. 6^{a}, 2, 1926, 433–47 (= *CerIslam* 245–56); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Italia ed Etiopia dal trattato d’Uccialli alla Battaglia di Adua*, Roma 1935, 468f.; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale,* I: *Dall’unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma 1985; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Classical Arabic in Central Ethiopia*, Leiden 1976; ID., “Amharic as a Language of Islam”, *BSOAS* 70, 1, 2007, 1–62; FEKADU BUGNA, *A Tentative History of Wällo 1855–1908*, B.A. thesis, Haile Sellassie I University 1972; HUSSEIN AHMED, “The Life and Career of *Shaykh* Talha b. Ja‘far (*c.*1853–1936)”, *JES* 22, 1989, 13–30 (Lit.); HusIslam; ZewYohan; KEMAL ABDULWAHAB, *A Hand List of ‘Ajami Manuscripts of Shaykh Talha Jafar* (*c. 1853–1936*), M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2007.

Hussein Ahmed

Ṭälla

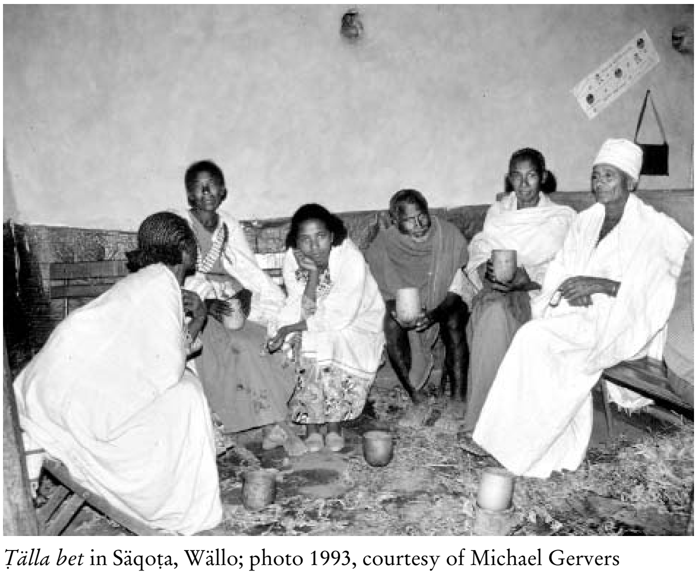
Ṭ. (Amh. **ጠላ**; Tgn. **ስዋ** *səw*[*w*]*a*), a beer with low alcoholic content, is one of the favourite daily ↗drinks in large parts of Ethiopia. In most households women brew this dark-brown beverage in large quantities. Ṭ. is also sold in urban areas by unmarried women. Traditionally, Christian men almost never drank water, therefore it was important for the average farmer to find ways to stretch his Ṭ. by watering it. Traditionally, this beer is drunk out of horn-vessels and calabashes. At the large banquets (↗*Gəbər*) held by rulers for their followers an immense amount of Ṭ. was served to ordinary men out of huge containers, while the nobility enjoyed ↗*ṭäǧǧ*.

Preparation takes place at various intervals. The main ingredient is barley, but also ↗maize and other grains are used (↗Plants, cultivated). In most cases the fermenting agent is ↗*gešo* (*Rhammus prinoides*), a semi-domesticated bush or in some places a small tree situated near the house and growing up to 2.100 m A.S.L. Its shiny dark-green leaves are dried in the sun and mashed thereafter.

Beer jars are fumigated and malt is prepared by fermenting barley in water for three days. When wheat is used in place of barley it has to be roasted beforehand. The mass is dried, ground, baked and stored. When the moment of consumption approaches, water, *gešo* and some fresh malt is added. After three days Ṭ. is ready and is drinkable for three days. To increase the alcoholic content, sorghum can be used and ↗honey, added in the final stage, will make it more tasty (Messing 1957: 61).

Ṭ. and similar drinks exist among many ethnic groups in the Horn of Africa, including Muslim areas. According to Littmann (DAE IV, 6), a similar drink of the ↗Təgre people is called *səlqa* (cp. Littmann – Höfner 1962:168). Very similar to Ṭ. is the *doǧoo* of Käfa made from barley and maize (Bieber 1920: 253). A slightly different kind of beer is prepared in southern Ethiopia. The *farso* or *faršo* of the Oromo is more solid in consistency, contains more alcohol than Ṭ. and is made from ↗sorghum or millet, as in the case with many other ethnic groups in the South. Their beer is also used for libations.

Ṭ. plays a crucial role in the organization of social life among many ethnic groups. In Təgray, e.g., all traditional associations are constitutionally linked with the consumption of Ṭ. Church associations (↗*Maḫbär*) which meet on Sundays celebrate their affiliation to the church and its saint through the consumption of Ṭ., which is considered to be ↗*ṣäbäl* (‘holy water’) after having been blessed by the priests;



Ṭälla bet in Säqoṭa, Wällo; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers similarly the parochial peasants' associations, the *səwaᶜ sänbät* ('Sunday chalice [association]'; Amh. ↗*Sänbäte*) are linked with the consumption of Ṭ. These associations are responsible for the organization and discussion of important life events and meet every Sunday in private houses (Smidt in Abdulkader Saleh et al. 2008: 246–49).

Ṭ. seems to be one of the most ancient drinks known to the population of the Ethiopian Highlands, since the word *səw[w]a* (today the Tgn. term for the same drink) appears in inscriptions of ↗ᶜEzana (RIÉ nos. 185 I. 11, 185 II. 13, 185 bis I. 13, 185 bis II.C. 1; ῾ύδρϵυμα, *hýdreuma*, and ῾ύδρόμϵλι, *hydrómeli*, respectively in RIÉ nos. 270.17, and 270 bis. 13). In medieval Gəᶜəz sources, the word *məzr* (LesCDic 379; DillmLex 211; KWKDic 582) refers most probably to the same drink as Ṭ. and *səwa.*

Src.: FRIEDRICH BIEBER, *Kaffa*: *Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster 1920, vol. 1, 253; DAE IV, 6; DillmLex 211; KWKDic 582; LesCDic 379; ENNO LITTMANN – MARIA HÖFNER, *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*: *Tigre-Deutsch-Englisch*, Wiesbaden 1962, 168; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, London 1853, vol. 2, 212–13; RIÉ nos. 185 I, 185 II, 185 bis I, 185 bis II, 270, 270 bis.

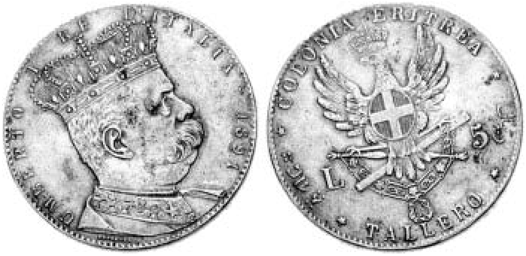
Lit.: ABDULKADER SALEH et al. (eds.), *Friedensräume in Tigray und Eritrea unter Druck*, Münster 2008, 246–49; SIMON DAVID MESSING, *Highland-Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia*, University of Pennsylvania 1957 [repr. and ed. by MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, New Haven, CT 1985].

Hermann Amborn

Tallero eritreo

The issue of the T.e. by mints of Rome and Milan in 1890 and in 1896 was the result of an important monetary reform undertaken by the Italians following the conquest of ↗Eritrea. In order to compete with the widely accepted Austrian ↗Maria Theresia thaler, hoarded in quantity because of its high silver content, it was judged necessary to produce an almost identical coin bearing the same pattern, weight and size. From the beginning it was planned not only to be used within Eritrea itself, but to establish it as a ↗currency even in the commerce with neighbouring Ethiopia. The ↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce of 1889 (Convention of 1 October 1889) stipulated the use of the T.e. also in Ethiopia.

The T.e. had the nominal worth of five lire (written in Latin), but also had denominations in Arabic and Amharic: one *rīyāl* (written in Arabic) and one ↗*bərr* (written in *fidäl*, for its reception in the Ethiopian commerce; this underlined that it corresponded to one Maria Theresia thaler). The profile of King ↗Umberto I figured on the obverse of the coin; the eagle of Savoy was stamped on the reverse side. The king was shown with a crown, which was known from the crown of Queen Victoria on the British and Indian coins. The T.e. was a little heavier (28,125 gr.) than the Austrian specimen but contained less silver (80 %), which caused its rejection by the population.



The Tallero of 1891, diameter 40 mm; from the collection of Wolbert Smidt

As the Maria Theresia thaler was not minted from 1915 to 1920, due to ↗World War I, a new attempt for the introduction of an Italian thaler was made in 1918 (s. ill. in EAE vol. 1, 829). That new thaler was shaped after an old Venetian Levantine coin and had an effigy symbolizing Italy that resembled the young Maria Theresia, with the legend *Regnum Italicum*. However, this was equally unsuccessful, therefore the mint was abandoned and the unused coins melted.

As a reaction to the introduction of the T.e., ↗Mənilək II in 1894, following the advice of Alfred ↗Ilg, also attempted a monetary reform.

↗Coinage

Lit.: HELMUT JUNGWIRTH, "Le Thaler de Marie-Thérèse et son rôle dans le commerce international", in: *Une monnaie pour l'Europe, exhibition Crédit Communal,* Bruxelle 1991, 125–28; MARCEL-MAURICE FISCHEL, *Le thaler de Marie-Thérèse. Étude de sociologie et d'histoire économique*, Paris 1912; PHILIPPE FLANDRIN, *Les thalers d'argent. Histoire d'une monnaie commune,* Paris 1997; ARNALDO MAURI, "Eritrea's Early Stages in Monetary and Banking Development", Working Paper n. 28.2003, Università degli Studi di Milano, October 2003 (http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=667266, accessed: 12 April 2010) (Lit.).

Catherine Vanderhaeghe

Tälmid

The T. (**ተልሚድ**, from Arab. *tilmīḏ*, 'disciple') is the traditional designation of a theological treatise translated into ↗Gəᶜəz from Arabic and ascribed to "George, *disciple* of Antony the Syrian". It is also sometimes referred to as *Rädᵓa Ǝnṭonəs* (**ረድአ፡ እንጦንስ**, 'the disciple of Antony').

The translation was probably carried out towards the end of the 15th cent., as recently accepted, from a work by the 14th-cent. Arab historian Ǧirǧis al-Makīn b. al-^{c}Amīd (GrafLit II, 450–53; the latter should not be confused with another author by the same name who had lived earlier; cp. ↗ Giyorgis Wäldä ^{c}Amid) entitled *The Profitable Compiler. Abridgement of the Explication of the Truth of the Faith* (s. Colin 1985).

This voluminous work presents an exposition of Monophysite doctrine (cp. ↗ Monophisitism) in opposition to its main rivals: those who negate the divinity of Christ on the one hand, and those who negate His humanity on the other hand. In keeping with the common Oriental Christian practice, the text abounds in scriptural quotations.

The main particularity of the Ethiopic text is the literariness of the translation. In order to remain faithful to the Christological subtleties of the *Vorlage*, the translator coined new Gə^{c}əz terms and tried to approximate the syntactic structures to those of the Arabic text. As a result, the Gə^{c}əz language of T. is partially nearly unintelligible.

Src.: WrBriMus 255–62, no. 351 [ms. Orient. 782] (with large excerpts); 262, nos. 352–54 [mss. Orient. 779, 780, 781]; EMML no. 2369; CRAbb no. 138 [ms. BN d'Abbadie 131]. **Lit.**: GrafLit II, 284, 450–53; Gérard Colin, "La profession de foi christologique du *Talmid*", in: Christian Robin (ed.), *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson par ses élèves, ses collègues et ses amis*, Paris 1985, 161–63.

Gérard Colin

Ṭälsäm

Ṭ. (Gə^{c}əz, Amh. **ጠልሰም**) is a traditional term mainly used for a special kind of images and drawings which appear in ↗ magic scrolls or amuletts, or in manuscripts containing texts of the ↗ magic literature. The term Ṭ. is derived from Arab. *ṭilasm* (from Gr. *télesma*, 'powerful object'; cp. Ruska – Carra de Vaux in: *EI*^{2}). Ṭ. can be understood in the sense of 'talismanic image' (cp. "magic image", DillmLex 1215; TMHDic 1258; DTWDic 558) as protection against ↗ demons causing diseases and misfortune or as healing medicine when diseases have already occured (Burtea 2002a: 95, 2002b: 16; Chernetsov 2006: 54; Mercier 1979: 24).

Magic images

Magic images are considered to possess an inherent power which protects against malign influences (usually described as "evil eye", more precisely "shadow eye"; ↗ *Buda*). In general it seems that such images on magic scrolls are not in direct connection with the content of the accompanying text, but contribute to its impact by their own power, and they are therefore neither simple illustrations, nor "religious art", but a therapeutic and/or protective instrument. The effect of a magic scroll is produced by the combination of the power of magic texts (sometimes with ↗ *asmat*) and paintings or Ṭ. (cp., e.g., Burtea 2001: 96; Mercier 1976: 232).

The local tradition divides paintings on magic scrolls into two categories: Ṭ. and *śə^{c}əl* (lit. picture, image). Ṭ. images depict an "invisible" sphere, different from *śə^{c}əl*, narrative pictures, which usually show saints or angels, which are considered to belong to the visible world (Mercier 1979: 24). The *śə^{c}əl* depicts what "can be seen" and tells a story of a person, such as St. ↗ George of Lydda fighting the dragon or illustrates a narrative, like ↗ Susənyos killing Wərzəlya. On the other hand, Ṭ. depict symbols from the world of magic such as magical squares (with different designs, like *lofḥam mähaflon nəmlos Sälomon* which are the secret names of ↗ Solomon; s. magic square in EAE vol. 3, 778a, or with geometrical patterns, s. ill. 1, left), other figures or "seals" (such as the 'Seal of Solomon' which is depicted as an eight–pointed star, s. ill. 1, right; cp. Mercier 1997: 49) or the 'Net of Solomon' (↗ *Märbäbtä Sälomon*).

One peculiar element in Ṭ.-pictures is represented by drawings sometimes (misleadingly) called "spectacle scripts/Brillenbuchstaben", or even "secret script". Despite being referred to as "script" and looking like letters of an "alphabet", they do not represent a writing system. These signs are composed of curious combinations of curves, lines and arches with small loops (hence the term "charactères à lunettes"). In manuscripts they rarely stand alone but mostly accompany other illustrations (s. ill. 1, top right; s. also ill. EAE vol. 3, 637). Similar characteres can be found in other magic traditions, esp. Hebrew, Arabic and Coptic but also in Greek and Latin and even texts in Egyptian hieroglyphs. The tradition of these characteres in Ethiopian Ṭ. seems to be adopted from the Coptic and Arabic magic tradition (cp. Strelcyn 1955: XXXIII–XXXIX). In a few cases, Ṭ.-pictures can be combined with a written text: cp. the prayer *Mäsḥetä Sälomon* ('Mirror of Salomon') presented by Euringer (1937). Here the text is written in a helix around a stylized ‘Net of Solomon’ and surrounded by “caractères à lunettes” and other drawings (Euringer 1937). One more discernable element of Ṭ.-pictures is the stylized representation of the ↗cross, believed to possess strong magic defensive power.

In the Islamic magic tradition of Ethiopia amulets are called (Arab.) *ḥiǧāb*, *ḥirz*, or *ṭilsam*. They consist of Qurʾānic verses, or the beautiful names of God, illustrated by geometrical figures and drawings.

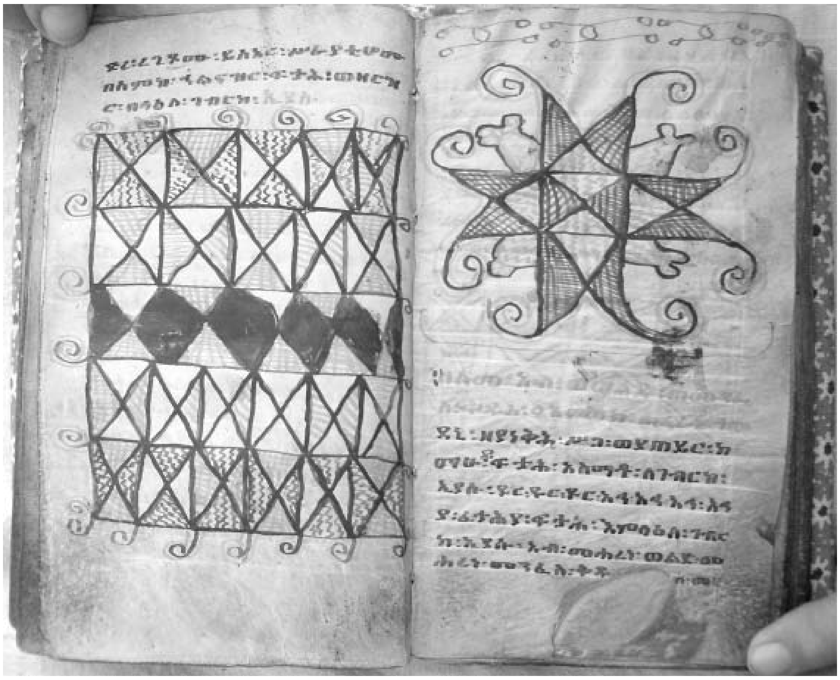


Fig. 1: Ṭ.-drawings (including “spectacle script” and ‘Seal of Solomon’), from a ms. containing a collection of magic prayers, 19th cent., fols. 20v–21r, monastery of Ṣäʿada Ǝmba, Šire, Təgray; photo 2005/2006, courtesy of Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Kətab

The term Ṭ. can, however, also be used in a more general sense for amulets, which are usually known as **ክታብ** (Gəʿəz, Amh. and Tgn., *kətab*), worn around the neck (↗Jewellery: Necklaces; Burtea 2002b: 18; Vecchiato 1993: 172; Young 1976: 152f). Amulets are mainly leather scrolls with script and images, leather containers which contain herbal (or other) remedies and even specific kind of jewellery, almost any other kind of amulet can be called Ṭ., even if this term is less wide-spread and less general than the term *kətab*. Women wear special Ṭ., i.e. silver boxes or other silver elements of specific form, perceived both as jewellery and as amulets. It is especially the decorative shape, which recalls Ṭ. as “talismanic images” which links such objects to magic images. Amulets are a very ancient tradition in the region; as early as during the reign of ↗ʿEzana a ↗Noba priest is mentioned who carried a golden amulet (BudHist 256; RIÉ no. 189 = DAE no. 11, l. 27).

Kətab are usually worn as necklaces, especially by children all over the Ethiopian highlands; in some cases they are also worn on one side of the breast under the arm. The production of *kətab* traditionally belongs to the religious sphere in the Ethiopian and Eritrean highlands, but is also carried out by “culturally other” lowland populations. In Təgray, for example, amulets are produced by local *märigeta*, some of whom have acquired a good name due to the “confirmed” success of their amulets, so that they attract customers also from outside their village. The amulets are usually made of leather and may contain roots, or dust from a holy place (such as ↗Däbrä Damo) which serves as ↗*ṣäbäl*, and in some cases also a religious text on paper. They are believed to protect mainly against diseases.

A special form of *kətab* is called *mästäfaqər*, also produced by *märigeta*, used to attract the love of another. It is believed, however, that they expire after a certain period, e.g., after one year; if not renewed, one might lose the love of the beloved person. Special amulets can even protect against being killed (e.g., as a case from the Gondär region shows, where such an amulet was used by someone who had killed a person, trying to protect himself against vengeance). In north-western Ethiopia, those amulets which are produced by “↗Tukrir” and by lowland populations such as ↗Gumuz or, further north, ↗Ṣällim Bet, are especially appreciated. These include love amulets, but also amulets against diseases.

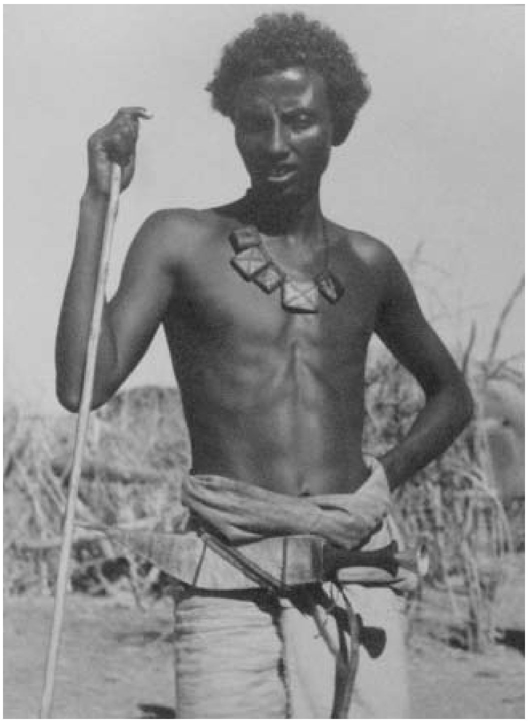


Fig. 2: An ^{c}Afar man wearing talismans; photo 1939 by Georg Schulze, "Mappe 'Africa Orientale Italiana' "; courtesy of Villa Grisebach, Berlin

Among the Somali, as amongst many other Muslim peoples, it is reported that magic calculations are written on a paper in a diagram consisting of several squares (e.g., numbers adding up to 15 in each row of squares in a "magic square"), in addition to a *sūra* (e.g., the *sūra Yaasiin*, the heart of the ↗Qurʾān); the paper is folded, put into a cover of leather (*ḥersi*), which the patient has to wear around the neck (Helander 1989: 91; ↗Numbers and numerals).

Among the ↗Boorana, amulets are produced by ritual experts (diviners, usually called *raaga*). These are protective charms, and are given to a person after the ritual slaughtering of cattle, after which the meat is given to ↗hyenas. They consist of a small leather container which contains ingredients which are kept secret.

Src.: field notes of Wolbert Smidt, Təgray, 2008; DillmLex 1215; DTWDic 558; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, "Das Netz Salomons", *ZSem* 6, 1928, 76–100, 178–99, 300–14 and 7, 192, 68–85; ID. "Der Spiegel Salomons: Ein abessinisches Amulett", *ZDMG* 91, 1937, 162–74; TMHDic 1258; RIÉ no. 189 = DAE no. 11, l. 27.

Lit.: BOGDAN BURTEA, *Zwei äthiopische Zauberrollen*, Aachen 2001 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 1; Lit.), 93–98; ID., "Notes on Ethiopian Demonology", *Annals of the Sergiu Al-George Institute of Oriental Studies* 9–11, 2002a, 91–97; ID., "Äthiopische Zauberrollen: Zwischen Philologie und Ethnologie", in: NORBERT NEBES, *Neue Beiträge zur Semitistik*, Wiesbaden 2002b (Jenaer Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 5), 13–25; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "Ethiopian Magic Literature", *Scrinium. Revue de patrologie, d'hagiographie critique et d'histroire ecclesiastique* 2, 2006, 50–71; EDMOND DOUTTÉ, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1984; BERNHARD HELANDER, "Incorporating the Unknown: the Power of Southern Somali Medicine", in: ANITA JACOBSOON-WIDDING – DAVID WESTERLUND (eds.), *Culture, Experience and Pluralism, Essays on African Ideas of Illness and Healing*, Uppsala 1989 (Uppsala Studies in Cultural Anthropology 13), 85–99; DEBORAH LIFCHITZ, "Amulettes éthiopiennes", *Minotaure* 2, 1933, 72; JACQUES MERCIER, "Les plus anciens rouleaux protecteurs éthiopiens", *AE* 10, 1976, 227–38; ID., "Note sur quelques problèmes de la talismanique savante éthiopienne", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 119–32, pl. 1–7; ID., "Les plus ancient rouleaux protecteurs éthiopiens de la bibliothèque nationale de Paris", *AE* 10, 227–241; ID., *Zauberrollen aus Äthiopien*: *Kultbilder magischer Riten*, München 1979; ID., *Art That Heals*: *the Image as Medicine in Ethiopia*, New York 1997; JULIUS RUSKA – BERNARD CARRA DE VAUX, "Ṭilsam", in: *EI*^{2}, 500ff.; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes* (*maftəḥē šərāy*), Warszawa 1955 (Roczny Orientalistyczny 18), XXXII–XL; NORBERT VECCHIATO, "Traditional Medicine", in: HELMUT KLOOS – ZEIN AHMED ZEIN (ed.), *The Ecology of Health and Disease in Ethiopia*, Boulder, CO – San Francisco, CA – Oxford 1993, 157–78; ALLAN YOUNG, "Internalizing and Externalizing Medical Belief Systems: an Ethiopian Example", *Social Science and Medicine* 10, Oxford 1976, 147–56.

Sophia Dege – Wolbert Smidt

Tämben

Early history of Tämben to 17th century

T. (**ተምቤን**, present official spelling, but also **ተንቤን**, 'Tänben', certainly the etymological, and previously current form, as attested in chronicles, documentary texts, and scholarly studies, cp. Praetorius 1874, Littmann 1902) is a historical province in the region of Central ↗Təgray.

Whilst T. is presently a Təgrəñña speaking area, ↗Agäw elements due to earlier settlers are apparent in several T. place names (e.g., Bartarwa, also known as Däbrä Wär^{c}, from the name of the river, cp. Conti Rossini 1943: 340). According to traditions widespread in northern Ethiopia, T.'s inhabitants would descend from the Jewish tribe of Levi (cp. Conti Rossini 1901: 166ff.). As to positive evidence, there is a substantial lack of ancient (pre-Aksumite and Aksumite) archaeological and epigraphical findings. T., however, played a significant role since the age of Christianization at least, as suggested by the lore about Frumentius (↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) being buried at the remote monastery ↗Ǝnda Abba Sälama

View on the mountains of upper Tämben from the Tämben incense hills; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

(in Anba Sälama, cp. CRStor 258) and better proved by a twofold evidence:

1) the *gädl* of *abba* ↗Yoḥanni of Däbrä ᶜAśa in T., not far from Däbrä Bartarwa, includes late Aksumite traditions referring to expeditions against "Noba and Saba" (s. ↗Soba Noba in EAE vol. 5) by the *śəyyum* of T., and making Yoḥanni the latter's natural son (cp. Basset 1884: 443; Virgili 1983: 309ff.; Fiaccadori 1992: 18, n. 52); other ancient and recent, only partially known, hagiographic traditions, confirm the importance of the monastic movement in the area: saints Danəᵓel of T. (known as 'the Apostle of T.'), Hadära, ↗Krəstos Bezanä, Mäsqäl Bezanä, P̣awlos of T., ↗Tadewos of Däbrä Bartarwa (cp. de Santis 1942; Conti Rossini 1943), Tadewos of Täᵓamina (↗Däbrä Täᵓamina), ↗Zä-Libanos of Yəlmatan, all are either native or active in T. (cp. KinBibl; for additional elements cp. Virgili 1983: 311; T. is also mentioned in one of the recensions of the *Gädlä ↗Libanos*, dating to about the end of the 15th cent., cp. Bausi 2003, § 146);

2) the textual evidence is substanciated by the existence of several, still little explored ↗rock-hewn churches, the most famous of them entitled to *abba* Yoḥanni (cp. Sauter 1963: 257f.; Fiaccadori 1992: xviiif., n. 13; Lepage – Mercier 2005: 164ff.).

Since the early 14th cent., literary sources document the activity of the *śəyyum* of T. In a miracle of the saint ↗ᶜAbiyä Ǝgziᵓ (cp. Conti Rossini 1938: 419ff.) the *śəyyumä* T. is introduced as active and loyal to the king on the occasion of the insurgence of ↗Yaᶜəbikä Ǝgziᵓ (cp. TadTChurch 73). The *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* testifies to donations in T. from the times of *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arᶜad (CRAxum 24 [tr.], no. 8, for ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ) to those of ↗Yəsḥaq (ibid. 26, no. 12, for ↗Samuᵓel of Däbrä ᶜAbbay), ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (ibid. 34, no. 26 [cp. also 85, no. 4], for Tänsəᵓa Krəstos), and ↗Täklä Giyorgis (ibid. 61, no. 68). The title of *śəyyumä* T. also frequently occurs in documentary sources (ibid. 34, 36, 47, 85, nos. [I], 26, 29, 44, [III], 4; PerChron 186, 209 [tr.]; additional evidence in HuntGeogr 306, s.v. T.). In ca. 1609, people from T. and ↗Säḥart joined the rebellion against ↗Susənyos led by a *wäräñña* (the slave Mälkä Ṣedeq?, cp. PerChron 100 [tr.]). In the age of ↗Ludolf, T. was a governatorate of Təgray (LudHist I, iii, § 28).

Src.: René Basset, "Vie d'Abbā Yohanni", *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine* 2, 1884, 433–53, here 443; Alessandro Bausi, *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libanos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]), § 164; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yohannes di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1901, 61–170, here 166ff.; Id., "Note di agiografia etiopica (ᶜAbiyä Ǝgziᵓ, ᶜArkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus)", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52, here 419ff.; CRAxum 24 (no. 8), 26 (no. 12), 34 (no. 26), 36 (no. 29), 47 (no. 44), 61 (no. 68), 85 (no. 4) [tr.]; CRStor 258; Riccardo de Santis (ed., tr.), "Il Gadla Tādēwos di Dabra Bārtārwā, un contributo allo studio della letteratura agiografica etiopica", *Annali Lateranensi* 6, 1942, 1–116; KinBibl 68 (no. 38, Danᵓel of T.), 77 (no. 77, Hadära), 79 (no. 87, Krəstos Bezanä), 84 (no. 110, Mäsqäl Bezanä), 87 (no. 126, Pawlos of T.), 91 (no. 145, Tadewos of Bartarwa), 91 (no. 147, Tadewos of Täᵓamina), 99 (no. 184, Yoḥanni), 101 (no. 193, Zä-Libanos of Yəlmatan); Enno Littmann, "Tigriña-Texte von Tanbên", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 16, 1902, 211–25; PerChron 100, 186, 209 [tr.]; Franz Praetorius, "Über zwei Tigriña-Dialekte. 1. Der Dialekt von Hamâsen. 2. Der Dialekt von Tanbên", *ZDMG* 28, 1874, 437–47, here 445ff. (§ II. "Der Dialekt von Tanben").

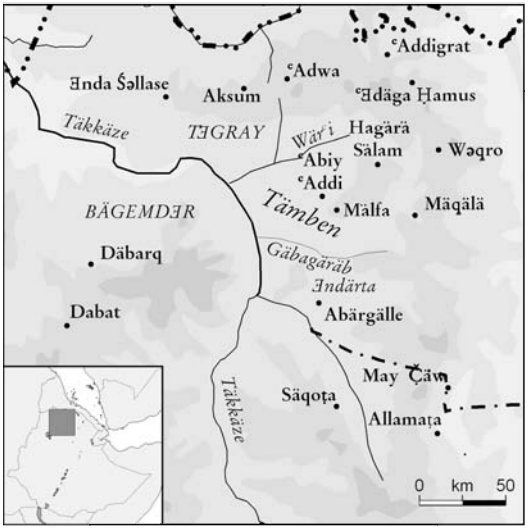
Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, [review of De Santis 1942], *RSE* 3, 1943, 335–40, here 340; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), xviiif., n. 13, 18 n. 52; HuntGeogr 306, s.v. T.; Roger Sauter, "Où en est notre connaissance des Églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 257f.; Claude Lepage – Jacques Mercier, *Art éthiopien. Les églises historiques du Tigray. Ethiopian Art. The Ancient churches of Tigray*, Paris 2005, 164–67; LudHist I, iii, § 28; TadTChurch 73; Maria Luisa Virgili, "Note testuali all'Abba Yohanni di Däbrä ᶜĀśā", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 6, 1983, 309–23, here 309ff.

Alessandro Bausi

Tämben from the 18th to 20th century

T. corresponds to the today's provinces Dəggʷəᶜa T. *wäräda* ('Highland T.') and Qʷälla T. *wäräda* ('Lowland T.'). It borders in the north on the ↗ᶜAdwa historical province (Central Təgray, properly Naᶜder Adet and Wärᶜi Läḵä *wäräda*) and in the south on the ↗Abärgälle *wäräda*; the borders are marked by the Wärᶜi and Gäba (Gäbba) rivers resp., both tributaries to ↗Täkkäze. To the east, T. borders on the historical province of ↗Ǝndärta (region of Təgray).

A number of powerful Təgrayan nobles and warriors originated from T. Research into local traditions shows that T. was characterized by a pronounced social stratification – different from other more egalitarian Təgrayan regions – with a strong nobility possessing extensive lands with dependant peasants and other personnel. The lowland population partially consisted of serfs of diverse origins. The leaders of T. intermarried with the most important Təgrayan dynasties; *šum* T. Wäldä Kidan Wäldä Mikaᵓel, for example, married into the family of *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul, and his son *šum* T. ↗Mərč̣a Wäldä Kidan into that of the *šum ᶜagamä*. The latter's son, *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, was able to ascend the Ethiopian throne also thanks to his genealogical connections. *Ras* ↗ Alula Ǝngəda was of humble T. origin; he donated his *gəbbi* at Mänawe, situated on the escarpment between the T. highlands and the T. lowlands, to the church. It is today a monastery, with a collection of manuscripts (formerly including a *Gädlä Alula*, now lost, with Alula's history).



In 1902, ↗Mənilək II appointed ↗Abrəha Arᵓaya governor over T. He was, however, replaced in 1905 by ↗Śəyyum Mängäša, which sparked an attempt of rebellion by Abrəha. In the 20th cent. a considerably large number of warriors originated from T. It was also a centre of ↗resistance against the 1935 Italian invasion. The "first battle of T.", which halted the Italian advance, was followed by the "second battle of T.", after which T. was occupied (↗Italian war 1935–36). Resistance, however, continued being particularly active in T.

Economically, T. is dominated by agriculture and dispersed settlements with only very few urban centres. During the dry season, many peasants work as *mäqaray* (workers collecting ↗incense from the mountains of Qʷälla T. *wäräda*, which are densely covered with incense trees of the species *Boswellia papyrifera*, in Tgn. *mäqar*). Incense is an ancient local crop not cultivated in ᶜAdwa and Ǝndärta. In addition, locals seasonally also pan for ↗gold from the gold-bearing rivers of T., especially the Wärᶜi. Industrial mining has not yet started despite the rich mineral deposits in the T. mountains.

The historical capital of T. was ↗Mälfa in the T. highlands, which was in the mid-20th cent. replaced by nearby ↗Hagärä Sälam (now capital of Dəggʷəᶜa T. *wäräda*). Only in the 1930s did ↗ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi in the T. lowlands become an important urban centre and T.'s capital in the second half of the 20th cent. (now the capital of Qʷälla T. *wäräda*).

T. is considered in Təgray as a centre of Ethiopian Christianity of a similar importance to ↗Aksum. The ancient monastery of ↗Ǝnda Abba Sälama is the site of annual pilgrimages through the T. mountains, and in the past served as a prison for rebellious nobles.

According to modern tradition (contradicted, however, by some sources), only in the 20th cent. were Muslims able to settle in hitherto exclusively Christian T. Seemingly, this started with Italian occupation in the 1930s, when ↗ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi became a regional centre for commerce. Consequently ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi also has a mosque today.

T. is considered the origin of a number of migrant groups in Ethiopia and Eritrea. After the *Tämbenay ras* Alula was appointed governor of ↗Märäb Məllaš (Eritrean highlands), many of his retainers from T. followed him and settled in his capital Asmära, where they received lands. Many urban inhabitants of Ḥamasen are today descendants of these migrants. In addition, when

↗Wälqayt was successively pacified in the course of the 19th and 20th cent., it attracted settlers from T. A much more ancient migration from T., into southern Ethiopia, seems to be the one to the ↗Wälaytta kingdom, according to Wälaytta oral tradition. Its ruling clan, the Təgəra, are of alleged T. origin.

T. is still today a rather remote region. It was only electrified starting in 2006, and only one asphalted road connects Hagärä Säläm with ↗Mäq̱älä, with ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi in the lowlands, and further with ᶜAdwa. One more road, non-asphalted, links ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi with ↗Säqoṭa in Lasta. It was because of the relative inaccessibility of the highlands that T. served as the centre for the rebel government of the ↗Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) from 1989 to 1991, with their rock-hewn headquarters at ᶜAddi Gäzaᵓti, from where they planned and directed the decisive attack against the *Därg* regime.

Src.: Marius Chaîne, "Histoire du règne de Iohannes IV roi des rois d'Éthiopie (1868–1889)", *RevSem* 21, 1913, 178–92; PerrZarY; interviews with *fitawrari* Iyasu Aṣbäha, Mäq̱älä, June 2004; Muluwärq Kidanä Maryam, Mäq̱äla, July 2004, June 2005.

Lit.: BZHist, index; ErlAlula, index; *Guida* 281; HuntGeogr xxvii, 61, 132, 144, 237ff., 247.

Wolbert Smidt

Tamisier, Maurice

T. (b. 23 December 1810; Sommail, Aude) was a French traveller and member of the ↗Saint Simonians. He went to Egypt shortly after the French Revolution of 1830. In May 1834, he participated in the Egyptian military expedition to Arabia and in January 1835 he travelled to Ethiopia with Edmond ↗Combes. The two reached Massawa in 1835 aiming for a two-year stay in the country. They were well received by the different local leaders they met, *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, *ras* ↗Ali Alula and *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase. Almost without any support, they also travelled across Təgray, Səmen, Amhara, Šäwa, Goğğam and Bägemdər. In 1837, on the way back to Europe, they received the help of a French army medical officer attached to the armies of the Khedive at Jeddah.

As a result of their wanderings, Combes and T. published a five-volume account, which included precious natural, ethnographic, religious and historical data. For his work T. received the Légion d'Honneur in 1838 and the silver-medal of the Société de Géographie de Paris. After his carreer as an explorer he turned to private business.

Src.: Edmond Combes – Maurice Tamisier, "Extrait de la relation du voyage de MM. Maurice Tamisier et Edmond Combes en Abyssinie, pendant les années 1835 et 1836", *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* [Extrait], June–July 1837; Iid., *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat, précédé d'une excursion dans l'Arabie-Heureuse …*, Paris 1838, 5 vols.; Maurice Tamisier, *Voyage en Arabie*: *séjour dans le Hedjaz, campagne d'Assir*, Paris 1840, 2 vols.

Lit.: Numa Broc, *Numa Dictionnaire illustré des explorateurs et grands voyageurs français du XIX^e siècle*, vol. 1: *Afrique*, Paris 1988, 307; *ibid.*, vol. 2: *Asie*, Paris 1992, 419; Georges Malécot, *Les Voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870*, Paris 1872, 134.

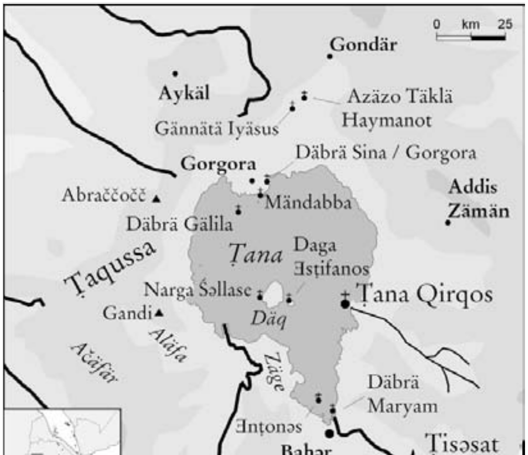
Lukian Prijac

Ṭana

Lake Ṭ. (**ጣና**, old also Ṣana, 1,830 ASL) is the largest lake in Ethiopia (50 % of national freshwater). The Blue ↗Nile (↗Abbay) flows through it. It is situated in the Amhara *kəlləl*, in the Səmen Gondär, Däbub Gondär and Məᶜərab Goğğam zones).

The Lake Ṭ. graben was gradually formed between the horsts of the ↗Səmen mountains, the Guna mountains and the ↗Čoqqe mountain shield. The lake was then formed through the volcanic blocking of the Blue Nile in early Pleistocene times about two million years ago. This 3,000 km^2 lava flow locked the 1.5 million year old depression, allowing it to collect and store abundant Quaternary precipitation. The lava dam blocks the southern part of the present lake watershed at the Alata cataract where the Blue Nile crosses it, plunging over the ↗Ṭisəsat falls.

Ṭ.'s surface area covers between 2,156 km^2 and 3,600 km^2 and its maximum length and width



The Blue Nile flowing out of Lake Ṭana; photo 1995, courtesy of Galen Frysinger

are 72 km and 68 km respectively. It has a volume of 29,175 km^3. The lake is fed by about 60 rivers. With a few exceptions (Gəlgəl Abbay, Dirma, Arno, Mägäč̣, Rəb, Gumära), most of them remain dry for most of the year. The Abbay River, which is the only outlet of the lake basin (15,320 km^2), reaches an average discharge of 3,5 billion m^3 a year.

At ↗Baḥər Dar the annual rainfall is 1,500 mm. In high water periods (July to October) the amount of water discharged by the Abbay River is almost 35 times higher (350 m^3/sec) than during low water periods (10 m^3/sec, February to May). Ṭ.'s mean depth is 9 m and its maximum depth, to the north west of the island of ↗Däq, is 14 m. Being only a shallow reservoir, the lake thus has a weak regulatory effect.

Every year during the rainy season the water flows out of the south-east of the lake until it reaches its equilibrium. In 1996 a dam was built, just south of the lake on the Čara Čara rapids, to stabilise its discharge at around 110 m^3/sec. In times of heavy rains the banks of the lake in the west (Dämbəya and Qʷənzəla) are submerged, and to the east the ↗Fogära plain (18,500 ha) is flooded.

Vessels such as the ↗*tankʷa* sail on this vast water area that is surrounded by such tree species as ↗sycamores (*wärka*, *wanza*), podocarpus (*zägba*), ↗acacias (*grar*), ↗juniper (*ṭəd*), olive trees (*wäyra*) and *doqma*. The coves on its banks, formed of basalt blocks, are colonized by endemic papyrus (*Cyperus papyrus*) that can grow to 6 m high. Well lighted and oxygenated, the shallow waters of the Ṭ. are rich in plancton and valuable resources. Among the species fished are tilapias (*qäräso*), catfish (*ambazza*), perch (*beyešo*) and endemic carp (*näč̣č̣asa*).

The Ṭ. also hosts exceptional ↗bird species such as African bird of paradise, great white pelican, white breasted hamerkop, pied kingfisher, African sacred ibis, Egyptian goose, lappet-faced vulture, Goliath heron and village weaver. The lake also hosts some menaced (trumpeter hornbill, African fish-eagle, pallid harrier) and migrant species (pink flamingo, European bee-eater). In 2004, more than 217 species were identified.

Lake Ṭ. is also the highest place on earth where ↗hippopotamus is found, nowadays endangered due to the introduction of ↗firearms and the increase of human activity around the lake. ↗Malaria epidemics occurred on its marshy shores until the 1950s (Simoons 1960).

The lake has been given different names throughout its history. One of the earliest names may have been ↗Qʷara, as the eponymous region west of the lake. In Ethiopian texts from the 15th and 16th cents. it is called Azaf and the Portuguese called it "Dembià", i.e. Dämbəya (Conti Rossini 1910).

The peninsulas, islands and islets of Lake Ṭ. (between 34 and 41) used to shelter many monasteries and royal residences (now often in ruins) dating from the 13th to the 18th cents. The oldest church is that of ↗Ṭana Qirqos, which began to flourish under ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I. In the 15th and 16th cents. the area saw an important development of monastic centres (Di Salvo 2000: 18–22, 42–55).

A large number of churches and monasteries are located along the peninsula of ↗Zäge (Däbrä Śəllase, Wərra Kidanä Məḥrät, Mähal Zäge Giyorgis, Bäträ Maryam, Awza Maryam, Yəganda Täklä Haymanot, Fəre Maryam) and on the islands to the north of Baḥər Dar (↗Kəbran Gäbrəʾel, ↗Ǝnṭonəs Iyäsus, ↗Däbrä Maryam). The island of Däq, to the centre of the lake, includes the important sanctuaries of ↗Narga Śəllase, Arsima Maryam and ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos. To the north, on the ↗Gorgora peninsula, lie the ruins of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos' palace and the ↗Jesuit mission. On the banks the churches of ↗Däbrä Sina Maryam, Bərgida Maryam, ↗Mändabba Mädḫane ᶜAläm and Gälila Abunä Zäkaryas are found.

With the settlement of *aṣe* ↗Minas, and especially ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, at ↗Gubaᵓe, Lake Ṭ. became the centre of the Christian Solomonic Kingdom. The area has been inhabited by the ↗Wäyṭo, the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel and the ↗Kəmant (cp. ↗Agäw). It has also been the cultural core of the Amhara, who constituted the majority of the population and who, little by little, have assimilated the minorities.

The largest town around the lake is Baḥər Dar (183,489 inhabitants). About 2.47 million people live in the nine *wäräda* that border the lake, providing a density of 150 inhabitants/km^2. After 2002, the growth rate of the Amhara region has been 3 % annually. The population is largely rural and after Baḥər Dar the largest nuclei are Dälgi (9,573 inhabitants), Qʷənzəla (6,369 inhabitants), Gorgora (5,247 inhabitants) and Korota. Every year, large groups of Christians go to take a bath in the holy springs found near the churches, especially those at Säkala, at the sources of the Gəlgəl Abbay, and at Ṭana Qirqos.

After the rainy season, when waters retreat from the banks, farmers grow grains (↗maize, barley, ↗*ṭef*), fruits (papaya, mango, avocado), ↗*bärbäre*, ↗coffee and recently irrigated rice at Fogära. The cultivated land area is estimated to be 234,948 ha of which only 4 % is irrigated.

Fluvial erosion has led to land degradation and accelerated sediment deposits on parts of the shoreline. Up to the present, the two hydroelectric plants of Ṭisəsat I (11 MgW) and Ṭisəsat II (74 Mgw), which use 2/3 of the waters of the Abbay, have not significantly affected the level of the lake. The Ṭ.-Bäläs, which had been launched with Italian help and abandoned after the fall of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam, was reinitiated in 2006 and has been recently completed. It diverts a significant share of the water from the lake, transferring it by a feeding tunnel through a hydrolectric plant on the ↗Bäläs River, in order to irrigate land to the west. This operation could threaten other irrigation projects as well as current water utilization, such as water supply, navigation and tourist visits to the lake's monasteries.

Since the early Jesuit descriptions from the 17th cent. (e.g. BecRASO II, 277–82), Lake Ṭ. has been visited and described by several people, e.g., James ↗Bruce, Antoine d'↗Abbadie, Anton ↗Stecker, Hormuzd ↗Rassam and Robert Ernest ↗Cheesman. It was also the object of a major scientific expedition led by Vinigi Lorenzo ↗Grottanelli.

Src.: BCEOM (French Engineering Consultants), *Abbay Master Plan*, Phase 3 Master Report, Addis Ababa 1999; BecRASO II, 278–82; BruNile passim; CSA 2007; DEMELLE AREGA, *Tourist Map. Lake Tana and its Environs*, scale ca. 1: 200 000 [n.d.]; DerDom 121, 136, 214, 236, 298f., 328; EMAtlas; ANTON STECKER, "Die Stecker'sche Expedition", *Mitteilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland* 3, 1, 1881–83, 21–33.

Lit.: ChTana passim; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il convento di Tsana in Abissinia e le sue laudi alla Vergine", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 19, 1910, 581–621; MARIO DI SALVO, *Churches of Ethiopia*: *the Monastery of Narga Sellase*, Milano ^{2}2000, 18–22, 42; ESHETE DEJEN DRESILIGN, *Ecology and Potential for Fishery of the Small Barbs* (Cyprinidae teleostei) *of Lake Tana*, Wageningen 2001, 4ff.; MARÍA-JOSÉ FRIEDLANDER – BOB FRIEDLANDER, *Ethiopia's Hidden Treasures*: *a Guide to the Paintings of the Remote Churches of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2007, 179–224; ALAIN GASCON, "Les enjeux des aménagements hydro-agricoles en Éthiopie et en Érythrée", *Les Cahiers de la Recherche-Développement*, Dossier: *Systèmes irrigués* 38, 1994, 33–48; ID., *Sur les hautes terres comme au ciel, identités et territoires en Éthiopie*, Paris 2006, 32, 233; GasEth 60, 71; MARCEL GRIAULE, *Les flambeurs d'hommes,* Paris 1934, 147–70; VINIGI LORENZO GROTTANELLI et al., *Missione di studio al Lago Tana*, 6 vols., Roma 1938–43; *Guida* 368, 380–84; ARTHUR J. HAYES, *The Source of the Blue Nile*, London 1905, 97; HuntGeogr (index); MAXIME LACHAL, *Les* tankʷa *du lac Tana en Éthiopie, une histoire d'amour et de papyrus qui touche à sa fin: le processus de disparition du savoir-faire des* tankʷa *et ses répercussions sur l'espace du lac Tana*, M.A. thesis, Université Rennes II Haute Bretagne 2005; ID., *Les conflits d'usage de l'espace à Baher Dar* (*Éthiopie*): *géographie sociale et développement durable*, M.A. thesis, Université Rennes II Haute Bretagne 2006; MesfGeogr 38; MICHEL LEIRIS, *L'Afrique fantôme. De Dakar à Djibouti*, Paris 1934 [1968], 312ff.; PAUL A. MOHR, *The Geology of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1961, 10–15, 197, 200–10; MOLLA EJIGU – MINILIK BELAY, *Water Level Reduction of Lake Tana and its Environmental Impacts*, Baher Dar 2004; ALAN MOORHEAD, *The Blue Nile*, Harmondsworth 1983, passim; ATTILIO MORI, "Tana", in: *Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*, Roma 1937, vol. 33, 220–21; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie)*, Paris 2003, 13f., 22, 150, 154, 161–64, 176, 178f., 182ff., 188, 194, 204–07, 209f., 215, 221, 232, 237; FREDERICK J. SIMOONS, *Northwest Ethiopia*, Madison, WI 1960, 5, 17, 19, 159–62, 184f.; TadTChurch 4, 26f., 75, 187, 189–98, 201, 297f.

Maxime Lachal – Alain Gascon

Ṭana Qirqos

Ṭ.Q. (**ጣና፡ ቂርቆስ**, also **ጣና፡ ጭርቆስ** Ṭana Č̣ərqos, **ጻና፡ ቂርቆስ**, Ṣana Qirqos) is probably the most prominent island monastic site of Lake ↗Ṭana.

The homonymous island (ca. 1.5 km x 0.4 km), situated close to the eastern shore of the lake (for location s. map for Ṭana), boasts the status of the oldest Christian establishment in the area, as illustrated by a number of legends. According to tradition, the ↗Ark of the Covenant was brought to the island by ↗Mənilək I and kept there for nearly 600 years before it found its final resting place in ↗Aksum Ṣəyon; the island was the shelter for the Holy Family escaping from Herod's persecution; the first abbot was Zadoq, the son of a high priest from ↗Jerusalem; the kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa transformed the former holy place into a church dedicated to St. ↗Qirqos; a ↗*tabot* of the Archangel Michael from Egypt is kept on the island; and, finally, *abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan is said to be buried here.

Beside these legendary traditions referring to the Christian connections of the place which probably existed already before the end of the ↗Zagʷe era, its history becomes more concrete during the 13th and the beginning of the 14th cent., when the island was the base for christianization during the reign of ↗Amdä Ṣəyon I. The Acts of ↗Yafqərännä Ǝgziᵓ is a reliable source for the development of the Christian community in the lake region and particularly for the island. This saint joined the monastic community in his early life with the permission of the principal ruler of ↗Goǧǧam. One may conclude that the Ṭ.Q. community was already in existence. The monastery was then a major centre for missionary activities, also in the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel area. With the successful campaign of Amdä Ṣəyon against the provincial rulers of the Ṭana region, Ṭ.Q. became the Emperor's favourite place.

There are reports of restoration of the church building patronized in the first half of the 15th cent. by the rulers ↗Yəsḥaq and ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob.

Tradition says that during the period of the threat of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in the 16th cent., the monastic community was rescued by the intervention of St. Qirqos. This story appears in the collections of his miracles (↗*Täᵓammər*).

The establishment of the royal capital at ↗Gondär in the 16th cent. strengthened the relations between court and clergy in the region. Ṭ.Q. achieved the status of a royal church during the early Gondärine period by receiving land grants in 1597 from ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl. A second wave of attention was manifested by donations from *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (CrumLand 58, 77).

The church building was restored early in his reign by ↗Susənyos, during whose time the church was named Iyäsus Mädḫənä Kʷəllu ('Jesus Saviour of all'). In later decades, the monastic community of Ṭ.Q. was a strong bulwark against Catholic endeavours. The Acts of ↗Wälättä Peṭros refer to a verdict against the presence of female persons on the island.

A last restoration was carried out by ↗Iyoᵓas in the 18th cent.

Bosc-Tiessé (2008: 391) provides a list of the abbots of Ṭ.Q. from the time of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon until the reign of Täklä Giyorgis (second half of the 18th cent.).

The mss. of the monastery are listed in a note in ms. Paris, BN d'Abbadie 68 (CRAbb 209; s. also HamTana I, 49; Bosc-Tiessé 2008: 402–09). Presently, there are about one hundred manuscripts, among which is a richly illustrated (90 miniatures) copy of the ↗*Täᵓammərä Iyäsus*.

The church also possesses two liturgical fans (↗*Märawəḥ*), a bowl carrying a Sabaean ↗inscription, and two Sabaean altars (↗*Tabot*), as well as the legendary relics: a basin of King ↗Solomon, a stone with Jesus's footprints, a necklace of St. Mary, and a prayer stick of St. ↗Yared.

Src.: Sylvain Grébaut, "Un nouveau recueil des Miracles de l'enfant Cyriaque", *Aethiopica* 3, 1935, 87–91; PerChron I, 236, II, 181, 506; CRAbb 209; Isaak Wajnberg (ed., tr.), *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana ᵓEgzīᵓ*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 11, 16–20, 34f.

Lit.: Claire Bosc-Tiessé, "L'histoire et l'art des églises du Lac Ṭānā", *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 211–18; Ead., *Les îles de la mémoires. Fabrique des images et écriture de l'histoire dans les églises du lac Ṭānā, Éthiopie, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle,* Paris 2008, passim; ChTana 175–80; Otto Jäger, "Ethiopian Manuscript Paintings", *EthObs* 4, 1960, 354–91, here nos. vi, vii, xxvi; Id., *Antiquities of North Ethiopia*, London 1965, 70f.; Id. – Liselotte Deininger-Engelhart, "Some Notes on Illuminations of the Manuscripts in Ethiopia", *RSE* 17, 1961, 43–60, here nos. 6f., 13, 26; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il convento di Tsana in Abissinia e le sue laudi della Vergine", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 19, 1910, 581–621; CrumLand 58, 77; *Guida* 381; HamTana I, 66–69; KapMon 63f., 100; Giuseppe Morandini (ed.), *Missione di studio al lago Tana,* vol. 3: *Ricerche limnologiche*, Roma 1940, 96f.; TadTChurch 190f., 193, 195, 197.

Veronika Six

Tänaññä Wärq Ḫaylä Śəllase

Wäyzäro T.W. (ተናኘ፡ ወርቅ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ; b. 30 January 1913, Harär, d. 6 April 2003, Addis Abäba) was the first child of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and his wife, *ətege* ↗Mänän Asfaw.

In 1924, T.W. was married to *ras* ↗Dästa Damṭäw, a governor of Sidamo. They had six children, two sons and four daughters. Their son *ləǧ* Amməha died at the age of 16. *Ləǧ* Ǝskəndər became a commander of the Imperial Navy. In 1974, he was imprisoned and then killed by the *Därg*. Their elder daughter Ayda was married to *ləᶜul däǧǧazmač* (later *ləᶜul ras*) Mängäša Səyyum, great-grandson of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV and governor of Təgray. The second daughter, Ḫirut, was never married, the third, Säblä Wängel, was married to *ləǧ* Kaśa Wäldä Maryam, President of Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (later ↗Addis Ababa University) and later Minister of Agriculture, and the fourth, Sofiya, married in 1960 Captain Däräǧǧä Ḫaylä Maryam, son of the patriot ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Mammo, junior Ethiopian officer at the Imperial Military Academy at Harär who lost his life in the ↗coup d'état 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82) fighting on the side of loyalist forces.

During the Italian occupation, T.W. followed her father into exile in England. Her husband was murdered by the Italians, and T.W. began a relationship with Abbäbä Rätta, and bore him a daughter, Ṣägga Maryam. After the Liberation, the family returned to Ethiopia, and in 1964 Abbäbä became Minister of Health; however, his humble origins made the marriage between him and T.W. impossible. Ṣägga Maryam was later imprisoned with her mother in 1974 and died soon after.

In 1944 T.W. married the governor of Bägemdər and Səmen *ras* Andargaččäw Mässay. The couple resided in Gondär. From 1952 to 1959, whilst *ras* Andargaččäw was the first Representative in Eritrea after its union with Ethiopia (↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation), they resided in Asmära. T.W. had one daughter from her second husband, Məntəwwab, who died in childhood.

T.W., with her conservative views, was believed to have more influence upon her father than her brothers. Ḫaylä Śəllase used to discuss state matters with her, mostly social problems, but she also had some impact on the choice of appointments in his administration. She was involved in many social activities; she founded schools and health institutions. From 1941 she headed the Ethiopian Women Charitable Works Association.

T.W.'s father bestowed the Ethiopian Order of the Collar of Solomon and the Cordon of the Order of the Queen of Sheba on her (↗Orders and decorations). In 1959 she also received the Greek Grand Cross of the Order of Beneficience, and the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Olav from the King of Norway in 1956.

In the last days of the Empire, T.W. joined those who unsuccessfully tried to persuade Ḫaylä Śəllase into taking an active role in fighting the mutiny. She was imprisoned during the ↗Revolution and released together with her four daughters in 1989. She left for the United States, from where she returned to Ethiopia in 1999. She was buried in the Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral next to her parents and her husband.

Src.: Asfa-Wossen Asserate, *Ein Prinz aus dem Hause David und warum er in Deutschland blieb*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, 153, 229, 270, 322, 325ff., 334, TSTarik IV, 110, 196.

Lit.: Richard Greenfield, *Ethiopia*: *New Political History*, London 1965, 150, 204, 297, 301, 303, 357, 389, 390; Hans Wilhelm Lockot, *The Mission*: *the Life, Reign and Character of Haile Sellassie I*, New York 1992, 50; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913,* Oxford 1975; Id., *Haile Sellassie I*: *the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987; Leonard Mosley, *Haile Selassie*: *the Conquering Lion,* London 1964.

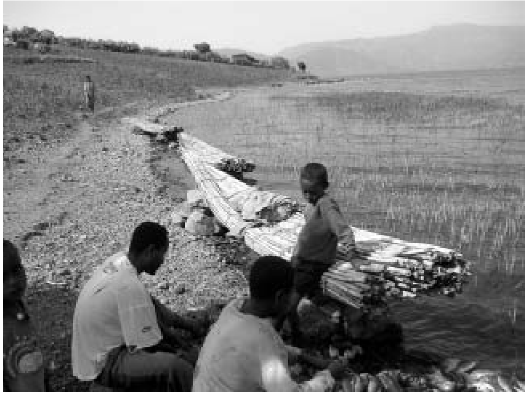
Hanna Rubinkowska

Tankʷa

Although native watercraft are rare inside Ethiopia and Eritrea, the ↗Wäyṭo of Lake ↗Ṭana shores are expert in building and navigating T. (ታንኳ), a boat of papyrus reeds. The reed, called *T. Papyrus*, has a triangular cross-section, and grows along the marshy lakeshore, especially to the south, in thick stands up to three metres tall. The Wäyṭo are the sole builders and boatmen of the T. Early European travellers reported T. Undoubtedly such craft were used on the lake much earlier.

A skilled craftsman builds a small (15-foot) T. in about ten hours. Firstly, the boat builder harvests papyrus reeds (*dängäl*), up to about half their maximum thickness, and allows them to dry. Next, he makes cord from long strips of the bark of the wild ↗sycamore fig tree (*wärka*) by soaking them until they are soft and then biting them into strips about a foot long. He plaits a series of these strips and rolls them by hand against his leg into a continuous cord. Finally, he soaks the cord and dries it to make a tough end-product. He inspects the reeds and trims them with a knife-like sickle and soaks them for pliability.

A keel is constructed with a thin, boat-length ↗eucalyptus pole, an inch or two in diameter, at its centre, around which several reeds are bound with wet cord. The cords making up a T. are in the form of chain-like links. Gradually, side walls about 6-inches thick form the shell of the T.; they are built up and tied, with the butts of the reeds toward the stern. Reeds are thinned and shaped to form the blunt stern and the bow tapering upward to a point. Finally, the shell is filled with bound reed bundles which form the deck. The



Tankʷa of fishermen at the shores of Lake Ḥayq, Wällo; photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

shell is *ənnat* ('the mother'), holding the deck bundles, *ləǧ* ('the child'), above the water. Each reed bundle is *bet*, and a T. is classified according to how many bundles form the widest part of it. Thus an 8-*betočč* is a standard 2-person T.; a T. can range from 6- to 20-*betočč*.

The Wäyṭo use T. for fishing, formerly for ↗hunting hippopotami, travelling to weddings and ↗*täzkar* feasts, visiting, and taking the grinding stones they produce as well as merchants and their wares to lakeside marketplaces.

Only rarely do the Wäyṭo use their lightweight T. on nearby rivers and, then, only in the brief period between the torrents of the big rains and the ponding in the dry season. Balancing the T., a Wäyṭo sits and punts and steers with a reed pole about 10 feet long; paddles are unknown.

Lit.: ChTana 91–95; Vinigi L. Grottanelli, *Missione di Studio al Lago Tana*, vol. 2: *Ricerche geografiche e economiche sulle populazioni*, Roma 1939, 200–11; Maxime Lachal, *Les* tankʷa *du lac Tana en Éthiopie, une histoire d'amour et de papyrus qui touche à sa fin: le processus de disparition du savoir-faire des* tankʷa *et ses répercussions sur l'espace du lac Tana*, M.A. thesis, Université Rennes II Haute Bretagne 2005; Frederick J. Simoons, *Northwest Ethiopia*: *Peoples and Economy*, Madison, WI 1960, 182–86.

Frederick C. Gamst

Tanners, Tanning ↗Leather

Tänśe Mammo

T.M. (**ተንሤ፡ ማሞ**, d. 1733) was a nobleman who in late 1732 led a revolt against ↗Iyasu II and the ↗Qʷara faction at court. He came from the *Gäbärma*, a division of the ↗Agäw who lived in or close to ↗Damot. He was one of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa's favoured officials, serving briefly as *bitwäddäd* in 1722 and then as *däǧǧazmač* and governor of Damot. In late 1731 Iyasu appointed him *ᶜazzaž* of ↗Yəbaba. Like several of Bäkaffa's high-ranking officers, he was angered by the maneuvering at court upon Bäkaffa's death in which ↗Bərhan Mogäsa (Məntəwwab), Bäkaffa's wife and Iyasu's mother, and her Qʷaran relatives hastily and secretly crowned Iyasu, seizing control of throne and state.

The rebellion led by T.M. lasted from 19 December 1732 to 2 January 1733 and involved an eight-day siege of the royal compound. T.M. and several other prominent nobles marched into ↗Gondär and proclaimed a new ruler, Həzqəyas, whom they had brought from the royal prison, ↗Wähni Amba. Fighting raged daily around the palace grounds and throughout the city. The rebels tried repeatedly to break into the royal enclosure and at one point succeeded, but the Qʷaran forces beat them back. Several buildings inside the royal compound were set afire, as were nearby houses, a royal banquet hall, and the church of Qəddus Rufaᵓel. The rebels accused the court of harboring two "Franks" (i.e. Catholics), falsely as it turned out, and used the accusation to persuade the *əčč̣äge* ↗Täklä Haymanot and *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu to excommunicate Iyasu, Məntəwwab and all of their defenders.

Despite valiant efforts to defend the royal enclosure, the Qʷarans struggled in the face of T.M.'s relentless attacks, dwindling provisions, and the wavering loyalty of their soldiers. In desperation, Iyasu and Məntəwwab sent a plea for help to *däǧǧazmač* Wäräñña, governor of Damot. Wäräñña, together with *azzaž* Giyorgis, newly appointed over Yəbaba in place of T.M., led an army of Oromo cavalry to Gondär. Confronted with this armed force, T.M. and the rebels fled to Wägärä, where they were immediately defeated. T.M. and two other leaders were captured and hanged, the *əčč̣äge* and *abun* were persuaded to recant their decree of excommunication, and Həzqəyas was remanded to Wähni.

T.M.'s rebellion was the most serious opposition the Qʷarans faced in their ascent to power. The rebellion would almost certainly have succeeded if the Qʷarans had not received help from their Oromo allies. T.M.'s siege of the royal compound in 1732 was also the only time when the Gondär castle compound was used to fend off a determined attack, albeit one that very nearly succeeded.

Src.: BassÉt II, 194f. [tr.]; BegCron 106–09 [tr.]; BruNile II, 618–28; DombrChr 272–75 [tr.]; Ignazio Guidi, "Due nuovi manoscritti della 'Cronaca Abbre-

viata' di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6^{a}, 2, 1926, 381–406; GuiIohan 295–301, 320 [tr.]; GuiIyas 54–80 [tr.].
Lit.: Manfred Kropp, "Zur 'Kurzen Chronik' der äthiopischen Könige. 2: Die Rebellion des Tanse Mammo", *Oriens Christianus* 66, 1982, 144–88.

LaVerle B. Berry

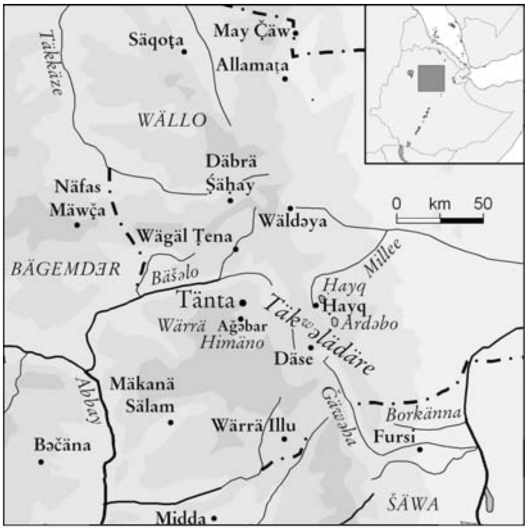
Tänta

T. (**ተንታ**; 11° 19' N, 39° 15' E, 2,972 m A.S.L.) is a town and a *wäräda* in the Däbub (South) Wällo administrative zone. The town is said to have been founded in the last quarter of the 18th cent. by ↗Mäḥammäd ^{c}Ali "Abba Ǧəbo", the founder of the ↗Mammädočč dynasty. The main town of the *wäräda* of T. is Ağəbar. In 1994, the town of T. had 2,320 inhabitants and the *wäradä* 137,412 inhabitants (CSA 1996). In the 2005 census, the town had 4,022 inhabitants and the *wäräda* 187,604 (CSA 2005).

T. is probably named after the Egyptian city of Tantah, in the Nile delta, 100 km north of Cairo and renowned in the Islamic world for being the birthplace of Aḥmad al-Badawī, the founder of the Aḥmadīya Sūfī brotherhood (↗Islamic brotherhoods). The use of this place-name in Wällo, at the time of the expansion of ↗Islam in this region, may be an indication of the influence of Sūfī brotherhoods, including the Aḥmadīya, which was not the most influential in the region.

T. is located on a strategic site, on the northern end of the plateau of ↗Wärrä Himäno, on a narrow strip of flat land. It is watching over the *amba* of ↗Mäqdäla, in the west, and the valleys of the Bäšəlo River and its tributaries. During the 19th cent. T. was the stronghold of the Mammädočč dynasty. It was described by ↗Krapf who spent a night there in 1842. It was the main town in the highlands of Wällo until the foundation of ↗Wärrä Illu by Mənilək in the 1870s and the foundation of ↗Däse by *ras* (later *nəguś*) ↗Mikaʾel Ali in 1890s. The shift of the centre of Wällo to Däse seems to have brought about the decline of T. It kept some importance as the main town of the *awrağğa* of Wärrä Himäno.

The famous church of T. Mikaʾel is found 4 km north of the town, on a small chalky hill, named Däbrä Bərhan, over a cliff in front of Mäqdäla, which used to be the camp of *ras* Mikaʾel Ali. The church was built from 1903 to 1910 by order of *ras* Mikaʾel, who chose the same saint's name as the church of Golbo Mikaʾel in Ambassäl where he was baptized in 1878. Local traditions say it was commissioned by *ras* Mikaʾel to an Italian named Bukovic. Its architecture is remarkable. It is made of stone blocks assembled together by a fine masonry work and has three tiers majestically surmounting each other, including two bell towers. It has three *tabotat*, one dedicated to St. Michael, one to Täklä Haymanot and one to the Trinity. In the courtyard there is the mausoleum of *nəguś* Mikaʾel and his family. T. is also the birthplace of *ləğ* ↗Iyasu.



Src.: CSA 1996; CSA 2005; Svein Ege, *South Shäwa 1:100,000. Topographic and Administrative Map of South Shäwa Zone, Amhara Region, Ethiopia*, Trondheim 2004 (http://www.svt.ntnu.no/ethiopia/c16xSouthW%C3%A4loMapFull.pdf; accessed: 12 April 2010), 34, 42; IsKrapf 341–50.
Lit.: Asnake Ali, *Aspects of the Political History of Wallo: 1872–1916*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1983, 36; *Guida* 395.

Eloi Ficquet

Tape worm ↗Worm diseases

Ṭäqäye

Ṭ. (**ጠቀዬ**; d. 1859) was one of two "ambassadors" sent in October 1858, by *däğğazmač* "Agäw" ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel, ruler of northern Ethiopia, to Rome and France, to establish an alliance with the French and to obtain arms.

Nəguśe and his brother ↗Täsämma Wäldä Mikaʾel claimed the legacy of their powerful uncle *däğğazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of Səmen in opposition to the newly–crowned *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. In anticipation of meeting the full force of Tewodros's army and at the instigation of the Roman Catholic Lazarist missionary, Giustino de ↗Jacobis, Nəguśe turned to France (RubInd 194f.; CrumMis 104ff.).

In a formal letter addressed to Napoleon III in 1858, Nəguśe introduced Ṭ. as his cousin (RubActa II, no. 37). Ṭ.'s role in the embassy was, apparently, subordinate to that of his companion, an Ethiopian Catholic priest, *abba* ↗Ǝmnätu. The two Ethiopians were accompanied by the French traveller, Lepère de Lapereuse, who was to act as their interpreter, and who, on the embassy's arrival in Rome, ceded place to the Lazarist missionary, Giuseppe ↗Sapeto, an ardent promoter of a French–Təgray connection.

In February 1859 the embassy was in Rome, where they were granted a papal audience. In April in Paris they were received by Napoleon III (RubActa II, doc. 46). On their return to Ethiopia they again passed through Rome, where they were given a papal letter addressed to Nəguśe.

With funds provided by Nəguśe, Ṭ. and Ǝmnätu had purchased some arms in Europe, which were confiscated at Suez on their return, sometime before August. In September, Ǝmnätu was back in Ethiopia, but alone, Ṭ. having died on the way. As Nəguśe subsequently informed Napoleon III, "I thank you for the fine ceremony you held for Ṭ., my cousin, whose death by shipwreck at sea, while returning from France, makes me sad at heart" (RubActa II, no. 49).

Src.: Carlo Conti Rossini, *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, Asmara 1908, here 44–57 (IV. "L'ambasciata francese a Negusé"); RubActa II, nos. 36, 37, 44, 46–49, 52, 64, 66, 99, pp. 55–113 *passim.*

Lit.: CrumMis 101–10; RubInd 189–207.

Donald Crummey

Ṭaqussa

Ṭ. (**ጣቁሳ**, in European sources Dagusa) is a district located to the west of Lake Ṭana, stretching along a mountain range (Mount Abraččočč in the north, Mount Gandi in the south, 2,412 m A.S.L.; Guida 369) that separates it from the ↗Bäläs basin (for location s. map for Ṭana). It is separated from the neighbouring district of Aläfa by the river Känna in the east (Girma Getahun 1991: 469), and from ↗Ačäfär by the river Qinna in the south (Guida 369).

Ṭ. is historically relevant as the site of repeated battles between *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu (later *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II) and the forces of *ras* ↗Ali II and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam.

When Kaśa invaded ↗Dämbəya in October 1846, *ətege* Mänän, Ali's mother, sent troops to stop him. Her troops were, however, defeated twice, first at Čäqo and then at Säqäla Wärka, in Ṭ. Kaśa was able to capture ca. 100 rifles as booty which boosted his position for renewed engagements in the 1850s (RubTew 37).

Subsequently, *ras* Ali asked for military help from *däǧǧazmač* Wəbe. In March 1853, their combined forces invaded Dämbəya. Kaśa was forced to retreat to Ṭ. where he scored a spectacular victory in April. He killed Ali's ally, the *balabbat* of ↗Yäǧǧu *ras* Bərru Aligaz, and one of Ali's leading officers Bäläw Abbe (BTafA 891, 895).

The Battle of Ṭ. marked the defeat of the two principal *rases* of the period and played a significant role in Kaśa's rise to power, second only to that of ↗Ayšal. Ṭ. might also have remained a stronghold for Kaśa's relatives such as Gärad, the nephew of the Emperor, who rebelled and began to control Ṭ. and its surrounding areas in 1860 (BTafA 919).

In the 1930s, the area was populated by the ↗Wäyṭo, inhabiting scattered hamlets, such as Goga (probably now the town of Däbr; Guida 369; Simoons 1960: 22, 49ff.). Today, activities such as hunting, fishing and ↗*tankʷa* transportation, all carried out by the Wäyṭo, have declined; the inhabitants speak Amharic.

In the modern administrative division, Ṭ. together with Aläfa form the Aläfa *wäräda* of North Gondär zone, Amhara *kəlləl*. Ṭ. stretches ca. 40 km from north to south and ca. 20–30 km from west to east. Aläfa covers an area of over 6,000 km^2 and has ca. 300,000 inhabitants (CSA 2006). Its main town is Dälgi, with ca. 10,000 inhabitants. Other important towns are Gomänge (ca. 3,000 inh.), Šäwra (ca. 5,000 inh.) and Dängel Bär (2,500 inh.). Urban dwellers account for ca. 7 % of the total population of the *wäräda*.

Src.: BTafA, s. index; CSA 2006; Demelie Araga, *Tourist Map, Lake Tana and its Environs*, n.d., no scale; Girma Getahun, *The Gojjam Chronicle by alaqa Takla Iyyasus Waqǧira*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS University of London 1991, 469; Guida 369; ZanLitTheod.

Lit.: AbPrince 139; Maxime Lachal, *Les* tankʷa *du lac Tana en Éthiopie, une histoire d'amour et de papyrus qui touche à sa fin: le processus de disparition du savoir-faire des* tankʷa *et ses répercussions sur l'espace du lac Tana*, M.A. thesis, Université Rennes II Haute Bretagne 2005; RubTew 37; Frederick J. Simoons, *Northwest Ethiopia Peoples and Economy*, Madison, WI 1960, 22, 49ff., map 4, photos 19ff.

Tsega Endalew Etefa – Alain Gascon

Ṭarma Bärr

Ṭ.B. (**ጣርማ፡ በር**, 9° 51' N, 39° 44' E) is a mountain above the town of ↗Däbrä Sina in northern ↗Šäwa (for location s. map for Tägulät). Three tunnels on the main modern road pass under the mountain, while the historical route presumably went a few kilometres further north, through easier terrain. The name often appears in historical sources, because the place is a natural point of reference. Ṭ.B. is part of the mountain ridge that separates the eastern slopes and lowlands (↗Yəfat) from the western highlands and valleys (↗Mänz and ↗Tägulät). Broadly speaking it is also a dividing point between the northern ↗Amhara heartlands and the area conquered and resettled during the rule of ↗Amməḫa Iyäsus, and thus brought under tighter administrative control.

Ṭ.B. is also a natural crossroads. The eastern escarpment of the mountain ridge is part of the Rift Valley formation, and is generally very steep. Below Ṭ.B., however, the landscape slopes somewhat more gently towards the lowlands. Furthermore, the principal route towards Mänz passed through Ṭ.B. in order to avoid crossing the many deep river valleys further to the west. Today there is a small village at the road junction between the main road and the roads towards Mänz and ↗Sälla Dəngay.

Src.: BTafA 505, 519; AWTarik 86, 91; HarAeth, vol. 2, 313; Charles T. Beke, “Communications Respecting the Geography of Southern Abyssinia”, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 12, 1842, 97–98.

Svein Ege

Ṭarūᶜa

Ṭ. is an important ↗Sāho subgroup settling in an territory between the River Ḥaddas and ᶜAla, between the highlands (↗*Käbäsa*) and the coastal regions of Eritrea (for location s. ↗Idda). They are especially known for their conflicts with a neighbouring ↗Təgrəñña group, the ↗Ṣänᶜadäglä in the Sägänäyti sub-district of ↗Akkälä Guzay.

The Ṭ. are bilingual in Sāho and ↗Təgre, and are divided into two main sub-groups, the Musa ᶜAre (Tgr. Bet Mosa) and Sara ᶜAre (Tgr. Bet Sarah). The Bet Mosa are mixed and affiliated with Təgre-speaking groups in the ↗Samhar region. In addition, there are small Sāho clans who are affiliated to the Ṭ., like the Šek Laḥlaḥa ᶜAre, Kabuta and Bet Aqayl or Bet Uqayl (MuhTarih 230).

The Ṭ. trace their descent to a distant ancestor of the ↗Qurayš, especially to the clan of Banū ᶜUmayya. This is linked with similar legends of origin of the Sāho-speaking group of ↗Ḥazo and those of the Təgre-speaking ↗Mänsaᶜ and ↗Marya. The ancestor of all these four groups, Zayd, had originated from ↗Yemen, crossed the Red Sea and settled on the ↗Buri Peninsula. They claim that the founding father of the Ṭ. was known as ᶜUmar Ṭ. (PollEr 170). The myths of the Ṭ. are rather based on religious, linguistic and cultural criteria, like those of the majority of the Sāho who trace their ancestors back to ↗Arabia and the Middle East.

The Ṭ. are agro-pastoralists and move between the highlands and the lowlands, i.e. between March and October to the highlands of Ḥamasen (mountains of Bizän, Damas, Sarat) and to Akkälä Guzay (area of ↗Däqqämḥare and Sägänäyti, especially Aligäde) in search of pasture and water, while between November and February they migrate to coastal areas such as ↗Gindaᶜ, Əmbatkalla, Gaḥtälay and Saḥati (PollEr 170f.). During the rainy season, they practice rain-fed agriculture. There are also some clans who are sedentary agriculturalists and harvest twice a year during the *baḥri*-rains in the Sämenawi Qäyyəḥ Baḥri, the Northern Red Sea *zoba* (Trevaskis 1977: 3f.; NadEr 128f.; Lewis 1969: 175).

The centres of the Ṭ. today are Gindaᶜ, Gaḥtälay and Agambussa, because most of the their clans were displaced from the highlands by Təgrəñña groups. During the Italian colonial period the Ṣänᶜadäglä formed permanent settlements in the highlands of Akkälä Guzay, excluding the Ṭ. from pasture and agricultural land. This caused a long blood feud and conflict between the two groups. This conflict with the Ṣänᶜadäglä (and not between the ↗Asaorta and Ṣänᶜadäglä, as erroneously noted by Favali – Pateman 2003: 147) started while the Ṭ. were administered by the Asaorta chief Nasir *bey*, and was linked with the fact that the Ṣänᶜadäglä leader collaborated with the colonial administration (ibid.). Due to this, disputes over pasture and agricultural land between the Ṭ. and Ṣänᶜadäglä were particularly intense during the Italian colonial period. However, the Eritrean government succeeded in mediating the conflicts (Favali – Pateman 2003: 162; Abdulkader Saleh et al. 2008).

Lit.: Abdulkader Saleh et al. (eds.), *Friedensräume in Tigray und Eritrea unter Druck*, Münster 2008, 141–62; Lyda Favali – Roy Pateman, *Blood, Land and Sex: Legal and Political Pluralism in Eritrea*, Bloomington, IN 2003, 131–65; Ioan Myrddin Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho*, London 1969, passim; Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *A Short History of Eritrea*, London 1974; MuhTarih 230, 345f.; NadEr 128f.; PollEr 170f.; Gerald Kennedy Nicholas Trevaskis, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition 1941–1952*, New York 1977, 3f.

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammed

Täsämma Asbärom

Ras T.A. (**ተሰማ፡ አስበሮም**, also Täsämma Asmärom ᶜUntura; b. 26 May 1870, Maᶜräba, Akkälä Guzay, d. 1964) was a prominent figure in the formation of political parties in post-colonial Eritrea. Born to a noble family, at the end of the 19th cent., he was able to expand his family's power, despite his constantly changing allinaces. When *däggiyat* ↗Bahta Ḥagos rebelled against the Italian occupants in December 1894, T.A. fought on the Italian side against his rival Bahta. However, in the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896 he served on the side of the Ethiopian troops.

In 1898 T.A. was appointed *däggiyat* over the district of Haddägti in ↗Akkälä Guzay by the Italians, and became locally famous for his jurisdiction and mediation of land rights. T.A. and his brother, Bärhe Asmärom ᶜUntura, became the most prominent rulers in Akkälä Guzay. During the time of the ↗British Military Administration T.A. was raised to the rank of ↗*ras* by the British governor Brigadier Stephen ↗Longrigg on 17 February 1941.

On 5 May 1941, after a series of political demonstrations and violent confrontations with the British adminisitration, the ↗*Maḥbär Fəqri Hagär* (MFH) was founded. T.A. was among its founding members, together with ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, T.A.'s eldest son, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Abräha Täsämma and others. The MFH, however, was weakly led, its leaders following different aims. T.A. was the spokesman of a group that favoured the Union of Eritrea and ↗Təgray under some kind of British administration. Different parties developed out of the MFH in 1947, such as the ↗Unionist Party, led by T.A.'s adversary ↗Tädla Bayru, and the ↗Liberal Progessive Party (LLP) with T.A. as its president.

Täsämma Asbärom (middle) with *däǧǧazmač* Abrəha (right) and an unidentified person (left); from ZRErtra 89

In order to achieve their goal of an independent Eritrea the ↗Independence Bloc was formed in 1949, T.A. served again as president. His career reached its climax with his election as representative for ↗Ṣänᶜadäglä disctrict to the first Eritrean Assembly in 1952. He served in this position until his retirement in 1956.

Lit.: ALEMSEGED ABBAY, *Identity Jilted or Re-imagining Identity?*, Asmara 1998; ᶜALÄMSÄGÄD TÄSFAY, **አይንፈላለ** (*Aynəffälalä 1941–1950*, 'We Shall not be Separated 1941–50'), Asmära 2001; ID., **ፈደረሽን፡ ኤርትራ፡ ምስ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ካብ፡ ማትየንሶ፡ ክሳብ፡ ተድላ** 1951–1955 (*Fädäräšən Erətra məs Ityoṗya*: *kab Matyänso kəsab Tädla, 1951–1955*, 'The Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation: From [Anze] Matienzo to Tädla [Bayru], 1951–1955'), Asmära 2005; LLOYD ELLINGTON, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941-1950", *JAH* 18, 2, 1977, 261–81; ErDizBio 281f.; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence*, Cambridge 1995, 70, 160; JORDAN GEBRE-MEDHIN, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea,* Trenton, NJ 1989, 83, 161, 168 n. 94, 170; KilHDic 107, 295f., 395, 430–34; REDIE BEREKETEAB, *Eritrea*: *the Making of a Nation, 1890–1991,* Uppsala 2000; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882-1941*, Uppsala 1987; ID., *Eritrea and Ethiopia*: *the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea*: *a Colony in Transition, 1941–52*, Oxford 1960, 62-65; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *From the Bible to Enrico Cerulli*: *a Miscellany of Ethiopian and Semitic Papers*, Stuttgart 1990 (AeF 32), 198 [obituary].

Alemayehu Birru Worku – Sophia Dege

Täsämma Darge ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase

Täsämma Ǝšäte

Näggadras T.Ǝ. (**ተሰማ ፡ እሽቴ**; b. 27 July 1876, Minǧar, Šäwa, d. 13 October 1964, Addis Abäba) was an Ethiopian politician and pioneer project planner. In addition, he was a writer, poet and the first Ethiopian – and probably the first African – musician to record his songs in Europe and have his grammophone records published.

As a child T.Ǝ. got a basic education and learned to read and write Amharic. From his father Ǝšäte Gobe who was an ↗*azmari* at *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən's court in ↗Harär, he also learned to play Ethiopian musical instruments. After the death of his father, T. was transferred to the palace of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in Addis Abäba, where he grew up.

In 1908 the life of T.Ǝ. suddenly changed. At this time, a German advisor to Mənilək, Arnold ↗Holtz, presented a car to the Emperor. But Mənilək had no driver, and when Holtz returned to his country, he proposed to take three Ethiopians with him for a professional training. T.Ǝ. was among the three selected together with Astaṭqe and Wäldä Ṣadəq.

T.Ǝ. stayed in ↗Germany for two years. He was supposed to study auto mechanics and obtain driving skills. T. also used this opportunity to sign a contract with a music recording company (Beka, later Odeon), thus becoming the first Ethiopian to record his songs on discs. His 17 discs were the first in sub-Saharan Africa and among the oldest on the entire continent.

On his return T.Ǝ. was appointed the head of the imperial vehicle fleet and chief driving instructor. Around the same time T.Ǝ. became a friend and confident of the new ruler *ləğ* ↗Iyasu (cp. Teclehaimanot G. Selassie 1986:165), who also introduced him to Ḫaṣīb ↗Ydlibi. T.Ǝ. married an aunt of *ləğ* Iyasu, *wäyzäro* Ṣ́äḥayä Wärq Darge, daugther of *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase, by whom he had two children. He was soon appointed first Director of the Hot Springs in Addis Abäba, and then representative of the Post Office and Telegraph with the title of Minister. After divorcing from his first wife, he married Mulatwa Gäbrä Śəllase on 22 December 1915, with whom he had seven children, among them ↗Yədnäqaččäw Täsämma. T.Ǝ. had another child from a relationship in Boorana (in addition, according to his last will, he also had one son with the former wife of *bitwäddäd* ↗Ḫaylä Giyorgis and occasional concubine of *ləğ* Iyasu, Təsämme Andarge, and a daughter from another woman).

After the ↗coup d'état 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081) and deposition of Iyasu, T.Ǝ. was placed under house arrest in the town of ↗Ǧimma, and his property confiscated. In Ǧimma he ran a small brick manufacturing plant to make his living; he returned later to Addis Abäba, where, for a short time, he managed the construction of the hotel in Bišoftuu (↗Däbrä Zäyt) in preparation for ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase's coronation in 1930. Just before the beginning of the ↗Italian war of 1935-36 T.Ǝ. was appointed governor of ↗Wälamo and received the title *näggadras* (but was unarmed, in spite of the Italian advance) by Ḫaylä Śəllase. During the Italian occupation T.Ǝ. lived in Addis Abäba, and his real-estate property was restituted, including the Italian-owned Lombardia Restaurant and Bar, for which he received a rent. His songs were republished by Odeon and his living conditions became better. However, after the Liberation of Ethiopia his position became as difficult as it had been before. He had to stay under house arrest for five years in Amäya Wäliso, and was then briefly appointed director of the Šašämänne wood and tomato processing plant.

Studio photo of Täsämma Ǝšäte; photo 1906, collection of Tadele Y. Tessema

Despite the numerous restrictions, he initiated diverse development projects; at his suggestion, e.g., the Sodäre hot spring became a centre of recreation, and the ↗Qoqa hydro-electric dam was built. He also tried a number of businesses, which were often stopped or hindered by the government; he started the first city transport company in Addis Abäba with imported taxis; he established sugar cane, fruit and vegetable farms in Bišoftuu, Wänği and Awara Mälka.

Throughout his life T.Ǝ. dedicated himself to writing poetry. It dealt with political topics, touching occasionally on delicate aspects, which led to further arrests and harassment. His poetry is also characterized with freedom on religious issues, despite its being composed using the old church technique of wax and gold (↗*Sämənna wärq*).

Src.: GebMolIyas s. index; TADDÄLÄ YƎDNÄQAČČÄW TÄSÄMMA (ed.), **ሰምና፡ ወርቁ፤ ተሰማ፡ እሸቴ** (*Sämənna Wärqu. Täsämma Ǝšäte*, 'His Wax and Gold, Täsämma Ǝšäte'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992 A.D.].
Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia*, Athens, OH 2002, 59, 167; WOLFGANG BENDER, "Initial Research into the Life and Work of Tessema Eshete – the First Ethiopian Singer to Record Commercially", in: *PICES* 15, 403–08; FanTarik 275–78; TADELE YIDNEKATCHEW TESSEMA, *The Life of Negadras Tessema Eshete*, Addis Ababa 2000 (Society of Friends of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Lecture Series); TECLEHAIMANOT G. SELASSIE, "A Brief Survey of the Azmaris in Addis Ababa", in: AHMED ZEKARIA – BAHRU ZEWDE – TADDESE BEYENE (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa, Nov. 24–25, 1986*, Addis Ababa 1987; MAY YDLIBI, *With Ethiopian Rulers: a Biography of Hasib Ydlibi*, Addis Abäba 2006, 202ff.

Maxim Zabolotskikh

Täsämma Habtä Mikaʾel

T.H.M. (**ተሰማ፡ ሃብተ፡ ሚካኤል**; b. 4 June 1890, Sälale, Šäwa, d. 7 October 1970, Addis Abäba) was an outstanding Ethiopian lexicographer and author of the dictionary known as **ከሣቴ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተሰማ። የዐማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Käśate bərhan täsämma. Yäʿamarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Täsämma, the Light Revealer [or also: The Light Revealer was Heard]. An Amharic Dictionary'; THMDic).

At an early age, under the influence of his western–trained father, T.H.M. studied both French and English. As a youth, he followed the traditional Ethiopian ↗education system, and attended ↗*mäṣḥaf bet* in Goǧǧam.

From 1919 to 1929, T.H.M. worked for the Ethiopian government and was particularly involved in the preservation and copying of manuscripts. He later worked as a teacher in Harär until 1943 when he moved to Addis Abäba. There he taught grammar (↗*Säwasəw*) until 1962, at the Teacher Training College. During the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, he also worked as head of the propaganda office in the Ethiopian government.

His dictionary is a monolingual grammar and lexicon. He wrote it in 1958/59, while in Harär. It is divided into three major sections:

1) introductory notes on the history of the Amharic language;
2) a morpho–syntactical discussion;
3) an extensive alphabetical lexicon.

This thematic division is a well recognized pattern amongst Ethiopic lexicographers including ↗Dästa Täklä Wäld and ↗Kidanä Wäld Kəfle (cp. DTWDic, KWKDic). The lexicon contains more than 38,000 entries over 308 pages.

The dictionary is strictly alphabetical, based on the Ethiopic syllabary (*hahu*, unlike DTWDic, which follows the *abugida* order; s. ↗*abugida and hahu*). The lexemes are categorized according to their roots: first by the first letter, then the second letter, and finally the third (unlike *aläqa* Tayyä's *Säwasəw*, which emulates the methodology of Classical Arabic grammarians: last radical first, then the first radical and finally the second). The entries, based on the pattern of verbal roots, are followed by the various derivatives of the root. Dialectical differences are offered, including those from Gondär, Goǧǧam, Šäwa and Bägemdər.

Borrowings from different languages are supplied (Hebrew, Arabic, Harari, Somali, Oromiffaa, Təgrəñña, Gəʿəz, Greek, Latin, French and English). Personal ↗names of Ethiopian rulers and names of Ethiopian cities, mountains and rivers are also included. The dictionary is illustrated by 278 drawings.

Src.: BƎRHANU GÄBRÄ ṢADƎQ, **ከሣቴ፡ ብርሃን፡ ተሰማ። ዐማርኛ፡ በዐማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት፤ በዘመናዊ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት፡ አዘጋጀት፡ ሲመለከት** (*Käśate Bərhan Täsämma, Amarəñña bäʿamarəñña mäzgäbä qalat, bäzämänawi mäzgäbä qalat azzägaggät simmäläkkät*, 'Käśate Bərhan Täsämma's Amharic–Amharic Dictionary, Compared to the Modern Dictionary Preparation Method'), B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1976 A.M. [1984 A.D.]; DTWDic; KWKDic; TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM, **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዋስው** … (*Mäṣḥafä säwasəw*, 'The Book of *Säwasəw*'), Mənkullo 1889 A.M. [1896/97 A.D.]; THMDic.

Meley Mulugetta

Täsämma Nadäw

Ras T.N. (**ተሰማ፡ ናደው**, horse name "Abba Qämmaw"; b. ca. 1845, d. 10 April 1911 [2 *Miyazya* 1903 A.M.]) was an army general, political leader and confidant of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and was appointed by him as regent and guardian of the young *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, the designated heir to the throne in 1909.

T.N. was the son of *wäyzäro* Qonǧit Däbnäh, who belonged to the powerful Šäwan ↗Addisge provicial rulers. His father was *däǧǧazmač* Nadäw Aššabər who had been the tutor and guardian of Mənilək, a courtier and confidant of *nəguś* ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot with whom he had gone to the court of *aṣe* Tewodros II in 1855. T.N. made his name as a military leader, playing an important role in the conquest of western Ethiopia as well as in several campaigns to quell rebellions. In the years of confusion following Mənilək's first stroke in 1908, T.N., who was a serious and careful personality, committed to Mənilək's vision of a unified and centralized Ethiopia. After initial hesitation, he was responsible for sidelining *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu when she tried to take Mənilək's place and shift the balance of power at the court to the "Gondärine" party.

As a close confidant T.N. rose to power in the 1880s as one of Mənilək's chief military leaders and political loyalists. Since 1887 he had ruled the conquered regions of ↗Guumaa and eastern ↗Illubabor. He married Bäläčaččäw Abbaa Ǧoobir, the young baptized daughter of Guummaa's last king, in a political marriage. His seat became the town of ↗Gore, where he had his power base and his chief source of revenue. In these years, T.N., together with *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye, secured a monopoly on coffee exports from ↗Käfa and other southern regions, redirecting the flow to Addis Abäba instead of the north (Gondär); this led to a fall in prices (Garretson 2000: 14, 121, 189), but helped to consolidate Mənilək's power. T.N. also had an ↗ivory trade monopoly in Illubabor.

Shortly before the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, T.N. was sent by Mənilək to neutralize the ᶜAfar *sulṭān* ↗Maḥámmad "Illálta" Ḥanfaḏé who had been urged by the Italians to open a front in the East. In February 1896, T.N. successfully completed this campaign (cf. Bairu Tafla 2000: 463; cp. ↗Millee). At ᶜAdwa T.N. led one of the victorious armies against the Italians. In 1897–98 T.N. joined *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye in a campaign to conquer the remaining parts of what is now western Ethiopia, securing the lands of the ↗"Gimira", ↗Añwaa, ↗Mağaŋir, and other groups in the south-western periphery, while Wäldä Giyorgis went to ↗Maǧi and the Sudanese borderlands. T.N.'s army then counted ca. 30,000 soldiers with firearms (GueCopMen 504). *Ras* T.N. himself did not proceed to the Sudan to meet up with the French forces and then heading to ↗Fashoda on the White Nile, but an advance company under *fitawrari* Ḫayle, with a number of Europeans (de ↗Bonchamps), did and reached the mouth of the "Sobat" (cf. GueCopMen 472; Prouty 1986: 205). The meeting did not take place, as the French commanding officer Major Jean-Baptiste Marchand did not turn up on time and Ethiopian troops, affected by illness, had to return.

After having secured the whole of Illubabor, T.N. returned to Addis Abäba, where he arrived on 15 September 1898. In 1900 he deposed Abbaa Foǧi, king of the Guumaa kingdom and local ruler, and reinforced imperial control over western Ethiopia. In this year, T.N. was also made a *ras*. While keeping his governorate of Gore, T.N. became more active in court politics and was often in Addis Abäba as a representative of the "Šäwan" party, rivaling those of Gondär, Təgray, Wällo and Goǧǧam. In 1909, as Mənilək's advisor, he reinforced Addis Abäba militarily, with defense batteries placed at strategic points. In the same year, trouble started between the troops of T. and those of *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis (supporter of *ləǧ* Iyasu's party), who offered T.N.'s men a larger salary, resulting in defections. Finally the Emperor had to intervene (Garretson 2000: 92).

Ras Täsämma Nadäw on a postcard; from the André Evalet collection

In August 1909, *aṣe* Mənilək II proclaimed T.N. *ras bitwäddäd* and "plenipotentiary" of the government with the foreign legations (Amh.: *balämulu səlṭan əndärase*), a new title. His appointment as regent and tutor of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu followed on 30 October. T.N. took Iyasu to his home to be tutored. A year later, T.N. married Iyasu to the daughter of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot of

Goǧǧam for political reasons. T.N.'s new position as regent evoked intense rivalries, e.g., from the Empress and from regional lords, such as *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel, Iyasu's father, whose influence T.N. tried to limit. In these crucial years of transition, however, T.N. acted in a hesitant manner (Prouty 1986: 321, 323). Finally, after having been deeply insulted by Ṭaytu (ibid. 327), he took action to cut the political maneuvering of the Empress, calling a large council of chiefs and nobles on 21 March 1910 to force her out. Those present supported his plan to give her the choice of either retiring to a monastery or devoting herself to caring for her ailing husband and refrain from politics. Ṭaytu took the latter option and was since then no longer a political factor. This was one of the measures that T.N. took to stabilize the situation following Mənilək's incapacitation in 1908.

T.N.'s tutoring of Iyasu bore little fruit and allegedly exhausted him (GebMolIyas 314, cf. Zäwde Rätta n.d., 122, 214). In 1911, T.N. died suddenly. Rumor had it that he was poisoned (Bartnicki – Mantel-Niećko 1978: 428). One source suggests this might have been the work of his wife (GebMolIyas 558; local informant), who resented him and subsequently tried to ingratiate herself with Iyasu (Prouty 1986: 338). T.N. was buried in Däbrä Libanos.

After T.N.'s death, several more unstable years followed, with Iyasu finally assuming government in 1913 with the support of his father *ras* Mikaᵓel. In Ethiopian politics, T.N. had shown a commitment to Mənilək's national causes, not to provincial-regional ones. While a man of the old guard, he had a broad vision, was conscious of Ethiopia's international needs, interested in European politics and technical innovation, and kept good contact with Western diplomats in Addis Abäba. He died before he could complete his political role to usher in an orderly transition to post-Mənilək rule.

Src.: BAIRU TAFLA (ed.), *Ethiopian Records of the Menilek Era*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 54); GebMolIyas; GueCopMen. **Lit.**: ANDREJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 2, Berlin 1978, 428; PETER P. GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Ababa from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49); HIRUY WOLDE SELLASIE (tr. by LUIGI FUSELLA), "Le Biografie del Blātengētā Ḫeruy Walda Sellāsē", *RSE* 30, 1984–86, 15–52; CHRIS PROUTY ROSENFELD, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II: Ethiopia 1883–1910*, Trenton, NJ 1986; ZÄWDE RÄTTA, **ተፈሪ፡ መኰንን፡ ረጂሙ፡ የስልጣን፡ ጉዞ፡ በምኒልክ፡ በኢያሱና፡ በዘውዲቱ፡ ዘመን** (*Täfäri Mäkʷännən, Räǧimu yäsəlṭan guzo bämənilək, bäᵓiyasunna bäzäwditu zämän* [*1884–1922*], 'Täfäri Mäkʷännən: the Long Journey to Power during the Reigns of Mənilək, Iyasu and Zäwditu [1884–1922]'), Addis Abäba n.d. [ca. 2005].

Jon G. Abbink

Täsämma Wäldä Mikaᵓel

Däǧǧazmač T.W.M. (**ተሰማ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል**; d. January 1861, ᶜAdwa) was the brother of the better-known *nəguś* ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaᵓel. Both brothers carried the nickname "Agäw", their father having been an ↗Agäw nobleman of ↗Səmen.

They were nephews through their mother of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, ruler of ↗Wägära, Səmen and much of northern Ethiopia from the late 1830s until 1855 (RubTew 67). Of the two brothers, Nəguśe receives much the fuller treatment in the sources, T.W.M. emerging only occasionally and briefly from his brother's shadow. Wəbe was defeated by *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa in the Battle of ↗Däräsge in February 1855, immediately following which Kaśa claimed the Solomonic throne and had himself crowned as *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. Nəguśe and T.W.M. emerged as the principal contenders for the political legacy of Wəbe, contesting the establishment of Tewodros's newly-appointed governors.

During a long campaign by Tewodros in ↗Šäwa and ↗Goǧǧam, which continued into 1856, T.W.M. and Nəguśe marched on ↗Gondär and occupied the town (RubTew 67f., citing British Foreign Office reports by Walter ↗Plowden). However, on the Emperor's return the brother rebels retreated to Səmen and ↗Təgray. For the next three years they entrenched themselves in Təgray, defeating most of Tewodros's appointees (ZanLitTheod 46f.). At some point, Nəguśe appointed T.W.M. as governor of Səmen and Wägära. During the rains of 1857, T.W.M. again captured Gondär, where his rule proved very unpopular (CRNuov 411ff.). His ambition to plunder ↗Dämbəya was averted by the intervention of a number of notables and a strong letter from Wəbe (RubActa II, no. 38). In 1858 the approach of Tewodros towards Wägära again encouraged T.W.M. to withdraw (ZanLitTheod 33).

However, in 1859, when news reached the Emperor that T.W.M. and Nəguśe were trying to establish diplomatic relations with ↗France, he marched on Təgray, and in January 1860, T.W.M. and Nəguśe fled to the ↗Märäb valley (RubTew 78f.). T.W.M. next appeared in Wägära, and, in March 1860, in alliance with an ally, ↗Garäd Kənfu, just outside Gondär he attacked and killed Plowden, the British consul and favourite of the Emperor. Immediately following the rains in 1860 Tewodros marched against Garäd and T.W.M., forced them into a battle in ↗Wäldəbba, where he defeated them and killed Garäd. T.W.M. escaped and joined his brother north of the ↗Täkkäze, whither the Emperor followed them, bringing them, in turn, to battle in ↗Tämben in January 1861. The two brothers were captured and executed in ᶜAdwa. They had their hands and feet amputated; T.W.M. died the same day, and his brother three days later.

Src.: BTafA 579, 954; CRNuov 411ff.; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country*, London 1868, 462ff.; RubActa II, index; ZanLitTheod 33, 46f.

Lit.: PankHist II, 44; RubTew 67, 76, 78f.

Donald Crummey

Täsänäy

T. (**ተሰነይ**) is one of the major towns and commercial centres in the province of Gaš-Barka in the western lowlands of Eritrea (for location s. map for Taka). According to ↗Təgre and ↗Ḥədaräb folk etymology the name means 'land without water' (Paulos Zaid 1997:3). A possible ↗Beğa etymology would be *te-sisa-nʾəy* 'where goats [*nʾəy*] graze'.

In fact, the town is rich in subsurface flowing water and its location close to the seasonal river ↗Gaš provides sufficient water during the rainy seasons from March to April and from July to November. T. lies 500 m A.S.L. at the end of a scenic mountain range amidst a fertile plain with pittoresque granite monolithic rocks, along green river banks seamed by gallery forest and doum palms – the habitat of the transhumant Beğa- and Təgre-speaking pastoralists (↗Beni ᶜAmər). Almost all Eritrean ethnic groups can be found living in the town, but mostly by Ḥədaräb, Təgre, ↗Kunama, ↗Nara, ↗Təgrəñña and Bilen (↗Bilin); Muslim ↗Hausa pilgrims from Nigeria (↗Tukrīr) on their way to or from ↗Mecca remained here and work as potters (↗pottery and potters) and ↗blacksmiths. Beni ᶜAmər caravans pass the town and stop over on their way to ↗Kassala (ca. 45 km) in ↗Sudan.

The actual founding of the town with permanent brick residences dates back to approximately 1915 (Paulos Zaid 1997:3). In 1901 the Italian colonial power started to build a diversion dam and a reservoir to feed a nearby irrigation scheme for agriculture and at the ↗cotton plantation in ᶜAligədər as did the British in Kassala (NadEr 15, 27; League of Nations 1925:192). After the conclusion of an agreement between the Italian and British Governments respecting the regulation of the utilisation of the waters of the river Gaš in 1925, an Italian colonial Residenza was built in 1928, accompanied by the parastatal Italian agricultural company Società Imprese Africane, a cotton gin, a hospital, hotels, garages, workshops serving the colonial agricultural projects in the region (KilHDic 396; 66ff.; League of Nations 1925:190–99).

The population grew from 1,800 in 1938 to 12,000 in 1962 (KilHDic 396) and at the end of the 1990s, with the influx of returning Eritrean refugees from the Sudan, to about 25,000. The master plan of the town for 1972 comprised 162 ha, whereas in 1997 it comprised 382 ha for urban housing and various social facilities (Paulos Zaid 1997:3).

In 1961 the Eritrean war of independence began in an area close to T. and thus the town experienced numerous raids in the 1960s, both Ethiopian offensives and ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF)/↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front's counter offensives. It became the Ethiopian military headquarters for the region – with a garrison of at times 3,000 soldiers – until the ELF liberated it on 26 March 1988 when the Ethiopian troops finally withdrew after losing the Battle of ↗Afᶜabet (KilHDic 396). After that the town was largely in ruins, but reconstruction started soon with the help of international organizations bringing back the necessary infrastructure such as roads, a power plant, schools, mosques, churches, banks, agricultural schemes, urban housing and shops, so that T. – until the border conflict between 1998 and 2001 in which the town was destroyed again – became an important centre of trade.

Lit.: *Guida* 225f.; LEAGUE OF NATIONS – Treaty Series, *Exchange of Notes respecting the Regulation of the Utilisation of the Waters of the River Gash*, Rome, 12 and 15 June 1925, no. 976, 190–99; KilHDic 66ff., 396; STEPHEN HEMSLEY LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, Oxford 1945, 138, 144f., 157f., 176; NadEr 15, 27; PAULOS ZAID, "Tessenei: a Blossoming Town in Western Eritrea", *Eritrea Profile*, 15 February 1997, 3.

Kerstin Volker-Saad

Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase

Qäññazmač T.G.Ś. (**ተስፋ፡ ገብረ፡ ሥላሴ**; b. 1902/03, Akrəmət Mikaʾel, Šäwa, d. 3 June 2000, Addis Abäba) was a prominent Ethiopian publisher. Most of his publications are still used in the elementary stage of traditional church ↗ education. T.'s father was already famous for preparing and writing ↗ manuscripts. When T.G.Ś. served as ↗ *diyaqon* at Akrəmət Mikaᵓel church, he as well used to prepare parchments and inks and copied various prayer books for the parish and different members of the congregation.

T.G.Ś. came to Addis Abäba in 1916 where he sold on the streets the ↗ *fidäl gäbäta* which he had copied out on parchment. His "self motivated literacy campaign" became more effective and easy when he published the *fidäl gäbäta* at the Märḥa Ṭəbäb printing press under the motto "*ᶜəwqät yəsfa dənqʷrənna yəṭfa yəh näw yäᵓityop̣ya täsfa*" ('let knowledge flourish and ignorance be eradicated; this is the hope of Ethiopia'). When the newspaper ↗ *Bərhanənna Sälam*, one of the earliest Amharic newspapers, was launched in 1925, T.G.Ś. became the agent for the distribution of pamphlets and the newspaper in Addis Abäba and other cities. T.G.Ś.'s dedication to promoting literacy was admired by different institutions, especially the Church, which offered him a work place in the compound of the Patriarchate. Seizing the advantage of having his own place, T.G.Ś. bought a manually operated printing press and started publishing. Material for his campaign included the ↗ *Wəddase Maryam* and other small books of prayers.

Prior to and during the Italian invasion, T.G.Ś. was active in mobilizing people against the invaders by publishing anti-Italian propaganda. As a result he was briefly imprisoned during the Italian occupation. After the country regained its independence, he was among the patriots who received an imperial award and the title *qäññazmač*.

After the Liberation, T.G.Ś. resumed his work in the publication industry and later opened his own publishing house, Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase Matämiya Bet, which he ran until his death. He died a natural death and buried at the Ǝnṭoṭṭo Däbrä Ḫayl Raguᵓel wäDäbrä Elyas church. He was survived by 13 children, some of whom continued the operation of the printing press.

Src.: recollections read at the burial of *qäññazmač* Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase, 6 *Gənbot* 1993 A.M. [3 June 2000 A.D.]; **ስምዐ፡ ጽድቅ** (*Səmᶜa Ṣədəq*, 'The Righteous Truth'), 15–30 *Miyaziya* 1994 A.M. [2001 A.D.]).

Mersha Alehegne

Täsfa Śəllase Wäldä Gärima

T. (**ተስፋ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወልደ፡ ገሪማ**; b. 10 April 1870, Edalgädä, ᶜAgamä, d. 18 April 1948, Addis Abäba) was a Catholic priest and intellectual. Born to a noble family, he was the eighth of 13 children of *blatta* Wäldä Gärima. In spite of opposition from his father, a staunch Orthodox supporter, T. chose to study at the school of ᶜAlitena run by the ↗ Lazarists. Then he moved to Ak̠rur where he encountered Jean-Baptiste ↗ Coulbeaux and converted to Catholicism. In 1883 he moved to Kärän to enter the Catholic seminary. He was ordained priest in Massawa by bishop Louis-Callixte Lasserre, the Vicar Apostolic of Aden, on 10 May 1897. After his ordination T. became first parish priest of Mäsärrəḥa, and then of ᶜAlitena, where he worked for ten years as pastor and school teacher.

In February 1910, together with a catechist, T. began a journey to the south, disguised as a merchant. His aim was to visit and to minister to the Catholics in ↗ Ankobär who had been left without priests for 40 years. After roughly a year, he went to the Kəmant area where he exercised his ministry. In 1912, he joined the Lazarist Order.

T.'s skills in relating with the government and local authorities were an important factor in the establishment of Catholic missions in ↗ Gondär, Mändida and ↗ Däse. During the Italian invasion, he was regarded with suspicion by the Italian colonial administration because he was on friendly terms with *aṣe* ↗ Ḫaylä Śəllase I. He was therefore detained in 1937, falsely accused and sentenced to death, but soon released. In the same year T. went into exile to Alexandria and returned home in 1941. During his subsequent stay in Addis Abäba he helped to acquire land for the Lazarist Mission.

T. is remembered as a vibrant intellectual and as a capable teacher. He knew Latin and French and, reportedly, had a good command of Gəᶜəz. Some of the manuscripts he owned have been profitably used in the elaboration of scholarly texts (e.g. Ayelè Teklehaymanot 1974; cf. also EMML nos. 2333, 2339).

In 1921–22, while in Ankobär, T. translated from French into Amharic St. Alfonso Maria de Liguori's devotional book *Apparecchio alla morte* (1758) and prepared for publication the Təgrəñña version of the same text translated by Angelo da Ronciglione (Roma 1905), which could only be published in 1939 with the help of Goitᵓom P̣eṭros (d. 1983). A major scientific contribution of T. is his correction of the Amharic–French Dictionary by his Lazarist confrère Joseph ↗ Baeteman (cf. BaetDic vii). He also translated

Gäbrä Śəllase's Chronicle of Mənilək II from Amharic into French (= GueCopMen).

Src.: EMML nos. 2333, 2339; GueCopMen; ALFONSO MARIA DE LIGUORI, **ለምልካም፡ ሞት፡ ምስንዳእ፡ ወይም፡ ዘለዓለማዊ፡ ኡነተን፡ ምስትውዓል።** (*Läməlәkkam mot məsənədda^ɔ wäyəm zälä^calämawi unätän məstəwwə^cal*, 'Preparation for a Good Death or Understanding the Eternal Truth'), tr. by TÄSFA ŚƎLLASE, Addis Abäba 1947–48; ID., **ጽብቅቲ፡ ሞት፡ ንምርካብ፡ ምእንቲ፡ ምስንዳው** (*Ṣəbəqti mot nəmərkab mə^ɔənti məsənəddaw*), tr. by ANGELO DA RONCIGLIONE-TÄSFA ŚƎLLASE, Rome 1905.

Lit.: *abba* AYELÈ TEKLEHAYMANOT [MARIO DA ABIY-ADDÌ], *La Chiesa Etiopica e la sua Dottrina Cristologica*, Roma 1956, 37–40; BaetDic vii; GHEBRE MIKAEL M., "Abba Tesfa Sellasié (1870–1948)", *Annali della Congregazione per la Missione* 56, 1, 1948, 151–54; OMahPh, vol. 3, 205, 211; YAQOB BEYENE, *L'Unzione di Cristo nella Chiesa Etiopica*, Roma 1981 (OrChrA 215), 211 note.

Tedros Abraha

Täsfa Ṣəyon, "Peter the Indian" s. EAE vol. 5

Täsfa Yoḥannəs Bärhe Asmärom

Däǧǧazmač T. (**ተስፋ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ በርሄ፡ አስመሮም**, Tgn. **ተስፋሓንስ፡ በርሀ፡ አስመሮም**, Täsfaḥannəs Bärhä Asmärom, b. ca. 1923, Maᶜräba; d. 23 November 2006, London) was a leading Eritrean politician.

T. was the son of *däǧǧazmač* Bärhe Asmärom ᶜUntura the brother of *ras* ↗Täsämma Asbärom (also known as Täsämma Asmärom). He was one of the few privileged Eritreans who attended the Italian elementary school in Sägänäyti.

Around 1947 he was appointed as an Acting Divisional Officer (an administrativ position given to the local elite) of the ↗ᶜAddi K̠ʷala District by the ↗British Military Administration (BMA) in Eritrea. T. was one of the very few Eritreans to obtain such a position under the BMA.

In the late 1940s and 1950s T. started to become involved in various political activities. He became an active member of the ↗Independence Bloc from the late 1940s to the 1950s. After the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation in 1952, he continued to engage himself in politics. In 1953, he was appointed Director of Social Affairs under the Eritrean government. T. is believed to have played a decisive role in putting an end to the upheaval (of May 1953) started by secondary school students in ↗Asmära (ᶜAlämsägäd Täsfay 2005: 423f.). In 1955, he was appointed Head of Finance of the Eritrean government. In the early 1960s, he was chosen as the deputy of ↗ᶜAśratä Kaśa, the then ↗*əndärase* in Eritrea. In 1975, T. was imprisoned by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). After his release in the 1980s he went to London where he lived until his death.

Src.: interview with Kəbrä^ɔab Täwäldäbərhan, 77 years, Ottawa, 29 March 2008.

Lit.: ᶜALÄMSÄGÄD TÄSFAY, **ፌደረሽን፡ ኤርትራ፡ ምስ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ካብ፡ ማቲየንሶ፡ ክሳብ፡ ተድላ** (*1951–1955*) (*Fidäräšən erətra məs Ityopiya kab Matiyänso kəsab Tädla*, 'The Eritrean–Ethiopian Federation: from [Anze] Matienzo till Tädla [Bayru]'), Asmära 2005, 423ff.; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997, 112; PAULOS MILKIAS, *Ethiopia: a Comprehensive Bibliography*, Ann Arbor, MI 1989, 688.

Mussie Tesfagiorgis

Täsfay Ḥanṭal

Šum ᶜagamä T.Ḥ. (**ተስፋይ፡ ሐንጣል**) was a 19th-cent. governor of ↗ᶜAgamä.

In the late 19th cent. ↗Təgray was marked by conflicts of succession and conflicting claims to regional hegemony. *Ras* ↗Mängäša, son of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, faced greater resistance particularly in subduing ᶜAgamä. Thus, he appointed one of his staunch supporters, T.Ḥ. from Ḥənṭalo (↗Anṭalo), Ǝndärta, to pacify the rivals.

In 1890, Mängäša and *ras* ↗Səbḥat Arägawi of ᶜAgamä temporarily reconciled and allied as a "Təgrayan block" against the rising power of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II from the south. This was, however, a short lived peace. In 1893, Mängäša doubted Səbḥat's loyalty and arrested him together with his sons and many of his leading officials. Soon afterwards, Mängäša, accompanied by his dignitaries *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḥagos Täfäri, *däǧǧazmač* Ambayä and T.Ḥ., occupied ᶜAgamä and proclaimed himself heir to his father's throne.

Following his victory over the rival house of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu, Mängäša appointed T.Ḥ. over ᶜAgamä with the title of *šum ᶜagamä*. In June 1894, Mängäša officially submitted to Mənilək and was confirmed as governor of Təgray. However, the arrest of Səbḥat apparently aggravated the political instability in ᶜAgamä. In addition, the appointment of T.Ḥ. was viewed as unlawful appropriation of the chieftaincy of ᶜAgamä by Ǝndärta. *Däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḥagos Täfäri incited a serious rebellion, but T.Ḥ. suppressed the protest at heavy cost.

T.Ḥ.'s brief rule over ᶜAgamä came to an end with the Italian occupation of Təgray in 1895 and their release of Səbḥat from prison. *Šum ᶜagamä* Səbḥat took over ᶜAgamä's chieftaincy immediately after the Italian defeat at the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896.

Src.: GueCopMen s. index; YAQOB BEYENE, “Ras Sebhat in alcune composizioni poetiche trigrine dell’Agamé”, *Annali IUO* 22, 1973, 145–60, here 146f.
Lit.: TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of Agama 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1996, 154.

Tsegay Berhe

Tato

T. (in Käfa: *taatoo*) is the common term used for the paramount ruler or king (*Kafinoo taatoo*) of the ↗Käfa kingdom, but in a derived form the word was also used for Käfa provincial lords and chiefs. The term T. was also used by the four regional vice-kings of the kingdom, by leaders of incorporated subject peoples like ↗Nayi and Še (↗Benç̌), and by some other social groups. The ↗Manǧo hunter caste group, e.g., had their *manǧi taatoo*. The term T. seems to refer to the “possessor of life force/incumbent of power” on various levels, from the top (king/emperor) to the level of clans and territorial groups. The specific term for the “divine king” (↗Kingship, divine) in Käfa seems to have been *kafi atioo* or *atioǧo*, used since ca. 1700, during the reign of *taatoo* Galli Gafočči, a conqueror king whose achievements reinforced royal authority and charisma.

The Käfa T. was always a male and since ca. 1690 came from the paternal Bušašo dynasty of the Minǧo clan, replacing the royal Matto clan (↗Käfa dynasties). The T., addressed as *adii* (‘Sire, Majesty’), was the supreme political authority, judge and religious officiator in Käfa. He had to be of sound mind and good health and should not have any physical blemishes. Numerous oral traditions on the Käfa T. are presented in Lange’s work (1982: 180–324), mentioning the legends of origin, the sacrum (i.e. the quality of sacredness inherent in the kingship, cp. Haberland 1965: 149), the kings’ ascension to power, and their deeds. The main royal insignia were the crown (*taatoo ukoo*; ↗Jewellery; ↗*kallačča*) with gold, ostrich feathers and ornaments of a phallic-like shape, a golden ring, golden bracelet, a two-blad ritual spear, a silver-and-gold staff, a short sword with gold decoration, and a drum. The sacred crown (now in the Museum of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba) may have been one of a pair, one of which was of solid gold and the most valuable but never worn in public. It was probably of Hinnaryo (s. ↗Ǝnnarya) origin and lost in the 1897 conquest of Käfa (Lange 1982: 272).

Käfa was one of the few kingdoms in pre-Mənilək southern Ethiopia that developed a marked form of centralized, divine kingship, in which the T. was made the living embodiment or symbol of unity and strength of the polity. He had both earthly and supernatural power (for a similar but less supernaturally imbued structure, s. ↗Wälaytta). Taboos precluded his being seen in public by his subjects when speaking, eating, or giving judgment, and his gaze was to be avoided. As his supernatural status and emblematic function for the kingdom grew over time, however, the T., as divine king, became less directly involved in actual rule and political activity. His advisory council (*mikirečo*) and his top religious officials (notably the *gumbaččinoo*) or advisers were probably as powerful as the T. himself, and they acted in his name. The T. did not use seals and no written orders given by him are known, as writing was not developed in the pre-conquest Käfa kingdom. The T. designed a successor before his death, a choice usually but not always taken over by the *mikirečo*. Tradition has it that upon the imminent death of a T. his patrilineal-agnatic kinsmen (all possible successors) had to be imprisoned until the choice of a successor was confirmed by the *mikirečo*. The title of T. was also in use in other ↗Gonga kingdoms such as Šeka and Boša.

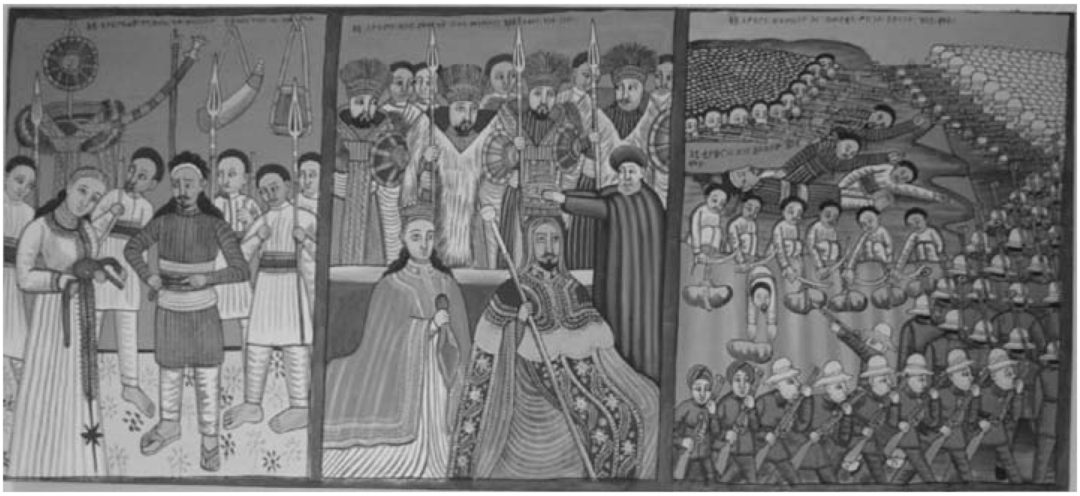
Src.: HuntGal.
Lit.: FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Kaffa. Ein Altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, 2 vols., Münster – Wien 1920–23; HabKön 220–54; WERNER JÜRGEN LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga* (*Southwestern Ethiopia*), Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61); AMNON ORENT, “Refocusing on the History of Kafa prior to 1897: a Discussion of Political Process”, *African Historical Studies* 3, 2, 1970, 263–93.

Jon G. Abbink

Täwabäčč

T. (**ተዋበች**, d. 19 August 1858) was the daughter of *ras* ↗Ali Alula who became the first wife of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II.

T. married the then *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa sometime in the mid-1840s. This was a political marriage, designed to curb the latter’s ambition, as his rise increasingly threatened the rule of Ali Alula’s mother *wäyzäro* ↗Mänän over Dämbəya and the western Ethiopian borderlands. The union nonetheless seems to have been marked by a strong emotional bond. T. seems to have had little difficulty in transferring her allegiance from her grandmother to her husband. At the time of the marriage, Kaśa was appointed ruler of ↗Qʷara, a post which he held in subordination to Mänän (RubTew 36f.; ZanLitTheod 11f.;



3 panels on Tewodros: (1) *abba* Taṭäq and Täwabäčč; (2) *qʷərban* marriage with Täwabäčč; (3) Tewodros's death; painting by Wändəmmu Wände, ca. 1968, oil on canvas, ca. 100 cm x 35 cm; photo 2006, courtesy of the author

MonVidTheod 2f.; FusTeo 3). However, he soon rebelled. About this time he received the nickname, "Abba Taṭäq" ('Gird up your loins'). Some sources attribute this command to T., who, thus, urged him on in his rebellion (MonVidTheod 2; FusTeo 3), which led to the defeat first of Mänän and then of Ali. Eventually, it led to Kaśa's overthrow of Ali's dynasty, the Wärräsek, and to his claiming to rule all Ethiopia.

For much of the rest of the marriage T. remains a shadowy figure. She and Tewodros had no children. However, by taking Holy Communion together, they entered into a religious marriage, at ↗Amba Č̣ara, near Gondär, in September 1854. The act was an important symbol of Kaśa's declaration of himself as a Christian ruler, destined to revive the Solomonic kingdom, and he seems to have taken its moral/behavioural implications very seriously (Crummey 1988: 18; CRNuov 409). He is said to have remained faithful to T. during her life, and, in an interpretation of canon law commonly applied to the clergy, for some time was reluctant to re–marry following her death (RubTew 56, 76). She was buried at ↗Amba Gəšän in Wärrä Himäno in Wällo (ZanLitTew 11f., 36; MonVidTheod 21f.).

T.'s death is often said to have contributed to a personal turning point in Tewodros's life, following which his rule became increasingly brutal and oppressive.

Src.: CRNuov 409; FusTeo 3; MonVidTheod 2f., 21f. (text) = 1f., 27f. (tr.); ZanLitTheod 11f., 36.

Lit.: DONALD CRUMMEY, "Imperial Legitimacy and the Creation of a Neo–Solomonic Ideology in 19th Century Ethiopia", *Cahiers d'études africaines* 109, 28, 1, 1988, 13–43; RubTew 36f., 56, 76.

Donald Crummey

Täwaḥədo

T. (**ተዋሕዶ**, from *wäḥadä*, 'be united', and *täwaḥadä*, 'be one, united with each other' [DillmLex 893f.], corresponding to Gr. ἕνωσις 'oneness, union, unity', Lampe 1961: 487) is a key term in the theology (esp. ↗Christology) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC). The term is used to state the union of the divinity with humanity after the Incarnation, whereby Christ, from two natures, became one ὑπόστασις and one φῦσις (↗Monophysitism). It is a formulation inherited from ↗Cyril of Alexandria (against ↗Nestorius's "Christ in two natures" after the Incarnation). The Council of ↗Chalcedon (451) wished to follow in part Nestorius, at the cost of alienating the extreme Cyrilline party of the mid-5th cent. (McGuckin 1994: 135f.).

In his explanations, Cyril had recourse to analogies, comparing, e.g., the hypostatic union to the ↗Ark of the Covenant where wood and gold were intimately united (PG 68: 596.661; PG 75: 1381); to the lily and its fragrance (PG 76: 61D ff.); to the live coal of Isaiah's vision (PG 75: 1377D); to iron and fire (PG 75: 1357 CD); to the union of "body and soul" (PG 75: 1292AB; 1376C–1377C; Qerəllos III: 52.1, cp. Weischer 1977: 106).

Christian Ethiopia has adopted much of the Cyrillian imagery, in particular the "iron and fire" and the "body and soul" analogies (ms. Raineri 170: fol. 260vab; HA 489, n. 9) to describe the unity of the human and divine in Christ. The defeat of Antiochene Christology at the Council of ↗Ephesus, the victory of Cyril, the affirmation of Alexandrian Christology, the dramatic language of the twelve anathemas pronounced by Cyril against Nestorius (Tanner 1990: 59ff.), the animosity first towards Nestorius, and later against the Roman Pope Leo I, the translation of the Cyrillian *Corpus* into Gəᶜəz (↗*Qerəllos*) during the ↗Aksumite period and its wide circulation has left an indelible mark in the EOTC. The attitude of the EOTC towards Nestorius, Pope Leo and the Council of Chalcedon is exemplified by the language of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir* (YaqMist I, 72–104, 368–414; II, 1–30 [text]) and by religious literature in general.

Both ↗*Karra* and ↗*Ṣägga* recognize the continuation of the divinity and humanity after the union and they qualify it with the term **ተዐቅቦ** (*täᶜaqqəbo*, 'preservation'). The anti-*Qəbat*, anti-*Ṣägga* catechetical text **በተዋሕዶ፡ ከበረ** (*Bätäwaḥədo käbbärä*, 'He was honoured by the union'; ms. Raineri 170, fols. 251vb–252ra), reads: "the hypostasis of the Word and the hypostasis of the Son were different, but when they were united they became one in preservation" (cp. also 255va; cf. also Yaqob Beyene 1981: 14f.).

The issue remains a controversial one. When *abunä* ↗Filəppos wrote that speaking of "two natures existing united" after the union was not alien to the EOTC (1964/65: 55.61), the book was banned, its author deposed from his post at ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān and put under house arrest in 1966. *Abunä* Gäbrəᵓel (1976: 26) wrote that "one nature does not mean one nature but a unified nature". He did not dare to use the expression "in two natures", yet his overture brought about his downfall. He was deposed as Archbishop of Eritrea on 22 May 1984, excommunicated on 25 July 1984 and reduced to the status of a layman. He was re-habilitated a few years later. The Amharic version of the book by the Catholic friar, Ayyälä Täklä Haymanot (Ital. 1956, Amh. 1959) outraged the EOTC. Even *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, who financed the book, aired his concerns to the author and to the translator, when he saw "natures" in the title. The scholars of the EOTC reacted indignantly and vilified Ayyälä, who by his own admission was baptized in the Orthodox Church but was converted to ↗Catholicism at the age of eleven. Five books and several articles were written in response and in protest (e.g., Ayyalew Tamməru 1960/61). Ayyälä's language was perceived as offensive, the contents betraying the author's inadequate knowledge of the topic. He was depicted as a traitor to his Church, a disciple of Pope Leo and of the ↗Jesuits, a dangerous man who reopened old wounds which had the potential to divide the EOTC along ethnic and regional lines (Tesfazghi Uqbit 1973: 14–17). On 6 March 1960 the book was withdrawn from the market and banned. *Abunä* ↗Tewoflos, on the day of his enthronment (9 May 1971) as second Patriarch of the EOTC declared: "The two natures of Godhead and manhood became so united in Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son, that they with their respective properties, continue dynamically in him" (Tesfazghi Uqbit 1973: 185). In its latest official text, the EOTC states: "Without separation of His Divinity from His humanity and His humanity from His Divinity, He became one person, one nature without confusion, without separation and without division" (EOTC 1996: 27f.). The EOTC underlines that its creed is *miaphysis* and rejects the "nickname" *monophysite* (Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Motovu 1970: 99).

Though T. is commonly associated with the creed of the ↗Däbrä Libanos based school, the appellation has been contested by other groups involved in the Christological disputes which started in the early 17th cent. According to ↗Kidanä Wäld Kəfle (KWKDic 384), "as the epithet Orthodox pertains to the Council of Nicaea, T. is the name of the Council of Ephesus [...] Ethiopian faith and doctrine from the time of Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa until the reign of Susənyos was only this [i.e., Orthodox T.]. During the period of Susənyos and Fasil, two parties known as *Karra* and *Qəbat* arose and people such as *azzaž* Zädəngəl and Zäᵓiyäsus snatched away the name T., and claimed that they were Orthodox T., and smeared with the title *Ṣägga* the true T.". At present, T. alongside *Ortodoks* is the name of the autochephalous Ethio–Eritrean Churches.

T. is a recent title: it does not appear in the *Amäknəyo Zäḥawaryat* nor in documents such as the *Confessio Claudii* (1555). The faith is traditionally qualified by the adjective *rətəᶜt* ('straight, orthodox', Cornill 1876: 420; *Haymanotä abäw* 1974/75: 46, n. 2).

In the last 50 years there have been several dialogues between the Orthodox *mia-physite* and *dyo-physite* Churches (EOTC 1996: 143ff.), as well as with the Roman Catholic Church. Pro-Oriente, founded by Cardinal König of Vienna in 1964, has since been active in improving the relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox and the Oriental Orthodox Churches. The Pontifical Council for the Promotion of Christian Unity has been organizing annual meetings of a mixed commission of experts from the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. One of the most significant events in the dialogue between pre-Chalcedonian and Chalcedonian Churches is the Common Declaration issued in the Vatican, on 10 May 1973, by Pope Paul VI (1897–1978) and by the Patriarch of Alexandria Shenouda III which reads: “We confess that Christ is perfect God with respect to His Divinity, perfect man with respect to His humanity. In Him His divinity is united with His humanity in a real, perfect union without mingling, without commixtion, without confusion, without alteration, without division, without separation […]” (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 1973: 299ff.). T. is predicated also to the “(Eucharistic) Body and Blood which Christ took from the Lady of us all, the twofold virgin Holy Mary and made it one with his Divinity, without confusion, nor mingling, neither change, nor separation” (Marcos Daoud 1959: 82, n. 101). “Made it one with his Divinity” was introduced in the Eucharistic prayer before the Communion by Gabriel ibn Turayk (70th Alexandrian Patriarch, 1131–45). The clause of the Homologia “without confusion, nor mingling, neither change, nor separation” too was added by the same Patriarch under pressure from the monks of the monastery of Anba Maqarios (Burmester 1935: 9; CE vol. 4, 1128).

Src.: Carl Heinrich Cornill, “Das Glaubensbekenntnis des Jakob Baradaeus in äthiopischer Übersetzung”, *ZDMG* 30, 1876, 417–66; **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው** (*Haymanotä abäw*, ‘The Faith of the Fathers’), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.]; *ʿaqqabe säʿat* Käbte, **መጽሐፈ፡ ምእላድ** (*Mäṣḥafä məʾəllad*, ‘The Book of the Birth’), ms. 176 pp. n.d., 33–93; KWKDic 384; Austin Frederic Matthew (tr.), *The Teaching of the Abyssinian Church as Set Forth by the Doctors of the Same*, London 1936; PG 25 [Athanasius, *Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi*, 96–197]; PG 68 [Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *De Adoratione et Cultu in Spiritu et Veritate*, 479–534]; PG 75 [Id., *Quod unus sit Christus*, 1253–1362 and *Scholia De Incarnatione Unigeniti*, 1369–1412]; PG 76 [Id., *Adversus Nestorii Blasphemias*, 57–112]; Osvaldo Raineri, “Aethiopica Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae”, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 11, 2004 (Studi e testi 423), 637–52, here 644; Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1: *Nicaea I to Lateran V*, London – Washington, DC 1990; YaqMist I, 72–104, 368–414; II, 1–30; Bernd Manuel Weischer (ed., tr.), *Qērellos III*: *Der Dialog ‘Daß Christus einer ist’ des Kyrillos von Alexandrien*, Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 2); Id. (ed., tr.), *Qērellos II*: *Der Prosphonetikos ‘Über den rechten Glauben’ des Kyrillos von Alexandrien an Arkadia und Marina. Teil 1*: *Einleitung mit christologischem Florilegium*, Stuttgart 1993 (AeF 31).

Lit.: *mälʾakä bərhan* Admasu Ǧämbäre, **መድሎተ፡ አሚን** (*Mädəlotä amin*, ‘Measure of Faith’), Addis Abäba 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.]; Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Joachim Motovu (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970, 153; *liqä ṭäbbäbt* Ayyalew Tamməru, **መቼ፡ ተለመደና፡ ከተኵላ፡ ዝምድና** (*Mäče tälämmädänna kätäkʷla zəmdənna*, ‘When does one Ever Marry the Wolf?’ [symbol of Rome]), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960/61 A.D.]; Oswald Hugh Ewart Burmester, “The Canons of Gabriel ibn Turaik, LXX Patriarch of Alexandria (First Series)”, *OrChrP* 1, 1935, 5–45; Marcos Daoud, *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Cairo 1959; EOTC (ed.), **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነት፡ ሥርዓተ፡ አምልኮትና፡ የውጭ፡ ግንኙነት**, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.]; *abunä* Filəp̣p̣os, **እግዚአብሔር፡ ከኛ፡ ጋራ፤ የጌታችን፡ ሥጋዌና፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ምሥጢር** (*Əgziʾabəḥer käñña gara*: *yägetaččən śəgawenna täwaḥədo məśṭir*, ‘God with Us. The Mystery of the Incarnation and Union of our Lord’), Addis Abäba 1956 A.M. [1963/64 A.D.]; Geoffrey William Hugo Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961; *abunä* Gäbrəʾel, **ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Ortodoks haymanot*, ‘The Orthodox Faith’), vol. 1, Asmära 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.], 22–36; Mario da Abiy-Addi [Ayele Teclehaymanot], *La dottrina della Chiesa Etiopica dissidente sull’Unione Ipostatica*, Roma 1956 (OrChrA 147) [Amh.: **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ስለ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ባሕርያት፡ አካላዊ ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ የምታምነው፡ ትምህርት**, *Yäʾityop̣ya betä krəstiyan səlä Krəstos baḥrəyat akalawi täwaḥədo yämmətamnäw təmhərt*, Asmära 1959]; John A. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*: *the Christological Controversy, its History, Theology and Texts*, Leiden 1994 (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 23); Steven Alan McKinion, *Words, Imagery, and the Mystery of Christ. A Reconstruction of Cyril of Alexandria’s Christology*, Leiden 2000; Sergew Hable Sellasie (ed.), *The Church of Ethiopia. A Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa 1970, 48–51; Subhi Y. Labib, “Gabriel II ibn Turayk”, in: *CE* vol. 4, 1127ff.; Tesfazghi Uqbit, *Current Christological Positions of Ethiopian Orthodox Theologians*, Rome 1973 (OrChrA 196); Yaqob Beyene, *L’unzione di Cristo nella teologia etiopica*, Roma 1981 (OrChrAn 215).

Tedros Abraha

Täwäldä Mädḫən

Abba T.M. (**ተወልደ፡ መድኅን**, fl. 15th cent.) was a disciple of ↗Ewosṭatewos of the third generation who lived at the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob.

His Acts are known from one manuscript which also transmits the hagiography of his spiritual son and successor as abbot, ↗Fiqṭor. The elegantly written 15th-cent. codex is kept in the monastery of ↗Däbrä Maryam (Säraye). The hagiographer does not offer any biographical data on T.M. prior to his monastic life. The colophon of the ↗Octateuch of Däbrä Maryam says that T.M. was elected abbot of the monastery of Däbrä Maryam in 1391/92 (Lusini 1996: 90). He is also mentioned in the annotation by Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Maryam which appears at the end of the first fascicles of the ↗*Gädlä sämaʿətat* (BauEr I, 50–57). There is no church dedicated to T.M., nor any date in the liturgical calendar that celebrates his memory.

The Acts of T.M. focus on his struggles to maintain the Ewosṭatean practice of observing the Saturday ↗Sabbath alongside Sunday, and with equal dignity. T.M.’s hagiographer provides accounts of persecutions, torture and reports on 207 monks who died as a consequence of the hostility of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II towards the ↗Ewosṭateans, instigated by the official church. He also records a journey of the metropolitan ↗Bärtälomewos to Säraye to demand that the

Ewosṭateans abandon their practice of observing the Sabbath. T.M. refused to comply, fled and took refuge in ↗Ḥamasen. Eleven months later, Dawit summoned T.M. to a council which he held at Ayda. There the monk and his companions were tortured and imprisoned because of their refusal to break the Sabbath. Later, in a change of heart, Dawit issued a decree which lifted the ban of celebrating the Sabbath.

According to his Acts, T.M. died at the age of 130. The hagiographer praises him for the austerity of his life, his lifelong commitment to the study and teaching of the Scripture, unflinching loyalty to the Ewosṭatean way of life, and endurance during the time of persecution and arrest.

Src.: Gianfrancesco Lusini (ed., tr.), *Il «Gadla Absâdi» (Dabra Mâryâm Sarâ'ê*), Louvain 1996 (CSCO 557, 558 [SAe 103, 104]), 90 (text) = 66 (tr.); Tedros Abraha (ed., tr.), *I* gädl *di* abunä *Täwäldä-Mädeḫn e di Abunä Vittore*, Turnhout 2009 (PO 51, fasc. 2 [no. 227]).

Lit.: BauEr I, 50–57; KinBibl 93f.; KolTrad III, A23/A30.

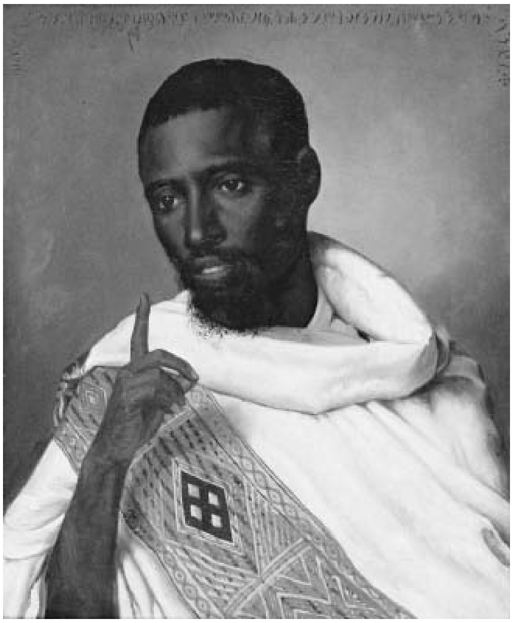
Tedros Abraha

Täwäldä Mädḫən

Däbtära T.M. (**ተወልደ፡ መድኅን**, b. ca. 1810/15, Aqäwärq, Wälqayt, d. 1854, Dayr al-Muḥarraq, Egypt), descendant of a family of clerics, was an Ethiopian traditional scholar and the main informant for Antoine d'↗Abbadie's ↗Amharic dictionary.

Starting from his childhood, T.M. received a traditional church ↗education at the famous church schools of ↗Gondär. There, he befriended Antoine d'Abbadie, who studied Amharic and Gəᶜəz. Finally, he became a teacher (*mämhər*) at Mädḫane ᶜAläm in Gondär, specializing in the ↗*Fətḥä nägäśt* (according to the caption on his portrait). When d'Abbadie returned to France in 1848, he offered T.M. to accompany him on a pilgrimage to ↗Jerusalem.

When they arrived in Cairo, d'Abbadie purchased ↗Isenberg's Amharic dictionary and studied it together with T.M. T.M. commented on it in great detail, identifying the context and status of each word, e.g., as "standard" Amharic (i.e., the variety spoken in Gondär) or as dialectal variations from ↗Goǧǧam or ↗Šäwa – or even as ↗Təgrəñña or Gəᶜəz, and thus to be eliminated from the word-list. This led to d'Abbadie's decision to produce a complete dictionary. During their stay in Cairo, d'Abbadie and T.M. laid the basis for this dictionary, finalized by d'Abbadie after his return to France. The dictionary, with about 14,000 to 15,000 entries, mainly relies on T.M.'s expertise, as other sources used (e.g., compilations by ↗Schimper and others) were not based on interviews with scholarly-educated Ethiopians, as d'Abbadie deplored. It retains a certain value still today, because it documents the language of Gondär as spoken at that time.



Oil portrait of Täwäldä Mädḫən; from the collection of the château d'Antoine d'Abbadie, Hendaye, © Académie des Sciences

After d'Abbadie had left, T.M. stayed in Jerusalem, where he compiled the first half of his *Yäfətḥä nägäśt tərgwame*, containing a commentary on the *Fətḥ mänfäsawi* ('spiritual judgements'; AbbCat 222f., no. 231). For this traditional legal commentary T.M. received 50 Maria Theresa thalers through the French Consulate from d'Abbadie, and a monthly support of 20 piastres.

In October 1849 T.M. returned to Ethiopia, together with an Ethiopian delegation, which had tried to solve a quarrel over ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān with the Armenians. T.M., however, returned again in ca. 1852. The second half of the manuscript was never produced, because T.M. retired to an Egyptian monastery to lead a life of seclusion. For this reason d'Abbadie was never able to realize his plan to publish this work. T.M. left his copy of the *Fətḥä nägäśt*, corrected by himself, to d'Abbadie.

Around that time T.M. also placed his nephew ↗Bərru Peṭros into schools in Jerusalem and later Malta (RubActa I: 177, 238, 244, 246, 255, II: 30). A portrait of T.M. was made during his stay in Egypt.

Src.: Antoine d'Abbadie, *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña,* Paris 1881, VIIf.; RubActa I, II, s. index; letter by Antoine d'Abbadie, Audaux par Navarrenx, 2 January 1850, to A. Dunoyer, Gérant du Consulat de Jérusalem, Uppsala University Library (Sign. Waller Ms fr-00009); **የፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት፡ ትርጓሜ** (*Yäfətḥä nägäśt tərgwame,* 'Explanation of the *Fətḥä nägäśt*'), ms., [Jerusalem 1849] (125 pp.).
Lit.: AbbCat 215, 222f.; Wolf Leslau, *An Annoted Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, The Hague 1965; Patri Urkizu, "Anton Abbadia, hizkuntzalari, literatur kritikari eta mezenas" ['Antoine d'Abbadie, linguist, litterary critic and patron of the arts'], in: Jean-Louis Davant et al. (ed.), *Antoine d'Abbadie 1897–1997, Congrès international,* Donostia – Bilbao 1998, 63–70, here 66.

Wolbert Smidt

Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən

Qäsis (Tgn. *qäšši*) T.M. (**ተወልደ፡ መድኅን፡ ገብረ፡ መድኅን**; b. 1860, Ṣäʿazzäga, d. 1930, Asmära) was a pastor, educator and translator. He came from four generations of priests, both his father, Gäbrä Mädḫən Täsfay, and uncle, Ḫaylä Ab Täsfay, were renowned Orthodox priests from Ṣäʿazzäga (Holmer 1986: 115). However, both they and T.M. had contacts with and were influenced by the ↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen (EFS; ArEvang 182, 340 note).

In 1872, T.M. was ordained deacon of the Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church by *abunä* ↗Atnatewos and two years later entered a school in ↗Gäläb (s. EAE, vol. 5) run by the EFS. There, he worked together with ↗Dawit Amanuʾel to translate the N.T. into ↗Təgre. Before it was completed he was sent to the theological seminary in Johannelund, ↗Sweden, for further studies of the Bible and language studies from 1883–87. T.M. showed a certain gift for languages and mastered Təgre, Təgrəñña, Gəʿəz, Amarəñña, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, Italian and Swedish.

When T.M. returned to Eritrea he was first sent to the EFS station in ↗Ḥərgigo were he was stationed with the family of Karl Gustav ↗Rodén (s. EAE, vol. 5). From the Mission's superiors T.M. demanded the same payment as ↗Onesimos Näsib, as they were both educated abroad. When T.M. married Amätä Śəra Ṣəyon in 1888 he was finally awarded the same sum (ArEvang 299f.).

Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən; from Holmer 1986: 113

In 1889 T.M. and his wife moved back to Gäläb where he, in collaboration with Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbru, prepared a 'Təgre Spelling and Reading Book' that was published the same year by the mission's press at ↗Ǝmkullu (Holmer 1986: 130f.). This publication was the first book printed in Eritrea in the Təgre language. The entire N.T. in Təgre was published in 1902; a revised version published in 1934 adopted spelling rules which T.M. had advocated all along.

T.M. was ordained in ↗Asmära by Adolf Kolmodin on 1 January 1909, thus being the first Evangelical Ethiopian to be ordained on the African continent (ArEvang 350f.; Kolmodin 1909: 209). The same year he worked with Dawit Amanuʾel and Karl ↗Winqvist on the translation of the N.T. into ↗Təgrəñña, which was published in 1909, later working on the O.T. as well.

Through his years abroad T.M. had adopted many European manners, which also influenced his daily life, especially with his wife; their two sons for example were sent to Beirut for their education (Holmer 1986: 131, 138). In addition to his educational and translation work, he also served the churches as a pastor and teacher, becoming a widely known and respected missionary in Eritrea as he extensively travelled the country.

Src.: Agosṭinos Tädla, *La Lingua Abissina.* **ቋንቋ፡ ሐበሻ** (*Qwanqwa ḥabäša*), Asmära 1994, 19–26,299,317; Karl Winqvist – Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən – Dawit Amanuʾel, **ወንጌል፡ (ባህለቱ፡ ብሽራት፡) ክም፡ ከትበዩ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ማርቆስ** (*Wängel* [*bahlätu bəšärat*] *kəm kätbäyu qəddus Marqos*, 'Gospel [Word of the Good News] that was Written by Saint Mark'), Ǝmkullu 1889; Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən – Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbru, **ክታብ፡ ፊደል፡ ውቅራን** (*Kətab fidäl wəqran*, 'Spelling and Reading Book'), Ǝmkullo 1889; Karl Winqvist – Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən – Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbru, **ሐዲሽ፡ ኪዳን** (*Ḥaddiš kidan*, 'New Testament'), Asmära 1909, ²1933; Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən –Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbru – Elsie Winqvist, **መጽሐፍ፡ ቅዱስ፡**

(ብሉይን፡ ሐዲሽን፡ ኪዳን) (*Mäṣḥaf qəddus* [*bəluyn haddiš kidan*], 'Holy Book [New and Old Testament']), Asmära – London 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.].
Lit.: ArEvang 182, 224, 296–303, 337, 340, 350f., 356f.; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia*, Stockholm 1999, 29, 204, 264, 278; ErDizBio 283f.; ROSA HOLMER, "Tewolde-Medhin Gebre-Medhin: Pastor–Educator–Linguist", *QSE* 6/7, 1986, 112–42; ADOLF KOLMODIN, *Några minnen från min resa till Ost-Afrika 1908–1909*, Stockholm 1909, 200–09, et passim; KARL JOHAN LUNDSTRÖM, *Kenisha*: *the Roots and Developments of the Evangelical Church of Eritrea, 1866–1935*, ed. by Ezra Gebremedhin, Lawrenceville, NJ, in preparation; UllBibl 71.

Sophia Dege – Peter Unseth

Taxation ↗Tributes and Taxation

Ṭaytu Bəṭul

Ǝtege Ṭ.B. (**ጣይቱ፡ ብጡል**, baptismal name Wälätta Mikaʾel, coronation name Bərhan Zäʾityopya; b. ca. 1853, Gondär or Maḫdärä Maryam, d. 11 February 1918, Ǝnṭoṭṭo) was the wife of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, and an influential politician at his court.

Ṭ.B.'s birth date is not clear; sources provide dates ranging from 17 August 1840 (Taddäsä Zäwälde 1986/87:2; cp. also the date on the tomb which seems to be 1932 A.M., Prouty Rosenfeld 1986:27) to 1856 (GueCopMen 191 n. 6 and 207 n. 2); 1853 has been suggested as the most plausible one. She was a daughter of *balabbat* of ↗Yäǧǧu, ↗Bəṭul Ḫaylä Maryam, and his wife, Yäwəbdar from Goǧǧam (d. 1905). She was thus a granddaughter of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Gäbre of Səmen and Ḫirut Gugsa from Oromo-Yäǧǧu family. T.B. was baptized in the Däbrä Tabor Iyäsus church. After her father's death, Ṭ.B. lived with her mother and brothers in Däbrä Mäwi monastry, Goǧǧam.

In ca. 1866, she was briefly married to Wäldä Gäbrəʾel, a soldier of *aṣe* Tewodros II. Her husband was imprisoned by the Emperor and Ṭ.B. was forced to cook for Tewodros's soldiers. She then married *däǧǧazmač* Täklä Giyorgis and later *ǧantärar* Wälde from Yäǧǧu. When *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV ascended the throne, Wälde was imprisoned and Ṭ.B. returned to her mother in Goǧǧam. It was then, ca. 1876/77, during Mənilək's visit to their house, that their decision to get engaged was taken. In 1878/79 Ṭ.B. paid a return visit to Mənilək's residency in Däbrä Bərhan. However, after a short visit to her brother, Alula Bəṭul, in Šäwa, in 1882 Ṭ.B. got married to *qäññazmač* Zəkarǧaččäw (d. 1887), a brother of Mənilək's first wife, ↗Bafäna. The fourth husband did not treat Ṭ.B. well, and she left him to live with her brother ↗Wäle Bəṭul, in Yäǧǧu. She finally married Mənilək on 23 April 1883, in the church ceremony (↗Matrimony) that took place in ↗Ankobär in Mädḫane ʿAläm church (GueCopMen 191f.; 2 May in Taddäsä Zäwälde 1986/87:3).

Aṣe Mənilək II was thus the fifth husband of Ṭ.B. Their marriage served political purposes of both parties. Mənilək appreciated Ṭ.B.'s background and family relations, while Ṭ.B. appreciated Mənilək's position at that time as a ruler of Šäwa. It has been also assumed that the marriage was instigated by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV (GueCopMen 207 n. 6). Moreover, their common political aims as well as skills made them a strong couple and turned Ṭ.B. into one of the leading Mənilək's advisors.

Soon after the wedding the couple chose ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo as their residence, where Ṭ.B. founded the church ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam (GueCopMen 209 and nn. 4-9, 212f.; Prouty Rosenfeld 1986:49). The ↗coronation of Ṭ.B. as ↗*ətege* took place on 3 October 1889, two days after Mənilək's coronation as Emperor (GueCopMen 274–78). From that day, Ṭ.B frequently accompanied her husband on military expeditions or remained in charge of state affairs during his campaigns (s., e.g., GueCopMen 289ff.).

In 1894 Mənilək granted Ṭ.B. lands in ↗Ṣällämt (Prouty Rosenfeld 1986:113) and, in 1896/87, the area of ↗Finfinnee (PankHist II, 204). She also governed Karra Lägoma (in the vicinity of Sägäle in ↗Tägulät) as a *gəbzənna* for Mädḫane ʿAläm church in Ankobär, and Dərre for Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam (Haile Gabriel Dagne 1972:67ff.). Among Ṭ.B.'s *gʷəlt* lands were Gärän, Bulga, Magda, and Gäč (GSMen 127). She also held lands in Wällo and Wəčale (Prouty Rosenfeld 1986:61).

Ṭ.B. did not have children with Mənilək and was probably barren. She developed a close relationship with her husband's daughter, ↗Zäwditu. They met in August 1884 in Boru Meda, when Ṭ.B. accompanied Mənilək during his visit to *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, at whose court Zäwditu, who was then married to the latter's son, ↗Arʾaya Śəllase Yoḥannəs, lived. After Arʾaya Śəllase's death and Zäwditu's return to her father's court, Ṭ.B. efficiently played the role of step-mother and strongly influenced the future empress. She also chose Zäwditu's next husband: *ras* ↗Gugsa Wäle, a son of her brother Wäle. The marriage was part of a plan to consolidate family ties with a view to take control over leading political families in Ethiopia.

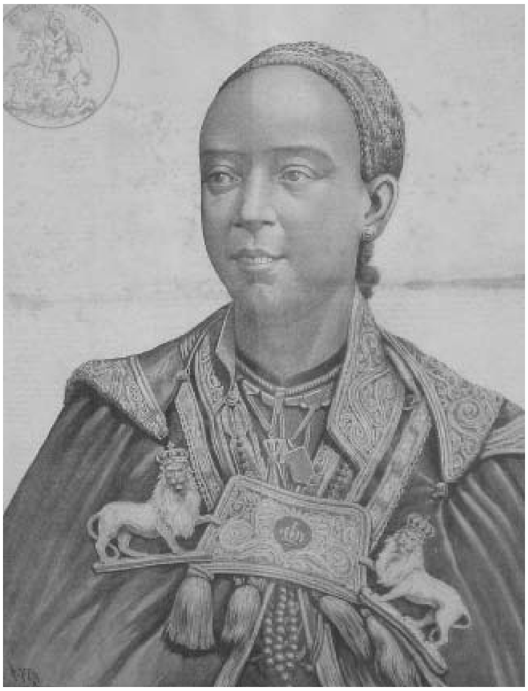
Ṭ.B. was recognized in Ethiopia as an outstanding beauty and a clever and educated woman. She could read Gəᶜəz, compose poetry, play ↗*bägäna* and was interested in, and well informed about, the political situation in the outside world. She is believed to be the author of the idea of building the capital of Ethiopia in its contemporary location and giving it its name, i.e. ↗Addis Abäba. She also built the first Ethiopian ↗hotel, the Ǝtege Ṭaytu Hotel.

Ṭ.B. was active both in domestic and foreign policy. She mistrusted Europeans, especially Catholics. She took a strong position in the Wəçale Treaty affair (↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce) and opted for war with Italy.

During the Italian aggression against Ethiopia in 1896, Ṭ.B. lead a muled group of noble women who participated in the war helping the soldiers in different ways (as carriers of imperial clothes and ↗*täǧǧ* jugs, nurses etc.). She herself assisted in surgery performed on casualties who survived the battle. Ṭ.B.'s army which took part in the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa numbered about 3,000 soldiers.

Aṣe Mənilək's health started to deteriorate in ca. 1906. In 1908 the Emperor had another stroke which left him paralysed. Ṭ.B. and Zäwditu were the only persons who nursed the Emperor and the only ones who had free entrance to his rooms. Thus in 1909, Ṭ.B. began to asssume the power of regent in the name of Mənilək and briefly also in her own name in 1910. She thus tried to fulfill the prophecy saying that a queen would reign over the country after Mənilək. Among the most efficient tools Ṭ.B. used to consoldiate power were arranging marriages between members of her family and influencial lords, and ↗*šum šir*s, bringing about a re-shuffle of land and offices.

In the coup d'état of 1910, Ṭ.B. lost her power to Šäwan lords led by *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw and *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis, who protected the position of the Heir to the Throne, Mənilək's grandson, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu. They confined Ṭ.B. to the palace and ordered her to take care of her husband and not mingle in politics. After Mənilək's death in 1913, Ṭ.B. spent her last years in the Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam church. She stayed there also after the ↗coup d'état 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081), when Zäwditu was crowned *nəgəśtä nägäśtat*. In 1917 Ṭ.B. asked the Šäwan lords for permission to leave for Gondär to spend the rest of her life there, but her wish was refused. She died in Ǝnṭoṭṭo, having refused treatment by European doctors.



Empress Ṭaytu on the cover of *Le Petit Journal* (29 Mars 1896, numéro 280); from the collection of Karin Stadié Serres-Cuyala

Src.: Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyyäsus, **ዳግማዊ፡ ዐጼ፡ ምኒልክ** (*Dagmawi aṣe Mənilək*, 'Mənilək II'), Addis Abäba 1973 A.M. [1980/81 A.D.]; BTafA s. index; GebMolIyas; GueCopMen = GSMen passim; Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos, **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ በዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት** (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye bädagmawi Mənilək zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memory of the History of the Time during the Reign of Mənilək II'), Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2002/03 A.D.]; Id. (Mers'é Ḫazen Wolde Qirqos), *Of What I Saw and Heard*: *the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II & the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, Addis Abeba 2004 [Ethiopian Studies 1]; TSTarik IV; Taddäsä Zäwälde, **የእቴጌ፡ ጣይቱ፡ ብጡል** 1832–1910 **አጭር፡ የሕይወት፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾətege Ṭaytu Bəṭul 1832–1910 aç̣ç̣ər yäḥəywät tarik*, 'A Short History of Empress Ṭaytu Bəṭul 1832–1910'), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.].

Lit.: BZHist; Bairu Tafla, "Marriage as a Political Device: an Appraisal of a Socio-political Aspect of the Menelik Period 1889–1916", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 13–21; Haile Gabriel Dagne, "The Gebzenna Charter 1894", *ibid.* 67–80; Monika Kulesza, *Cesarzowa Etiopii Taitu Bytul*: *życie i działalność na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 2005; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913,* Oxford 1975; Id., *Haile Sellassie I*: *the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987; Leonard Mosley, *Haile Selassie*: *the Conquering Lion,* London 1964; PankHist II, 204; Chris Prouty Rosenfeld, *Empress Taitu and Menelik II. Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London 1986, passim.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam

Aläqa T. (ታየ፡ ገብረ፡ ማርያም; b. 30 March 1860, Kämkäm Qäroda, Yəfag, Bägemdər, d. 21 August 1924, Addis Abäba) was a Protestant-educated traditional Ethiopian scholar.

After his mother's death in 1878, T. went to Təgray in search of his uncle, but the latter had left for India, and T. eventually (in 1880) landed in ↗Ǝmkullu. There he got in touch with the Swedish Evangelical Mission (↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen). By 1886 he became a member of the Bethel congregation in Ǝmkullu and was employed by the Mission in translation and teaching work. A major research result of that period was his translation and edition of a traditional book of grammar (↗*Säwasəw*; 1896/97).

Following the mediation of *ras* ↗Mängäša Atikam, who learnt to appreciate T. during the latter's missionary activities in Bägemdər (after 1898), T. was introduced to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, and presented the Emperor with a copy of his *Säwasəw*. It was probably thanks to this personal contact that, when the German mission headed by ↗Rosen requested that an Ethiopian scholar be sent to teach Gəᶜəz and Amharic at the Oriental Institute of the University of Berlin, it was T. whom the Emperor suggested.

T. left Ethiopia on 23 May 1905 and arrived in Berlin on 14 June. For three years he stayed there as a visiting scholar, acting as a resource person and co-worker to Eugen ↗Mittwoch. During this period, T. provided an invaluable contribution to ↗Ethiopian studies. The texts T. had collected and brought with him (s. the list in Alemé Eshеté 1971–72: 26ff.) were the basis for a number of scholarly publications by Mittwoch (e.g., 1906, 1907, 1910, 1911) and other scholars (e.g., Gori 1999).

Aläqa Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam; from Ullendorff 1972: pl. 1

After T.'s return from Germany in 1908 mounting opposition and his enemies (headed by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Mäšäša Wärqe, and supported by the then governor of Bägemdər *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye) – who abhorred his evangelical religious views and were jealous of the recognition he had received – used Mənilək's failing health as an occasion to strike back at T. In 1910–11 he remained in chains for a whole year in Addis Abäba, regaining freedom only after the fall of ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul. His years under Iyasu, Zäwditu and ras Täfäri were relatively peaceful, and he is even reported to have been employed as a political adviser by the latter (s. Alemé Eshеté 1971–72: 21 n. 1). He authored most of his works, including his famous *History of the People of Ethiopia* (1922, in fact, an extract of a larger historical opus) and the so far unpublished *Mäzgäbä qalat* during those years. The latter, rather than a dictionary as the title may suggest, is in effect a veritable *Summa Theologica*, a handwritten manuscript of about 450 pages, written in Amharic with abundant quotations in Gəᶜəz.

When T.'s wife Ṣäḥaytu died, T. got married to Ṭərunäs, daughter of John Parkyns and widow of Ǝngədašät Schimper, the son of Wilhelm ↗Schimper. T. died six months after the marriage, leaving no children of his own. He was buried at the Catholic/Protestant cemetry of Gullallee, after the Orthodox clergy's refusal to admit his body to ↗Qəddəst Śəllase.

The theological position of T. can be described as that of a Low Church, Evangelical Lutheran Christian. But he was thoroughly imbued with the spiritual and literal heritage of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC). The art of ↗*qəne* which he used in his theological and devotional writings in Amharic as an Evangelical Christian was a direct inheritance from the EOTC. Many of the documents which T. examined in the libraries of Europe and brought back to Ethiopia were documents taken out of Ethiopia, and the sources from which he took his proof texts even when he questioned current teachings and interpretations within the EOTC were sources that the church itself used. At the same time, T. had the objectivity to also look into Ethiopian ↗Islam, having translated into Amharic and studied a number of Arabic texts (s. Mittwoch 1915: 444f.; Gori 1999).

Src.: EUGEN MITTWOCH, “Exzerpte aus dem Koran in amharischer Sprache”, *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin* 9, 1906, 111–47; ID., “Proben aus amharischem Volksmunde”, *ibid.* 10, 1907, 185–241; ID., “Abessinische Kinderspiele”, *ibid.* 13, 1910, 107–40; ID., “Abessinische Erzählungen und Fabeln”, *ibid.* 14, 1911, 101–58; ID., “Ein amharischer Text über Muhammad und die Ausbreitung des Islams in Abessinien”, in: GOTTHOLD WEIL (ed.), *Festschrift Eduard Sachau, zum siebzigsten Geburtstage gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, Berlin 1915, 444–51; *aläqa* TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM, (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Mäṣḥafä säwasəw*, ‘The Book of *Säwasəw*’), Mənkullo 1889 A.M. [1896/97 A.D.]; ID., *En teologisk strid inför Ras Mengescha*, Stockholm 1900 (*Missionsskrifter utgifna av Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen* 17); ID., **መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Mäzgäbä qalat*, ‘A Treasury of Words’), n.d. ms.; ID., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopya ḥəzb tarik*, ‘History of the People of Ethiopia’), Asmära 1914 A.M. [1922 A.D.]; ID., *History of the People of Ethiopia*, tr. by GROVER HUDSON – TEKESTE NEGASH, Uppsala ^{2}1988; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, “Some Early Amharic Letters”, *BSOAS* 35, 2, 1972, 229-70, here 254–70 (Lit.), and pl. 1 (ill.); ID.,“Some Amharic and Other Documents from the Eugen Mittwoch Nachlass”, *ibid.* 42, 3, 1980, 429–52, here 440.

Lit.: ALEMÉ ESHETÉ, “Alaqa Taye Gabra Mariam (1861–1924)”, *RSE* 25, 1971–72, 14–30 (Lit.); GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia*: *in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers 1898–1936*, Stockholm 1999, 19–58 (“Aleqa Taye – Scholar and Evangelist”); EZRA GEBREMEDHIN, “Aleqa Taye: the Missionary Factor in his Scholarly Work”, in: *GetLRubMis* 101–20; ALESSANDRO GORI, “La poesia di *alaqā* Tāyya in onore di *šah* Zakkāryās”, *RSE* 43, 1999 [2000], 65–112; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopistik an deutschen Universitäten*, Wiesbaden 1970, 25–28 (Lit); EDWARD ULLENDORFF, “Eugen Mittwoch and the Berlin Seminar for Oriental Languages”, in: IAN RICHARD NETTON (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, vol. 1: *Hunter of the East*: *Arabic and Semitic Studies*, Leiden 2000, 145–64, here 149–52; RAINER VOIGT, “Äthiopistik in Berlin. Das Wirken von Eugen Mittwoch und Aläḳa Tayyä”, in: ID. (ed.), *Die äthiopischen Studien im 20. Jahrhundert/Ethiopian Studies in the 20th Century*: *Akten der internationalen äthiopischen Tagung Berlin 22. bis 24. Juli 2000*, Aachen 2003 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 2), 103–21.

Ezra Gebremedhin

Tazena

T. (TZN; in later Gəᶜəz sources **ታዜና**, ‘T.’, Täzena and Tazen; in South Arabian script TZN, in Gr. ΘEZENA) seems to be the direct predecessor of his son ↗Kaleb on the throne of ↗Aksum. However, in the authentic documents of the epoch, *viz.* in RIÉ no. 191/8 and in the Greek legend on the reverse of Kaleb’s gold coins, his name occurs only in Kaleb’s patronymic (*wld TZN*; YΙΟΣ ΘEZENA).

As an independent ruler he is attested in common versions of the lists of the Aksumite kings and in hagiographic tradition. According to these sources, T. was the 7th (or 6th) king after ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa. Nothing is said about a plausible kinship between him and the king Alᶜamida (Alᶜameda, s. ↗Ǝllä ᶜAmida [II]) son of Sälᶜadoba, whom he succeeded.

Hagiographic traditions maintain that in the 6th year of T.’s reign the ↗Nine Saints left the court after 9 (or 12) years of sojourn in a royal domestics’ house (*betä qäṭṭin*) and began to spread the Christian faith throughout Ethiopia.

Src.: RIÉ no. 191; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), “Il «Gadla ’Aragâwî»”, *MRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 2, 1894, 54–96, here 11, 12, 17; CRList 272, 281, 298, 299, 301.

Lit.: BrakKirche 82; ANTONELLA BRITA, *I racconti tradizionali sulla «seconda cristianizzazione» dell’Etiopia. Il ciclo agiografico dei nove santi,* Napoli 2010 (StAfEt 10), s. index; CRStor 159, 167, 216; MHAksum 14, 84 (fig. 11g), 88, 158–159, 193, 205; RICHARD K.P. PANKHURST, “Tazén”, in: *DicEthBio* 161.

Serguei A. Frantsouzoff

Täzkar

T. (**ተዝካር**, Gəᶜəz for ‘remembrance, memory, commemoration’), also called *arba* (**አርባ**, lit. ‘forty’), or *qʷərban* (**ቍርባን**, lit. ‘communion’), is a major commemorative feast for a dead person (sometimes the term is used to refer also to religious ↗feasts devoted, e.g., to St. ↗Mary and esp. ↗saints [cp. ↗*zəkr*]). According to the canon of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC), a deceased person should be daily commemorated in the church until the 40th day of his/her demise (*Mäṣḥafä gənzät* 1986/87: 6f.); this day is believed to be the time when the soul will undergo a series of judgments in front of God. It is believed that the prayers performed by the living can help to ease the sufferings of the souls of the dead.

On three days special prayers are to be performed; the days are called **ሠለስት** (*śäläst*, lit. ‘three’), **ሰባት** (*säbat*, lit. ‘seven’), and **ዓሥራ፡ ሁለት** (*ᶜaśra hulätt*, lit. ‘twelve’), being the third, the seventh and twelfth after the demise, respectively. The symbolism of the ↗numbers is explained by the tradition. The resurrection of Jesus Christ took place on the third day, being a core Biblical event upon which much of Christian doctrine and ritual depends. By commemorating the deceased on the third day after his demise (*śäläst*), it is believed that the buried body will rise to life at the time of the Last Judgment (Paulos Tzadua 1968: 123). On the seventh day (*säbat*), the soul is believed to reach the Seventh Heaven, to be judged before the throne of God. There is also a special commemorative prayer on the twelfth day (all the prayers are collected in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗gənzät*).

The fourth and the major memorial event is the T. which is held on the 40th day after the demise of a person (called therefore also *yäʾarba qän täzkar*, lit. 'the T. of the 40th day', or simply *arba*). According to the teaching of the Church, at the time of the death of each individual God will decide where his/her soul has to spend time until the second coming of Christ (cp. *↗Dagəm məṣʾatu läkrəstos*). This judgment is believed to occur on the 40th day after death, and on this day the soul should be commemorated by the T. Any Christian older than twelve years who has died is supposed to get this service.

The type of prayer depends on the status of the deceased (priest, deacon, ordinary faithful, etc.). A T. should always be celebrated in the parish where the deceased is buried. Apart from its religious reason, the T. is a big event in which all the relatives come to participate, including those who do not live in the immediate surroundings (and therefore had been unable to attend the ↗funeral). Crying and lamentations (cp. *↗Ǝngʷərgʷərro*) are usual on this day. The commemoration begins with the Mass and *Ṣälotä ↗fətḥat* which are followed by a banquet served in the *däǧǧä sälam* (lit. 'the treshold of peace'), a small building which is built on the left side of the western entrance of a church.

The banquet is meant to thank and remunerate the priests and the community who prayed for the deceased. The food is prepared by the family and neighbours of the deceased. The clergy of the parish and neighbouring churches and selected dignitaries of the area are invited; the needy people are also supposed to come.

After the T., the next memorial service should be on the 80th day (*sämanya*), after six months (*mänfäq*, lit. 'half'), after one year (*mut ᶜamät*). Thereafter, the *mut ᶜamät* is celebrated as long as there are people who can arrange it.

Being basically the liturgical commemorative service for an individual, T. appears to be an old social and religious institution of the EOTC (with probable pre-Christian roots, since the term is found in a few pre-Christian inscriptions, like RIÉ no. 183). A regular T. – commemoration service – for any person, churchman or layman, could be secured through a conditional land donation to a church or a monastery, which is witnessed in the earliest extant documents from the time of the ↗Solomonic dynasty (cp., e.g., Kropp 1998) and is extensively attested for the later period (cp. CrumLand 37).

Apart from its religious objective, the T. is one of the most lavish events in the life of the Orthodox Christians which could become a heavy burden for the family of the deceased (cp. PankSoc 196ff.). In the 20th cent., in line with his modernizing policy and with the support of the church officials of the Patriarchate, Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I denounced the tradition arguing that the extravagance in such ceremonies (esp. excessive consumption of alcoholic ↗drinks) does not comply with the religious canons and have a disastrous effect on the economy of the country. He made an example out of the way he staged the T. of his daughter *ləᶜəlt* ↗Zännäbä Wärq, without lavish consumption, just distributing money for absolution (MahZekr 595–98; HSLife 166).

Src.: *mälʾakä bərhan* ADMASU ǦÄNBÄRE, ኰኵሐ፡ ሃይማኖት (*Kʷäkʷəḥa haymanot*, 'The Rock of the Faith'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 222–34; BauSen 25 (text) = 12 (tr.), §43; 53ff. (text) = 25f. (tr.), §§34, 35, 37, 38; 90–94 (text) = 42f. (tr.), §§34, 35, 37, 38; DTWDic 489; *liqä śəlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, ማኅበራዊ፡ ኑሮ፡ በኢትዮጵያ (*Maḫbärawi nuro bäʾityopya*, 'Social Life in Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1967, 59f.; HSLife 166; KaneDic 996, 1662; LesCDic 636; መጽሐፈ፡ ግንዘት። ጸሎት፡ ላዕለ፡ ምውታን (*Mäṣḥafä gənzät. Ṣälot laᶜəlä məwətan*, 'The Book of the [Corpse's] Wrappings. Prayer over the Deceased'), Addis Abäba ^{2}1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.]; MahZekr 595–98; PAULOS TZADUA (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast.* ፍትሐ፡ ነገሥት. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968, 123 [ch. 22]; RIÉ no. 183.

Lit.: HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge. Spirit Mediums and their Clients*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58), s. index; CrumLand 37, s. index; CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition,* Paris 2002, 142; DEBEBEW ZELLELIE, "Täskar or Kurban", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* 1, 7, 1957, 29–34 [repr. in: ALULA PANKHURST (ed.), *Addis Ababa University College. Ethnological Society Bulletin vol. I, nos. 1–10 and vol. II, no. 1. Reprint*, Addis Ababa 2002, 212–15]; MANFRED KROPP, "… der Welt gestorben: Ein Vertrag zwischen dem äthiopischen Heiligen Iyyäsus-Mo'a und König Yəkunno-Amlak über *Memoriae* im Kloster Ḥayq", *ABoll* 116, 1998, 303–30; PankSoc 196ff.

Mersha Alehegne

Täzkar: Mäṣḥafä täzkar

M.t. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ተዝካር**, 'Book of the Commemoration') is a work of ↗Gəᶜəz literature on the Passion of Jesus Christ. It is divided into readings for each day of the week.

M.t. is only found in several relatively recent manuscripts, the oldest being the 17th–18th cent. BritLib Orient. 8819 (StrBritLib 92ff., no. 57). The others are EMML 2860 (18th cent.), 3239 (19th cent.), 4810 (1894) and 4817 (1930–62).

The text sometimes figures under the title *Ḥəmamatihu lämädḫaninä* (EMML 4810, 4817). The M.t. is clearly different from the other compositions on the same subject (*Mäṣḥafä ↗gəbrä ḥəmamat*, *↗Dərsanä maḥyawi*, and *Täzkarä mädḫən*, 'Commemoration of the Saviour', other "Passions"), although of course having some connection with them: it is often found bound together with one or more of the other texts, or with some Miracles of Jesus (*↗Täʾammərä Iyäsus*) and Täklä Maryam (↗Mäbaʾa Ṣəyon) accomplished in the days of the Passion, "personified as *Täzkarä Mädḫən*" (EMML 1779).

The miracles as listed in ms. EMML 2860 are:

1) the young man who threw down the bread of the memorial feast of *abunä* Mäbaʾa Ṣəyon because of his bad temper;
2) ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat, who went into seclusion until the Lord revealed to him that he should observe the memorial day of his death;
3) the blind woman from Wäräb in Qʷäläzen whose sight was restored when she touched her blind eyes with her fingers that had touched the cup from which she drank at the feast of the memorial day of the death of Our Lord;
4) a servant who was serving when the Passion and Death of Our Lord was being commemorated became sick because he had slept with his wife the previous night;
5) the story of the woman from Dorit whose rooster was carried off by a kite.

These miracles can be also called *Täzkarä Mädḫən*, and are absent from EMML 3239 and BritLib Orient. 8819.

Src.: EMML nos. 1779, 2860, 3239, 4810, 4817; StrBritLib 92ff., no. 57 [ms. Orient. 8819].

Paolo Marrassini

Tea

T. (*Camellia sinensis*, Amh. **ሻይ**, *šay*, Tgn. **ሻሂ**, *šahi*, Orom. *Šaay*, from Arab., شاى, *šāy*) as a beverage and plantation, is a late introduction to Ethiopia. Apparently, the plant was introduced during the first half of the 19th cent., as Blondeel (in PankEcon 204) notes that he saw some bushes at Gondär in the 1830s. In 1928, Rowland, an English T. planter from Kenya, started to sow seeds in Ǧimma but found that rainfall was insufficient for the healthy growth of the bushes. In Käfa conditions were more favourable and some 3,000 seeds were sown; the project, however, was brought to an end by the Italian war of 1935–36. The Italian mission took an interest in T. cultivation as well and sowed seeds of the *doolia manipuri* variety from the Brooke Bond plantations in Burma in Käfa, Korya, Šoma, Maǧi and Illubabor.

After World War II, the introduction of T. was encouraged by Arab and Indian traders, at least in the urban areas. Large-scale T. plantations were not established until the 1980s when the Ethiopian government launched in Illubabor the "Gomaro" and in Käfa the "Wuš Wuš" projects. Since then, domestically produced black T., which is processed and packed in Addis Abäba, has made considerable headway in establishing itself as a hot beverage, even though the national T. consumption with 5,000 tons is a far cry from that of ↗coffee (with an annual estimated domestic consumption of about 100,000 tons).

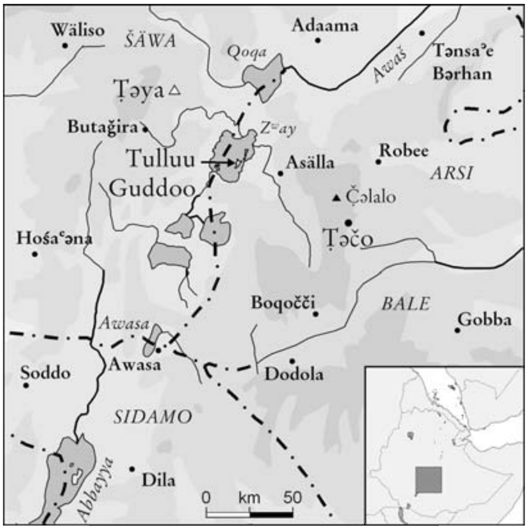
Nowadays, T. is one of the standard drinks in the **ቡና፡ ቤት** (*bunna bet*, 'coffee house'). It is cheap and mainly consumed with sugar, e.g., by members of the middle class. In southern Ethiopia, T. was of only little significance until the 1980s. However, with the increasing number of T. houses run by Somalis it has become popular there as well. Besides, before the occupation of northern Ethiopia many populations in the South (e.g., Dizi, Konso, Boorana) consumed a refreshing T.-like hot beverage made from the leaves of the coffee tree. The leaves were roasted and crushed in a mortar. The brew produced was then seasoned with pepper or unripe dried coffee beans, and drunk as hot beverage. In ↗Dullay, e.g., this kind of drink is called *ḥáaše* (lit., 'coffee-plant').

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN – GUNTER MINKER – HANS JÜRGEN SASSE, *Das Dullay: Materialien zu einer ostkuschitischen Sprachgruppe*, Berlin 1980, 204; MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT, *Agricultural Potential of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2009, 9; PankEcon 204; VSAe II, 100; VSAe III, 29; WORLD BANK, *Report No. 23294-ET* [*Developing Exports to Promote Growth*], April 25, 2002, 17, n. 27.

Alexander Kellner

Ṭəčo

Ṭ. (**ጥቾ**) is the administrative centre (2,400 m A.S.L.) of the Ṭäna *wärada* in ↗Arsi zone (Oromiyaa) with 4,841 inhabitants (CSA 2004). It is located in the highlands, halfway along the Robee-Boqočči trail, south of Mount Č̣əlalo (4,139 m A.S.L.). In the 1930s Ṭ. was the provincial capital of Arsi-Kämbata region. Between 1935 and 1940 it hosted the residence of the Arsi *commissariato* governors until this was moved to Asälla (ZerÉth; Lindahl 2006).



The Ṭ. *wäräda* is densely populated (160 inhabitants/km^2) by Arsi ↗Oromo who are mainly farmers and cattle-breeders on the afro-alpine steppes. According to the *Guida* there were 1,000 inhabitants in 1938. In the census of 1984, when Ṭ. was the capital of an *awrağğa* in the Arsi region, it counted 2,433 inhabitants. The 1994 census does not show much growth (2,841 inhabitants) and the Census of 2007 gives only 6,247 inhabitants for the total urban population of the Ṭäna *wärada*. This population stagnation is caused by the isolation of the highland region, in the aftermath of the Bale uprising (1963–67), of villagization and of the building up of state farms.

Src.: JOHN M. COHEN – NILS-IVAR ISAKSSON, *Villagization in the Arsi Region of Ethiopia*: *Report prepared by SIDA Consultants to the Ethio-Swedish Mission on Villagization in Arsi Region, December 1–14, 1986, International Rural Development Centre*, Uppsala 1987; CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2004; EMAtlas; *Guida* 461; BERNHARD LINDAHL, *Local History in Ethiopia*, 2006 (internet source); ZerÉth.

Alain Gascon

Tedeschi, Salvatore

T. (b. 4 January 1914, Cairo, d. 19 January 1996, Riva del Garda, Trento) was an Italian lawyer and diplomat and a remarkable scholar in Ethiopian Studies.

T. took degrees in Law both in Paris (1935) and Rome (1937), where he also took a degree in Political Sciences (1936). He worked for some years as a lawyer in the Italian and international consular judicial districts in Egypt (1935–50), where he was later legal advisor (1950–57). After entering the Italian diplomatic service in 1957 at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Rome, he worked in Ethiopia from 1959 to 1971, first appointed as Secretary at the Italian embassy, later Counsellor, and finally Consul General of Addis Abäba. T. qualified in 1969 as a university teacher in the "History of Afro-Asiatic Countries", and gave lectures in 1971–72 at the Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali "Pro Deo" (at present, Università Guido Carli), Rome, on the ↗Organisation of African Unity. After spending some years in Rome, he ended his diplomatic career as Consul General of Sydney from 1976 to 1979.

During his retirement, T. devoted himself more intensively to study and research. A regular contributor to *Africa* (Rome), the journal issued by the former Istituto Italo-Africano (now merged into Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente) of which he was ordinary, and later honorary member, he wrote numerous articles and notes in periodicals and conference volumes (AE, JES, OrChrP, QSE, RSE, RSO, PICES 3, 4, 5a, 9, 10, CE), totalling some 70 entries, reviews included. T.'s interests mainly focused on both Ethiopic (esp. hagiography, where his entries in *EncSan* and *CE* are quite remarkable) and Arabic sources (the history of Islam and the Red Sea coasts in the middle ages, and the 'History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria') for the study of medieval Ethiopia, as well as on knowledge about Ethiopia in Europe and their mutual relationships from medieval to modern times (ranging from Benjamin of Tudela, Marco ↗Polo, Poggio Bracciolini, Paolo ↗Giovio, Ludovico de Varthema, Giacomo Baratti, and Charles-Jacques ↗Poncet to Guglielmo ↗Massaja). He also found time to publish his reflections on contemporary events and on the institutional situation of the country where he happened to work for many years as a diplomat; his history of Ethiopian journalism has remained unpublished (cp. Ricci 1995: 184f.). Generally characterized by refined erudition and exemplary clarity, T.'s contributions exhibit exhaustive examination of the evidence and sound critical analysis, and have generally proved lasting and reliable.

Src.: TEOBALDO FILESI, "Ricordo di un etiopista: Salvatore Tedeschi", *Africa* (Roma) 51, 1996, 95–98 (T.'s bibl. 97f.); LANFRANCO RICCI, "Salvatore Tedeschi", *RSE* 37, 1993 [1995], 183–85; additional bibl.: TedEthPrel; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Il Terzo Congresso internazionale degli africanisti", *Africa* 29, 1974, 87–94; ID., "Colloquio internazionale sulle lingue cuscitiche e sui popoli che le parlano", *Africa* 30, 1975, 593–95; ID., "Considerazioni sul governo di un impero al tramonto", *ibid.* 439–42; ID., "Il II Congresso di studi copti", *ibid.* 35, 1980, 556–59; ID., "Un pregevole atlante storico dell'Africa", *ibid.* 546–55; ID., "Les débuts de la politique religieuse de Yohannes IV: 1868–1876”, in: MARIA CARAVAGLIOS (ed.), *L'Africa ai tempi di Daniele Comboni. Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Africani* (*Roma 19–21 novembre 1981*), Roma 1983, 161–78; ID., “La scomparsa di Abba Jérôme”, *Africa* 39, 1984, 124–26; ID., “L'Ethiopie dans l'Itinéraires de Benjamin de Tudèle”, *Abbay* 13, 1986–1987, 77–90 (repr. in PICES 9, vol. 6, 207–21); ID., “Primo congresso internazionale sulla storia dell'arte etiopica”, *Africa* 41, 1986, 634–35; ID., “Un'analisi storica per respingere giudizi errati. Guglielmo Massaia e il colonialismo italiano”, *Rivista di studi politici internazionali* 57, 1990, 433–42; ID., “Note sul re etiopico Na'akʷeto la'Ab”, *Quaderni Utinensi* 8 (15/16), 1990 [1996], 335–43; ID., “Ḥarbay”, “Iyäsus Mo'a”, “Lalibäla”, “Märḥa Krəstos”, “Mäsqäl Kəbra”, “Nä'akkwəto lä'Ab”, “Ǝsṭifanos”, “Täklä Haymanot”, “Yətbaräk”, “Yoḥanni [i]”, “Yoḥanni [ii]”, in: *EncSan*, vol. 2, 157–59, 267–71, 300–03, 431–34, 448f., 563f., 1111–13, 1133–38, 1359, 1360–62, 1362f.; ID., [review of George Wynn Brereton Huntingford (tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea by an Unknown Author*, London 1980], *QSE* 5, 1984, 145–48; ID., [review of Girma Fesseha – Walter Raunig, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Innsbruck – Frankfurt am Main 1985], *Africa* 40, 1985, 679–81; ID., [review of Joseph Tubiana (ed.), *La révolution éthiopienne comme phénomène de société. Essais, témoignages et documents*, Paris 1990], *Africa* 47, 1992, 447–48; ID., [review of Gian Carlo Stella, *Battaglia di Adua, 1° marzo 1896. Memorie vive ed inedite di un ufficiale superstite*, Parma 1991], *ibid.* 448–49; ID., [review of Walter Raunig – Girma Fisseha (eds.), *Äthiopien in der volkstümlichen Malerei*, Stuttgart 1993], *ibid.* 48, 1993, 667f.; ID., [review of Alain Rouaud, *Afä-Warq, un intellectuel éthiopien témoin de son temps, 1868–1947*, Paris 1991], *ibid.* 136–38; ID., [review of Osvaldo Raineri (ed., tr.), *Atti di Habta Māryām* (*† 1497*) *e di Iyāsu* (*† 1508*), *santi monaci etiopici*, Roma 1990 (OrChrA 235)], *OrChrP* 56, 1990, 493–96; ID., [review of Osvaldo Raineri, *Catalogo dei rotoli protettori etiopici della collezione Sandro Angelini*, Roma 1990], *ibid.* 57, 1991, 213–15.

Alessandro Bausi

Təʾəzazä sänbät

T.s. (**ትእዛዘ፡ ሰንበት**, ‘The Commandment of the ↗Sabbath’) is a ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel religious text that has generally been given a place of pride. ↗Halévy chose it as the title of his collection of Betä Ǝsraʾel texts, with six other works (1902). ↗Leslau placed it at the beginning of his *Falasha Anthology*, seeing it as the most attractive of the Betä Ǝsraʾel literary compositions (1951:3). ↗Conti Rossini, who was generally inclined to question the originality of any Betä Ǝsraʾel text, granted that at least T.s. was probably of truly Betä Ǝsraʾel origin (CRAbb 574).

Betä Ǝsraʾel tradition attributes this work to *abba* ↗Sabra, who is said to have established ↗monasticism (s. EAE vol. 5) among them in the 15th cent. Nevertheless, T.s. is a composite work rather than the composition of a single author. The first section of the two published versions of this work (Halévy 1902:133–38; Leslau 1951:11–16) is dependent on Arabic (Christian) sources. (Neither manuscript of T.s. in the Faitlovitch collection contains this material, and it may well represent a later addition to the composition.) The next section is a skilfully edited and censored version of a Christian homily on the Sabbath attributed to ↗Jacob of Serug (↗*Dərsanä sänbät*). After a short interlude, this is followed by a list of laws and commandments for the Sabbath which is heavily dependent on ↗Jubilees, esp. ch. 50.

A similar interweaving of material continues thorough out the book. One of the most striking themes developed in T.s. is the personification of the Sabbath, which appears as a heavenly queen and divine mediator, who intervenes on behalf of her believers saving them on the day of Judgment and rescuing them from the fires of Hell (23, 30–32). However, this personification is not maintained throughout the work. In this context, it is interesting to recall the explanation given by one of d'Abbadie's Betä Ǝsraʾel informants, “Mary is the Christians' mediator; ours is the Sabbath” (Luzzatto 1852:345).

Despite the tremendous interest in T.s., it has not been the subject of a textual study since Halévy, and a critical text based on the careful examination of all existing manuscripts would be desirable and might resolve the provenance of much of its material.

Src.: CRAbb; JOSEPH HALÉVY (ed., tr.), *Tê'êzâza Sanbat* (*Commandments du Sabbat*) *accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphiques admis par les Falachas ou Juifs d'Abyssinie*, Paris 1902, 1–40 (text) = 133–64 (tr.); WOLF LESLAU, *Falasha Anthology*, New Haven, CN 1951, 3–39; MORDECHAI WURMBRAND (tr.), “Sefer Mitzvot ha-šabat šel Beta Israel” (‘The Book of the Commandments of the Sabbath of the Beta Israel’), *Mahut* 8–9, 1991–92, 96–107, and 10, 1993, 13–23; also under *Dərsanä sänbät*.

Lit.: STEVEN KAPLAN, “Teʾezáza Sanbat: a Beta Israel Work Reconsidered”, in: SHAUL SHAKED – DAVID SHULMAN – GEDALIAHU STROUMSA (eds.), *Gilgul*: *Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions*: *Dedicated to R.J. Zwi Werblowsky*, Leiden 1987 (*Numen* Suppl. 50), 107–24; PHILOXÈNE LUZZATTO, “Mémoire sur les Juifs d'Abyssinie ou Falachas”, *Archives israélites* 13, 1852, 343–46, here 345; HAIM SCHWARZBAUM, “Jewish and Muslim Sources of a Falasha Creation Myth”, in: RAPHAEL PATAI et al. (eds.), *Studies in Biblical and Jewish Folklore*, New York 1973, 41–56; MARTIN WURMBRAND, “Le ‘Dersana Sanbat’: un homélie éthiopienne attribuée à Jacques de Saroug”, *L'Orient Syrien* 8, 1963, 343–94.

Steven Kaplan

Ṭef

Ṭ. (**ጤፍ**, *Eragrostis tef*, also *Eragrostis abyssinica*, *Poa tef*, *Poa abyssinica*) is, in economic terms,

Amhara settler harvesting *ṭef* near Amba, close to Asosa; photo 1999, courtesy of Christof Herrmann

Ethiopia's most valuable ↗cereal and an important cash crop. Ṭ., whose flour is ideal for making **እንጀራ** (*ənǧära*) ↗bread, is culturally highly estimated, especially among ↗Amhara and ↗Təgrəñña-speakers (in Eritrea also **እንጌራ**, *əngera*). Ṭ. grain is notable among cereals for its outstanding nutritional value, having a high protein content with an excellent amino-acid spectrum – being superior to wheat, ↗maize and the millets in the limiting amino-acid lysine – and also having a good mineral content (notably iron, calcium and zinc).

The individual grains of Ṭ. are by far the smallest of all the cereals: they are the size of a small pinhead (about 1 mm in diameter). They have a thin skin and a relatively large embryo. When ground into flour there is no bran or other wastage, unlike most other cereals; all the flour is useable and nutritious. Ṭ. grain can be stored for several years without losing its viability, a quality that was useful in past times when it was necessary to bury stored grain in containers to avoid it being plundered. Its small size also meant that a very small quantity of grain was sufficient to sow a large area (low seed rate), a further advantage over large-grain cereals in times of ↗famine or war.

The cultivation of Ṭ. is labour intensive. After multiple ploughing (↗Plough), sowing by hand has to be done very carefully on account of the small size of the grain; weeding has to be thorough; harvesting is done by hand, with a sickle; Ṭ. is threshed by the feet of domestic animals, but winnowing is done by hand with a long wooden implement resembling an oar. Ṭ. exhibits a number of unusual agronomic qualities. Its grain will germinate anaerobically under water, allowing it to establish itself on waterlogged clay soils, a feature it shares with ↗*dagussa* (*Eleusine coracana*). It withstands the desiccation that occurs when clay soils dry out towards the end of the season, when deep vertical cracks are formed that break the root connections of cereals, often leading to crop failure. Since pure clay vertisols ("black cotton soils") are common on the Ethiopian plateau these characteristics make Ṭ. a reliable cereal for growing on them. In the dry season, when other cereals fail, it may not be too late to obtain a crop of Ṭ.: some Ṭ. varieties are very short lived and can establish, grow and mature on a single downpour of rain. Though these short-lived types are not highly productive they act as a "stand-by" (catch crop). If Ṭ. fails, the prospect for Ethiopian farmers is bleak.

The straw of Ṭ. is valuable fodder. It is soft, low in fibre and is both easily chewed and digested by domestic animals, which prefer it to other straws. Horses and oxen are fed Ṭ. straw to increase their endurance. The value of Ṭ. as a sown fodder/forage crop was recognized by the British who grew it in South Africa at the time of the Boer War. It is still grown there, and elsewhere, for fodder on a small scale. In contrast, the cultivation of Ṭ. for its grain did not spread far beyond the Ethiopian highlands. There may be a simple reason for this: the production of *ənǧära* is a relatively exacting technology that Ethiopian girls learn in the home. Since Ṭ. grain contains no gluten its flour cannot be leavened with bread yeast. It is "leavened" by fermentation with a mixture of microorganisms; this produces bubbles that, upon baking, form the characteristic "eyes" of *ənǧära*. The successful establishment of Ṭ. as a grain crop in other lands therefore requires the know-how of *ənǧära* fermentation and the appropriate micro-organism; this only appears to have happened in Yemen in past times. Recently, much interest has been shown in T. flour in other countries as a health food, particularly useful for gluten intolerance and coeliac disease sufferers.

Ṭ. is unusual among cereals in having a naturally free-threshing grain, a characteristic that has been introduced into some cultivated wheats but is still absent from most other cereals. It is a relatively rare feature of a few wild grass genera, notably *Sporobolus* and *Eragrostis*, and Ṭ. is assigned to the latter genus. However, *Eragrostis tef* is a cultigen, a plant unknown in the wild; it has arisen over the millennia as an artefact of human agriculture and is endemic to Ethiopia. Its nearest wild relative, and presumed ancestral species, is the much smaller and far less productive *Eragrostis pilosa*. For a crop effectively confined to a relatively small area of Africa it is surprisingly diverse, with many varieties and land-races that indicate it has long been in cultivation. Attemp to improve Ṭ. have for several decades been based at the Agricultural Research Centre at Däbrä Zäyt where a collection of Ṭ. germplasm is held.

Lit.: AMANDA L. INGRAM – JEFF J. DOYLE, "The Origin and Evolution of *Eragrostis tef* (Poaceae) and Related Polyploids: Evidence from Nuclear Waxy and Plastid rps16", *American Journal of Botany* 90, 2003, 116–22; G. RICHARD JANSEN – L.R. DIMAYO – N.L. HAUSE, "Amino Acid Composition and Lysine Supplementation of Teff", *Journal of Agricultural and Food Chemistry* 10, 1962, 62–64; B.M. GLYN JONES et al., "Relationships of the Ethiopian Cereal T'ef (*Eragrostis tef* [Zucc.] Trotter): Evidence from Morphology and Chromosome Number", *Annals of Botany* 42, 1978, 1369–73; SEYFU KETEMA, *Tef, Eragrostis tef* (Zucc.) Trotter: *Breeding, Genetic Resources, Agronomy, Utilisation and Role in Ethiopian Agriculture*, Addis Ababa 1993; TADESSA EBBA, *T'ef* (*Eragrostis tef*). *The Cultivation, Usage, and Some of the Known Diseases and Insect Pests*, Dire Dawa 1969 (Dire Dawa Experiment Station Bulletin 60, 1); YIFRU TEKLU – HAILU TEFERA, "Genetic Improvement in Grain Yield Potential and Associated Genetic Traits of Tef (*Eragrostis tef*)", *Euphytica* 141, 2005, 247–54.

B.M. Glyn Jones

Ṭefut: Mäṣḥafä ṭefut

The M.ṭ. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ጤፉት**, lit. 'The Book of *ṭef* Grains') is a collection preserved in one manuscript kept in the church of Däbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer Ab on ↗Amba Gəšän. It contains the ↗Octateuch, the ↗Gospels, the ↗*Senodos,* as well as historical texts relating to the reigns of ↗Dawit II and ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and documental records, the most ancient among which refers to the time of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I and the most recent to ↗Śarṣa Dəngəl. The name M.ṭ. is probably linked with the shape of its particularly thin script.

The manuscript is richly illuminated. Its iconography is similar to that which one finds in the manuscripts of the ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam* also preserved on Amba Gəšän, as well as of the ↗*Dərsanä Maryam* now in the church of Betä Ləḥem, both usually attributed to the *scriptorium* of *aṣe* Dawit II (AfrZion 91f.). According to Fiaccadori (1994: 79f.), the illumination of the M.ṭ. might well reflect – through a series of intermediate copies – an ancient Aksumite model and, thereby, a lost Byzantine prototype.

The production of the M.ṭ. probably extended over many decades. If paintings indicate that certain texts were copied during the reign of Dawit, other texts, such as many land grants as well as a historical text, were added during the reign of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. The historical text speaks of the foundation of the Amba Gəšän churches of Däbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer Ab and Däbrä Maryam by Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, as well as his gift of a piece of the True Cross and other ↗relics.

A modern copy of the M.ṭ. was prepared for the church of ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase in Gondär. It includes all the notes and documents except for the one published by Caquot which had been added throughout years to the M.ṭ., as well as a compilation of other texts and documents from Amba Gəšän manuscripts (esp. the Gospel of Däbrä Maryam and the *Mäṣḥafä ↗milad*; s. Kropp 2004: 214f., 217). It is on this copy (now in the BritLib, Orient. 481) that all the studies on the documents originally copied in the M.ṭ. have been based (with the only acception of Caquot 1955). Most of these texts concern the church of Däbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer Ab, but sometimes also members of the royal family, such as one of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's wives (Kropp 1989–90). Among the documents there is a famous decree of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob dividing Təgray into two "dioceses", one given to ↗Däbrä Bizän and the other to ↗Däbrä Maryam, the two major monasteries of the ↗Ewosṭateans (Conti Rossini 1923).

The M.ṭ. is considered one of the most sacred objects of Amba Gəšän. Jealously kept under lock and key during the year, it is shown to the faithful on the occasion of great feasts, particularly on 21 *Mäskäräm*, the day of the arrival of the True Cross at Amba Gəšän (cp. ↗*Mäsqäl*).

Src.: BritLib Orient. 481; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Aperçu préliminaire sur le *Maṣḥafa Ṭēfut* de Gechen Amba", *AE* 1, 1955, 89–108; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica", *RSO* 9, 1923, 452–55; ID., "Sulle missioni domenicane in Etiopia nel secolo XIV", *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia d'Italia* ser. 7ᵃ, 18, 1940, 71–98, here 91–92; ID., "Tre piccoli testi etiopici", *RSO* 23, 1948, 46–51; MANFRED KROPP, "»Dann senke das Haupt und gib ihr nicht im Zorn!«. Eine testamentarische Verfügung des Königs ᶜAmdä-Ṣəyon aus dem Archiv der Hs. London, BM, Or 481", *Orientalia Suescana* 38–39, 1989–90, 92–104; ID., "Four Gʷelt Documents of ᶜAmdä Ṣeyon from the Archive of the Church of Däbrä Egziabeher-Ab on Amba Geshe (with an additional note on the name Bätärgelä Maryam)", *Afrique et Histoire* 2, 2004, 213–34; ID., "Asylrecht und Pfründe für die zukünftige Residenz: Die Zeugenfassung der Privilegurkunde des Ras Wube für die Marienkirche von Däräsge aus dem Condaghe der Hs. BL Or 481, fol. 3v", in: *Studia Semitica. Journal of Semitic Studies Jubilee Volume*, Manchester 2005 (JSS Supplement 16), 193–206; ID., "«Antiquae restitutio legis». Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als *Imago Imperii* und *Notitia Dignitatum* in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zärᵓa Yaᶜqob im *Condaghe* der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: *VarAeth* 115–47; ID., "Diözesen und Missionsauftrag: Ein Edikt Kaiser Zärᵓa-Yaᶜqobs über zwei Klostersprengel in Eriträa aus dem Condaghe der Hs. British Museum Or 481 alias Mäshafä Tefut von Amba Gəše", in: ANNE-MARIE

Eddé – Emma Gannagé (eds.), *Regards croisés sur le Moyen Âge arabe. Mélanges à la mémoire de Louis Pouzet s.j. (1928–2002)*, Paris 2005 (= *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 58), 609–26; Diana Spencer, "Trip to Wag and Northern Wallo", *JES* 5, 1, 1967, 95–108, here 103.
Lit.: AfrZion 91f., 177f.; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Prototipi miniati dell'Ottateuco etiopico", *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 8, 1994 [1995], 69–102, here 72–80 and nn. 14–49 (92–98; Lit.).

Claire Bosc-Tiessé – Marie-Laure Derat

Təgray

T. (**ትግራይ**; Amh. Təgre) is a historical region and a regional state of Ethiopia. The official name of the state is **ብሔራዊ፡ ክልላዊ፡ መንግሥቲ፡ ትግራይ** (*Bəḥerawi Kəlləlawi Mängəśti Təgray*, 'Təgray National Regional State'). It encompasses all the territories of ↗Təgrəñña-speakers (and a few minority groups closely linked with them) in Ethiopia; T. is separated from the northern Təgrəñña territories by the River ↗Märäb, now serving as the state border to ↗Eritrea.

T.'s official language is ↗Təgrəñña. T. is situated between 12°–15° N and 36° 30'–40° 30' E and comprises 53,638 km^2 (according to the Tigrai Investment Guide); to the north, it borders to the state of Eritrea, to the west to northern ↗Sudan (↗Kassala and ↗Qadarif provinces), to the south to the Amhara *kəlləl*, and to the east to ↗ᶜAfar *kəlləl*. T. has ca. 4.3 million inhabitants (CSA 2005). The greatest part of the population (ca. 80 %) are agriculturalists, contributing 46 % to the regional gross domestic product (2002/03). The highlands (11.5 % *däga* [Tgn. *dəgʷəᶜa*], 40.5 % *wäyna däga*) have the highest population density, specially in eastern T. and central T. The much less densely populated lowlands of T. (*qʷälla*) comprise 48 % of T.

The great majority of inhabitants are Orthodox Christians (95.5 % in 1994), with the exception of a small, but important Muslim subgroup (↗Ǧäbärti) and a few Catholics (mainly ↗Irob). Protestantism is only a very recent urban phenomenon. Despite a general impression of ethnic and cultural homogeneity, there are a few ethnic minorities, especially at the borders of T., belonging to non-Təgrəñña groups, such as the ↗Saho-speaking ↗Irob at the north-eastern border to Eritrea, the ↗Rayya Oromo in the south-east (mostly speaking Təgrəñña today), the ↗Agäw-speaking ↗Ḫamta in ↗Abärgalle north of ↗Wag, a few ↗Kunama in the Ḥabäša-Kunama *wäräda* east of ↗Ḥumära, and scattered peripheral groups in the western lowlands, such as the Č̣are of the ↗Ṣällim Bet (related with the ↗Gumuz) and "↗Tuḵrir" in the Humära area (EllLusAnt). Some of these groups have adopted Təgrəñña as their first language.

T.'s administrative capital is ↗Mäq̱älä. Administratively, T. was divided into four, later six zones (*zoba*), which replaced the former *awraǧǧas* in 1991 (names with number of inhabitants of the four original zones in the year 2005 [CSA 2005] with their capitals): Western Zone (Məᶜrabawi *zoba*, i.e. 'western zone', ca. 1 million inhabitants; Ḥumära), Eastern Zone (Məbraqawi *zoba*, ca. 800.000 inhabitants; ↗ᶜAddigrat), Central Zone (Maᵓkälay *zoba*, ca. 1.3 million inhabitants; ↗Aksum), Southern Zone (Däbuḇawi *zoba*, ca. 1.2 million inhabitants; ↗May Č̣äw); in a recent administrative reform some of these were split and first a North-Western Zone (Səmenawi Məᶜrab *zoba*; Ǝnda Śəllase Šire) and later a South-Eastern Zone (Däbubawi Məbraq *zoba*; Mäq̱älä) were created.

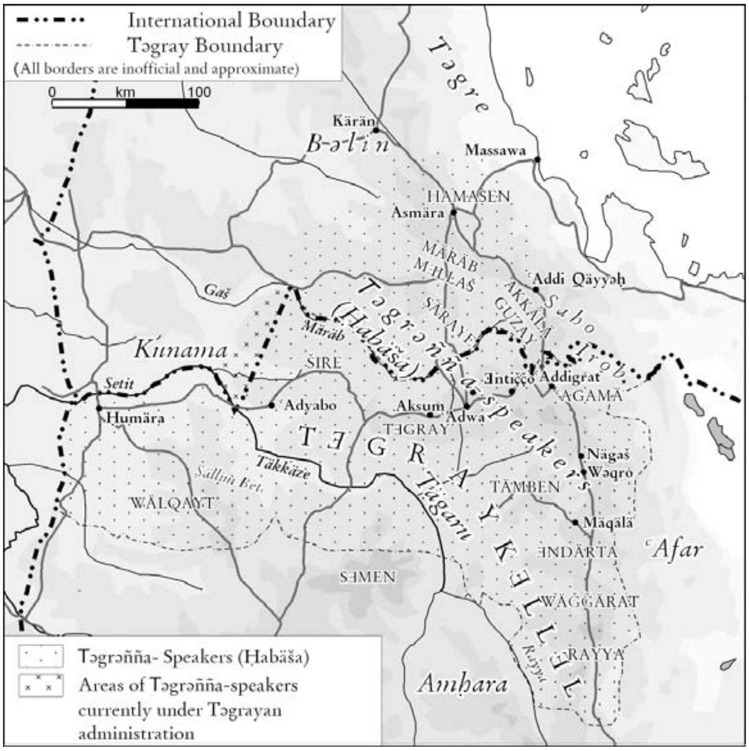
T. went through numerous administrative changes in the course of its history. In 1991 T. was radically reshaped. During the reign of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, and also the following *Därg* period (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), T. did not yet encompass ↗Wälqayt (until 1991 having been part of ↗Bägemdər), while ↗Ǝndärta in eastern T. extended over large ᶜAfar areas including the ↗salt plains, which were given to ᶜAfar *kəlləl*. Still in the 1930s the regions south of Ǝndärta, i.e. ↗Wäǧǧärat and ↗Angot, formed the separate governorate called "Southern T." (ZerÉth 396). Modern T. is the result of a merger of diverse historical northern provinces (with Təgrəñña- and Agäw-speakers), which were often independent from each other.

Ancient provinces of Təgray

Today's unity of Təgrəñña territories south of the Märäb river is a rather modern phenomenon. Most northern provinces were ruled by their own governors, often descending from local dynasties (s. below) and preserving a high degree of autonomy within the empire, e.g., in legal and judicial issues, taxation etc. Only rarely these territories were unified under one ruler.

The core of today's T. was the most important northern province and bore the name "T." (henceforth called "T. proper"). Usually it controlled adjacent territories, which might be the reason why the term T. began to be used for the entire north. T. proper basically encompassed only ↗ᶜAdwa, Aksum (Tgn. Aḵsum, Aḵʷsəm, Gəᶜəz also Akʷsəm) and ↗Yəḥa (Tgn. Yäḥa), and regularly extended over ↗Ḥawzen (with Amba Ǝnda Ṣəyon) and ↗Ǝntiçço. It included sometimes wider areas, such as ↗Šire and ↗Tämben, which, however, kept their own separate identities and often their local governors.

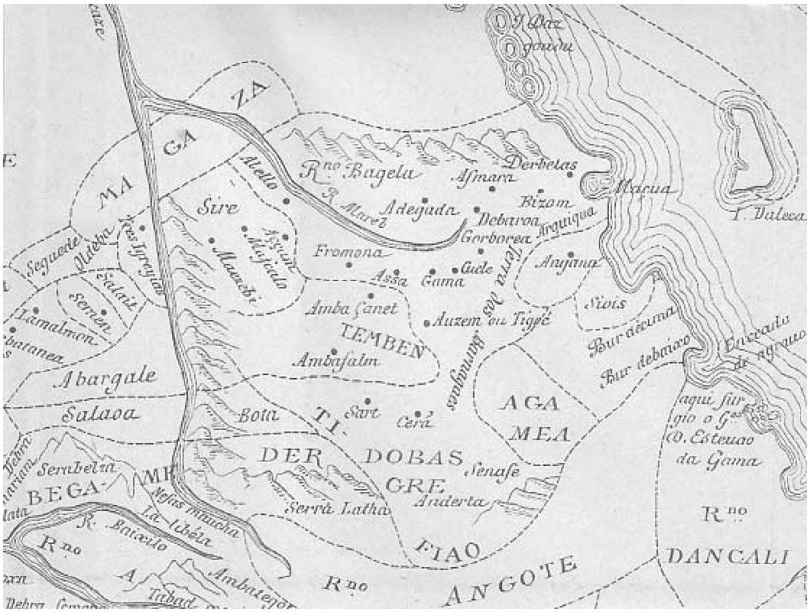
Ḥawzen was an important province seemingly already in Aksumite times (with important early rock-hewn churches, s. e.g., Plant 1985: 175f.); according to the *Gädlä Märqorewos*, in the 13th cent. Ḥawzen encompassed wide areas from today's Ḥawzen to the ᶜAfar salt plains in the east. Consequently, over the centuries the realm of T. regularly extended over all these territories (s. ill.: 17th cent. map). Tämben was included into T. already in the 17th cent. (LudHist I, iii, § 28), and at times also well before. An ancient permanent boundary of T. proper to the south is the ↗Täkkäze, in ancient sources equalled with the ↗Nile River (HuntGeogr 42). Therefore T. proper together with its dependencies was occasionally also called Täkkäze Məllaš ('beyond the Täkkäze').


International Boundary
Təgray Boundary
(All borders are inofficial and approximate)
0
km
100
Təgre
Kärän
B-ə-l-i-n
Massawa
HAMASEN
Asmära
MÄRÄB MƎLLAŠ
SÄRAYE
AKKÄLÄ GUZAY
Addi Qäyyəh
Saho
Irob
Gaš
Təgrəñña speakers (Ḥabäša)
Märäb
Kunama
ŠIRE
Setit
Humära
Adyabo
Aksum
Adwa
Ǝntiçço
Addigrat
AGAMÄ
TƎGRAY
T Ǝ G R A Y K Ǝ L L Ǝ L
Täkkäze
Šəllim Bet
WÄLQAYT
Tägazi
Nägaš
Wəqro
TÄMBEN
Mäqälä
ƎNDÄRTA
ᶜAfar
SƎMEN
WÄGGƎRAT
RAYYA
Rayya
Amḥara
Təgrəñña- Speakers (Ḥabäša)
Areas of Təgrəñña-speakers currently under Təgrayan administration

Over a long period, the capital of T. proper was Ḥawzen in the (sub-)province Ḥaramat. Already in the 17th cent. this town served as a seat of governors (PerrZarY, annex: Ḥawzen was then also "called Təgre"). In the 19th cent. it again served as the capital, e.g., of ↗Wəbe Ḥaylä Maryam and *nəguś* ↗Nəguśe. ᶜAdwa assumed the role of a capital in the 18th cent. under ᶜAmdä Haymanot, and again later (starting from the 1880s in competition with the new capital Mäqälä).

T. proper was of strategic importance, both symbolically, as it included the sacred town of Aksum, and economically, due to important trade routes from the east (i.e. ᶜAgäma and Ǝndärta) and the north. It included fertile plains (e.g., to the west of Aksum), and strategically important mountains. "The one who controlled Amba Ǝnda Ṣəyon controlled T." (Markham 1869: 263; s. Tsegay Berhe in PICES 14, 554). Still in the 20th cent. T. proper was a province of its own in the framework of a wider homonymous province, also called T. (ZerÉth 393). Even if well before the 20th cent. occasionally the term "T." already extended over areas outside T. proper, local parlance preserved the old provincial names, and the term "T." is still used by rural people of T. as referring only to ᶜAdwa *awrağğa*, while other regions of modern T. are still considered to be "outside T." by elders and rural people (Smidt in WenDAE II, in preparation).

Several names of the other northern provinces in today's T. are very ancient (for example, the ↗ᶜAgamä were already mentioned in the ↗*Monumentum Adulitanum*), and persisted from their first mention in ancient ↗inscriptions or medieval documents until modernity, while others only existed temporarily, shaped for the needs of newly appointed governors. Historical provinces are Šire, ↗Adyabo, ↗Ḥaramat (with Ḥawzen), ↗Gärᶜalta, Tämben (or Wärᶜi *məllaš*, its border river Wärᶜi separating it from T. proper), ᶜAgamä (including the Irob mountains), ↗Ṣəraᵓ (in the 20th cent. replaced by the ↗Kələttä Awləᶜalo *awrağğa*), ↗Wämbärta (with Aṣbi and Därа), Ǝndärta (historically including the Arho saltplains of the ᶜAfar lowlands, with the *bäᶜalgäda*, ↗*Balgäda*, the controller



Extract from a map of Ethiopia after d'Almeida and others, 1662 (redrawn ca. 1680), showing the northern provinces: Təgray ("Tigre") with the ᶜAdwa region, Ḥawzen and Ǝndärta in that time was unified with the realm of the *bahər nägaš* ("Terra dos Barnagaes"), but ᶜAgamä ("Agamea"), Tämben, Bur, Šire being separate provinces (note: Aççum = Aḵsum, Anderta = Ǝndärta, Arquiqua = Ḥərgigo, Assa = Assam, i.e. later ᶜAdwa, Auzem = Ḥawzen, Bagela = Baqla, Cerá = Ṣəraᵓ, i.e. Agulaᶜ, Daleca = Dahlak, Dobas = Dobaᶜa, Guele = Gʷalᶜa, i.e. later ᶜAddigrat, Lamalmon = Limulima, Maçua = Massawa, Magaza = Mäzäga, Oldeba = Waldəbba, Salaoa = Säläwa, Sart = Saḥart, Seguede = Ṣägäde); from PerrZarY, annex

of the salt trade), ↗Säḥart, ↗Säläwa, Wäǧǧärat, ↗Rayya ᶜAzäbo (submitted only in the 19th cent. by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV), and in the west ↗Ṣällämt and Wälqayt (originally encompassing only the western T. highlands), and finally the ↗Mäzäga lowlands, a former Muslim sultanate in the west successively included into the sphere of influence of Wälqayt. Some smaller territories were at times independent from the rulers of these greater provinces; the exact boundaries could change quickly following the political (and military) fortunes of their rulers (for several provinces of the north which existed then separately see the tax registers of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II; Girma-Selassie Asfaw – Richard Pankhurst 1978).

The spiritual core of T. was and is Aksum. Even if being formally under the rulership of the central province (T. proper), the town enjoyed a special status, as a free city with its own self-government. Its administrators were the ↗*nəburä əd*, a governor appointed by the Ethiopian ruler, and the *qarigeta*, the mayor elected by the male members of the seven "Aksumite clans" of Aksum, Mäläkya Aḵsum, Bägiᶜo, Fərhəba, Kudukʷi, Wäldmaybiḥ, Aḵoro und Näfas. These encompassed the entire whole indigenous city population, who was not to pay any taxes (for new research on the self-government of Aksum s. Muluwork Kidane-mariam 2010; Smidt in WenDAE II, in preparation). The *nəburä əd* represented the sphere of the Ethiopian state and often descended from local leading families; if he was a layman, he appointed an *afä nəburä əd* ('speaker of the *n.*') for the administration of church issues. Aksum as the guardian of the Tables of the Law (*ṣəlatä muse*, also identified as *tabotä ṣəyon*; ↗Ark of Covenant) was regarded as "a church". On this ground its priests did not allow *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV to permanently establish his royal *kätäma* there (s. the plan in DAE I), who therefore had to found another capital. The city population managed to defend their traditional self-government – with the *qarigeta* being independent from the *nəburä əd* – even throughout the 20th cent. politics of centralization by *aṣe* Ḥaylä Śəllase I.

First mention of Təgray in ancient sources

The oldest inscriptions and texts referring to the population of the Aksumite kingdom and its neighbours do not know the term T. yet; they show an ethnic diversity, which has partially disappeared today. A variant of the term T. first appears in a 10th-cent. gloss to ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes, i.e. after the Aksumite period; according to this source important groups of the region were the "Tigrētai" and the "Agazē" (i.e. ↗Agᶜazi), the latter being the Aksumites (HuntGeogr 43; Wolska-Conus 1968; cp. also the Təgrəñña writer Fesseḥa Giyorgis 1987:173f., who extends the term *bəherä* Agᶜazi, i.e. Aksum, over all of Ethiopia; BerTarik uses the term *mədrä* Agᵓazit [sic] for the Eritrean highlands).

The toponym T. is probably originally ethnic; the "Tigrētai" then meant "the tribes near ↗Adulis" (HuntGeogr 43, 45). They correspond to the ↗Təgre groups living in the same area today; however, a historical identity between today's sub-groups and the 10th cent. groups cannot be supposed, as this could not explain the existence of the toponym "T." for the Aksum–ᶜAdwa area. It should be concluded that T. groups lived along the main route between Aksum and the coast, and later separated, both ethnically and linguistically. There is no indication that the term T. could be explained through Gəᶜəz **gärärä* ('subdue'), with the meaning 'the submitted' (in supposed contrast to the "free" Agᶜaziyan linked with the rulers of Aksum), as this could not explain why the most important province took the name T. The term might even not be Ethiosemitic and predate the Sabaean presence in Ethiopia. It is not excluded that the term *tkʾr.w* ("Tekaru"; SerHist 25) from a list of southern peoples and countries allegedly subdued by Pharaonic Egypt in the 15th cent. B.C. may already be linked with the term T.; in this case it should mean a region within or in the vicinity of ↗Punt.

Population history

T. was densely populated since ancient times; research in Lake sediments of ↗Ḥašəngä show that ecological change started with first dense settlements ca. 4,000 years ago. Today's T. region is the result of a complex process of internal migrations, cultural assimilitation and also expansion (in western T.), as well as of unification, separation, and re-unification of diverse Təgrəñña sub-groups and provinces; starting from an early age T. was marked by the dynamics of interaction between Cushitic-speaking groups (probably the most ancient population of T.) and Semitic-speakers, whose language and political culture marked T. deeply. Placenames are usually of Cushitic and Semitic origin; several of the latter can be linked with toponyms in southern Arabia. Pre-Aksumite inscriptions show that T. was marked by a Sabaic-influenced kingdom (↗DᶜMT), which had merged with a local culture. In later Aksumite times migration again linked both sides of the Red Sea, with Aksumite settlements also on the Arabian side. Toponyms indicate that the T. highlands had an important (Pre-)Agäw population in ancient times (the house-style specific for Agäw regions reaching up to Aksum, in a region with Agäw toponyms); north of it there was a ↗Beğa migration after the fall of Aksum, and later several migrations of Agäw groups (↗Adkämä Mälgaᵓ; ↗Bilin).

Overpopulated T. was a source for migrations over centuries, e.g., to the south, numerous southern groups claiming origin from T. The history of migration (↗Population history) also links much of the Eritrean highland population with T. Oral tradition maintains that the Təgrəñña groups of Ḥamasen and ↗Akkälä Guzay descend from a 13th-cent. leader, called "*nəguś*" Meroni in the tradition, who had led his followers from T. to the Eritrean highlands (assimilating the older population of partially Beğa background). There are numerous other examples of groups who migrated from T. at different times. For example, oral traditions collected by Conti Rossini (1942: 162, 189, nn. 12–13) report on such migrations (cp. ↗Wəqro). The important ↗Ǝggäla sub-group is found both in T. and Akkälä Guzay. One of the last important migrations from T. took place in the 19th cent., when *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV placed Təgrayan lords as governors over the ↗Märäb Məllaš (i.e. mainly the Eritrean highlands), such as *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda from Tämben. Many Tämbenay settled especially in the Asmära area, mixing with the local inhabitants. The foundation of the Italian Colonia Eritrea attracted further migrants from T., including Muslim Ǧäbärti merchants.

The population of T. has preserved ancient self-designations, usually linked with the names of their historical provinces (at least some of which might originally have been ethnonyms); etymologically some can be linked to the Ethio-Sabaean past (e.g., Ṣəraᵓ), but most are of unclear etymology. Inhabitants of T. call themselves Tägaru (Tgn. sg. Təgraway; Amh. pl. Təgrawiyan [neolog. from Gəᶜəz], Təgre). Examples for other ancient province names and self-designations are: ᶜAgamä (nisba: ᶜAgamä), Rayya (Rayya), Ṣəraᵓ (*Säbʾa* Ṣəraᵓ; in the Aṣbi area Ṣərəᵓti for a sub-group), Tämben (Tämbenay) etc. In oral tradition, the terms Agᵓaziyan and Sabawiyan for the inhabitants of T. proper and ᶜAgamä are still in use. Other ancient ethnonyms are still preserved in names of villages or small districts (e.g., the 8th/9th cent. Gämbela [HuntGeogr 43], now a village south of Mäqälä; the "kingdom" Agabo, known from the stelae of Maryam ᶜAnza, in village names in eastern T. [Kropp in preparation]).

Cultural heritage

The cultural heritage of T. is particularly rich. T. hosts the UNESCO world heritage site of the Aksum stelae park (↗Stelae), numerous medieval ↗rock-hewn churches, with a special concentration in eastern T. (Teweldemedhin Josief 1970; Plant 1985; Lepage – Mercier 2005) and other church buildings dating from the ancient Aksumite period (such as Däbrä Damo monastery), often richly painted (↗Painting). Archaeological research has been able to document a great density of cultural remains from the stone age until medieval times (Godet 1977).

T. as the core of the Aksumite Empire bears the oldest witnesses of Christianisation of the region. The monastery ↗Ǝnda Abba Sälama, an important, but remote pilgrimage site in the mountains of Tämben, is said to host the grave of Frumentius (↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan; CRStor 258); monasteries and churches attributed to the ↗Nine Saints are found all over T. The sometimes rich ↗manuscript collections of churches and monasteries are under threat due to economic decline of the Church (following the 20th cent. land reforms; ↗land tenure); they preserve some of the oldest surviving manuscripts of Ethiopia (such as in the monastery ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima near ᶜAdwa).

Most important for the reconstruction of the history of regional interrelations, political and genealogical alliances and dependencies, governors, and ancient administrative structures are land charters, documenting *gʷəlti* and *rəsti* rights (↗*Gʷəlt*; ↗*Rəst*; cp. CrumLand; HuntLand). The most prominent text preserving legal documents – some allegedly Aksumite – is the *Liber Axumae* (↗*Aksum*: *Mäṣḥafä Aksum*), which documents traditions on Aksum and Aksum Ṣəyon, land rights, and duties towards the church. Written documents are amended by a rich, and often very strictly transmitted oral tradition on ↗genealogies and land rights, poetry, songs and legends which form a rich intangible heritage of T.

In the course of history, many sanctuaries in T. were affected by war, especially in the 16th cent., when the armies of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī occupied most of T., destroying churches and monasteries (however, the Aksumite Däbrä Damo, which offered refuge to *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, stayed unharmed). A great part of the ancient manuscript heritage got lost in that period (↗*Futuḥ al-Ḥabaša*; BassHist).

As the home to the oldest Muslim population of Ethiopia, T. also possesses Muslim sites (especially the pilgrimage site of ↗Nägaš; architectural remains in Wägər Ḥariba, and possibly in Maryam ↗Nazret) and inscriptions. In addition, during the 16th cent a group of Portuguese soldiers together with ↗Jesuit missionaries founded the settlement of ↗Fəremona, which included a Catholic church (cp. the Portuguese descriptions of T., Beccari 1912; Barradas 1996). After Catholicism was re-established among a minority by de ↗Jacobis (OMahPh) in the 19th cent., some new churches were built.

Rulers of Təgray

A "Təgrayan dynasty" in the proper sense never came into existence, the competing dynasties of the respective T. provinces being too strong. At times, local provincial rulers managed to establish their rule over most Təgrəñña provinces.

Temporarily, the northern provinces were unified under one to two rulers, since at least the 14th cent. mainly the ↗*təgre mäkʷännən*, usually seated in the Ḥawzen or ᶜAdwa area (i.e., T. proper), and, further north, the ↗*baḥər nägaš*, who controlled the trade routes to the ↗Red Sea. Only rarely all territories were unified in one hand; examples being *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kəflä Waḥəd in the late 16th cent., the 17th cent. ruler *däǧǧazmač* ↗Habśəllus (appointed over the huge territory "↗Bambolo məllaš" extending from Gondär over T. into today's Eritrea), his son *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gäbrä Krəstos of ↗Ḥamasen, in the 18th cent. *däǧǧazmač* ↗ᶜAmdä Haymanot, succeeded by the much more powerful *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Ṣəḥul, and, finally, in the 19th cent. *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV and his family members.

The 18th cent. "maiordomus" of Ethiopia Mikaᵓel Ṣəḥul formed a greater T., which after him virtually became a separate kingdom. He was succeeded by *raᵓsi* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Ǝndärta, who ruled T. independently in the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*; and he in turn by *däggiyat* ↗Säbagadis of the *šum ᶜagamä* dynasty, whose successor was his son-in-law ↗Wəbe of the Amharic-speaking ↗Səmen (Adhana Haile Adhana 1998: 44). Rulers of Təgrayan provinces were almost always of Təgrayan origin; in this sense, Wəbe's rule was a new phenomenon and is often perceived in oral tradition as a period of "oppression by an outsider". However, even the rule by Təgrayan princes were often perceived as such by locals, if they did not descend from their own local dynasties; this regularly motivated popular support to numerous competing princes (e.g., ↗Kaśa Golǧa against Kaśa Mərča, the later Yoḥannəs IV).

There was no strong concept of a "pan-Təgrayan" ethnicity, local identities often being stronger. Some areas never or only rarely submitted to the rule of a Təgrayan overlord, but stayed under their own autonomous rulers (such as Ḥamasen for most of the time, Wälqayt, Wäǧǧärat, Rayya, Zəbul etc.); this was in a way solved by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV, who due to his descent from all important Təgrayan dynasties could rally support from most Təgrayan regions (BTafY; ZewYohan). After his accession to the imperial throne, T. was governed by his uncle ↗Arʾaya Śəllase Dəmṣu, who died shortly after Yoḥannəs. Arʾaya's successor *raʾsi* Mängäša Yoḥannəs, the Emperor's son, was only to some degree able to keep T. under his control. *Aṣe* ↗Mənilək II used the situation to partition again T. along older borders between several governors, who went into war against each other immediately after his death (e.g., ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər of Aksum and ↗Səbḥat Arägawi of the ʿAgamä dynasty).

Later, T. was given as a fief to other descendants of Yoḥannəs. Thus the first "Təgrayan" dynasty was created, which, however, depended on support of the Šäwan-dominated state. In a brief attempt to exploit Təgrayan discontent with Šäwan rule for his own power interests, ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa from that dynasty allied with the Italians in the war of 1935–36 to become ruler of a more autonomous T. This, however, proved to be a political miscalculation. Instead of becoming an autonomous princedom, T. was included into Eritrea within ↗Africa Orientale Italiana. Only when the fortune of the Italian occupants changed in World War II, they placed *nəguś* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša as their governor over T. After the Emperor's return from exile, he was confirmed as a governor (with the title ↗*ləʿul ras*), but mainly nominally. His son, *ləʿul ras* Mängäša Śəyyum, succeeded him in 1960 and was deposed in the ↗Revolution of 1974. After that he was involved in the formation of the armed Ethiopian Democratic Union in the western lowlands, together with General ↗Iyasu Mängäša (s. EAE vol. 5).

This "Təgrayan dynasty" strongly relied on Christian symbolism and deducted their legitimacy from their control of Aksum, which hosts the church ↗Aksum Ṣəyon with the Ark of the Covenant. "Defined by its predominant Christian character, T. formed not only a durable component of the Ethiopian nation but was also part of backbone of the Ethiopian state" (Adhana Haile Adhana 1998:43). The rulership over T. (and Ethiopia) was occasionally identified with the rulership over Aksum Ṣəyon by powerful rulers with connection to T. Consequently, even the term Ṣeyon (↗Zion) could be used in exchange with T. in specific contexts. Yoḥannəs IV called himself *nəguśä ṣəyon* (e.g., on a silver *nägarit* of his godson *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Ali, of Wällo, kept in Aksum Ṣəyon, s. Smidt in WenDAE II, in preparation). Creating a sort of spiritual succession, Mikaʾel Ali called himself *nəguśä ṣəyon* after his coronation as *nəguś* of T. in 1914 (he translating it into Arabic as 'king of T.'; Smidt 2007/08:436f.; cp. also GebMolIyas).

Also the history of ↗titles and ranks in T. shows interesting features and reflects the complex local systems of government. T. knows a wide variety of ancient state and cultural titles and designations of ranks and offices. Their meaning often differed from the meaning these or similar titles have acquired in territories further south (↗Amhara). Some are remnants of an ancient administrative system (many of these old titles have vanished today, e.g., the ↗*ḥasgʷa* and *ʿaqqabe ṣänṣän* of Əndärta), others are expressions of local cultural and socio-political structures (e.g., *abbo gaz* [↗*Gaz*]; *ḥanta* etc.).

Modern Təgray

Modern T. as a united province has its origin in the unification of its (sub-)provinces by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV and his successors. This did not, however, change the ancient claims for autonomy by local leaders and by several quite egalitarian, non-feudalist peasant communities (Abdulkader Saleh et al. 2008). After its hayday under Yoḥannəs, T. was heavily challenged, and was gradually reduced in importance within Ethiopia, and outside influence within T. increased. T. oral traditions preserve numerous poems and legends which report on T. resistance against non-T. lords (to name only few examples, s. Conti Rossini 1906, 1942; for an 1898 *awaǧ* of *raʾsi* Mängäša Yoḥannəs calling for armed resistance against Mənilək II, s. Mekonnen Birhane 1998/99:67f., with further texts on T. resistance; cp. also a war-song of 1906, Smidt 2007).

Much of T. was briefly occupied by the Italians in the foremath of the 1896 Battle of ʿAdwa (↗Italian War, 1895–96). Again, T. was one of the major battle grounds during the ↗Italian War 1935–36, with an initial success by the Ethiopians in the First Battle of Tämben in January 1936, and their dramatic defeat in the Second

Battle a month later; after the Battle of May Č̣äw in southern T. (followed by attacks of Rayya against *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase's army), the Ethiopian government collapsed.

During Italian occupation, T. was included into Eritrea (↗Eritrea: Administrative division), and then after 1941 reunified with restored Ethiopia (s. British Military Administration of Ethiopia, EAE vol. 5). Ḫaylä Śəllase's harsh measures to establish control by the central government, however, quickly led to local resistance. Significantly, the ↗*Wäyyanä* rebellion started in the province of Wäğğärat, which was especially marked by egalitarian structures. After the rebels had captured the capital Mäq̱älä, heavy bombing by the British in 1943 ended the uprising. This was followed by a further process of marginalization of T., which was also heavily affected by the 1970s and 1980s ↗famines (often caused by ↗resettlement measures).

Measures of centralisation, aggressive marginalisation, economic decline and political suppression led to the creation of local armed resistance movements in the 1970s, especially the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). During the following liberation struggle mainly three options for the political future of T. were discussed among the insurgents: the creation of an ethnic-based independent "Greater T.", incorporating the Eritrean highlands "lost in 1889" (i.e. the "T. Təgrəññi" concept already shortly propagated by the Eritrean politician ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam in the 1940s), or the full inclusion of T. into Ethiopia, with T. as the spearhead of liberation of all Ethiopians from oppression; a third option aimed first at "the liberation of T. as such", leaving the question of T.'s role within Ethiopia "to the historical process" (Adhana Haile Adhana 1998: 48). Starting from 1989 T. was under full control by the TPLF, with rock-hewn headquarters in ᶜAddi Gäzaᵓti nearby ↗Mälfa. Social, economic and political reforms, including a major land reform (Smidt 2008), were already started in that period and consolidated when the TPLF took over the government officially in 1991.

T. was strongly affected by the Eritrean-Ethiopian war of 1998–2000 (partially caused by unsolved contradictions between local rights and international legal obligations, cp. Smidt in Abdulkader Saleh et al. 1998: 293–321; for cartography cp. Ciampi in PICES 14), but has witnessed an economic revival since then. The process of historization of T.'s role in the radical change of government in Ethiopia in 1991 has just started. There are already serious studies on the origins of the liberation struggle (Gebru Tareke 1991). The internal structures of the early TPLF and the history of its leading figures are still under much discussion, but subject of first studies and accounts (e.g., Solomon Inquai 2007; Haylay Ḥadgu 2009, and cp. its counter-work Asgädä Gäbrä Śəllase Wäldä Mikaᵓel 2009).

Src.: AbbGeogr; Manoel Barradas, *Tractatus Tres Historico Geographici* (*1634*), *a Seventeenth Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by Elizabet Filleul, ed. by Richard Pankhurst, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43); BassHist; Camillo Beccari, *Il Tigrè, descritto da un missionario gesuita del secolo XVII*, Roma 1912; BeckHuntAlvar; BegCron; BTafY; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942 (Collezione scientifica e documentaria dell'Africa italiana 5); Id., "Poemetto lirico tigrai per la battaglia di Addi Cheleto", in: *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, vol. 1, Gießen 1906, 925-39; CRAxum; CRStud; CSA 2005; DAE I–IV; Fesseḥa Giyorgis, *Storia d'Etiopia*, ed., tr. by Yaqob Beyene, Napoli 1987; GebMolIyas; Girma-Selassie Asfaw – Richard Pankhurst, *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia, 1855–1868*, London 1978; GueCopMen; HuntGeogr; HuntLand; KolTrad; LudHist I, iii, §28; Clements Robert Markham, *Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 263; Ruffillo Perini – Gäbrä Nəguś, መረብ፡ መላሽ (*Märäb Mällaš*), Roma – Asmära 1995 [tr. from Ital.: *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàsc`*), Firenze 1905]; PerrZarY, annex; RubActa I–III; field notes of the author, 2004–06; Wanda Wolska-Conus (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès. La Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 1, Paris 1968.

Lit.: Abdulkader Saleh et al. (eds.), *Friedensräume in Eritrea und Tigray unter Druck*, Münster 2008; Adhana Haile Adhana, "Tigray – The Birth of a Nation within the Ethiopian Polity", in: M.A. Mohammed Salih – John Markakis, *Ethnicity and the State in Eastern Africa*, Uppsala 1998, 42–49; Asgädä Gäbrä Śəllase Wäldä Mikaᵓel, ሰበር፡ ጋህዲ (*Säbär gahdi*, 'Breaking Reality'), Mäq̱älä 2009, ms.; Asmelash Woldemariam, *The Effects of Land Reform on Peasant Social Organisation, a Study of Village-Level Dynamics in Central Tigray 1974–1994*, Addis Ababa 2006 (Social Anthropology Dissertation Series 7); David Buxton, "The Rock-Hewn and other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 1–99; BZHist; Richard Caulk, "Bad Men of the Borders: Shum and Shefta in Northern Ethiopia in the Nineteenth Century", *IJAHS* 17, 2, 1984, 201-27; Gabriele Ciampi, "The Ethiopian-Eritrean Border and Its Cartographic Contradictions", in: *PICES* 14, 302–39; Carlo Conti Rossini, "(Note etiopiche 2) Leggende tigray", *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 10, 1897, 143–53; CRStor; CrumLand; CrumMis; EllLusAnt; ErlAlula; Gebru Tareke, *Ethiopia*: *Power & Protest, Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 1991; Eric Godet, "Repertoire de sites pré-axoumites et axoumites du Tigré (Ethiopie)", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 19–58; Haylay Ḥadgu, ጽንዓት (*Ṣənᶜat*, 'Strength'), Dubai 2009; Bent Juel-Jensen – Geoffrey Rowell (eds.), *Rock-Hewn Churches of Eastern Tigray, an Account of the Oxford University Expedition to Ethio-*

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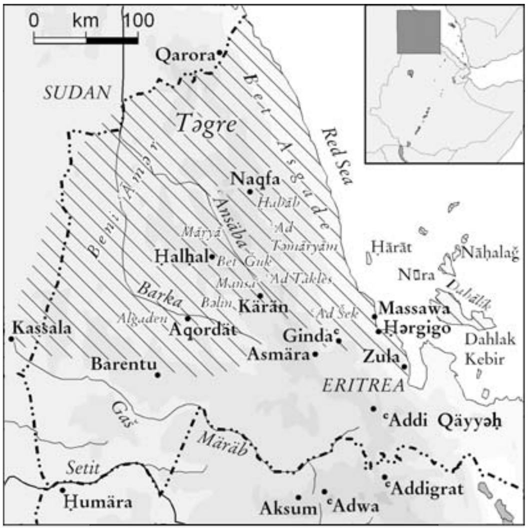
Wolbert Smidt

Təgre

Təgre language



T. is a northern ↗Ethio-Semitic language spoken in ↗Eritrea (provinces Northern Red Sea, ᶜAnsäba, Gaš-Barka, and Dahlak Archipelago) by ca. 800,000 people (1997 Census, s. Gordon 2005:112); there are also some T.-speakers in Sudan. Saleh Mahmud (2005:70) establishes three major dialect groups, consisting of the following dialects: 1) Sāḥəl [or Ḥabāb], Barkā [or Beni ᶜĀmər], Māryā Ṣallām; 2) Mansaᶜ, Bet Ǧuk, Māryā Qayāḥ; 3) Samhar (cf. also Morin 1996). A variety spoken on the Dahlak Kebir island of the Dahlak Archipelago, traditionally considered to be a further T. dialect, is claimed by Simeone-Senelle (2006) to be a separate language (cf. also Saleh Mahmud 2005:73, n. 3; ↗Dahlak islands: Haka na Dahālík). The present survey is based on the Mansaᶜ dialect, described by Raz (1983 etc.).

The language is used in everyday communication as well as in mass media and as a medium of education in primary school (Ethiopic ↗script is employed). Collections of oral literature in T. have been written down and published by Rodén (1913) and Littmann (1910; 1911; 1949). Bible translation into T. was initiated at the end of the 19th cent. by the Swedish Mission in Eritrea; the entire New Testament in T. appeared in 1902. The first original novel in T. was published recently (Maḥammad-ᶜAli Ibrāhim 2007).

Consonantal inventory (consonants in brackets are rarely used): labials (*p*), *b*, (*p̣*), *f*, *m*, *w*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *s*, *z*, *ṣ*, *n*, *r*, *l*; palatals *š*, *ž*, *č*, *ǧ*, *č̣*, *y*; velars *k*, *g*, *q*, (*ḫ*); pharyngeals *ḥ*, ᶜ; glottals *h*, ᵓ. Vowels are: *i*, *u*, *e*, *ə*, *o*, *a*, *ā*. *ə* is defined by Raz (1983:6) as a mid-central vowel. Vowel length is phonemic only for the vowel *a* (however, in the majority of contexts the opposition between the short and long *a* is both quantitative and qualitative: [ä] vs. [ā]). In word-final position, the opposition between *a* and *ā* is neutralized.

Vowel harmony and assimilation of vowels to ejective (*ṭ*, *ṣ*, *č̣*, *q*) and pharyngeal consonants can be observed (cf. Palmer 1956; Raz in PICES 6).

Stress is non-distinctive and depends on the position of the word in the phrase.

Nouns distinguish masculine and feminine genders. For animate nouns, grammatical gender coincides with the biological; for inanimate nouns, gender is morphologically determined: nouns with suffixes *-at*, *-it*, or *-t* are as a rule feminine, other nouns are masculine. There is, however, a certain number of morphologically unmarked feminine nouns (e.g., *gabay* 'road').

Direct object is unmarked; sometimes the preposition *ᵓəgəl* 'to' can be employed as marker of a definite direct object, which is then as a rule copied by a pronominal suffix attached to the verb: *ᵓəgəl la-bāb dabᵓay-u* 'He shut the door' (lit. 'To the-door he shut-it').

Adjectives mark their feminine forms either by suffixes (*-at*, *-it*, *-t*), e.g., *qərč̣āy* 'curly-haired' (masc.) – *qərč̣āyt* (fem.), or by vowel change, e.g., *ḥaddis* 'new' (masc.) – *ḥaddās* (fem.).

Plural number can be expressed by suffixes (mostly by *-āt*, *-otāt*, *-ām*, *-ātāt*), or (so-called "broken plural") by transfixes (a combination of vowels inserted in certain positions), sometimes combined with prefixes or suffixes (*ramšat* 'edge' – pl. *rəmaš*; *raḥəm* 'belly' – pl. *ᵓarḥām*; *qaraf* 'bark', pl. *qararrəf*, *maswad* 'leather bag' – pl. *masāwəd*). There exist correlations between certain singular and plural forms, but generally the choice of the plural morpheme is unpredictable.

Plural of adjectives can also be marked either with suffixes (*-ām* for masc., *-āt* for fem.) or by transfixes (*fadāb* 'brave' – pl. *fadāyəb*).

Indefiniteness is unmarked; definiteness is marked by the article *la*: *garhat* 'a field' – *la-garhat* 'the field'.

Independent personal pronouns are: 1st pers. sg. *ᵓanā*, 2nd pers. sg. masc. *ᵓəntā*, 2nd pers. sg. fem. *ᵓənti*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *hətu*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *hətā*, 1st pers. pl. *ḥənā*, 2nd pers. pl. masc. *ᵓəntum*, 2nd pers. pl. fem. *ᵓəntən*, 3rd pers. pl. masc. *hətom*, 3rd pers. pl. fem. *hətan*. Personal pronouns as objects and possessors are expressed by suffixes attached to verbs and nouns respectively.

Question words are 'who' *man*, 'what' *mi*, 'which' *ᵓayi* (sg. masc.)/*ᵓayā* (sg. fem.)/*ᵓayom* (pl. masc.)/*ᵓayan* (pl. fem.), 'when' *maᵓaze*/*mədol*, 'where' *ᵓət ᵓayā*, 'how' *kaᵓafo*.

Numerals '1' and '2' are inflected for gender, the rest are uninflected. In numerals from 10 to 99, the tens precede the further numeral units and the conjunction *wa-* is inserted between: *salāsā wa-samān* '38'; for the numerals from 11 to 19, *wa-* is optional: *ᶜasər wa-ᵓarbaᶜ*/*ᶜasər ᵓarbaᶜ* '14'. A noun qualified by a numeral is in the singular: *salas*$_1$ *ᵓənās*$_2$ 'three$_1$ men$_2$'.

Verbal stems are divided into morphologically unmarked (*qatla* 'to kill'), and derived stems: type *qattala* (*rabbaba* 'to produce a lot of smoke' < *rabba* 'to smoke slightly'; the majority of verbs of this type are underived), type *qātala* (*qātala* 'to kill many people' < *qatla* 'to kill'), type *qatātala* (*katātaba* 'to rewrite several times' < *katba* 'to write'). These stems can be extended by the prefixes of the causative (*ᵓa-*, *ᵓat-*, *ᵓatta-*), and the passive (*tə-*). A separate verbal class is formed by complex verbs with unchangeable root and conjugated auxiliary verb (*wadā* 'make', *bela* 'say', *ᵓabala* 'make say', *gaᵓa* 'become'), e.g., *qaf wadā* 'shrink'. Verbs are conjugated for person, number, gender. They distinguish between indicative, jussive (*yəqtal*) and imperative (*qətal*) moods; in the indicative mood, past (*qatla*) and non-past (*qattəl*) tenses are distinguished. Analytical verbal forms (employing auxiliaries *hallā*/*ᶜala* 'to be'; *nabra* 'to live') are used to express durative and remote past aspects. A special construction employing the preposition *ᵓəgəl*, the jussive and the copula *tu* is used to express the future: *ᵓəgəl ləblaᶜo tu* 'they will eat'. Negation is expressed by the enclitic *ᵓi-*.

Deverbal nouns are functionally and formally close to Arabic *maṣdar*, being derived with the help of various transfixes, prefixes and suffixes (*bašla* 'to cook, boil' > *bəšlo* 'cooking', *ragṣa* 'to tread' > *mərgāṣ* 'treading'). Participles of the underived stem have the pattern *qātəl* for the active and *qətul* for the passive form.

Word order is Subject-Object-Verb. Sentences are divided into nominal and verbal. In verbal sentences, the predicate is expressed by a verb: *ka*$_1$*-la*$_2$*-ḥayat*$_3$ *ᵓəgəl ṣāləm*$_4$ *nasᵓa*$_5$ 'And$_1$ the$_2$ lion$_3$ took$_5$ Ṣaləm$_4$'. In nominal sentences, two constituents are connected by a copula *tu*, which in the forms of 1st and 2nd pers. coincides with the respective personals pronouns and in 3rd pers. is derived from the corresponding pronouns by omission of *hə-*; the copula takes the final position: *ᵓanā*$_1$ *šeḫ*$_2$ *ᵓanā*$_3$ 'I$_1$ am$_3$ a *šäyḫ*$_2$'; *ᵓəllan*$_1$ *ᶜarbəyāt*$_2$ *qālyāt*$_3$ *tan*$_4$ 'These$_1$ cars$_2$ are$_4$ expensive$_3$'.

The qualifier usually precedes the qualified: *wəqqul*$_1$ *dabər*$_2$ 'a high$_1$ mountain$_2$'; *ṣallām*$_1$ *gimat*$_2$ 'a black$_1$ cloud$_2$'.

Possessivity is expressed by a simple collocation of possessed and possessor: *ǧafar*$_1$ *maḥāz*$_2$ ‘bank$_1$ of a river$_2$’, or by a *nota genitivi nāy*: *la*$_1$-*baᶜat*$_2$ *nāy*$_3$ *ḥayat*$_4$ ‘the$_1$ lion$_4$’s$_3$ cave$_2$’.

The ten-word list is: ‘one’ *woro*(*t*)/*ᵓoro*(*t*) (masc.)/*ḥatte* (fem.), ‘two’ *kəlᵓot* (masc.)/*kəlᵓe* (fem.), ‘three’ *salas*, ‘fire’ *ᵓəsāt*, ‘water’ *māy*, ‘sun’ *ṣaḥāy*, ‘moon’ *warəḥ*, ‘blood’ *dam*, ‘tongue’ *nəssāl*, ‘tooth’ *nibat*.

Src.: Raymond G. Gordon (ed.), *Ethnologue. Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 112; LitPEA vols. 1–4; Enno Littmann, “Tigre-Erzählungen”, *ZDMG* 65, 1911, 697–708; Id., *Abessinische Klagelieder*, Tübingen 1949; Id. – Maria Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache*: *Tigrē-Deutsch-Englisch*, Wiesbaden 1962; Maḥammad-ᶜAli Ibrāhim, *Ǝmanini* (‘Trust me’), Asmära 2007; Karl Gustav Rodén (ed.), *Il nuovo testamento in Tigrè*, Asmara 1902; Id., *Le Tribù dei Mensa*: *Storia, legge e costumi,* A: *Testo originale in Tigrè*, Asmara 1913.

Lit.: Wolf Leslau, “Grammatical Sketches in Tigré (North Ethiopic): Dialect of Mensa”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 65, 1945, 164–203; Id., “The Verb in Tigré (North Ethiopic): Dialect of Mensa”, *ibid.* 65, 1945, 1–26; Enno Littmann, “Bilitterale Verba im Tigre”, in: Erik Gren et al. (eds.), *Donum Natalicium H.S. Nyberg Oblatum 28 mensae dec. 1954*, Uppsala 1954, 94–101; Id., “Die Diminutivbildung im Tigre”, *Annali IUO* 2, 1943, 89–103; Id., “Die Pronomina im Tigre”, *ZA* 12, 1897, 188-230, 291–316; Id., “Das Verbum der Tigresprache”, *ibid.* 13, 1898, 133–78; 14, 1–2, 1899, 1–102; Didier Morin, “Y a-t-il un lexique beni-amer?”, *Israel Oriental Studies* 16, 1996, 251–61; Frank Robert Palmer, “‘Openness’ in Tigre: a Problem in Prosodic Statement”, *BSOAS* 18, 1956, 561–77; Id., *The Morphology of the Tigre Noun*, London 1962 (London Oriental Series 13); Shlomo Raz, “Vowel Quantity in Tigre”, in: *PICES* 6, 455–64; Id., “The Morphology of the Tigre Verb (Mansaʿ Dialect)” I, II, *JSS* 25, 1980, 66–84, 205–38; Id., *Tigre Grammar and Texts*, Malibu 1983 (Afroasiatic Dialects 4); Saleh Mahmud, “Tigre Dialects”, *Journal of Eritrean Studies* 4, no. 1–2, May–December 2005, 45–73; Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle, “Some Characteristics of Dahalik: a Newly Discovered Afro-Semitic Language Spoken in Eritrea”, in: *PICES* 15, 861–69.

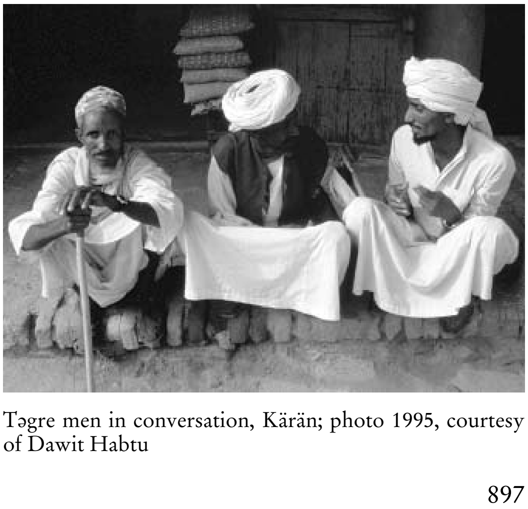
Maria Bulakh

Təgre ethnography

The T. (also Təgray, in the Sudan: Hāsā; in Tgn. Təgrä) are a ↗Təgre-speaking ethnic group in Eritrea, with a minority living in the northern Sudan, living mostly in the wider vicinity of the ↗Red Sea coast, from ↗Zula, ↗Massawa to ↗Qarora and in western Eritrea ↗Aq̠ordät and ↗Täsänäy, up to ↗Kassala in the Sudan (i.e. in the former provinces of ↗Barka, ↗Saḥəl, ↗Sämhar and ↗Sänḥit). The T. are composed of numerous ethnic sub-groups, which were historically quite independent from each other.

As an ethnonym encompassing the whole group, the term “T.” was coined after the language and is quite new, their sub-groups’ identities having been predominant in the past. The term is not to be confused with a former social subgroup of the T., the serf groups, which were known as ↗*təgre*, in contrast to the noble T. groups known as ↗*šəmagälle*. Today, the serf relationships between different T. groups and lineages are abolished. In Sudanese Arabic, the language of the T. is called al-Ḫāṣṣīya, and their self-denomination is Hāsā (already documented in 1864, MunSt 77, as a name for the language of the ↗Beni ᶜAmər, cp. also Heuglin 1868: 96; today, the Təgre-phone Sudanese Beni ᶜAmər call themselves Hāsā, and recently started to use this term to distinguish themselves from Təgre-speakers in Eritrea).

The ethnic structure of the T., as documented since the beginning of proper ethnographical research on them since the mid-19th cent., shows that according to their own traditions and genealogies the T. groups are of diverse origins, of alleged Arabic background, and with Beǧa, Saho and Təgrəñña (↗Akkälä Guzay), and other origins. Among the most important groups are the ↗Mänsaᶜ, ↗Bet Ǧuk, Māryā Qäyāḥ (‘red Marya’, ↗Marya) in northern-central Eritrea (who form one dialect cluster); the ↗Ḥabāb in ↗Sāḥəl, Beni ᶜAmər in ↗Barkā and Māryā Ṣällām (‘black Marya’) in western and northern Eritrea (who form another dialect cluster), and the numerous groups of the coastal region, i.e. ↗Sämhar, also called Mədun (‘[inhabitants of the] cities’, i.e. Massawa and nearby settlements). The latter are to be differentiated from the Dahālík, i.e. the island T. of ↗Dahlak, descendants of groups of T., Arabic and ᶜAfar origin and linguistically quite distinct (first mention Dapper 1652: 662f.). In addition, there are several smaller groups such as



Təgre men in conversation, Kärän; photo 1995, courtesy of Dawit Habtu the ↗Algäden and ↗Säbdärat near the Sudanese border in south-western Eritrea, originally possibly completely separate groups.

The T. are mostly semi-nomadic pastoralists today. The Beni ᶜAmər are almost exclusively pastoralists, focusing on camels, long-horned cattle, sheep, goats and chickens, living almost entirely on their milk and meat, supplemented by sorghum (Shack 1974:75, 77). They follow an annual movement for grazing land and water, in the dry seasons moving to the pastures of the Gaš, Setit and Barka rivers. The Mänsaᶜ, once also exclusively pastoralists, practise a mixed economy of pastoralism and agriculture, living from the meat and milk of their livestock and bread. Also beer is produced by them. Milking and the consumption of milk are subject to cultural norms among many T. groups. Members of the leading groups, the *šəmagälle* (*nabtab* among the Beni ᶜAmər), do not milk their cattle, and also women are prohibited from herding and milking (Shack 1974:77). Belief in the power of natural ↗spirits is wide-spread among T. (for a detailed account s. Mikael Hasama Raka 1984). Among agriculturalist T. groups, sorghum is roasted and scattered over fields as a sacrifice by women if rain is scanty and harvest expected to be slight; men sacrifice a bull and bring it to the church or *šayḫ* (Shack 1974:78).

The history of T. groups shows that their interconnections, both politically and culturally, among each other was occasionally strong, but on the other hand did not reduce the political autonomy of most T. groups. For example the Beni ᶜAmər formed a tribal federation during the ↗Sinnār period in the 16th cent. (Shack 1974:71), which also included other T. groups; the ↗Bälaw under their ↗*nāʾib* leaders established their domination over large T. areas between the coast and the lowlands of today's south-western Eritrea (up to ↗Mäzäga). The Islamizastion of the T. seems to have started only around that period and stayed largely nominal. In the early 19th cent., it was strongly furthered by the preachings of the ↗ᶜAd Šayḫ and the Mīrġanīya brotherhood (later with headquarters in Kassala and Kärän, ↗Islamic brotherhoods), including the leading Christian *šəmagälle* class. This was linked with rising trade connections to the Muslim ports of ↗Sawākin and Massawa and loosening contacts to the Christian highlands (due to the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*). Only a few lineages stayed Christian, mainly Mänsaᶜ (e.g., in ↗Gäläb, s. EAE vol. 5). In the 19th cent., following Egyptian expansion, the Beni ᶜAmər *diglal* ('leader') extended his rule over several neighbouring T. groups, such as the Marya, until weakened under the ↗Mahdists (and then Italian and British colonialism) by internal divisions.

The history of the T. is only partially documented and researched. The most important documents on the T. view on their history are the oral traditions in LitPEA and the ↗Sundström papers, oral traditions of diverse T. groups on their history documented around 1900 (of which only the tradition of the ᶜAd Šek has been published so far, Höfner 1961; the others are kept in the ↗Littmann-Nachlass at the Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien). First mentions in sources produced by travellers and other observers which refer to the T. show a high degree of autonomy of the coastal T. at least. ↗Niebuhr mentions that in his time the coastal regions did not recognize the authority of the Ethiopian ruler anymore; maps produced according to ↗Bruce's report note shortly later that the coast was independent (even if cartographers generally showed a separate political entity called "Coast of Abex" or "Habesch" or similar at the coast, i.e. the Ottoman coastal province ↗Habeš *eyaleti*, whose suzerainty over the coast was only nominal, however, already starting from the 17th cent.; cp. ↗Ottoman Empire).

Ethnonyms and origins

Ethnographic research undertaken in the 19th cent. by the Orientalist ↗Munzinger shows that the T. groups – in publications of that time mostly called "the ↗Gəᶜəz peoples" – did not know a denomination common for all Təgre-speakers, but employed different terms for both the leading groups and their serfs (the *təgre*), and for the diverse autonomous sub-groups. Those T. who claimed leadership and "pure descent" then called themselves ↗Agᶜazi (as documented by Munzinger, MunSt; Bulakh in WenDAE I), i.e. exactly the denomination of the ancient ruling group *ygᶜḏyn* known from Pre-Aksumite ↗inscriptions (supposedly then settling in Akkälä Guzay and ↗ᶜAgame; an ancient relation between the T. and the ↗Təgrəñña-speakers of this region who claim "Agᶜaziyan" origin therefore seems probable). The late 2nd cent./3rd cent. Greek ↗*Monumentum Adulitanum* (*Adulitana II*, RIÉ no. 277), recorded by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes, mentions the Γάζη ἔθνος. This should mean Gəᶜəz-speaking people, who may be the direct ancestors of the T. (cp., however, the Scholion in the 11th cent. Sinaiticus and Laurentianus manuscripts of Cosmas: Γάζην λέγει τοὺς ʾΑξωμίτας. ἄχρι γ[ὰρ καὶ] τοῦ νῦν ʾΑγάζη αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζουσι, 'Gázē are the Aksumites, and until these days they call themselves Agazē'; cp. HuntGeogr 43; RIÉ no. 380 [with errors]).

Another ancient term which is occasionally identified with the T. are the 10th cent. Tigretês (HuntGeogr 43), meaning the tribes "near ↗Adulis", mentioned in a gloss to the text of Cosmas, and identified either with ↗Təgray (and consequently with the Təgrəñña-speakers), or with the T. They are to be differentiated from the "Gázē" people. It is not excluded that the Tigretês were one of the groups out of which the T. were formed later, as the T. are composed of groups of diverse origins. Until today there is no sufficient explanation of the connection between the terms T. and Təgray, even if both are etymologically identical. It is possible, that the Tigretês settled in different areas between ↗Aksum (the centre of today's Təgray) and Adulis and later split into two different groups.

Another early mention of an ancient group which might be related to the later T. could be the Ḫasa, submitted by ↗^{c}Ezana together with the "Barya" (i.e. ↗Nara; RIÉ no. 189: 9); these could mean people living in the area of today's north-western Eritrea and northern Sudan, which corresponds to the main area dominated by T. groups today, and are most probably identical with the Ḫāsu mentioned by ↗Ibn Ḥawqal (an etymological connection to today's ethnonym Ḫāṣṣīya is possible; to be excluded is a connection to Kasu, RIÉ no. 189: 4, listed as part of ↗^{c}Ezana's titulature, i.e. ↗Kush, meaning the then defunct Sudanese kingdom of ↗Meroe; a connection to ↗Hazo, as suggested recently in EAE 3, 1078, is doubtful for linguistic reasons, and as that clan name is recent). All these groups were unified under Aksumite rule, which easily explains their common language. As a hypothesis it could be suggested that Ag^{c}azi groups at the coastlands gradually submitted several local tribes, such as the Tigretês, and possibly the Ḫasa and several others; this could explain why the serfs were called *təgre*, and their language too. It is also possible, that the transformation of an ethnic term T. into a socio-political term happened much later, e.g. in the Sinnār period, when many T. groups were becoming serfs (*təgre*) of the dominating Beni ^{c}Amər and Balaw groups.

Src.: DANIEL TECLEMARIAM et al., *Eritrea Dialect Survey: December 1996–May 1997: Report*, Asmara 1997; ANTHONY D'AVRAY (ed.), *The Naqfa Documents*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 53); CIH 541; MARIA HÖFNER, "Überlieferungen bei Tigrē-Stämmen (I), ^{c}Ad Šēk", *AE* 4, 1961, 181–203; HuntGeogr 42ff.; LitPEA vols. 1–4; ENNO LITTMANN, "Tigre-Erzählungen", *ZDMG* 65, 1911, 697–708; ID., *Abessinische Klagelieder*, Tübingen 1949; MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, ERITREA, *Standardization, Eritrean Languages and Their Dialects*, Asmara n.d, 65f.; RIÉ nos. 189, 277, 380; KARL GUSTAV RODÉN, *Le Tribù dei Mensa*: *Storia, legge e costumi*, A: *Testo originale in Tigrè*, Asmara 1913; GIUSEPPE SAPETO, *Viaggio ai Mensa, ai Bogos e agli Habab*, Milano 1857; RICHARD SUNDSTRÖM, *The History of the Mensa People* [in English and Təgre], Asmära 1913 (2nd ed. 1923).

Lit.: HEINZGERD BRAKMANN, *ΤΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙϹ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΙϹ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΘΕΙΟΝ. Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum*, Bonn 1994, 9; MARIA BULAKH, "Die Tigre", in: *WenDAE* I, 73–76; OLFERT DAPPER, *Umbständliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa …*, Amsterdam 1652, 662f.; ḪAYLU TÄSFAY, **የከረን፡ አውራጃ፡ አጭር፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäkärän awrağğa aččər tarik*, 'A Short History of Kärän Sub-Province'), Asmära 1980; THEODOR VON HEUGLIN, *Reise nach Abessinien, den Gala-Ländern, Ost-Sudán und Chartúm in den Jahren 1861 und 1862*, Jena 1868, 96; ID., *Reise in Nordost-Afrika*: *Schilderungen aus dem Gebiete der Beni Amer und Habab …*, 2 vols., Braunschweig 1877; MANFRED KROPP, "Abreha's Names and Titles", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 21, 1991, 135–44; STEPHEN HELMSLEY LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea*, London 1945, 86f., 136, 156, s. index; MIKAEL HASAMA RAKA, *Future Life and Occult Beings*, New York 1984; JONATHAN MIRAN, "A Historical Overview of Islam in Eritrea", *Die Welt des Islams* 45, 2, 2005, 177–215; ID., *Red Sea Citizens, Cosmopolitan Society and Cultural Change in Massawa*, Bloomington, IN – Indianapolis, IN 2009; DIDIER MORIN, "Y a-t-il un lexique beni-amer?", *Israel Oriental Studies* 16, 1996, 251–61; ID., "Territoriality in a linguistic perspective", paper presented at the Workshop History and Language of the Tigre-Speaking Peoples, Naples, February 2008; MunSt 77; WERNER MUNZINGER, "Briefe vom Rothen Meere", *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, Neue Folge 1, 1856, 289–305; NadEr 42f.; DANTE ODORIZZI, *Il Commissariato Regionale di Massaua al 1° Gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911; PollEr 204–10; DENIS DE RIVOYRE, *Aux pays du Soudan. Bogos, Mensah, Souakim*, Paris 1885; WILLIAM SHACK, *North-Eastern Africa*, part IV: *The Central Ethiopians, Amhara, Tigriña and Related Peoples*, London 1974, 67, 72, 77, 79, 83, 91 (Lit.); TrIslam, index.

Wolbert Smidt

Təgre

The sociopolitical term T. (**ትግሬ**, also *təgray*, pl. *tägärrit*, *tägari*; in Bilin also *məḵiruḵ*^{w}) designated serf groups among the ↗Təgre-speakers, including ↗Beni ^{c}Amər and the sociopolitically related group ↗Bilin (cp. MunSt 235). The T. were subordinated to aristocratic lineages called ↗*šəmagällä* (in the case of Beni ^{c}Amər called *nabtab*, in Bilin *səmgär*). Originally, the term T. was applied primarily in its sociopolitical sense and, in addition, also designated the ↗Təgre language. In the course of the 20th cent. ethnic unification of the Təgre-speaking groups of Eritrea, it also became used as a common ethnonym.

Its etymological origin is disputed. Allegedly there is a relation with Gəᶜəz *gärärä* ('he submitted'; Littmann – Höfner 1962: 573), from which *tägärärä* ('he was submitted') could be formed; however, the reduction to *tägari*/T. (i.e., 'the submitted'?) is not easily explainable. A genealogical relation with a homonymic ancient group at the fringes of the Aksumite kingdom (for the *Tigretai* s. the entry on the Təgre as an ethnic group), part of whom were submitted at some time in history (after the decline of Aksum?), should therefore be a better explanation. "Vassalage" means *təgrəyot*, "to be vassal" *tägra* (or *tətägra*; Littmann – Höfner 1962: 321, or *gärrä*, ibid. 573).

Their obligations included the duty to serve and pay tributes to (mostly Christian) *šəmagällä* lineages and groups. They had, however, the possibility to change their service to another lineage (Shack 1974:79). The "impure" work of milking cows or camels was reserved for T. (ibid. 77). Under ↗Sinnār rule and due to close contact with ↗Massawa and Muslim Beǧa of the northern Sudan, and a partial submission by ↗Balaw, most T. converted to Islam starting from perhaps the 16th/17th cent. This was later furthered by religious lineages such as the ↗ᶜAd Šayẖ. By the early 19th cent., the T. had converted to Islam, followed later by most *šəmagällä*.

In traditional discourse the *šəmagällä* were often seen as the "original owners" (i.e. original settlers) of their country, which justified their aristocratic rule. The situation is, however, far more complex. Among the Bilin, for example, the T. seem to be remnants of an older population submitted by migrating Agäw Bilin groups. Sometimes "indigenous" lineages of Təgre-speakers also lost their status when breaking basic rules (e.g., in war, or by criminal acts, debts, adultery, or even milking cows), followed by a collective downgrading to T. Many T. are descendants of Balaw, who were the ancient rulers and later lost power.

The serf system was subject to considerable debate starting from the end of Italian colonialism. The emancipation movement led by the independence-fighter ↗Ibrāhīm Sulṭān led to a considerable reduction of serf obligations under British administration in 1947–49. During the struggle for Eritrean independence the serf system was finally abolished between the 1960s and 1970s.

Src.: KilHDic 379, 400f.; LitPEA I; ENNO LITTMANN, "Tigre-Erzählungen", *ZDMG* 65, 1911, 697–708; ID. – MARIA HÖFNER, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1962, 321, 573; KARL GUSTAV RODÉN, *Le Tribù dei Mensa*: *Storia, legge e costumi,* A: *Testo originale in Tigré*, Asmara 1913.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916; MunSt 203, 232–39; NadEr 100; WILLIAM SHACK, *North-Eastern Africa,* part IV: *The Central Ethiopians, Amhara, Tigriña and Related Peoples*, London 1974, 67, 72, 77, 79, 83, 91 (Lit.).

Wolbert Smidt

Təgre mäkʷännən

T.m. (**ትግሬ፡ መኰንን**, also *təgray mäkʷännən*, *mäkʷännənä təgray*, *təgre mäkʷänn*[*ə*/*i*], lit. 'the judge of Təgray') was the title of an important provincial governor in the Ethiopian empire. The time of the establishment of this office is not known; the first T.m. referred to in the sources seems to be ↗Akḥadom, a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, who also appears elsewhere as *šum* ↗*ᶜagamä* (Bausi 2003, chs. 231, 247, 249; s. also Fiaccadori in preparation).

In the 15th cent., the T.m. was one of the most important officials of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob: during his ↗coronation, the T.m. together with the ↗*nəburä əd* stood at the entrance of the ↗Aksum Ṣəyon cathedral compound and prevented Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob from coming inside, waving with branches of the olive tree in keeping with "the old ritual" (but cp. DillmZarY 18, 75); to this point the Chronicle states that this was the reason why T.m. was also called (or was given the title?) **ዐቃቤ፡ ጽንጽንያ** (*ᶜaqqabe ṣənṣənya*, lit. 'the keeper of the fly wisks', PerrZarY 49f.; cp. ↗*ᶜaqaṣen*). The T.m. acted as governor under *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam (ibid. 145), and was sent to prepare also his coronation (which was postponed because of ↗Ladaᶜ Uṯmān, ibid. 149f.).

At least by the late 14th–early 15th cent., the northern part of Ethiopia adjacent to the ↗Red Sea was divided between two governors: the ↗*baḥər nägaš* for the coastal – relatively small – areas (with the seat in ↗Dəbarwa) and the T.m. for the inland territories (the largest part of today's Təgray) up to ↗Angot in the south. The border between the realms was usually the ↗Märäb River. Under *aṣe* Bäᵓədä Maryam, Ḥayya was "the country [the residence?] of T.m." (PerrZarY 142); later the seat of T.m. appears to be the area of ↗Ḥawzen (as recorded by de ↗Almeida, s. BeckHuntAlm xcviff.; BecRASO V, map), though the T.m. might have had also other residences (↗Wəqro/↗Dängolo, BeckHuntAlvar 176f.). By 1520 the T.m. exercized authority over as far as the lowland ↗Dobaʾa country (BeckHuntAlvar 187ff.).

The names of T.m. during the reign of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob are not mentioned in the royal chronicles, but some can be known from other documents. At least one of them, probably the one who acted at Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's coronation, might have been Akkälom, who had good relations to some of the ↗Stephanites monks (Nosnitsin in preparation). On the contrary, subsequent T.m. were distinguished by their zeal in prosecuting them: Gäbrä Ǝndrəyas, a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər and Zärʾa Śännay in the early years of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (Beylot 1984:27f.; 1991:7, 10).

For *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl's time, besides Zärʾa Śännay we know of T.m. ʿAmr Qälṣäḥay (CRAxum 30, no. 28); he or another T.m. was deposed and banned and died in ca. 1524, and *balgäda* ↗Robel was appointed T.m. (cp. also BeckHuntAlvar 433f.). By 1531 Täklä Iyäsus was appointed T.m. (CRAxum 37f., nos. 41–42; 40, no. 44; cp. also BassHist I, 103). Degäna was T.m. under *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos (CRAxum 43, no. 51); Zärʾa Yoḥannəs under *aṣe* Minas (ibid. 43, no. 52). From the long reign of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl, ↗Däragot is known as T.m. (ibid. 45f., nos. 56, 57), who for a while had also the title of ↗*baḥər nägaš* (CRHist 128 [text]), before and during Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl's 1588 campaign against the Turks. Besides, before Däragot, Gäbrä Iyäsus "of Tämben" is attested as T.m. (ibid. 66); after Däragot, the same Gäbrä Iyäsus appears as T.m. while ʿAqʷəbä Mikaʾel was *baḥər nägaš* (after the campaign; ibid. 134; for *šum* Täklä Giyorgis, cp. ibid. 100 [text]).

Differently from the governors of some other regions, the T.m. were appointed by the emperors personally, preferably not from the local ruling families but rather from among the court high-ranking officers (cp. Barradas 1996:2f.). The authority of the T.m. was considerable, since formally he had the upper position among the other 'governors of Təgray' (**ሥዩማነ/ሠየምተ፡ ትግሬ**, *śəyyumanä/śäyyämtä Təgre*), representing the royal power itself. According to the Chronicle, *däğğazmač* Däragot was authorized by Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl "to appoint and remove from the offices of Təgray according to his wish" (CRHist 128 [text]). However, it is not quite clear if the T.m. always had such high prerogatives. By the middle of the 17th cent. the "regnum Tigre" consisted of more than 25 diverse districts ("praefecturae Tigrenses", LudHist lib. I, cap. 3, §27; somewhat differently in Barradas 1996:4), some of them with their own ruling families and well-established links to the royal court. In these conditions and in view of the absence of the administrative institutions, the task of the T.m. ("the Viceroy of Tygrê", ibid.) was difficult and he himself was much dependent on the support of the emperor (it is not clear if "*däğğazmač* of Təgre" was in fact a T.m. temporarily stripped of some of his power, s. Varenberg 1915–16:24).

After the defeat of *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq the realm of *baḥər nägaš* was merged several times with and separated from that of the T.m. Formally, the latter was frequently in charge of the strategic access to the ↗Red Sea, but the execution of the office became more complex due to its instability, the heterogeneity of the realm and – under the situation of the 17th–18th cent. – increasing difficulty of balancing between the local and royal powers. These were probably the reasons of the frequent reshuffles of T.m. and of the fact that no T.m. was able to build up a strong position of his own.

After Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl's death, ↗Kəflä Waḥəd held for some time both the title of T.m and of *baḥər nägaš*. Under *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, *ras* ↗Śəʿəlä Krəstos took them over in ca. 1608, but he gave up the office during the popular resistance in ca. 1609, and Amsalä Krəstos was appointed instead. ↗Yolyos was appointed for both offices in ca. 1613 (PerChron I, 114, 129, 142, resp.). *Däğğazmač* ↗Täklä Giyorgis was appointed T.m. by 1619 (ibid. 211; ↗Dəlbä Iyäsus being *baḥər nägaš*). Having assumed the title of *baḥər nägaš*, he rebelled but was defeated and substituted by Qäbʾa Krəstos (ibid. 294f.; Qäbʾa Krəstos had already briefly held the office, ibid. 266). In 1629 the office was given to Aṣmä Giyorgis.

Aṣe Iyasu I cancelled the privileges of Šire (traditionally exempted from the power of T.m.) and transferred the region under T.m. ↗Fares, who could appoint his officer there and became the most powerful governor of the Empire with "44 ↗*nägarit*s", after the number of districts of his province (GuiIohan 165 [text]; BegCron 65). He was confirmed in this office in 1702, but he opposed Iyasu's subsequent decision to send him to Təgray. Though the title of T.m. was confirmed as the fourth after the ↗*nəguś*, in the "precedence order" under Iyasu II and ↗Bäkaffa, by the beginning of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* the real authority of the T.m. was diminishing, and his realm disintegrating giving way to the protracted struggles of the local dynasties. The title became purely honorific and was born by smaller rulers as heritage (still in the 20th cent., e.g., by the governor of ↗Gulo Mäḵäda, GueCopMen 324, n. 1; cp. CRHist 190f. [tr.]).

Src.: MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634). A SeventeenthCentury Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABET FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 2ff.; BassHist I, 45 (text) = II, 103 (tr.); ALESSANDRO BAUSI, *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]), chs. 231, 247, 249; Beck HuntAlm xcviff.; BeckHuntAlvar 138 and n. 2, 176f., 179, 187ff., 197, 256, 395, 428ff., 433f., 559, s. index; BecRASO V, map; BegCron 65; CRAxum; CRHist 66, 100, 128, 134 (text) = 76, 113, 145, 152 (tr.); 190f. (tr.); DillmZarY 18, 75; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Un nuovo testimone etiopico dei Vangeli a 'ciclo breve' (con note di Akḥadom e Sabāgādis)", in preparation; GueCopMen 324, n. 1; GuiIohann 159, 165 (text) = 166, 173 (tr.); LudHist lib. I, cap. 3, §§ 26–27; lib. II, cap. 17, § 7; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "Records from Ethiopia II: Asir Mätira, Wubəǧǧəg Giyorgis, Bərkʷamit Maryam", *Scrinium*, in preparation; PerChron I, 114, 129, 211, 266, 294f. (text), II, 89, 100, 163, 205, 227 (tr.); SIEGBERT UHLIG – GERNOT BÜHRING, *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 39), 177 (Lit.); JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šerʿata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 24 (text), 41 (tr.).

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, "Sur quelques hétérodoxes éthiopiens. Estifanos, Abakerazun, Gabra Masih, Ezra", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 201, 1, 1984, 25–36; ID., "Les Actes de Gabra Masiḥ I (ca 1419–1522), troisième chef du mouvement Stéphanite", *RSE* 35, 1991 [1994], 5–11; SEVIR ČERNETSOV, *Efiopskie hroniki XVI–XVII vekov* ('Ethiopian Chronicles of the 16th–17th centuries'), Moscow 1984, 331 n. 2, s. index; ID., *Efiopskaja feodal'naja monarhija v XVII veke* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th Century'), Moscow 1990, s. index; FRANZ AMADEUS DOMBROWSKI, *Ethiopia's Access to the Sea*, Leiden – Köln 1985, 24f.; HuntGeogr 96ff., 114f., 119f.

Denis Nosnitsin

Təgrəñña

Təgrəñña language

T. (**ትግርኛ**) is the working and school language in ↗Eritrea (ca. 2,400,000 native speakers) and in the ↗Təgray region, Ethiopia (ca. 4,300,000 native speakers). It belongs to the ↗Ethio-Semitic language group, its nearest relatives being ↗Təgre and ↗Gəʿəz.

T. employs Ethiopic ↗script with additional symbols for sounds absent in Gəʿəz and Amharic.

T. is widely used as a language of mass media; a rich literature in T. has developed since the 19th cent.

The first linguistic description of T., based on analysis of written texts, was published by ↗Praetorius (1871). To date, the best grammatical descriptions are those by ↗Leslau (1941) and – for syntax – Voigt (1977). There are also grammars of T. written in T., such as Matewos Ḥagos (1951–53). Several dictionaries have appeared recently; the most extensive are the two monolingual dictionaries (Täkkəʾä Täsfay 1999; Kidanä-Maryam Zärʾəzgi 2008) and a bilingual one (KaneTDic).

Within the present entry, the morpheme junctures are marked as follows: "≡" marks the strongest juncture between obligatory prefixes and suffixes and the kernel morpheme, as in *yə≡säḇr≡u* 'they (masc.pl.) break', "=" marks the juncture for (facultative) object and possessive suffixes: *ʾamṣiʾ≡u=kka* 'he has brought you (masc.sg.)', "-" denotes the weak juncture which connects the proclitic and enclitic elements to the more central morphemes, as enclitic *-ḵä* in *nəss=əḵa-ḵä* 'what about you (masc.sg.)'.

Phonology

The consonantal phonemes are as follows (marginal phonemes are given in square brackets):

labial	*f*	(*v*)	(*p*)	*p̣*	*b*	*m*	*w*		
dental			*t*	*ṭ*	*d*	*n*			
alveolar	*s*	*z*		*ṣ*				*l*	*r*
palatal	*š*	(*ž*)	*č*	*č̣*	*ǧ*	*ñ*	*y*		
velar			*k*	*q*	*g*				
labiovelar			*kʷ*	*qʷ*	*gʷ*				
pharyngeal			*ḥ*		ʿ				
glottal			*h*	ʾ					

The vocalic system of T. consists of seven vowels (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ä* and *ə*). The syllable structure is CVC (where C = consonant, V = vowel), both initial and final consonantal clusters being avoided.

Synchronic phonetic alternations include spirantization of *b*, *k*, *kʷ*, *q* and *qʷ* (into *ḇ*, *ḵ*, *ḵʷ*, *q̱* and *q̱ʷ*, resp.), when postvocalic and not lengthened (with marked regional differences).

Indeterminacy and articulatory weakness are a peculiarity of centralized vowels in open syllables before "laryngeals" (*h*, *ḥ*, ʾ, ʿ). This leads to a vocalic fluctuation *ə* ~ *ä* ~ *a*, e.g. *yə≡ssəḥab≡*/*yə≡ssäḥab≡*/*yə≡ssaḥab≡* 'he is dragged', or even to elision of the vowel: *gäza=ʾu*/*gäzə=ʾu*/*gäz=ʾu* 'his house'.

Morphology

Pronouns

The possessive pronouns are expressed through the following suffixes:

	sg.	pl.
3rd pers. masc.	= *u*	= *om*
fem.	= *a*	= *än*
2nd pers. masc.	= *ka*	= *kum*
fem.	= *ki*	= *kən*
1st pers.	= *äy*	= *na*

The possessive suffixes are added to the nominal base (*kälb=u* 'his dog', *kälb=äy* 'my dog'). The phonetic processes on the morpheme boundary include insertion of epenthetic *ə* between two consonants (*kälb=ənä* 'our dog'), spirantization of *k* in intervocalic position (*kälb=əḵa* 'your [sg.masc.] dog'), insertion of glottal stop between two vowels (*gäza* 'house' – *gäza=ʾu/gäz(ə)=ʾu* 'his house').

The personal pronouns, with the exception of the 1st pers., are derived from a base *nəss=* (dialectal *näss=*; usually traced back to *nəfs/näfs* 'soul') to which the possessive suffixes are added (in pl. usually expanded with *=at≡*, and in the 2nd pers. with =(*ə*)*ḵ* = as well):

	sg.	**honorific**	**pl.**
3masc.	*nəss=u*	*nəss=om*	*nəss=(at)om*
fem.	*nəss=a*	*nəss=än*	*nəss=(at)än*
2masc.	*nəss=əḵa*	*nəss=əḵum*	*nəss=(əḵat)kum*
fem.	*nəss=əḵi*	*nəss=əḵən*	*nəss=(əḵat)kən*
1pers.	*ʾanä*		*nəḥna*

The old base of 2nd pers. Semitic pronouns **ʾant-* is preserved in forms of address 'oh you': *ʾan≡ta/ʾat≡ta* (masc. sg.), *ʾan≡ti/ʾat≡ti* (fem. sg.), etc.

The pronominal objects are expressed through suffixes (identical to those of possessive pronouns, except for 3rd pers. masc. sg. *-o*) attached to the verbal form. Certain changes occur on the morpheme boundary, such as gemination of the preceding consonant in imperfect and in perfect 3rd pers. fem. sg.: *gəḇärr⁼=o* 'do (masc. sg.) it!', *qätälätt=o* 'she killed him' vs. *qätäl=o* 'he killed him'.

Demonstrative pronouns of proximity ('this') and of distance ('that') are based on (*ʾə*)*z=* and (*ʾə*)*t=* resp., to which the suffixes of the 3rd pers. are added: masc. sg. (*ʾə*)*z=u*, (*ʾə*)*t=u*, masc. pl. (*ʾə*)*z=om*, (*ʾə*)*t=om*, etc. The base (*ʾə*)*zi*, (*ʾə*)*ti* is also widely used, with zero suffixes in the singular and with respective personal suffixes (sometimes expanded with *-at-*) in the plural, e.g. masc. pl. (*ʾə*)*zi=ʾ(at)om*. The demonstratives are placed either before the substantive or before and after it. The forms without initial (*ʾə*) appear in postvocalic position, e.g. *ʾəz=om qʷälʿu-ziʾ=om* 'these children'.

The relative pronoun *zə=* is used with the perfect (e.g. *zə=mäṣʾ≡ä* 'who came') and imperfect. In the imperfect it causes lengthening of *n* and *t* of the personal prefix (in this position, *z-* can be dropped: *zət=tə≡gäḇr=o/ʾət=tə≡gäḇr=o* 'which you (masc. sg.) make'. The imperfect prefixes *ʾə≡* (1st pers. sg.) and *yə≡* (3rd pers. masc.sg./3rd pers. pl.) are omitted after the relative pronoun: *zə=⁼säḇr⁼=o* 'which I/he break(s)'. Orthographically the two forms are occasionally distinguished: *zə=* vs. *zi=* resp.

Nominals

Nominal bases ending in two consonants attach an epenthetic *≡i* in word-final position (*kälb≡i* 'dog', presuffixal form *kälb=*).

Plural is marked either by suffixes, or by internal alternation and insertion of vowels, often in combination with prefixes and/or suffixes (so-called "broken plurals"). The most widely used suffix is *-at* (with allomorph *-tat* after vowels): *səraḥ* 'work', pl. *səraḥ-at*, *säwra* 'revolution', pl. *säwra-tat*. The epenthetic *≡i* is either elided before the ending *=at*, or is reduced to *ə*: *ʿadd≡i* 'home(town)', pl. *ʿadd=at*, *ʿaddə=tat*. Broken plurals are very common and show manifold formation patterns, e.g. *bərḵi* 'knee', pl. *ʾabraḵ*; *bäq̱l≡i* 'mule', pl. *ʾaḇq̱əlt≡i*, *ʾaḇaq̱əl*, *ʾaḇaq̱əlt≡i*; *mänbär* 'chair', pl. *mänaḇər*, *mänaḇərat*.

The function of the definite article is fulfilled by the demonstrative *ʾət≡u* (inflected for number and gender): *ʾət≡a lam* 'the cow'. Indefinite nouns are unmarked, or the numeral *ḥadä* 'one' is sometimes used to express indefiniteness: *ḥadä mäṣḥaf* 'a book'. The definite direct object can be marked with preposition *nə-* 'to'.

The category of gender distinguishes between masc. and fem., which are expressed mostly through agreement with modifiers and verbs. On adjectives, feminine gender is marked by *≡t* or by vowel changes. On nouns, it is overtly expressed mostly on adjectives and participles. The common paradigms are: a) (passive participle) *kəfut* 'open(ed)', fem. *kəfət=t≡i*, pl. *kəfut=at*; b) (active participle) *gäḇari* 'active, working; worker', fem. *gäḇari=t*, pl. *gäḇar=o*, *gäḇärt≡i*; c) *käbbid* 'heavy', fem. *käbbad*, pl. *käbbädt≡i*.

Verbs

A verbal root consists normally of three or four radical consonants (biradical roots are very rare). Verbs are inflected for tense/aspect/mood (perfect, perf.; imperfect, impf.; converb, conv.; jussive, juss.; imperative, imv.) and for person/gender/number. The forms morphologically marked as converbs can also function as the head of the sentence, expressing resultative.

The system of verbal derivation is traditionally described in terms of verbal stems. Three basic stems are simple stem 0_1 (*gäḇär≡ä* 'he made'), geminate stem 0_2 (*gäbbär≡ä* 'he paid tribute'), and lengthened stem 0_3 (*baräḵ≡ä* 'he blessed').

Membership of the basic stems is almost always lexically determined. Further stems may be derived through prefixes – causative *ʾa≡* (A), reflexive/passive *tä≡* (T), causative-reciprocal *ʾa≡* (At) – and reduplication (frequentative R: 0_R *säḇaḇär≡ä* ‘he broke some things’ < 0_1 *säḇär≡ä* ‘he broke’). The base of the verb usually remains intact with further derivations: 0_2 *bäddälä* ‘to wrong’ > A_2 *ʾa≡bäddälä* ‘to cause to wrong’, T_2 *tä≡bäddälä* ‘to be offended, wronged’, etc.

The table below shows the conjugation of the most frequent 0-, A- and T-stems (for each of three basic stems). All forms are in 3rd pers. masc. sg., the impf. in the 3rd pers. masc. pl. as well:

	0_1	0_2	0_3
perf.	*gäḇär≡ä*	*gäbbär≡ä*	*baräḵ≡ä*
impf.	*yə≡gäbbər*$^{≡}$	*yə≡gəbbər*$^{≡}$	*yə≡ḇarəḵ*$^{≡}$
impf.3pl.	*yə≡gäḇr≡u*	*yə≡gəbbər≡u*	*yə≡ḇarəḵ≡u*
juss.	*yə≡gbär*$^{≡}$	*yə≡gäbbər*$^{≡}$	= impf.
conv.	*gäḇir≡u*	*gäbbir≡u*	*bariḵ≡u*
imv.	*gəbär*$^{≡}$	*gäbbər*$^{≡}$	*barəḵ*$^{≡}$
	T_1	T_2	T_3
perf.	*tägäḇr≡ä*	*tägäbbär≡ä*	*täḇaräḵ≡ä*
impf.	*yə≡gəbbär*$^{≡}$	*yə≡gəbbär*$^{≡}$	*yə≡bbaräḵ*$^{≡}$
impf.3pl.	*yə≡gəbbär≡u*	*yə≡gəbbär≡u*	*yə≡bbaräḵ≡u*
juss.	*yə≡ggäḇär*$^{≡}$	*yə≡ggäbbär*$^{≡}$	= impf.
conv.	*tägäḇir≡u*	*tägäbbir≡ä*	*täḇariḵ≡u*
imv.	*tägäḇär*$^{≡}$	*tägäbbär*$^{≡}$	*täḇaräḵ*$^{≡}$
	A_1	A_2	A_3
perf.	*ʾagbär≡ä*	*ʾagäbbär≡ä*	*ʾaḇaräḵ≡ä*
impf.	*y≡ägəbbər*$^{≡}$	*y≡ägäbbər*$^{≡}$	*y≡äḇarəḵ*$^{≡}$
impf.3pl.	*y≡ägbər≡u*	*y≡ägäbbər≡u*	*y≡äḇarəḵ≡u*
juss.	*y≡ägbər*$^{≡}$	= impf.	= impf.
conv.	*ʾagbir≡u*	*ʾagäbbir≡u*	*ʾaḇariḵ≡ä*
imv.	*ʾagbər*$^{≡}$	*ʾagäbbər*$^{≡}$	*ʾaḇarəḵ*$^{≡}$

Special forms of converb for the verbs 0_1 *gäḇärä* and T_1 *tägäḇärä* are *gäyr≡u* and *tägäyr≡u* resp.

The morphemes for person–gender–number are as follows:

	≡[Impf./Juss.]≡	$^{(≡)}$[Imv.]≡	[Perf.]≡	[Conv.]≡
3masc.sg.	*y*≡[…]$^{≡}$	-	≡*ä*	≡*u*
3fem.sg.	*t*≡[…]$^{≡}$	-	≡*ät*	≡*a*
2masc.sg.	*t*≡[…]$^{≡}$	[…]$^{≡}$	≡*ka*	≡*ka*
2fem.sg.	*t*≡[…]≡*i*	[…]≡*i*	≡*ki*	≡*ki*
1sg.	ʾ≡ […]$^{≡}$	-	≡*ku*	≡*ä*
3masc.pl.	*y*≡[…]≡*u*(=*ta*)	-	≡*u*(=*ta*)	≡(*at*)*om*
3fem.pl.	*y*≡[…]≡*a*(=*ta*)	-	≡*a*(=*ta*)	≡(*at*)*än*
2masc.pl.	*t*≡[…]≡*u*(=*ta*)	[…]≡*u*	≡((*k*)*at*)*kum*	≡((*k*)*at*)*kum*
2fem.pl.	*t*≡[…]≡*a*(=*ta*)	[…]≡*a*	≡((*k*)*at*)*kən*	≡((*k*)*at*)*kən*
1pl.	*n*≡[…]$^{≡}$	-	≡*na*(=*ta*)	≡*na*(=*ta*)

The personal prefixes of imperfect/jussive are followed by the vowel *ə* in all stems except for A and At (where the derivational prefixes take the form *ä*, *ät*: *y*+*ʾa* > *y≡ä*, *y*+*ʾat* > *y≡ät* etc.).

The negative morpheme is *ʾay=…-(ə)n*, e.g. *ʾay=yə≡mäṣṣə*$^{ʾ≡}$*-ən* ‘he does not come’. Converbs do not have negated forms, this function being fulfilled by the negated perfect: *mäṣiʾ≡u* ‘he has come’ – *ʾay=mäṣʾ≡ä-n* ‘he did not come’.

A number of analytic verbal forms express various nuances of tense/aspect. The main auxiliary verbs used in these forms are the verbs of existence *kon≡ä*, *ʾallo*, *näḇär≡ä* and the copula *ʾəyy≡u*, e.g. *kə=*$^{≡}$*mäṣṣə*$^{ʾ≡}$ (ʾ)*əyy≡ä* ‘I shall/will come’, *ʾay=fäläṭ≡ku-n näyr≡ä* (< *näḇir≡ä*) ‘(in those days) I did not know’, *yə≡mmähar≡u näḇär≡u* ‘they used to learn’.

Syntax

The neutral word order is Subject–Object–Verb: *ṣəbbuq*$_1$ *zäräḇa*$_2$ *ᶜaṣmi*$_3$ *ʾaganənti*$_4$ *yəsäbbər*$_5$ ‘the good$_1$ speech$_2$ breaks$_5$ the bone$_3$ of the demons$_4$’. Elaborately developed and very popular is the formation of the cleft sentences, in which the main verb is relativized. E.g., *kämzi ʾəyy≡ä zə=gäḇär≡ku* ‘I made it thus’ (lit. ‘I am thus that I made [it]’), *ʾanä ʾay=kon≡ku-n zə=*$^{≡}$*wäddəq̱*$^{≡}$ ‘I shall not fall’ (lit. ‘It is not me who I shall fall’).

Generally modifiers precede the modified. Thus a demonstrative, adjective and a relative clause precede the noun. A marked exception is the possessive construction in which the governed noun follows the head, e.g. *Kəlləl Təgray* ‘state of Təgray’, *mängəst≡i ʾErtəra* ‘government of Eritrea’, *zätä sälam* ‘peace talk’. Only the analitic possessive construction with genitive marker *nay* ‘of’ allows both word orders: *nay resa sanduq̱* ‘coffin’ (lit. ‘box of a dead body’) vs. *qəlṭafä nay ṣəḥfät* ‘fastness of writing’.

Vocabulary

T. has for a long time been enriched by words taken from Gəᶜəz. There is some influx of Cushitic vocabulary; other sources of lexical borrowings are Amharic, ↗Arabic and ↗Italian. The ten-word list is as follows: ‘one’ *ḥadä* (fem. *ḥanti*), ‘two’ *kələttä*, ‘three’ *sälästä*, ‘fire’ *ḥawi*, ‘water’ *may*, ‘sun’ *ṣäḥay*, ‘moon’ *wärḥi*, ‘blood’ *däm*, ‘tongue’ *mälḥas*, ‘tooth’ *sənni*.

Dialects

There are many T. dialects; most of them are not properly described. The most divergent dialects are located in Southern Təgray (s. Voigt in PICES 15).

↗Təgrəñña literature; ↗Tigrinya Language Council

Src.: BassDic; RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ¹⁵2005, 112, 119; KaneTDic; KIDANÄ-MARYAM ZÄRᶜƎZGI, **ዘመናዊ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቓላት፡ ብሓዲስ፡ ብልሓት** (*Zämänawi mäzgäbä-q̲alat bəḥaddis bəlḥat*, 'Modern Dictionary with a New Method'), Asmära 2008; TÄKKƎʾÄ TÄSFAY, **ዘመናዊ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቓላት፡ ትግርኛ** (*Zämänawi mäzgäbä-q̲alat təgrəñña*, 'Modern Təgrəñña Dictionary'), [Asmära] 1999 (cp. review by RAINER VOIGT in *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 265–72).

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Lingua tigrina*, Roma 1940; WOLF LESLAU, *Documents tigrigna (éthiopien septentrional)*, Paris 1941 (Collection de la Société de linguistique de Paris 48); *abba* MATEWOS ḤAGOS, **ሰዋስው-ትግርኛ** (*Säwasəw-təgrəñña*, 'Təgrəñña Grammar'), 2 vols., Asmära 1951–53; FRANK ROBERT PALMER, "The 'Broken Plurals' of Tigrinya", *BSOAS* 17, 1955, 548–66; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, *Grammatik der Tigriñasprache in Abessinien hauptsächlich in der Gegend von Aksum und Adoa*, Halle 1871 (repr. 1974); EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *A Tigrinya (Təgrəñña) Chrestomathy*, Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 19); RAINER VOIGT, *Das tigrinische Verbalsystem*, Berlin 1977; ID., "Wortfolge und Genitivkonstruktionen im Tigrinischen", *RSE* n.s. 2, 2003, 77–106; ID., "Südtigrinische Dialekte – das einfache und zusammengesetzte Präsens im Dialekt von May-Ç̣äw (Tigray)", in: *PICES* 15, 893–98.

Rainer Voigt

Təgrəñña literature

The beginning of Təgrəñña written tradition is (apart from some isolated words in old historical works written in ↗Gəᶜəz) due to Western influence in the 19th cent. Even though ↗oral literature in Təgrəñña must have existed throughout the history of the language, it was not until the end of the 19th cent. that fairy-tales, myths, legends, riddles and chronicles started to be recorded thanks to efforts of such scholars as ↗Praetorius (1883), ↗Gallina (1902, who edited a collection by a native author, Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən Dəgnäy), ↗Kolmodin (KolTrad I–II), ↗Faïtlovitch (1910), and ↗Conti Rossini (1942). Likewise, another type of traditional oral texts with a long history, the Statutes of ↗Customary Law (**ሕጊ፡ እንዳባ**, *ḥəggi əndabba*, **ሕጊ**, *ḥəggi*, **ሥርዓት**, *śərᶜat* or **ዋዕላ**, *waᶜla*), were recorded for the requirements of the Italian colonial administration and published in the 20th cent. (ed. Macchia 1918a, 1918b, 1918c; *Sərᶜat Adkämä Məlgaʾ* 1944, as well as Conti Rossini 1948–71; s. also later editions of customary law by Yaqob Beyene [1995, 1998, 1999, 2002–03]).

As is the case with many other languages of Eritrea and Ethiopia, the first printed production in Təgrəñña, offered to the public by the middle of the 19th cent., was due to the activities of the ↗missions (cp. ↗Incunabula: Early prints in Ethiopia and Eritrea). The ↗Swedish Evangelical Mission and the Catholic mission published numerous religious treatises and partial ↗Bible translations. The first printing office (Catholic) was established in 1863 in Massawa (where the first religious treatise – **ትምህርተ፡ ክርስቶስ**, *Təmhərtä Krəstos*, 'The Doctrine of Christ', 1867 – appeared), and was transferred in 1879 to Kärän and in 1912 to Asmära. The Swedish printing press was founded ca. 1870 in ↗Ǝmkullu near Massawa and was later transferred to Asmära; its treatises and translated Bible excerpts had a great literary influence. However, the first Təgrəñña Bible translation was published not in Ethiopia but in St. Chrischona (Basel) in 1866 (s. ↗Bible: Bible translations into Təgrəñña). Among the first indigenous translators one should mention ↗Täwäldä Mädḫ̮ən Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən and *däbtära* Matewos from ᶜAdwa. The ↗New Testament, issued in 1909 in Aksum (with the second improved version in 1933), exercised a great influence on the development of T. literary style.

The beginning of secular T.l. is associated with the name of ↗Fəśśəḥa Giyorgis Abiyäzgi, who published in Rome in 1895 his **ብዛዕባ፡ እንካብ፡ ጦብያ፡ ንኢጣልያ፡ መንገዱን፡ ነዙ፡ ሃገር፡ እዙይ፡ እውን፡ ብምርኣይ፡ አብ፡ ሰብነቱ፡ ጦብላሕ፡ ዝበሎ፡ ጦብላሕታን** – *Notizie del Viaggio di un Etiopico dall'Etiopia all'Italia*, i.e. travel notes by an Ethiopian on his journey from Ethiopia to Italy, based on his personal experience (English tr. by Hailu Habtu 2000). His history of Ethiopia (**ታሪኽ፡ ኢትዮጵያ**, *Tarik̲ Ityop̣ya*) was only published after a century by Yaqob Beyene as *Storia d'Etiopia* (Napoli 1987, with translation; Mäq̲älä ²2000/01).

From the end of the 19th cent. onwards Təgrəñña gained a new importance: as the language of the capital and the most important indigenous language of the Italian *Colonia ↗Eritrea* (1890), it started to be taught in schools. On the initiative of the colonial administration several Italian–Təgrəñña handbooks were issued (on Eritrea, the Təgrəñña language, hygiene, etc.), printed in the Franciscan printing office. The Catholic printing office issued between 1912 and 1930 a series of eight "textbooks", among them *Manuale di letture scelte italiane–tigrai ad uso delle scuole indigene* (Asmara 1916), a handbook of selected Italian–Təgrəñña texts for use in indigenous schools (s. Tekeste Negash 1987: 72f.).

The Swedish Evangelical Mission, which continued its work up to its expulsion in 1932, produced mostly books of a religious nature. Thus, Teres de Pertis and Bayru ᶜƎq̲ʷbit translated into Təgrəñña the Swedish version of the *Doctrina Christiana* (ትምህርቲ፡ ክርስትና, *Təmhərti krəstənna,* 'The Christian Doctrine', Asmära 1910), and – from Italian – John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (ብሕልሚ፡ ዝረአዮ፡ መገዲ፡ ክርስትያን, *Bəḥəlmi zərräʾayo mägäddi krəstəyan*, 'The Christians's Progress Seen in a Dream', Asmära 1934). Modern non-fiction books were also published by the Mission, e.g. the monolingual manual of obstetrics by C.M. Groth and Franc Lindblom (መጽሐፍ፡ መወልዳን/*Manuale di ostetricia*, Asmära 1928, tr. by Teres de Pertis – Gərma Ṣəyon Gäbrä).

Literary expression seems to have developed in Təgrəñña more so than in Amharic within the framework of religious literature. The educated parts of the population were familiarized with the written language through such important publications as the anthology ↗*Bərhan yək̲un*; the monthly publication – in fact, the first Təgrəñña newspaper – መልእኽቲ፡ ሰላም (*Mälʾək̲ti sälam*, 'Peace Letter', from 1909 on); and ናይ፡ ህዝብ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ኡነተይና፡ ፈታዊ (*Nay həzbə Ityopya unätäyna fätawi*, 'The True Friend of the Ethiopian People', from 1916 on). Moreover, the didactic materials published by the Protestant Swedish mission in particular, but also by its Catholic counterpart, furthered the knowledge of writing, language normalization and arithmetic, e.g. መጽሐፍ፡ ፊደል፡ ብዘረባ፡ ትግርኛ (*Mäṣḥaf fidäl bəzäräba təgrəñña*, 'The Spelling Book in Təgrəñña Language', Asmära 1905, ^{2}1922), ትምህርቲ፡ ቍጽሪ (*Təmhərti qʷəṣri*, 'Arithmetic', Asmära 1923, tr. by Gäbrä Krəstos Täklä Haymanot from A. Tron's *Manuale di aritmetica*), the primer reader ቀዳማይ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ንባብ (*Prime letture tigrigna*) (Asmära 1928). In this way the foundations for the creation of the Təgrəñña literary language and the dissemination of ↗literacy were laid.

The use of Təgrəñña experienced a new dimension in 1941 with the coming of the ↗British Military Administration and the establishment of a ↗Tigrinya Language Council. In 1942 the first ↗*Eritrean Weekly News* appeared in print which also contained many literary texts. In the time of the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation it became the bilingual (with Arabic) ዘመን (*Zämän*, 'Time'), and was renamed as ሕብረት (*Ḥəbrät*, 'Union') after the union with Ethiopia. After the independence of 1991 the main newpaper was called ሓዳስ፡ ኤርትራ (*Ḥaddas Ertəra*, 'New Eritrea', 1991ff.). Other important periodicals were ሓንቲ፡ ኤርትራ (*Ḥanti Ertəra*, 'One Eritrea', 1950–52) with its bilingual (Təgrəñña and Arabic) successor ↗*Dəhay Erətra*, and bilingual ኢትዮጵያ (*Ityopya*, 'Ethiopia', 1947–62).

As for the shaping of linguistic expression, special mention should be made of ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, who rendered outstanding services to the language during his intermittent editorship of the *Eritrean Weekly* and is seen as the "father of the modern Təgrəñña language".

Through federation with (1952) and annexation by Ethiopia (1962) Təgrəñña lost its status as a school and administrative language. Still, books in Təgrəñña continued to be published. The years between the 1940s and 1960s can be seen as the most productive phase in the history of T.l., when Təgrəñña established itself in all areas of literary production. Many works were translated from Amharic and from Western languages, such as John M. Faulkner's *Moonfleet* by Täsfa Ǝgziʾ Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer (ሙንፍሊት, *Munflit*, Asmära 1967), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* by Musa Aron (ሮቢንሶን፡ ክሩሶ, *Robinson Kruso*, Asmära 1957) and William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* by Yosef Habtä Mikaʾel (ሮሜዮን፡ ዡልየትን, *Romeyon Žulyätən*, 'Romeo and Juliet', Asmära 1968, tr. from Amharic). A book by José María Sánchez Silva *Marcelino pan y vino* (in Ital. tr. *Marcellino pane e vino*), turned into a popular film, was freely translated into Təgrəñña by Yəsḥaq Gäbrä Iyäsus. This adaptation, ማርቆሳይ፡ ወይኒ፡ ምስ፡ ኅምባሻይ (*Marqosay wäyni məs ḫəmbašay*, 'My Marcus – Wine with my Bread', Asmära 1973), became one of the better known works of T.l.

Təgrəñña's own traditional fairy-tales, legends and proverbs were presented to the public by Yaᶜəqob Gäbrä Iyäsus Ḥebo, whose collection ዝናን፡ ተረትን፡ ምስላን፡ ናይ፡ ቀዳሞት (*Zənnan tärätən məssəlan nay qäddamot*, 'Legends, Stories and Proverbs of the Ancestors', Asmära 1949) offered well prepared material in the narrative sections, occasionally expanded by the editor himself. He popularized a narrative style that proved ground-breaking for subsequent literary work. Another collection of traditional stories was published by Täk̲lay Zäwäldi (ወግዒ፡ ቀዳሞት, *Wägᶜi qäddamot*, 'Stories of the Forefathers', Asmära 1967).

What is seen as the first Təgrəñña novel, **ንዝተዓስከረ፡ ንሓደ፡ መንእሰይ፡ ዚርኢ፡ ሓደ፡ ዛንታ** (*Nəzətäᶜaskärä nəḥadä mänᵓəsäy zirəᵓi ḥadä zanta*, 'A Story of a Conscript', Asmära 1949/50; also called *Ḥadä zanta* 'A Story'; Engl. tr. by Amanuᵓel Sahle 1988) by Gäbräyäsus Ḥaylu, was written in 1927, but its publication was only possible in 1949/50. This historical novel tells of an Eritrean who joins the Italian army and who after seeing action in Libya returns to his homeland. This was followed by works of Täk̲lay Zäwäldi (**ወጋሕታ፡ ናጽነት**, *Wägaḥta naṣənnät*, 'The Dawn of Freedom', Asmära 1954), Ṣägga Iyäsus Ǝyasu (**ንእግዚአብሔር፡ ዝስአኖ፡ ነገር፡ የልቦን፤ ትንሳኤን፡ ዓወትን**, *Nəᵓəgziᵓabəḥer zəssəᵓano nägär yälbon*: *tənsaᵓen ᶜawätən*, 'Everything is Possible for God: Resurrection and Victory', Asmära 1952) and by Yəsḥaq Yosef (**ኃይሎም፡ ወዲ፡ አስመራ**, *Ḫaylom wäddi Asmära*, 'Ḫaylom, the Asmaran', Asmära 1967).

The genre of the political novel is represented by such works as **ዋይ፡ አነ፡ ደቀይ፤ ሰኣን፡ ምምልካት'ዶ** (*Way anä däqqäy – säᵓan məməlkat'do*, 'Alas, My Children! For Want of Drawing Attention to', Asmära 1967/68) and **ንመን'ዩ፡ ዝነግሮ** (*Nəmän-əyyu zənägro*, 'Whom Shall I Tell?', Asmära 1973/74) by Abäba Täsfa Giyorgis, the only woman novelist of her time, as well as **አይንፈላለ** (*Aynəffälalä*, 'We do not Want to Separate', Asmära 1966/67) by Məsgəna Täk̲ästä.

Problems of urban society (consumption of alcohol and prostitution) are treated in **ወርቅሃ** (*Wärqəha*, 'W.', Asmära 1965) by Musa Aron, one of the most famous Təgrəñña novelists, **መን'ዩ፡ በደለኛ** (*Män-əyu bädäläñña*, 'Who is the Guilty One?', Asmära 1963) by Arᵓayä Bälay and Abrəha Gäbrä Həywät's **ምሸት፡ ምሸት፡ መርዓ** (*Məšät məšät märᶜa*, 'Every Evening a Wedding', Asmära 1967/68). Bärhe Arᵓaya treats the importance of education in modern times in his **ወጠጦ፡ እንዳቦይ፡ ዓንዱ** (*Wäṭäṭo əndabboy ᶜAndu*, 'The Billy-Goat of Mr. ᶜAndu', n.p. 1967/68). The style of many of these stories is moralizing and intended to educate the people.

During the period of the Amharization in schools and administration (from 1962) and intensified pressure after 1974 by the Communist *Därg* regime little appeared in Təgrəñña apart from Communist writings and translations from Russian (e.g., Chekhov). However, numerous publications, often coloured by Communist ideology, were issued in the field by the ↗Liberation Movements (esp. ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front). These publications included Təgrəñña textbooks, used in the underground schools which, with Təgrəñña as the language of instruction, helped re-establish it as the literary language. In parallel the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front introduced Təgrəñña as their national and literary language by using Təgrəñña teaching materials in their underground schools in Təgray Province.

Since achieving independence for Eritrea in 1991 (officially 1993) as well as autonomy for Təgray within Ethiopia literary production in Təgrəñña has increased in Eritrea, and also appeared for the first time in Təgray. Glorification of the fight for freedom became one of the major themes in T.l. Thus, ᶜAlämsäggäd Täsfay, whose first novel had appeared in the field (**ወዲ፡ ሓደራ፤ ካብ፡ ባድመ፡ ናብ፡ ሳሕል**, *Wäddi Ḥadära*: *kab Badəmä nab Saḥəl*, 'The Son of Ḥadära: from Badəmä to Saḥəl', [ᶜArrag] 1983), further analysed his war experiences in a collection of reminiscenses, short stories and theatre plays under the title **ክልተ፡ ቅነ፡ ኣብ፡ ድፋዓት** … (*Kələttä q̲ənä ab dəfaᶜat*, 'Two Weeks in the Trenches …', Asmära 1997; tr. Id., *Two Weeks in the Trenches – Reminiscences of Childhood and War in Eritrea*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2002). In 2001, his historical work appeared, entitled **አይንፈላለ፤ ኤርትራ** 1941–51 (*Aynəffälalä*: *Ertəra 1941–51*, 'We do not Want to Separate: Eritrea 1941–51', Asmära 2001). Another woman writer, Gännät Səyyum, published such novels as **ሽጎም፡ ሐድገይ፡ ሐርነት፡ እዩ** (*Šəgom ḥadgäy ḥarənnät ᵓəyyu*, 'The Torch of my Bequest is Freedom'), Asmära ^{2}1991.

Poetry in Təgrəñña, including lyrics to songs, became an important part of T.l. during the struggle for independence. In 1992, a small anthology of Eritrean poetry appeared, **መዝሙር፡ ተጋዳላይ** (*Mäzmur tägadalay*, 'Chants of a [Freedom] Fighter', ed. Gərmay Gäbrämäsqäl, Asmära 1992), which contained 20 poems in Təgrəñña and six in Təgre. It was followed by several books of Təgrəñña poetry, e.g. **ሳሕል** (*Saḥəl*, Addis Abäba 1994), by Solomon Ṣäḥaye, the author of the Eritrean national anthem.

A number of Təgrəñña writings in prose and verse have been written and published in the Eritrean ↗diaspora in Europe (esp. Sweden), the United States and Middle East (s. Ghirmai Negash 1999: 198f., Cantalupo – Ghirmai Negash 2008; Asräs Täsämma 1998).

Among the few monographs dealing with T.l. one should mention Haylu Habtu's work (1981) covering the period up to 1974, and Ghirmai

Negash's (1999), for the period up to 1991. The most comprehensive bibliography of Təgrəñña literary production in Eritrea (up to 1993) was collected by Agosṭinos Tädla (1994).

Src.: Amanuᵓel Sahle, "The Black Train", *Ethiopian Journal of African Studies* 5, 1, 1988, 33–69; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942 (Collezione scientifica e documentaria dell'Africa italiana 5); Id., *Consuetudini giuridiche del Seraé*, vols. 1–2, Roma 1948–53 (Supplemento di *RSE* 7 and 11); Jacques Faïtlovitch, "Versi abissini – Qəne ḥabäša", *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 23, 1910 [1911], 1–88; Francesco Gallina (ed.), *Gäbrä-Mädhən Dəgnäy*: *Apologhi ed aneddoti volti in lingua tigriñña*, Roma 1902; KolTrad I–II; Enrico Macchia (ed.), **ሕግ፡ ናይ፡ ሎጎን፡ ጭዋን** … (*Ḥəgg nay Loggon Čəwan…*, 'The Law of Loggo Čəwa…'), Asmära 1910 A.M. [= 1918a A.D.]; Id. (ed.), **ሕግ፡ ሰሐርትን፡ ላምዛን፡ ወቓርትን፡ ዳምባን** (*Ḥəgg Säḥartən Lamzan Wäqärtən Damban*, 'The Law of Säḥarti, Lamza, Wäqärt and Damba'), Asmära 1918b; Id. (ed.), **ዋዕላ፡ ሾብዓተ፡ አንሰባ** (*Waᶜla šobᶜattä Ansäba*, 'The Law of Šobᶜattä Ansäba'), Asmära 1918c; Franz Praetorius, "Tigriña-Sprüchwörter", *ZDMG* 37, 1883, 443–50; 38, 1884, 481–85; 39, 1885, 322–26; 42, 1888, 62–67; **ሥርዓት፡ አድከመ፡ ምልጋእ** (*Śərᶜat Adkämä Məlgaᵓ*, 'The Order of Adkämä Məlga'), Asmära 1944; Wäldä-Ab Wäldä-Maryam (tr.), **መጽሐፍ፡ ፊደል፡ ብቋንቋ፡ ትግርኛ** (*Mäṣḥaf fidäl bəqʷanqʷa təgrəñña*, 'A Spelling Book in Təgrəñña Language'), Asmära 1935; Yaqob Beyene, "Diritto consuetudinario del Laggo Čŭwā", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 173–210; Id., "Diritto consuetudinario del Saḥart, del Lāmzā, del Waqart, del Dāmbā", *ibid.* 42, 1998 [1999], 89–145; Id., "[Diritto consuetudinario di Habsellus]", *ibid.* 43, 1999 [2000], 153–210; Id., "Diritto consuetudinario dello Šawᶜatta ᶜAnsabā", *ibid.* nuova ser. 1, 2002, 85–141; 2, 2003, 107–64.

Lit.: Asras Täsämma, **ደሃይ ባህሊ** (*Dähay bahli*, 'Voice of Culture'), Asmära ^{2}1990 A.M. [1998 A.D.]; Agosṭinos Tädla, *La lingua abissina*/**ቋንቋ ሐበሻ**, Asmära 1994; Charles Cantalupo – Ghirmai Negash, *Who Needs a Story? Contemporary Eritrean Poetry in Tigrinya, Tigre and Arabic*, Asmara 2008; Ghirmai Negash, *A History of Tigrinya Literature in Eritrea*: *the Oral and the Written 1890–1991*, Leyden 1999; Hailu Habtu, *Aspects of Tigrinya Literature* (*until 1974*), M. phil. thesis, London 1981; Id., "The Voyage of Däbtära Fesseha Giyorgis to Italy at the End of the 19th Century", *AE* 16, 2000, 361–68; RicLett 883–94; Tekeste Negash, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941*: *Policies, Praxis and Impact*, Uppsala 1987.

Rainer Voigt

Təgrəñña-speakers

The T. are an important ethno-regional group in Ethiopia and Eritrea, unified principally by their language ↗Təgrəñña (**ትግርኛ**). They mainly inhabit the National Regional State of ↗Təgray and central ↗Eritrea, with ↗diaspora communities in many countries (including a T.-speaking ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel minority in Israel). In Eritrea they comprise about 40 % to 50 % of the population, i.e. above two million people (and additionally half a million in the diaspora), in Ethiopia there are about 4.5 million T., according to the 2007 census, most of them in Təgray (with 4.17 million T.; Population Census Commission 2008: 85, 87). The great majority are Orthodox Christian, but there are minorities of Muslims, Betä Ǝsraᵓel, and, since the 19th cent., Protestants in Eritrea and Catholics mainly in ↗Akkälä Guzay and ↗ᶜAgamä.

Most T. are traditionally agriculturalists, practicing plough agriculture (cultivating *ṭaf* [↗*Ṭef*], sorghum, millet, wheat, maize etc.) and also keeping cattle, sheep and goats (but usually without stock-breeding), and in many areas bees (↗Bees and beekeeping; ↗Milk and milk products). Some T. groups have a strong local identity and used to have their own traditional, quite autonomous self-organization, sometimes dominated by egalitarian assemblies of elders, sometimes by leading families or local feudal dynasties. In some areas the ↗meritorious complex played a considerable role in achieving a social status, which led to the creation of local honorary titles (such as *ḥanneta* or *ḥanta*, s. ↗Elephants) and social institutions (such as ↗*Gaz*, 'raiding'), and, historically, to an active involvement in the ↗warfare of Christian Ethiopia; through this, even the sons of simple peasants could rise considerably in the state hierarchy.

The daily life of T. is highly influenced by religious concepts. For example, the Christian Orthodox fasting periods are strictly observed, especially in Təgray; but also traditional local beliefs, such as in ↗spirits, are widespread (cp. also ↗*Ṭälsäm*). In Təgray the language of the church remains exclusively Gəᶜəz; in Eritrea also Təgrəñña is used in the Orthodox Church context, but rather as an exception (different from Protestant churches, well-enrooted in Ḥamasen and urban areas of Eritrea; cp. ↗Bible translations: Təgrəñña).

T. society is marked by a strong ideal of communitarianism and, especially in the rural sphere, by egalitarian principles. This does not exclude an important role of gerontocratic rules (↗Gerontocracy) and in some regions such as the wider ᶜAdwa area, formerly the prevalence of feudal lords, who, however, still had to respect the local landrights. T. are sometimes described as "individualistic" (Bauer 1985), due to elements of competition, jealousy and local conflicts. This, however, rather reflects a strong tendency to defend one's own community and local rights against – then widespread – interferences, be it from more powerful individuals or the state.

T. communities are marked by numerous social institutions with a strong networking character, where relations are based on mutual rights and bonds. Economic and other support is mediated by these institutions. In the urban context, the modern ↗*əddər* and ↗*əqqub* have taken over the functions of traditional associations. In most rural areas, however, traditional social organizations are fully in function. The *ḥawənnät* ('brotherhood') is composed of all descendants in the male line from an ancestor seven generations before, or, in cases of influential lineages, sometimes more (↗Genealogy). All members of such an extended family are linked by strong mutual obligations (Smidt 2008: 253–56). Villages are usually perceived as genealogical communities, consisting of several lineages (↗*Ǝnda*).

Another important association is, in Təgray, the *səwaᶜ sänbät* ('Sunday chalice [association]'; cp. Amh. ↗*Sänbäte*), of which several exist in every village, in some areas named after saints. Every man is a member of such an association, which assembles on Sunday in a private home. On this occasion ↗*ənǧära* and *səwa* (↗*Ṭälla*) are consumed, considered ↗*ṣäbäl* by the participants. Within these associations, economic and other problems are addressed, based on the principles of consensus and mutual help (ibid. 246–53). Parallell to this, there are also church associations (↗*Maḫbär*; ibid. 257f.), and neighbourhood communities, e.g., for the purpose of collective work on each other's houses.

Village assemblies (↗*Bayto*) decide on local political matters, now reformed according to principles of the modern state both in Təgray (with the main assemblies on the *ṭabiya* level) and in Eritrea. Another important cultural and social institution is that of the elders (↗*Šəmagəlle*). They traditionally pass on an often detailed "oral historiography" of T. subgroups (the most important collection being KolTrad), "oral registers" of ↗land tenure, genealogies and the origins of settlements. Land rights were inherited by families or whole village communities. Only in regions under firm domination by feudal lords, such as ᶜAdwa or Ǝnṭiččo, could such traditions be thwarted by more powerful lords. ↗Plowden reported in 1852, that local office holders preserved detailed oral knowledge of tax obligations, boundaries and property rights, which were respected by overlords. Based on such traditions even settlements long deserted, but continuing to exist in the minds of people, could be fully "re-created" by the original settlers' descendants (Pankhurst 1966: 78).

A remarkable heritage of T. groups are their ↗customary laws (in Eritrea: *ḥəggindabba*, 'law of the fathers'). In Eritrea, several T. groups have elaborated them as written law books, which are still valid locally (subsidiary to state law). In Təgray, customary law is also still partially practised, especially for marriage and inheritance, but to some degree even in political self-organization and penal cases (↗Law and Judiciary: Traditional legal institutions; Traditional law books). It is also of great importance for conflict resolution (Abdulkader Saleh et al. 2008: 138f., 264–68; Shimelis Gizaw – Taddese Gessese 2008; Smidt in WenDAE I).

The T. are, despite a general impression of homogeneity, composed of numerous subgroups with their own socio-cultural traditions. Among these there are the ᶜAgamä of eastern Təgray, mentioned already in the ↗*Monumentum Adulitanum*; the autonomous ↗Ṣänᶜadäglä and Märätta of Akkälä Guzay in Eritrea; the Ḥamasenay, agriculturalists in ↗Ḥamasen and cattle herders in ↗Humära; the egalitarian ↗Wäǧǧärat of south-eastern Təgray. Many others, sometimes numbering only a few thousands and scattered over several districts, could be listed. Usually they define themselves through common descent, but in some cases also as a political confederacy uniting different groups (such as the ↗Šäwᶜattä Ansäba on the north-western borders of the Eritrean highlands). Assimilation processes, which still continue, have led to the inclusion of other ethnic (sub-)groups. For example, Agäw settlers in Säraye, the ↗Adkämä Məlgaᵓ, became T. several centuries ago; some ↗Bilin villages near ↗Kärän now also belong to the T.

The subgroups are composed of descent groups and lineages. Often these are called 'Däqqi …', sometimes also 'ᶜAd …', after a common ancestor, such as the Däqqi Täsfa of the western lowlands of ↗Säraye or the ᶜAd Däggiyat, a name for the ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga dynasty of the ↗Märäb Məllaš. In addition, there are ancient, more vague group-designations above the level of subgroups, used by elders as identity-markers: Agəᶜaziyan ('descendants of the ↗Agᶜazi') for the inhabitants of ᶜAgamä and Akkälä Guzay, and Sabawiyan for the people of Aḵsum (or Aḵʷəsəm, in Amh./Gəᶜəz ↗Aksum) and Yäḥa (Amh. ↗Yəḥa).

A usually urban and semi-urban sub-group are the Muslim T., who form around 5 % of the T. population (in Eritrea called ↗Ǧäbärti, a term often rejected, however, by Muslim Təgrayans). Most are merchants, but some are peasants with traditional landrights (on this s. Pankhurst 1966: 103f.), such as in their sacred town ↗Nägaš in eastern Təgray, and in a few other street settlements, e.g. Wəq̱ro Märay near Aksum (with the mosque used by the Muslims of Aksum) or ↗Ǝntič̣č̣o. In the past, many Muslim T. also acted as servants for wealthy farmers and nobles. Most settled near trade routes and in important towns, such as ↗Asmära and Kärän in Eritrea, or ᶜAdwa, Ǝntič̣č̣o, ᶜAddigrat, ↗Wəq̱ro, or Mäq̱älä in Təgray. Arabic ↗inscriptions prove a Muslim presence in eastern Təgray along trade routes (in ↗Ǝndärta and ↗Ṣ́əraᵓ) already starting from around the 9th or 10th cent. Islam as practised by T. has barely been studied yet, but seems to be marked by influences of diverse origins, from the Sudan, Egypt, and Muslim communities of the ↗Yemen and the Ḥiǧāz (↗Arabia). According to tradition, the festival of Āšūrā, on 10th *Muḥarram*, was introduced in 1664/65 by a council chaired by a Muslim of Tämben, which decided to make Nägaš a ↗pilgrimage (*ziyāra*) centre with *Āšūrā* as the annual day of pilgrimage; suppressed later, the festival was revived in the 1990s (Wondimagegn Buzuayeu 2006). The T. Muslims are Sunnis, and *Āšūrā* is celebrated as a day when "prophets" (e.g., Moses) were "relieved from difficulties", which is also an allusion to Nägaš as the asylum for the persecuted followers of Prophet Muḥammad. The festival may have been established as a response against Shiᶜite influence, possibly from the Zaydites of the Yemen, whose connection to the coast (↗Baylūl) is known from the 17th cent. (cp. ↗Ottoman Empire).

There are several peripheral T. groups, marginalized due to their origin and/or socio-economic role in society. Examples are ↗blacksmiths in Eritrea, who developed their own secret language or jargon (undocumented yet); musicians' groups such as the "*č̣ärra wäṭa*" (a term regarded as pejorative, Amh. ↗*Azmari*) and *ḥamen* (vocal singers, Amh. ↗*Lalibäločč*), often from the ↗Ǝggäla subgroup; and potters (↗Pottery) and other craftsmen. There are also ethnically different T. (sub-)groups especially in the peripheries of Təgray, such as the ↗Ṣällim Bet, a subdued "black" group in the western lowlands, who were regarded as serfs "of the Ḥabäša".

It is difficult to identify an ethnonym common to all T. – and also their language has different self-designations. In Təgray it is also called **ቋንቋ፡ ትግራይ** (*qʷanqʷa Təgray*), while all, especially rural, T. may use the term **ቋንቋ፡ ሐበሻ** (*qʷanqʷa Ḥabäša*; more rarely in Eritrea also **ቋንቋ ፡ ትግርይና** *qʷanqʷa Təgrəyna*). The Amharic term *Təgre* for the T. (not to be confused with the ↗*Təgre*) is not a self-designation, and, perceived as inappropriate today, is replaced by Amh. *Təgrawiyan*. Təgrayans, who are mostly T., call themselves *Tägaru* (sg. *Təgraway*, also *Təgray*). In rural areas, however, many prefer their subgroup's name, such as Wälqayte (of ↗Wälqayt), ᶜAgamä (most of whom accept the term Təgraway, however, today), Wäǧǧärat, or ↗Rayya ᶜAzäbo (of Oromo origin; ↗Azaboo). In turn, Eritreans understand *Tägaru* as a geographic term only fitting to the inhabitants of Təgray. In Eritrea the T. are generally called *Təgrəñña*; this is not accepted in Təgray, where this term designates the language only (but a rarely used traditional Təgrayan term designating all T., *Təgray Təgrəññi*, 'Təgrayans [and other] T.', follows a similar pattern).

The only self-designation accepted by almost all T., both in urban and rural contexts, is **ሐበሻ** (Ḥabäša), with some exceptions (e.g., in Aksum the term is rarely used). The term connotes a strong feeling of belongingness, and in this sense is a real ethnonym, the only one encompassing all T. (Smidt 2005). In some, especially rural, contexts it even excludes non-T. groups such as Amhara (who, however, also call themselves [H]Abäša, a fact which is ignored by some rural T.), the *Amḥaru* [sg. *Amḥaray*] sometimes not being perceived as members of the "we-group" (ibid. 393). There are indications that the exclusive self-identification of T. with the term Ḥabäša is ancient (in a 15th cent. text the term Ḥabasi is translated with "Təgray", ibid. 392). By extension, however, the term [H]Abäša is often understood by modern Ethiopians as meaning 'Ethiopian'; following an identical pattern of "nationalization" of the ancient ethnonym, it is often used by young Eritrean T. to designate "Eritrean".

Over the centuries, small groups of T. migrated outside Christian Ethiopia, some of them preserving ↗interethnic clan-relations. In the 19th cent., T. were employed as gunmen in Oromo kingdoms, many of whom seem to be ancestors of Ǧabartii clans (not meaning 'Muslim' [cp. ↗Ǧäbärti] in this context, but 'soldiers of the *mooti*'; Ishihara in PICES 15, 121). T. Muslim traders settled in the Gibe states; one example is *naggaadee* Abdulmanna of the early 19th cent. from Tämben, whose descendants taught the Qurʾān in Gomma (↗Trade; Ishihara in PICES 15, 121ff.). T. appear in different ethnic contexts today. Some Naggaadee ('trader') clans of the Oromo Gibe states are called Tigeroo, Tigre or Tigrii, descendants of Muslim traders. Another Naggaadee group are the Tigrii Warğii (a sub-group of the Warğii Tuulama, originally from Awaš; cp. ↗Wärğih), who are present in Addis Abäba, Sandafaa, Šanoo, and Sabbata, Šäwa, and are active in all urban centres of Oromiyaa. The Tägaro or Təgäro (< Tägaru) are one of the 34 noble clans of the ↗Käfiččo (such as the "Nagado Tigroč" family, whose Christian ancestors arrived in ca. the 17th cent.; Bieber 1920; Ishihara in PICES 15, 122, 126). In some cases the Amharic term Təgre is used to designate a local clan or group, such as the former Kawona Təgre ('T. dynasty') of the ↗Wälaytta kingdom, of northern Christian origin. Still today, there is a clan group called Təgəra in Wälaytta. They are said to be ethnically connected with a clan of the same name of ↗Ǝndagäñ. There are numerous other groups, who claim origins from T., such as ↗Gurage lineages from "↗Guraᶜ" and the ↗Zay of the Zʷay lake from ancient Aḵsum.

Src.: field notes of the author, 1993, 1997–98, 2001 (Ḥamasen, Akkälä Guzay), 2004–06 (Təgray); field notes of Dirk Bustorf from Ǝndägañ; personal communication by Nagasoo Gidaadaa, October 2008; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Note etiopiche. II. Leggende tigray", *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 10, 1897, 143–53; Id., "Canti popolari tigrai", *ZA* 17, 1903, 23–52; *ibid.* 18, 1904, 320–86; *ibid.* 19, 1906, 288–41; Id., *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942 (Collezione scientifica e documentaria dell'Africa italiana 5); CSA 2008, 85, 87; Gäbrä Kidan Dästa, **ጽውጽዋይ፡ ትግርኛ** (*Ṣəwṣəway təgrəñña*, 'Təgrəñña Parables'), Mäqälä 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.]; KolTrad; *ḥaw* Sälomon Gäbrä Krəstos, **መጽናዕቲ፡ ቋንቋ፡ ትግርይና፤ ሐረጋት፡ ትግርይና፤ ናዕታ፡ ሰብ፡ ቋንቋ** (*Mäṣnaᶜti qʷanqʷa təgrəyna – "ḥarägat təgrəyna"– naᶜta säb qʷanqʷa*, 'The Foundations of the Təgrəñña Language – Təgrəñña Idioms – Colloquial Language'), Asmära, *Gənbot* 1985 [May/June 1993 A.D.].

Lit.: Abdulkader Saleh et al. (eds.), *Friedensräume in Eritrea und Tigray unter Druck: Identitätskonstruktion, soziale Kohäsion und politische Stabilität*, Münster 2008; Asmelash Woldemariam, *The Effects of Land Reform on Peasant Social Organisation, a Study of Village-Level Dynamics in Central Tigray 1974–1994*, Addis Ababa 2006 (Social Anthropology Dissertation Series 7); Dan Franz Bauer, *Household and Society in Ethiopia, an Economic and Social Analysis of Tigray Social Principles and Household Organization*, East Lansing, MI 1985; Id., "The Sacred and the Secret: Order and Chaos in Tigray Medicine and Politics", in: William Arens – Ivan Karp (eds.), *Creativity of Power: Cosmology and Action in African Societies*, Washington, DC – London 1989, 225–43; Friedrich Julius Bieber, *Kaffa, ein Altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, vol. 1, Münster 1920; Ghirmai Negash, *A History of Tigrinya Literature in Eritrea*, Leiden 1999; Eike Haberland – Helmut Straube, "Nordost-Afrika", in: Hermann Baumann (ed.), *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen*, part 2: *Ost-, West- und Nordafrika*, Wiesbaden 1979 (SKK 35), 69–156; Minako Ishihara, "The Religious Roles of the Naggaadie in the Historical Gibe Oromo Kingdoms", in: *PICES* 15, 119–27; Friederike Kemink, *Die Tegreñña-Frauen in Eritrea, Eine Untersuchung der Kodizes des Gewohnheitsrechts 1890–1941*, Stuttgart 1991 (SKK 101); KilHDic; Ferdinando Martini, *Il Diario Eritreo*, 4 vols., Firenze 1942–43; Richard Pankhurst, *State and Land in Ethiopian History*, Addis Ababa 1966 (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure 3); Id., *A Social History of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1990; PerGov; RubInd; Ruffillo Perini – Gäbrä Negus, *Di qua dal Marèb (Marèb-mellàsc)*, Firenze 1905; William A. Shack, *The Central Ethiopians: Amhara,Tigriña and Related Peoples*, London 1974 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa: North-Eastern Africa 4); Shimelis Gizaw – Taddese Gessese, "Customary Dispute Resolution in Tigray Region: Case Studies from Three Districts", in: Alula Pankhurst – Getachew Assefa (eds.), *Grass-Roots Justice in Ethiopia, the Contribution of Customary Dispute Resolution*, Addis Ababa 2008, 217–36; Wolbert Smidt, "Selbstbezeichnungen von Təgrəñña-Sprechern (Ḥabäša, Tägaru, Təgrəñña u.a.)", in: Bogdan Burtea – Josef Tropper – Helen Younansardaroud (eds.), *Studia semitica et Semitohamitica, Festschrift Rainer Voigt*, Münster 2005 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 317), 385–404; Id., "Friedensräume in Tigray unter Druck von kriegerischer Gewalt und Reform", in: Annette Hornbacher (ed.), *Ethik, Ethos, Ethnos, Aspekte und Probleme interkultureller Ethik*, Bielefeld 2006, 367–89; Id., "Tigrinnya, Soziale Kohäsion, Landrecht und lokale Geschichte der Tigrayer in Äthiopien und der Hochland-Eritreer", in: *WenDAE* I, 367–90; Id., "Die traditionelle Dorfgesellschaft im modernen Tigray", in: Abdulkader Saleh et al. 2008, 227–68; Id., "Tigray – eine Erinnerungslandschaft als Netzwerk von Bauern, Fürsten und Kriegsherren: Die äthiopischen Nordprovinzen in der lokalen Tradition", in: *WenDAE* II, in preparation; Id., "The Tigrinnya-speakers across the Borders: Discourses of Unity and Separation in an Ethnohistorical Context", in: Markus Höhne – Dereje Feyissa (eds.), *State Borders and Borderlands in the Horn of Africa*, London 2010; Kjetil Tronvoll, *Mai Weini. A Highland Village in Eritrea: a Study of the People, their Livelihood and Land Tenure during Times of Turbulence,* Lawenceville, NJ – Asmara 1998; Wondimagegn Buzuayeu, *Ashura – a Festival in al-Negash*[’s] *Mosque*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Mekelle University 2006.

Wolbert Smidt

Ṭəlahun Gäśśäśä

Ṭ.G. (**ጥላሁን፡ ገሠሠ**, given name Dandana; b. 27 September 1940, Addis Abäba, d. 19 April 2009, Addis Abäba) was an Ethiopian singer, whose many epithets included "King of Ethiopian pop" and "King of the Stage". He received a lifetime achievement award for this from the Ethiopian

Fine Art and Mass Media Prize Trust as well as an honorary doctorate from Addis Ababa University (2005).

Ṭ.G. was born to Oromo parents, Ayyaano Guddata and Gete Gurmu, and raised in Wäliso by his grandmother. When his mother remarried Gäśśäśä Nəguśe, Ṭ.G. was baptized and assumed his Christian name.

Already in Wäliso, Ṭ.G. was known for his musical talent. At the Ras Gobäna Dač̣i School (previously Giyon School), he became the star of the school band, which was organized by the Sudanese director Shidad. There, he met his future mentor, Eyuᵓel Yoḥannəs, from ↗Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər. In 1953, Ṭ.G. joined Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər, where he began working with singers such as Fərew Ḫaylu and Däse Wälelləññ. In 1956, he joined the ↗Imperial Bodyguard orchestra. From that time, Ṭ.G. influenced the development of Ethiopian modern music through his masterful elaboration of traditional songs and styles. He became the most charismatic and imitated artist; this was due to his vocal style, with its tremendous range of dynamics, his manipulation of extremely long notes, embellishment of melodies, and use of witty lyrics that related to everyday life.

Ṭ.G.'s contributions to Ethiopian music included over 450 songs covering a wide variety of themes, such as love, nature, nationalism, economics, and social issues. For his critical texts, he was arrested under both ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council (*Därg*).

His songs in ↗Oromiffaa paved the way for other Ethiopian languages to "make" the popular music scene.

Ṭ.G.'s name became a trademark for his associates and contemporaries involved in the production of his songs.

Ṭ.G. repeatedly mentioned his unhappiness during his lonely childhood, the trauma of his mother's murder, the health problems resulting from his diabetes, and the loss of close friends. In his last years, he established the "Ṭəlahun Gäśśäśä Initiative for Diabetic Victims Venerable Children Association".

Ṭ.G. was buried in the cemetery of the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba. His funeral, attended by many state officials, was broadcast on state television. He is survived by members of his family, which in the course of his life included six wives and 15 children.

Src.: speech of Ṭəlahun Gäśśäśä on receiving an honorary doctorate, 23 July 2005; interview with Ṭəlahun Gäśśäśä at Yared School of Music, 17 January 2002; television interview with Ṭəlahun Gäśśäśä, September 2002; letters of condolence by Girma Wäldä Giyorgis (21 April 2009, Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər, file 238, Ref. 331/65) and Mälläs Zenawi (20 April 2009).

Lit.: *Addis Nägär* no. 2, 79, 25 April 2009 (Special Issue); KIROS ḪAYLÄ ŚƎLLASE, *Eulogy for Ṭəlahun Gäśśäśä*, read on 23 April 2009; *Qum Nägär* no. 8, 87, April 2009; SIMENEH BETREYOHANNES, *Music and Politics in 20th Century Ethiopia: Empire, Modernization and Revolution*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2008.

Simeneh Betreyohannes

Ṭəlahun Gəzaw

Ṭ.G. (**ጥላሁን፡ ግዛው**, b. ca. 1940, d. 28 December 1969, Addis Abäba) was a student leader. He was the son of a wealthy landowner from Təgray who divorced from his mother. His pre-university education was in mission boarding schools in Aqaqi and Addis Abäba, and in the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School. His half-sister was Princess Sara Gəzaw, the widow of ↗Mäkʷännən Ḫaylä Śəllase.

Ṭ.G. expressed a strong dislike for the royal house. In 1968 he narrowly lost the election for the presidency of the Union of Students of the University of Addis Ababa (USUAA; ↗Addis Ababa University) to Mäkʷännən Bišaw. The contest was perceived as a struggle between radicalism/commitment to the Ethiopian masses, represented by Ṭ.G. and reactionary reformism, represented by Mäkʷännən. Others, the university leadership included, saw it as a fight between extremism/fanaticism and reason/moderation. Disappointed, Ṭ.G., withdrew from the university for one year. Upon his return, he had expanded his knowledge of revolutionary literature and Ethiopia. He was close to the activists during the troubled spring of 1969.

In November 1969, whilst he was a third year political science student, Ṭ.G. was elected President of the USUAA. He became president in the same month as the ultimate challenge to the regime appeared in the student paper *Struggle* on the status of, and the policy towards, the ethnic diversity of the country.

There ensued new waves of unrest in secondary schools all over the country and USUAA submitted ultimata to the government that Ethiopian University Service teachers would be withdrawn unless a number of conditions were met. Anti-government pamphlets were distributed in increasing numbers. There was a change of mood: the writings were more frantic and urgent, with a new rhetoric of violence. Government media did not conceal the fact that the intentions of the students had to be quelled. The university president, ↗Aklilu Habtäwäld, also conveyed the general feeling of imminent government punishment.

Ṭ.G. was shot while walking outside the campus in the Afənčo Bärr area. It was commonly believed that he was murdered by the security police. After his death students took his body from the nearby hospital and brought it to the university. Thousands of students from all over Addis Abäba came to the main campus to mourn his death. It all ended in tragic confrontation with the guns and bayonets of the ↗Imperial Bodyguard. The death of Ṭ.G. undoubtedly contributed toward raising the level of political consciousness of the average student and enhanced the feeling of alienation from the regime.

Lit.: Randi Rønning Balsvik, *Haile Sellassie's Students: the Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution*, East Lansing, MI 1985, 262–72; Kiflu Tadesse, *The Generation*, Trenton, NJ 1993.

Randi Rønning Balsvik

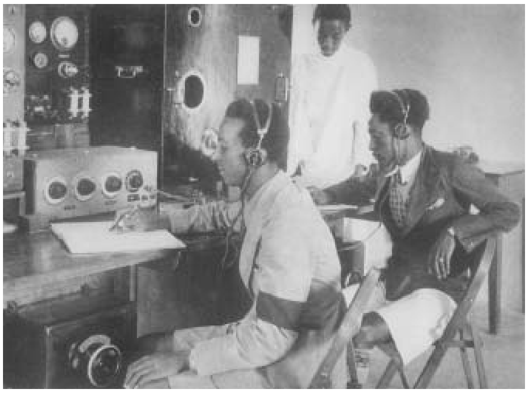
Telecommunications

T., as well as the building of the ↗railway and the introduction of a modern ↗postal system in Ethiopia made major contributions to the politics of consolidation and modernization of *aṣe* Mənilək II's empire.

The first telegraph line followed the construction of the railway to ↗Djibouti. The Emperor required Alfred ↗Ilg and Léon ↗Chefneux's company to built the telegraph line at its own expense, and that all government calls should be free of charge (PankEcon 306f.). By 1898 the line ran from Djibouti via ↗Dərre Dawa to ↗Addis Abäba. By 1903 it also served ↗Harär.

The Italians constructed a second telegraph line from ↗Asmära to Addis Abäba in 1902–04. It had stations at Italian consulates, the first one in ↗ᶜAdwa. The main line went from Addis Abäba via ↗Wärrä Illu, ↗Däbrä Tabor, connecting ↗Däse, ↗Mäq̱älla, ↗ᶜAdwa and Aksum to run over the Eritrean frontier to Mändäfära to reach Asmära (PankEcon 340).

A telephone was installed in 1902 in the Emperor's residence in the intended new capital ↗Addis Aläm. The telegraph station in Däse was operated by an Italian commercial agent Annaratone who could listen to telephone calls between Ethiopian military leaders. A post office was opened in Dərre Dawa in 1906 and functioned mainly as a telephone station. The French consulate was important in that town. Portable telephones could be connected to the telegraph lines, so in the early 1900s it was possible to make calls, e.g., from ↗Aqaqi to the capital in this way. A station at Balči was located on the route from the coast to Addis Abäba, and it became usual in the early 1900s to phone the Emperor from there to obtain travel permission.



Broadcasting from Harär station; from Rikli 1935: 63

Further lines were constructed and by 1918 southern provincial centres like ↗Ǧimma, ↗Gambella or ↗Bure as well as the southern provinces like ↗Sidamo and ↗Bale were tethered with the capital by Italian construction (De Castro 1915: 231; PankEcon 340).

The foundation stone for a radio station at Aqaqi was laid on 21 July 1931. The Italians dominated its construction and operation, but in 1936 they (like the British later) destroyed the possibility of radio communication from there. The Italian consulate in ↗Gondär was limited by the Ethiopians and had difficulties with its own separate mail connections. A post office, opened in 1932, had a telephone, but it could be difficult to contact Addis Abäba from there. A powerful radio station in Harär was inaugurated in 1934 which could communicate with the army's field radios. The Italians extended T. during their occupation of 1936–41 (↗Africa Orientale Italiana; cp. *Guida* 175 et passim). After the liberation, an international loan was given to modernize the telephone network. With this loan the Imperial Board of Telecommunications (IBTE), was created in in 1953. Practically all equipment was supplied by the Swedish company LM Ericsson, which explains that by 1955 about 1/3 of IBTE's foreign employees were Swedes. As an example of the extent of the network, Däse had some 90 telephone numbers in the 1950s, and Harär had

236 numbers according to a printed telephone directory of 1967.

T. advanced technically, so that by the year 2000 there were about 20,000 Internet users and 17,800 cell phones. In the commercial sector and in the countryside, however, people tended to continue using telefax. An Ethiopian e-mail provider also emerged. For a printed index of commercial telephone numbers, "Ethiopian Yellow Pages" began to be issued annually in year 2000. It uses the English language and is edited by Americans. The 2003/4 edition has 988 pages.

Src.: BERNHARD LINDAHL, *Local History of Ethiopia from Foreign Sources* (http://www.nai.uu.se/library/resources/dossiers/local_history_of ethiopia/, last access 16 April 2010); MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS CENTER, *Ethiopian Yellow Pages, 3rd Annual Edition 2003/04*, 988.

Lit.: LINCOLN DE CASTRO, *Nella Terra dei Negus*, Milano 1915, 220; *Guida* 175 et passim; MesfAtlas 38f.; PankEcon 306f., 340f.; *EthObs* 2, 1 (*Special Issue on Transport and Communications*), 1958; MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935, 63 (ill.).

Bernhard Lindahl

Tellez, Balthazar

T. (also Teles, b. 11 January 1596, Lisbon, d. 20 April 1675, Lisbon) was a Jesuit author (↗Jesuits). Of mixed (Portuguese-British) noble background (his father was Captain John Tilly), he entered the Jesuit Noviciate in Coimbra in 1610. He made his profession of simple vows, in 1612, to join the Society of Jesus and of four solemn vows, in 1631. He taught humanities, philosophy and theology at Braga, Coimbra, Évora and Lisbon, and held positions of responsibility: he was rector of the Irish seminary of St. Patrick, of the college of St. Antão and preposite of São Roque. In 1657 he was appointed Jesuit provincial in ↗Portugal, a position he held for four years.

T. earned a reputation as an author. He composed a widely popular *Summa universae philosophiae* (1642) and, on the request of the Jesuit General Muzio Vitelleschi (1615–45), he produced two books on the history of the Portuguese Province and, resp., of the Jesuit mission in Ethiopia (1645–47 and 1660). The latter was a revised edition of Manoel de ↗Almeida's homonymous treatise. T. was largely faithful to the original text but embellished its narrative with a baroque style and added some information by consulting missionary records (cf. Tellez 1660: 6r). The work also contained an engraving by Peter van Lisebetten, after a painting by Philip Fruytiers, as well as the famous map of Ethiopia by Almeida.

The *Historia geral da Ethiopia* or excerpts of it had editions in French (1671), Dutch (undated) and English (1710). This work can be considered the official Jesuit narrative of the Ethiopian mission. It was also the last one authored by a Jesuit priest, for this episode was subsequently recounted only by such northern European authors as Hiob ↗Ludolf, Johann Michael ↗Wansleben, Michael Geddes and James ↗Bruce.

Src.: BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *Chronica da Companhia de Iesu na Província de Portugal* ..., Lisboa 1645–47; ID., *Historia geral da Ethiopia a alta, ou Preste Ioam* ..., Coimbra 1660; Rouen 1671; London 1710; Lisboa 1989; ID., "Letter to Francisco Brandão, 1658", in: *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*, Reservados, Cx. 98, no. 131.

Lit.: IVO CARNEIRO DE SOUSA, *A crónica como missão. A "História da Etiópia-a-Alta ou Preste João" do Padre Baltasar Teles (1660)*, Porto 1998; "Teles, Padre Baltasar", in: *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 31, Lisboa – Rio de Janeiro 1945, 124–27.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Təmhərtä ḫ̮əbuʾat

T.ḫ̮. (**ትምህርተ፡ ኅቡኣት**, 'the Doctrine of Mysteries', *Doctrina Arcanorum*, also **እልመስጦአግያ**, *Ǝlmäsṭoʾagya*, 'Introduction into the Mysteries', *Mystagogy*, from Gr. μυσταγωγία) is a short Gəʿəz theological treatise, known in two distinct recensions or text-types.

The first text-type, the T.ḫ̮. proper, is more common. It was probably translated from a Greek *Vorlage*. It is found in many manuscripts together with other Ethiopian theological and liturgical treatises, such as the Ethiopic ↗*Testamentum Domini*, ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, and ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*. Sometimes it is bound together with the Missal, *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qəddase* (Lifchitz 1940: 28–35).

The second, less common text-type, is the *Ǝlmäsṭoʾagya*, which is a translation from Arabic. In the early Church this kind of text was recited for the baptized faithful after the catechumens had been dismissed. Whilst Jesus, as the central celebrated figure, was described and praised without his name being mentioned directly, the initiated in the mysteries of the Christian faith knew who was intended.

The oldest known manuscript of the T.ḫ̮. seems to be BritLib Orient. 597, fols. 257r–259v (WrBriMus 137), dating back to the 15th cent.

The main themes of the T.ḫ̮. are the glorification of the Cross and of the Crucified, the victory of the Redeemer against Satan and personified Death, the descent to and the stay of Christ in Sheol between his death and his resurrection.

The T.ḫ. is used in liturgy and in ↗magic. The liturgical use, formerly more frequent, has nowadays been reduced to the recitation of the T.ḫ. in a few celebrations (Hammerschmidt 1960:44). On the contrary, the use of the text in magic is increasing; it reflects the belief that a text which praised the victory of Christ against the Devil and Death can also protect against demons and illness.

The T.ḫ. (or its parts) also occurs in ↗magic scrolls and in small codices worn as amulets (↗*Ṭälsäm*; cp. Lifchitz 1940:27f.). It was printed in Ethiopia for the first time in 1925/26 (↗Incunabula; Simon 1942:200). In later prints it appeared as part of popular collections of ↗prayers (cf. *Säbattu kidanat* 1959) and frequently in the form of very small booklets (e.g., T.ḫ. 1989).

Src.: Robert Beylot (ed., tr.), *Testamentum Domini éthiopien*, Louvain 1984, 53–61 (text) = 181–85 (tr.); Deborah Lifchitz (ed., tr.), *Textes éthiopiens magico–religieux*, Paris 1940 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 38), 41–52, 54–69, 72–85; **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው** (*Haymanotä abäw*, 'Faith of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba ²1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.], 21–27 (text); **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'Book of the Liturgy'), Città del Vaticano 1945, 1–3; **ሰባቱ፡ ኪዳናትንና፡ ቅዳሴ፡ ማርያምን፡ የያዘ። መልክአ፡ ጉባኤ። በልሳነ፡ ግዕዝ** (*Säbattu kidanatənənna qəddase Maryamən yäyazä. Mälkəʾa gubaʾe. Bäləssanä gəʿəz*, 'Containing the Seven Testaments and the Anaphora of Mary: the Collection of *Mälkəʾ*. In Gəʿəz'), ed. by Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase, Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], 9–21; **ትምህርተ፡ ኅቡኣት፡ ፈዋሴ፡ ዱያን፡ ወማዕሠረ፡ ሰይጣን** (*Təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat, fäwwase duyan wämaʿśärä säyṭan*, 'Doctrine of Mysteries, Healing of the Sick and Binding of Satan'), ed. by Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase, Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D.]; **መጽሐፈ፡ ኪዳን፤ ኪዳን፡ ዘ፫ቱ፡ ጊዜያት፤ ከነትርጓሜው** (*Mäṣḥafä kidan, kidan zäśälästu gizeyat, kännätərgʷamew*, 'The Book of the Testament; the Testament of Three Periods; with Translation'), Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2001/02 A.D.], 51–107; WrBriMus 136ff., no. 207 [ms. Orient. 597].

Lit.: Heinzgerd Brakmann, "La 'Mystagogie' de la liturgie alexandrine et copte", in: Achille Maria Triacca – Alessandro Pistoia (ed.), *Mystagogie: pensée liturgique d'aujourd'hui et liturgie ancienne, Conférences Saint–Serge, 39e Semaine d'Études Liturgiques* (*Paris 1992*), Rome 1992 (Bibliotheca "Ephemerides liturgicae", Subsidia 70), 55–65; Oswald Hugh Ewart Burmester, "The Coptic and Arabic Versions of the Mystagogia", *Le Muséon* 44, 1933, 203–35; Frank H. Hallock, "The Ethiopic Version of the Mystagogia", *Le Muséon* 53, 1940, 67–76; Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische liturgische Texte der Bodleian Library in Oxford*, Berlin 1960 (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung 38), 37–72; Id., *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Berlin 1961 (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten 25), 61f.; Osvaldo Raineri, "La «Dottrina degli arcani» (Temherta Hebu'at) del Messale Etiopico Vaticano", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 95, 1981, 550–55 (Lit.); Jean Simon, [review of Lifchitz 1940], *Orientalia* nova ser. 11, 1942, 199–208; VelMe II, 210–17.

Bogdan Burtea

Ṭəmqät

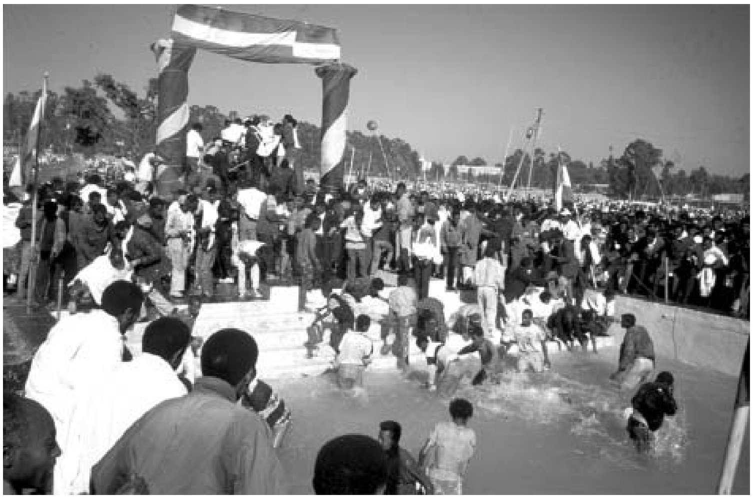
Ṭ. (**ጥምቀት**, 'Epiphany' [but lit. 'Baptism']; called also *Astärʾəyo*, lit. 'manifestation', or *Epifanya*) is one of the most festive of the nine major annual ↗feasts of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC). It is celebrated on 11 *Ṭərr* [19 January] and commemorates the Baptism of Christ by ↗John the Baptist in the River Jordan. It develops the theme of the manifestation of Christ as the Son of God revealing himself to mankind, with the Holy Spirit descending in the form of a dove and the voice of the Father coming from Heaven (Mt 3:13–17; Mk 1:9–11).

The festivities begin in the afternoon of the previous day, with ceremonial processions that start from parish churches and are directed to a more or less distant ↗water point in commemoration of Jesus going from Galilee to the Jordan (Mt 3:13). The priests carry the ↗*tabot*(*s*) of their church, preceded by deacons holding ↗crosses, censers (↗*Maʿəṭänt*) and ringing bells. The bishop(s) may follow the priests; the singing Sunday school students and the faithful may also join the procession.

The water site symbolizing the River Jordan, the same every year for each parish church, can be a river, a pond, a pool or a tank or a barrel. The *tabots* are placed in a tent used as a sanctuary (↗*Mäqdäs*) awaiting the liturgy which takes place the next morning. All night, in another, larger tent nearby, the ↗*däbtära* and ↗*märigeta* sing the services and hymns for the Epiphany. The faithful spend the night in ↗prayer either in the tent with the *däbtära*, or in other tents nearby, or in the open.

After the night prayers and the morning liturgy, the ↗*aqqʷaqʷam* takes place. Then the clergy proceeds to the water for the blessing. The Gospels are read at the four cardinal points of the water spot. Candles – usually three, to symbolize the Holy ↗Trinity – are floated on the water. One of the priests or the bishop plunges a hand cross into the water three times in the name of the Holy Trinity, while praying. Subsequently, the faithful jump into the water if the body of water is large enough and people sprinkle each other abundantly with the blessed water, and acquire a spiritual blessing. They take back home blessed water in bottles.

Later, after a common meal, most of the *tabots* are brought back to their respective churches in the same processional way. The *tabots* dedicated to Archangel Michael remain as his feast is cel-



Ṭəmqät celebration on Ǧan Meda, Addis Abäba; photo 1994, courtesy of Dirk Bustorf

ebrated the next day and they are carried back after the liturgy of the following day. That day (12 *Ṭərr*) the Miracle at Cana is also celebrated (s. Fritsch 2001: 60 no. 68).

The parishes of central Addis Abäba churches carry their *tabots* to ↗Ǧan Meda where a special pool has been constructed (s. ill.). In ↗Gondär, the 17th-cent. rectangular pool "Fasilädäs Bath" is filled by pumps for the ceremony; the ecclesiastics stand in the tower and the faithful crowd around. In ↗Lalibäla, a rock-hewn tank in the courtyard of Betä Maryam is used for the festivities (and at other places where such a basin is available, e.g., at ↗Gännätä Maryam, ↗Mikaʾel Amba, ↗Mäʿaquddi; cp. also ↗Dəgum, Mäṭära, Yəḥa).

Ṭ. is well documented in historical sources. For example, it is known that in the 15th cent., at the time of ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, a pool, 14 arms long and 8 arms wide, was dug at ↗Däbrä Bərhan inside the church enclosure of Betä Qirqos. Zärʾa Yaʿəqob tried to introduce the celebration inside the church, in accordance with the then Coptic practice (s. Cerulli 1950: 451, but cp. Monneret de Villard 1950). The contemporary custom is, however, to celebrate outdoors. In the 16th cent., Francisco ↗Alvares attended the rites of Epiphany at the court of ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl and described a special deep tank, with steps and a large tent over it. The 17th-cent. Pedro ↗Páez also describes the feast. The Jesuit missionaries misunderstood Ṭ. as an annual rebaptism; but the EOTC has always underlined that Ṭ. is a commemoration of Christ's Baptism, and does not replace the Sacrament of ↗Baptism.

In 1933 *ətege* ↗Mänän founded the Ethiopian monastery of the Holy Trinity on the bank of the Jordan, near the site of Christ's Baptism. According to tradition, Ethiopian hermits used to inhabit the place prior to the monastic foundation.

The Ethiopian imagery of the baptism of Christ in church murals (the oldest being the one in ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos church, dating back to the 12th cent.) as well as in manuscript illuminations is obviously related to early Christian and Byzantine art (cp. ↗Painting). However, unique features have been developed in Ethiopia. A frequent representation, showing John the Baptist in the river beside Christ, both immersed up to their waists or chests, is possibly inspired by Ethiopian ceremonies of the Epiphany. The role and positioning of the angels in the composition are also peculiar to the Ethiopian tradition.

↗Calendar

Src.: BauSen 19 (text) = 10 (tr.), §31; BeckHuntAlvar 343–48; Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (ed.), **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነት፡ ሥርዓተ፡ አምልኮትና፡ የውጭ፡ ግንኙነት** *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.], 87f. = 93f.; Jerónimo Lobo, *The Itinerário of Jerónimo Lobo*, tr. by Donald M. Lockhart, London 1984 (Hakluyt Society Works, ser. 2, vol. 162), 180; Pedro Paez, *História da Etiópia*, ed. by Isabel Boavida – Hervé Pennec – Manuel João Ramos, Lisboa 2008, vol. 2, 428ff.; YaqMist I, 144–54 (text) = 87–92 (tr.).

Lit.: Archbishop Basilios, "Epiphany", in: *CE* vol. 4, 1103; Enrico Cerulli, "La festa del Battesimo e l'Eucarestia in Etiopia nel secolo XV", *ABoll* 68, 1950, 436–52, here 443f., 450ff.; Christine Chaillot, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition: a Brief Introduction to its Life and Sprituality*, Paris 2002, 117f.; Stanisław Chojnacki, "A Note on the Baptism of Christ in Ethiopian Art", *Annali IUO* 36 [26], 1976, 103–15; Emmanuel Fritsch, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church,* Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures, Special Issue IX–X), 60, 139f., 154–71, 363, 389; Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Sulla festa del Battesimo in Abissinia", *RANLmor* ser. 8ª, 5, 1950, 513–25; Kirsten Stoffregen Pedersen, *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the Time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, Jerusalem 1983, 93, 132; Agostinos Tedla da Hebo, "Il Tabot: la sua importanza religiosa e giuridico–cultuale nella Chiesa etiopica", *OrChrP* 60, 1, 1994, 131–57, here 153ff.

Christine Chaillot

Ṭəmqät: Mäṣḥafä ṭəmqät

The M.ṭ. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ጥምቀት**, ‘Book of the [Feast of Christ’s] Baptism’, or ‘Epiphany Ritual’) is the name of the liturgy for the annual commemoration on 11 *Ṭərr* (6 January of the Julian = 19 January of the Gregorian calendar, corresponding to the Feast of the Epiphany) of the ↗*Ṭəmqät*, i.e. the ‘Baptism of Christ’, in the River Jordan, one of the most important feasts of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. In manuscripts and printed editions, the M.ṭ. is sometimes grouped with the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*krəstənna*, the service book for the administration of Christian ↗Baptism, to which the name of M.ṭ. or *Mäṣḥafä krəstənna zäṭəmqät* is also given. The confusion between the feast and the Christian baptism is also at the origin of the centuries-long false opinion that the Ethiopians were anabaptist, i.e. that they repeated the baptismal rite once a year (cp. von Arnhard 1886: ii–xiv).

On the occasion of the feast, the water either of a river (certainly so originally, as is confirmed by the iconography, cp. Monneret de Villard 1950, against Cerulli 1950) or of an artificial basin (in both cases called *Yordanos*, i.e. ‘Jordan’) is used to bathe, to drink and to sprinkle, and is credited with all sorts of curative and apotropaic power, including that of remitting sins (cp. LudHist lib. III, cap. 6, §§43–38).

The M.ṭ. was first published and translated by von Arnhard (1886) on the basis of ms. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. aeth. 33, of the 19th cent., fols. 13–17 (cp. SixBay 54, no. 33, *olim* “Cod. aeth. 29”). The archbishop of Salerno, Marc’Antonio Marsilio Colonna (cp. Columna 1586: 521–27) had already published a curious Gəᶜəz text (purportedly depending upon the ↗*Sənkəssar* and arranged by *abba* Yaᶜəqob, the prior of ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori, by order of Pope Paul III) of the rite of the blessing of water, in Arabic writing (due to the lack of Gəᶜəz characters) with a phonetic transcription in Italian letters and a Latin translation. The text was reprinted with the omission of the Italian transcription by von Arnhard (1887: 405ff.; cp. Id. 1886: vi f.), together with a reconstructed Ethiopic text. Columna (1586: 505ff.) had also published the text (repr. in von Arhard 1886: 39–42) and Latin translation (*ibid.* viii–xii) of a Syriac liturgical text, parts of which correspond word by word to the Gəᶜəz text (in turn, probably from the Arabic), which confirms the antiquity of the liturgy in Christian Oriental churches.

The M.ṭ. mainly consists of Biblical readings. According to von Arnhard’s text and to catalogue descriptions (cp. ms. EMML no. 1198 [hereafter EMML], dating to 1881–96), the readings are as follows:

> (10th hour of the night = 4 a.m.): Ps 51 (?); Ex 14: 21–15:1 (EMML Ex 7: 21–8:1); Is 35: 1–10; Mic 7: 14–20; Joel 3: 21–27 (EMML Joel 3: 16–21); Ps 29: 3 (EMML omits this and the following readings for this hour); Mt 3: 1–17; Ps 69: 1; Josh 3: 14–17; Is (?); prayers for the sick, the traveller, rain, and the water of baptism;
> (11th hour = 5 a.m.): Ps 69: 3; Josh 3: 14–17; Is 49: 1–6 (EMML Is 44: 1–6); Jer (? EMML Baruch 3: 9–12); Ezek 36: 25–29 (EMML Ezek 37: 25–29); Ps 77; Mk 1: 1–11; prayers for the fruits of the earth, the waters of the rivers, the king, and against evil spirits;
> (12th hour = 6 a.m.): Ps 114: 1–2; 2 Kgs 2: 19–22; Is 63: 11–64: 9; Zech 14: 4–9; Dan 9: 20–25 (EMML Dan 9: 21–25); Ps 70 (EMML omits); Ps 113: 3–4; Lk 3: 1–23; prayers for those who have fallen asleep (the dead), for those who bring (offerings), for the catechumens;
> (1st hour = 7 a.m.) Gal 3: 18–29; 1 Jn 5: 5–11; Acts 13: 16–21; Ps 113: 1–5; Jn 1: 6–17; other prayers for peace, the bishop and the community, and then the Nicene creed, the prayer of ↗Severos of Antioch (Sawiros), responses, blessing (*burake*) and the prayer of ↗penance (*ṣälotä nəssəḥa*).

Some manuscripts seem to attribute the M.ṭ. to Sawiros, probably on the basis of one of the last prayers (cp. ms. EMML no. 925, 20th cent.). In some mss. the proper M.ṭ. and the relevant Biblical readings are arranged separately, cp., e.g., ms. Ṭānāsee 147 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 36 (SixTana III, 170f., no. 36; 16th cent.), with M.ṭ. on fols. 42vb–58rb, and readings from O.T. and N.T. for the Feast of *Ṭəmqät* on fols. 3ra–41rb, only partly listed in the text edited by von Arnhard (here indicated with *):

> *Ex 14:21–15:1; Ex 15:20–16:1; *Josh 3:14–4:18; 1 Kgs 18:22–39; *2 Kgs 2:1–22; 2 Kgs 5:9–15; Song 5:2–7:3; Ezra (?); *Is 35:1–10; Is 40:3–31; Is 43:1–44:6; *Is 63:11d–64:8; *Mic 7:7–20; *Joel 4:16–21; *Zech 14:4–9; Jer (?); *Ezra 36:23b–37:14; *Dan 9:15–25a.

There are at least 56 manuscripts in the EMML collection, of which only few can be dated to the 18th cent. at the earliest:

> cp. EMML nos. 2853, fols. 2r–38r; 3020, fols. 38r–59r; 3135 (1764–75); 3167; 3332 (18th/19th cent.); 3597, fols. 2r–27r; 4245 (1746–55), fols. 109r–131r; 4567, fols. 45r–73r. Cp. also VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 87, 1922/23, fols. 22r ff. (RaiCer 74)

An archaic liturgy for the Feast of *Ṭəmqät*, very different from both the M.ṭ. and the other Oriental texts for the blessing of waters, is known from the remarkable ms. VatLib Etiop. 4 (GréTisVat I, 17f.), 14th cent., fols. 148r–151v (still unpublished; for an evaluation of the manuscript, cp. BrakKirche 161f.), where the word *epäfanya*, 'Epiphany' (also in the ↗*Senodos*, cp. BauSen 48, 85 [text], both at § 20) is specifically mentioned.

Src.: CARL VON ARNHARD (ed., tr.), መጽሐፈ፡ ጥምቀት. *Liturgie zum Tauf-Fest der Aethiopischen Kirche. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde bei der Hohen philosophischen Facultät der Königlichen Universität Leipzig*, München 1886; ID., "Die Wasserweihe nach dem Ritus der äthiopischen Kirche", *ZDMG* 41, 1887, 403–14; BauSen 48, 85 [text]; MARCUS ANTONIUS MARSILIUS COLUMNA, *Hydragiologia sive De Aqua Benedicta*, Romae 1586; EMML II–V, VII–X; GréTisVat I; RaiCer; SixBay; SixTana III; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), መጽሐፈ፡ ጥምቀት፡ ትምህርተ፡ ኅቡኣት፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ክርስትና (*Maṣḥafä ṭəmqät təmhərtä ḫəbuʾat mäṣḥafä krəstənna*, 'Book of the [Feast of Christ's] Baptism, Doctrine of the Mysteries, Ritual of the Baptism'), Addis Abäba 1940 A.M. [1947/48 A.D.]; ዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ጥምቀት፡ ወመጽሐፈ፡ ክርስትና (*Zəntu mäṣḥafä ṭəmqät wämäṣḥafä krəstənna*, 'This is the Book of the [Feast of Christ's] Baptism and the Ritual of the Baptism'), Addis Abäba 1917 A.M. [1924/25 A.D.].

Lit.: BrakKirche 161f.; ENRICO CERULLI, "La festa del Battesimo e l'Eucarestia in Etiopia nel secolo XV", *ABoll* 68, 1950 (= *Mélanges P. Peeters* II), 436–52; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Ethiopian Studies at German Universities*, Wiesbaden 1970, 30f.; LudHist lib. III, cap. 6, §§ 43–48; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, "Sulla festa del Battesimo in Abissinia", *RANLmor* ser. 8ª, 5, 1950, 513–25; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, [review of von Arnhard 1886], *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie* 3, 1887, 28*–30*.

Alessandro Bausi

Tənśaʾe Zägubaʾe

The T.Z. ↗Printing Press (ትንሣኤ፡ ዘጉባኤ) is the first official publishing press of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC).

T.Z. was established in 1937 A.M. [1943/44 A.D.]. The original proposal came from *mämhər* Raswärq Wäldä Mädḫən, the then Head of the Education and Training Department of the Patriarchate. It was accepted by Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase who donated two printing machines worth 280,000 Lira (*Zena Betä Krəstiyan* 1946: 214f.). The Crown Prince's private donation was part of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's initiative to document the Church's written heritage after the Italian occupation. The original staff numbered five members. The first publication, on the Emperor's approval, was the bi-weekly *Zena Betä Krəstiyan* which was assigned the task of reporting on the intense negotiations between the EOTC and the ↗Coptic Church of Alexandria on account of the former's independence. Another biweekly publication for the same purpose, *Täklä Haymanot*, was later launched by the same printing press. The T.Z. also supported the Emperor's ↗literacy campaign by publishing the Ethiopic syllabary ↗*Abugida* and *Hahu* and *Fidäl ḥawarəya*. The first book published by the T.Z. was the *Yäyoḥannəs wängel mägbiya* in 1942.

The Printing Press was initially run under the History and Composition Department of the Patriarchate of the EOTC; later it was placed under the Evangelism and Publication Department. As with all Church-related publications, the manuscripts submitted to the T.Z. had to be approved by the Scholars of the EOTC (*Yäliqawənt gubaʾe*; ↗Liq) and the Holy Synod (↗Churches and church administration; ↗Law, canon law).

The current Patriarch of the Church, *abunä* Ṗawlos, served as Director of the Press and is said to have improved its general organization and efficiency. Today, the T.Z. is one of the Church enterprises which has an autonomous administrative body under the Patriarchate and continues to have close connections to the *Yäliqawənt gubaʾe* for editorial works.

Src.: ስምዓ፡ ጽድቅ (*Səmʿa ṣədəq*, 'The Witness of Truth'), *Yäkkatit* 1995 A.M. [2002 A.D.], 14ff.; ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት (*Täklä Haymanot,* 'The Plant of the Faith'), *Säne* 1961 A.M. [1968 A.D.], 11ff.; የዮሐንስ፡ ወንጌል፡ መግቢያ (*Yäyoḥannəs wängel mägbiya,* 'Introduction to the Gospel of John'), Addis Abäba 1934 A.M. [1942 A.D.]; ዜና፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን (*Zena Betä Krəstiyan*, 'Church News'), 30 *Ṭərr* 1939 A.M. [1946 A.D.], 214f., 235–39; 30 *Mäggabit* 1947 A.M. [1954 A.D.], 214f.; 30 *Ṭərr* 1945 A.M. [1952 A.D.], 107; 25 *Taḫśaś* 1954 A.M. [1962 A.D.], 1–5; 22 *Gənbot* 1954 A.M. [1962 A.D.] 1, 4; 9 *Naḥase* 1954 A.M. [1962 A.D.], 1; 2 *Mäskäräm* 1955 A.M. [1963 A.D.], 1–4.

Lit.: CALVIN E. SHENK, *The Development of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and its Relationship with the Ethiopian Government from 1930 to 1970*, Ph.D. thesis, New York University 1972, 286–90; WÄLDÄ RUFAʾEL FÄTAHI – KAHSAY GÄBRÄʾƎGZIʾABƎḤER, የትንሣኤ፡ ዘጉባኤ፡ ማተሚያ፡ ቤት፡ 50ኛ፡ ዓመት፡ የወርቅ፡ ኢዩቤልዩ (*Yätənśaʾe zägubaʾe mattämiya bet 50ñña ʿamät yäwärq iyyubeləyu*, 'The Golden Jubilee Anniversary of the Tənśaʾe Zägubaʾe Printing Press'), Addis Abäba 1995 A.M. [2002/03 A.D.].

Mersha Alehegne

Ṭəntä haymanot: Mäṣḥafä ṭəntä haymanot

M.ṭ. (መጽሐፈ፡ ጥንተ፡ ሃይማኖት, 'Book on the Beginning of Faith') is an anonymous Gəʿəz protology, i.e. a book on the creation of the world. It retraces the Creation narrative with a special emphasis on the creation of the angels up to the birth of Seth which happened six years after Abel's death and closes with a genealogy of the O.T. patriarchs up to Abraham and Isaac (cf. Witakowski 2007: 333).

It seems that an important source of the M.ṭ. is the Gəʿəz version of the *Hexaemeron* of Ps.-Epiphanius (↗*Aksimaros*), and perhaps to a lesser degree, the ↗ *Qalemənṭos* (ibid.). The M.ṭ. in turn became an important source of the "Vienna Protology", extant in a 17th/18th-cent. ms. (Wien, cod. aeth. 19/4, fols. 56–63, ed., tr. Haffner 1912; cf. Witakowski 2007: 333). Whether it is correct to state that it is a "commentary" to the *Aksimaros* as claimed by Ricci (RicLett 836) is an open question. As is the case with the *Aksimaros*, the M.ṭ. is attributed to Epiphanius of Salamis († 403).

Several manuscripts of the M.ṭ. are extant:

BN d'Abbadie 125 (CRAbb III, 13, no. 131), fols. 193r ff.; BN Éth. 146 (ZotBNat 246), fols. 214–31 [apparently without the title]; Kebrān 35, fols. 71–98 (HamTana I, 166); BritLib Orient. 753 (WrBriMus 215, no. 322), fols. 68ff. [end of the text not specified in the catalogue]; BritLib Orient. 818 (WrBriMus 310, no. 391), fols. 145–60.

The oldest manuscript is BN d'Abbadie 125 (17th cent.); the other manuscripts are from the 18th cent. Haffner (1930: 106) states that there are two recensions of the text. According to Conti Rossini's catalogue (CRAbb IV, 198f., no. 214), the ms. BN, d'Abbadie 67 is not of M.ṭ. (contrary to Haffner 1926: 364), but of the *Aksimaros*.

According to Grohmann (after Baum 2002: 338), Haffner was working on an edition of the M.ṭ. for decades, but his work remained unpublished and was lost after his death in 1941. The edition, translation and an in-depth analysis of the contents and its relation to other texts of Ethiopian Adamic literature are all desiderata at the time of writing.

Src.: ChAbb III, IV; August Haffner, "Eine äthiopische Handschrift der k. k. Hofbibliothek in Wien zu den pseudo-epiphanischen Werken", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 26, 1912, 363–87; Id., "Die Chöre der Engel im **ጥንት፡ ሃይማኖት**", *ibid.* 37, 1930, 105–20 (with a partial ed.); HamTana I; WrBriMus; ZotBNat.

Lit.: RicLett 836; Witold Witakowski, "On Adam and Satana'el or the Vienna Protology", *Warszawskie studia teologiczne* 20, 2, 2007, 329–42; Wilhelm Baum, "Äthiopien und Österreich – zur Geschichte einer Begegnung", in: *Daheim und in der Fremde. Beiträge zur jüngeren Geschichte und Gegenwartslage der orientalischen Christen*, Hamburg 2002, 325–42.

Stefan Weninger

Ṭəntyon

The Ṭ. (**ጥንትዮን**, or *ṭəntəwon*, from Greek τῶν θεῶν, '(day) of the (planetary) gods', but often explained by scribes as meaning 'at the beginning', in false analogy to Gəᶜəz *ṭənt*, 'beginning') or solar epact (*abäqte ṣ́äḥay*, also *ṭəntyon ṣ́äḥay*), is the number corresponding to the weekday on which the Ethiopic New Year (1 *Mäskäräm*) falls. Ṭ. ranges from 1 = Wednesday to 7 = Tuesday. Its counterpart counting Sunday as 1 is referred to as the (Day of) John (*Yoḥannəs*).

The term Ṭ. has probably been in use since the 14th cent.; it is not used in ↗ Abušakər's chronological treatise, even though the number for the solar epact (the weekday for 1 *Thoth* of the Coptic calendar) is used in calculations. The fact that "1" corresponds to a Wednesday is probably connected to introducing the system in the Era of Incarnation.

Ṭ. is used, in combination with the lunar epact (↗ *Abäqte*) and the day of the Jewish New Year (↗ *Mätqəᶜ*), for calculations of moveable ↗ feasts of the Ethiopian Christian ↗ calendar, and is always provided in the calendric tables (532-year tables, or 19-year tables; it may sometimes be confused with *Yoḥannəs*; s. ↗ computus).

In particular, Ṭ. is necessary to calculate the date for Easter (↗ *Fasika*) or, more directly, the earlier feast of Nineveh, which is uniquely determined by Ṭ. and the number of the year cycle.

Knowing the weekday of 1 *Mäskäräm* (Ṭ.) one can define the weekday for each year's *mätqəᶜ* and therefore the weekday for the Jewish Passover (*mätqəᶜ* + 190 days). *Fasika* would then fall on the first Sunday after the Passover.

For example, if the Jewish New Year has been calculated to correspond to the 7 *Ṭəqəmt* of the Ethiopian calendar and one knows that the Ethiopian New Year fell on a Sunday (Ṭ. = 5), 7 *Ṭəqəmt* would be a Monday. Thus Passover (190 days later, 17 *Miyazya*) is a Tuesday, and the *Fasika* should take place five days later, on Sunday, 22 *Miyazya*.

Ṭ. is also used in traditional astrology and numerology (↗ Magic) whilst multiples of 7 play a role that indicates a connection with the days of the week (↗ Numbers in EAE vol. 5). Even the number of rainstorms was calculated on the basis of a formula (Ṭ. + 5 days of *Pagʷəmen* + 1 day) x 10 = the number of downpours.

Src.: WrBriMus 122, no. 188 [ms. Orient. 578]; VatLib 479–86, ms. Aethiop. 119; HamTana I, 157–62, ms. Ṭānāsee 34 = Kebrān 34; Ignazio Guidi (ed.), "Il 'Marḥa 'ewûr'", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 5, 1896, 363–85, here 377; Otto Neugebauer (ed., tr.), *The "Astronomical" Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (*72 to 82*), København 1981 (Matematisk-fysiske Meddelelser 40, 10), 26.

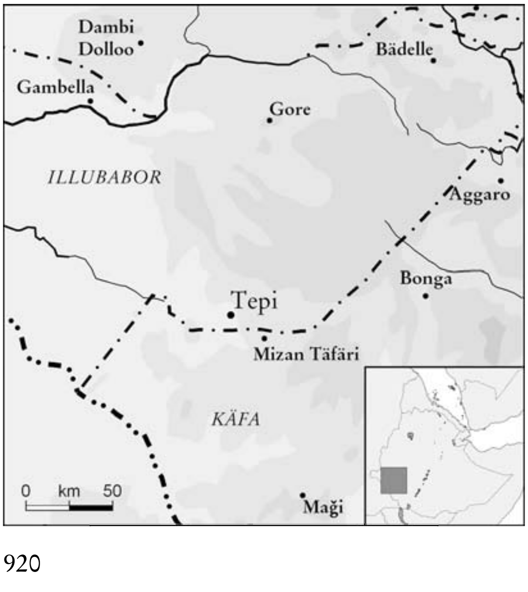
Lit.: Marius Chaîne, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1925; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Tabelle comparative del calendario etiopico col calendario romano*, Roma 1948; Sylvain Grébaut, "Le sept cieux et les sept cercles de la terre", *ROC* 18, 1913, 204–06; Murad Kamil, "The Ethiopian Calendar", *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Egypt* 12, 1950, 91–113; Mauro da Leonessa, "Un trattato sul calendario redatto al tempo di re ᶜAmda-Ṣəyon I", *RSE* 3, 1943, 302–26; OTTO NEUGEBAUER, "Ṭentyon", *Orientalia* nova ser. 44, 1975, 487–88; ID., *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Wien 1979 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, Band 347) 9, 29, 52f., 57–66, 72–77, 89, 185, 218–25 (Lit.); ID., *Abu Shaker's "Chronography": a Treatise of the 13th Century on Chronological, Calendrical, and Astronomical Matters, written by a Christian Arab, preserved in Ethiopic*, Wien 1988 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 498. Band), 29 and n. 1, 89, 126, 146, 149, 156; UhPal 108ff.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Tepi

The city of T. (also Tippi, 7° 12' N, 35° 25' E, 1,250 m A.S.L.) is located in south-west Ethiopia, in the southern part of what was formerly Illubabor, was then transferred to Käfa, and is now in the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region. It is said to be named after a ↗Mağaŋgir man who used to have a hive in the large tree that stood in the market. The population has greatly increased since the 1970s (18,357 inhabitants in 2005; CSA 2004).

During the ↗Italian war 1935–36, there was a small Italian military presence at T. The surrounding countryside has long been multiethnic, including significant numbers of Mağaŋgir, ↗Šakačo, ↗Šeko, ↗Käfa and ↗Oromo. Most of the city's residents are from other parts of Ethiopia. In the 1980s, as a result of the ↗famine, a large number of people from other provinces were resettled nearby. Under the new ethnic federalism this has led to conflicts, since no ethnic group comprises a majority.



T. had airline service since the 1960s. An elementary school was begun in T. about the time the Italians left and since about 1980 it has had a high school. Electricity became available in 1984. All-weather roads were begun in the late 1970s, and by 1988 they extended in three directions: south to ↗Mizan (built with Cuban help), south-east to Šišinda (toward Bonga) and north to Gore. It has long been a market and commercial centre for the area.

T. has Orthodox churches, a mosque and Protestant churches. There is also a strong following of a local spirit cult to Bulafo and Ginabo.

T.'s landscape is hilly and was densely forested. The area claims to be Ethiopia's center for turmeric, and also exports much coffee (private and plantation), cardamom, ginger, maize, honey, wax, timber, sugar cane and fruits. Due to the fly-borne disease trypanosomiasis, cattle are rare in the area, so none are used for plowing. The disease also prevents equines from being raised there. North-east of T., there is an inactive shield volcano also called T. (2,728 m A.S.L., 7° 25' N, 35° 25' E).

Src.: CSA 2004.

Peter Unseth

Təqəmt ↗Calendar, Christian (Month)

Ṭəqur Anbäsa

Ṭ.A. (**ጥቁር፡ አንበሳ**, 'Black Lion[s]') was the name of a group of patriotic young Ethiopians, largely intellectuals, who sought to organize armed ↗resistance to the Italian invaders in 1936 (↗Italian war 1935–36). Reacting to the Emperor's appointment of *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase as Regent, based at ↗Gore in the west of the country, they made their way to ↗Wälläga, where they placed themselves under his nominal command. Some 350 in number, and operating on the basis of a "progressive" written constitution, they have been described by Bahru Zewde (2002: 203) as constituting "perhaps the most coherent, if short-lived", Ethiopian intellectuals' opposition to the Fascist occupation. They comprised young ex-cadets of the ↗Holäta Military Academy and graduates of the Täfäri Mäkʷännən Secondary School in Addis Abäba, as well as about 50 defectors from ↗Eritrea. Presided over by ᶜAlämwärq Bäyyänä, a British-educated veterinarian – and blessed by Bishop Mikaᵓel of Gore – their leadership included Eritrean-born Bälay Ḫaylä Ab; a Holäta graduate, Kəfle Näsibu; the young Oromo nobleman *ləğ* ↗Yəlma Däressa (just before, still engaged in the separatist ↗“Western Galla Confederation” project); the elderly Goǧǧame, Gäbru Dästa (↗Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəher Dästa); Fäqadä Śəllase Ḫəruy, son of the pre-war Foreign Minister ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase; and Bənyam and Yosef Wärqənäh, the sons of *hakim* ↗Wärqənäh Ǝšäte, the Ethiopian minister in London.

Militarily the Ṭ.A.’s principal achievement was the so-called “Bonäyya incident” of 27 June 1936, which involved the burning to the ground of three Italian aeroplanes at Bonäyya near ↗Naqamtee. In the accompanying engagement General Magliocco, second-in-command of the Royal Italian Air-Force in East Africa, Colonel Canderni, the former Italian military attaché in Ethiopia , and ten other Italian officers were killed. The Italians retaliated by launching a heavy aerial bombardment, after which the Ṭ.A., fearing further reprisals, on the local population, as well as on themselves, withdrew westwards as far as the ↗Goǧäb River. Their retreat was blocked there by far stronger enemy forces, which obliged the Ṭ.A.s to surrender late in December 1936. Many members of the group were later killed in the ↗Graziani massacre of February 1937. Memories of the Ṭ.A. subsequently served as a patriotic inspiration, and led to the naming during the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) regime of Addis Abäba’s largest hospital as the Ṭ.A.

Lit.: Amsalu Temesgen, *Italian Occupation and Response in and around Naqemte, 1936–1941*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1983; Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia*, London 2002, 42, 86, 88, 203f., 210; Arthur J. Barker, *The Civilizing Mission*, London 1968, 280–82; Richard Greenfield, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, London 1965, 231f.; Alberto Sbacchi, *Legacy of Bitterness, Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935–41*, Trenton, NJ 1996, 167f; Taddäsä Meča, **ጥቁር፡ አንበሳ፡ በምራብ፡ ኢትዮጵያ** (*Ṭəqur Anbäsa bämərab Ityoṗya*, ‘The Black Lions in Western Ethiopia’), Asmära n.d.; MockWar 164–68; Tesema Taᵓa, “The Bonayya Incident and the Italian Occupation of Naqamtee, 1936–1941”, in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 263–85.

Richard Pankhurst

Tərdaᵓ Gäbäz s. vol. 5

Təргʷame

In the Ethiopian ↗Bible commentary tradition, T. (**ትርጓሜ**, lit. ‘interpretation, explication’, but also ‘translation’) is the designation given to local commentaries written in ↗Gəᶜəz. These make up a corpus that comments on all the books of the ↗Bible.

T. developed between the 13th and the 16th cent., mainly in the monastic theological centres of Gondär, Goǧǧam and Wällo. T. commentaries are traditional in that they draw, directly or indirectly, much of their material from sources found in earlier Christian writings. They blend these sources with local scholarship so as to make their content suitable for their local audience (Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh 1970/71: 213ff.). The content of the interpretation found in the different T. varies much from one manuscript to another. This is especially evident in the treatment that different T. give to the same Biblical book. In this sense, the T. do not constitute a unified corpus comparable to the ↗*Andəmta*.

T. is characterized by relatively little elaboration but instead by austere and direct formulation. T. frequently uses the typology, whereby the *typoi* used by the O.T. books find their fulfilment in the N.T., more specifically in the life of both Christ and the Church. T. frequently has recourse to allegory and paraphrases to clarify the meaning of the Biblical text. T. combines a kind of exegesis containing authoritative interpretations with a certain tendency to vulgarization, with the written exegesis more scientific in nature. Some T. manuscripts (e.g., Wien Cod. Aeth. 16) seem to be the work of a single author, whose concern is to explain the text from a sapiential point of view.

The patristic sources identified in the *T. Orit* (commentary to the ↗Octateuch, hereafter T.O.) are texts by such authors as ↗John Chrysostom (e.g., ms. BN d’Abbadie 28), Abū l-Farağ ᶜAbdallāh b. aṭ-Ṭayyib and Theodore bar Koni. ↗Hippolytus of Rome, ↗Gregory of Nazianzus and Theodoret of Cyrrhus are said to be the sources of the commentary on Dan and the Minor Prophets contained in ms. Wien Cod. Aeth. 16.

Patristic sources behind the ↗*Təргʷame wängel* (commentaries to the ↗Gospels) are mainly Theodore of Mopsuestia, John Chrisostom, ↗Cyril of Alexandria, ↗Gregory of Nissa, ↗Eusebius of Cesarea, ↗Athanasius, ↗Severus of Antioch, all somehow present in the Graeco-Syro-(Copto)-Arabic chain (Cowley 1983: 37; EAE vol. 1, 573f.). Most influential was the Gospel commentary by Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib, translated from Arabic into Gəᶜəz in 1522/23 (Cowley 1987: 5; WrBriMus 201).

The named sources to the *T. Ṗawlos* (commentary to the Pauline ↗epistle, T. Ṗawlos) contained in ms. BritLib Orient. 13,830 are Cyriacus of Nisibis, John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Ayləyayus, Ephraim, Ḥanan (probably Hannan of Hedhaiyabh), Theodore of Mopsuestia, Wäldä Näharayn and Agob (probably Aḥob of Qaṭar; s. Cowley 1983: 37). A reconstruction of the lines of transmission of material from the Graeco-Syro-(Copto)-Arabic commentary tradition into Gəʿəz can be seen in Cowley (1983: 39).

At times, the sources used from the various authors are acknowledged explicitly, as is the case at the end of the commentary to Lk (BritLib Orient. 731). This contains a detailed list of the names of church fathers, whose scholarship had been incorporated in the commentary: Egypt (15), Syria (7), Armenia (7), Rome before the separation (7), and Greece (6). However, in most instances, T. do not quote sources explicitly.

Many of the T. manuscripts have been traced and classified by Cowley (1983: 36–40; 1987: 5; 1988: 443ff.). Besides, several T. have been edited and published, either as a complement to critical editions of Biblical books or in full. E.g., the T. on the Minor Prophets found in mss. Wien Cod. Aeth. 16 and Berlin Or. Quart. 986 were reproduced in the critical editions to Hos and Mic (Fuhs 1971, 1968) and Dan (Löfgren 1927); and in the critical edition to commentaries on Mic (García 1999: 326–39). Comment on excerpts from Is, Job, Dan, Prov, Hos, Jer, the prophecy against Pashhur, Wisdom and Zk is contained in the ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat* (Wäldä Mikaʾel Bərhanä Mäsqäl 1949/50: 358). Finally, an annotated translation of *T. Qälämis*, a commentary on the book of the ↗Revelation, found in ms. BritLib Orient. 13830, was published by Cowley (1983: 65–156).

The T. follow the same two-part method of interpretation applied by all other Ethiopian Bible commentaries: the first part contains the quotation, while the second part contains the exegetical commentary. Some T. provide a lengthy edition of the Biblical text, divided into parts, but following a different order than that of the modern chapter and verse structure (e.g., ms. Berlin Or. Quart. 986). Most commonly, the T. make use of a handful of technical terms and abbreviations so as to introduce the part being treated. So, the edition of the Biblical portion is normally introduced by the term **ቃል** (*qal*, 'word', here 'text'), **ንባብ** (*nəbab*, 'reading'), or in the case of T.O., **እምቃለ፡ ኦሪት** (*əmqalä orit*, 'from the word of the Octateuch' or 'from a quotation from the Law'; s. EMML no. 2101). Some T. give short quotes of the Biblical text that end with **ዘ** (*-zä*, short for **ዘይቤ**, *zäyəbe*, 'that which says'; s. BN d'Abbadie 156). Other T. also divide the portion under study into parts of similar size, but limit themselves to quoting only the first word followed by **እ፡ ኀ፡ ይ** (*ə ḫa yə*, for **እስከ፡ ኀበ፡ ይቤ**, *əskä ḫabä yəbe*, 'until when it says') and the last word of the portion (BN d'Abbadie 157). Finally, some T. limit themselves to quoting only selected verses of the book under study, which they normally introduce with the term *qal* (Wien Cod. Aeth. 16).

The second part, i.e. the commentary proper, is usually introduced with the term **ፍካሬ** (*fəkkare*, 'interpretation'; s. Berlin Or. Quart. 986, EMML no. 2101) or simply **ፍ** (*fə*). Some T. use the term "T." to introduce a somewhat lengthy commentary (Wien Cod. Aeth. 16). Others use **ይቤ** (*yəbe*, 'it says').

The same word or passage under study may be given several interpretations. These are also introduced by formulae or technical terms such as **አው** (*aw*, 'or'); **ቦ፡ ዘይቤ** (*bo zäyəbe*, 'there is one who says') or simply *bo*; **ወቦ፡ እለ** (*wabo əllä*) or **ወቦ፡ እ** (*wabo ə*, 'there is [one] who [says]'); or **ዳግም** (*dagəm*, 'also'; cf. Säyfä Śəllase Yoḥannəs 1994/95: 121f.; García 1999: 25–31; EAE vol. 1, 573f.).

In the 16th cent. the process of translating Gəʿəz Bible commentaries into Amharic began. A conscious effort by local scholars to harmonize and standardize the commentaries in Amharic resulted eventually in the phasing out of the Gəʿəz commentary tradition. However, the T. continued to be the main source of the new *Andəmta* commentaries. One example of this traditional influence can be seen in the *Andəmta* to Mt 2:3, where there is a reference to an earlier T. *wängel* (Bərhanu Gäbrä Amanuʾel 2004: 73).

Src.: *liqä kahənat* BƎRHANU GÄBRÄ AMANUʾEL (ed.), **ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ** (*Wängel qəddus*, 'Holy Gospel' [with *Andəmta*]), Addis Abäba 1995 A.M. [2004 A.D]; EMML VI, 195f. [no. 2101]; HANS FERDINAND FUHS (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Micha*, Bonn 1968 (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 28); ID. (ed., tr.), *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Hosea*, Bonn 1971 (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 38); MIGUEL ANGEL GARCÍA, *Ethiopian Biblical Commentaries on the Prophet Micah*, Wiesbaden 1999 (AeF 52); HamSixBerl no. 106 [ms. Orient. Quart. 986]; OSCAR LÖFGREN, *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Daniel*, Paris 1927; NIKOLAUS RHODOKANAKIS, *Die äthiopische Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, Wien 1906 (Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 151), no. 1 [ms. Wien Cod. Aeth. 16]; JOHANNES C.J. SANDERS (ed., tr.), *Ibn aṭ-Ṭaiyib. Commentaire sur la Genèse*, Louvain 1967 (CSCO 274, 275); WÄLDÄ MIKAʾEL BƎRHANÄ MÄSQÄL (ed.), **ግብረ፡ ሕማማት** (*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*, 'Acts of the Passion'), Addis Abäba 1942 A.M. [1950/51 A.D.], repr. 1982 [1990/91 A.D.]; WrBriMus nos. 308, 309 [mss. Orient. 731, 732], esp. p. 201.

Lit.: ROGER WENHAM COWLEY, "New Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 26, 1977, 144–92; ID., *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethio-*

pian Orthodox Church, Cambridge 1983 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 33); Id., "A Geᶜez Document Reporting Controversy concerning the Bible Commentaries of Ibn aṭ-Ṭaiyib", *RSE* 30, 1987, 5–13; Id., *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation. A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38) [Lit.]; *liqä səlṭanat* Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነትና፡ ትምህርት** (*Yäʾityoṗya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan əmnätənna təmhərt*, 'The Faith and the Teaching of the Ethiopian Täwaḥedo Orthodox Church'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; Säyfä Śəllase Yoḥannəs, **የአንድምታ፡ ትርጓሜ፡ በኢትዮጵያ፡ ባህልና፡ ትምህርት** (*Yäʾandəmta tərgʷame bäʾityoṗya bahələnna təmhərt*, 'The Andemta Commentary in Ethiopian Culture and Education'), in: Hailegebriel Mellaku (ed.), *Ethiopian Review of Cultures*, vols. 4–5, Addis Ababa 1994–95, 121–30; Wälda Śəllase Gäbrä Iyäsus, **የአንድምታ፡ ትርጓሜ፡ ታሪካዊ፡ እድገት** (*Yäʾandəmta tərgʷame tarikawi ədgät*, 'The Historical Development of the Andemta Interpretation'), paper presented to the *Seminar on Hermeneutics*, Ministry of Culture, Addis Ababa 1980.

Miguel Angel García

Tərgʷame wängel

The T.w. (**ትርጓሜ፡ ወንጌል/ወንጌላት**, 'Interpretation of [or Commentary on] the Gospel[s]', cp. ↗*Tərgʷame*) is the title of two so far unpublished works of ↗Gəᶜəz literature.

The first text contains scholia from writings of the Church Fathers (e.g., ms. EMML no. 2797, incipit fol. 2r; EMML no. 2088, incipit fol. 2r), including ↗Severos of Antioch, ↗Cyril of Alexandria, ↗John Chrysostom, ↗Gregory of Nazianzus, etc. Cowley (1983:37, 1988:47, 53) identified it as the *Copto-Arabic Gospel Catena*. It was translated from Arabic not later than the 16th cent., as the date of the earliest manuscript indicates (EMML no. 2088, 16th cent.; BritLib Add. 16,220, early 17th cent.).

The second text was identified by Conti Rossini (1900:272) and Guidi (GuiSLett 68f.) as the work of the Jacobite exegete Dionysius Bar-Ṣalībī (12th cent.), supposedly on the basis of the colophon in ms. BritLib Orient. 732 (17th cent., WrBriMus no. 309; the same text is in EMML no. 2158), which says that the work was translated *əmləssanä surəst ḫabä ləssanä ᶜəbrayəsṭ* ('from the Syriac into the Hebrew [here: Arabic?] language'; Cowley 1983:37, 1988:48). The text is on the other hand regarded as the Gəᶜəz version of the *Commentary on the Gospel* by Abū l-Farağ ᶜAbdallāh b. aṭ-Ṭayyib, an 11th-cent. East Syrian ("Nestorian") philosopher and physician, and secretary to two successive *catholicoi* of his Church. Perhaps influenced by the same colophon, Cowley (1988:53, stemma) suggests that Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib wrote in Syriac and translated his work into Arabic. However, since otherwise nothing is known about Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib's writing in Syriac (whereas the Arabic text is extant), it seems possible that he did not write originally in Syriac, but used Syriac sources, such as the extensive Biblical commentary by Ishoᶜdad of Merw (9th cent.), another East Syrian exegete. Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib's *Commentary* (1018) soon found its way into the hands of West Syrian ("Monophysite") redactors (GrafLit II, 166ff.), and in this version it eventually reached Ethiopia. According to the colophon in ms. BritLib Orient. 732, it was translated (from Arabic) into Ethiopic in 1522/23, under *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (s. WrBriMus 201). According to a note in ms. EMML no. 7122 (Cowley 1984–86:7ff.), Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib's commentary was, at least in the part concerning the O.T., an object of an otherwise unknown controversy.

The manuscripts do not provide the name of the author at the beginning of the text, and since Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib begins his comments on successive Gospel verses by quoting John Chrysostom (other authorities are Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus, ↗Ephrem the Syrian, etc.), in the extant catalogues his T.w. is sometimes attributed to this Church Father (e.g. EMMLno. 368). Another reason for this attribution could be the fact that Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib seems to have been called "John Chrysostom the Eastern" (Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Ab Yoḥannəs Afä Wärq Məśraqawi, s. BritLib Orient. 732; but also already in Arabic, s. GrafLit II, 169).

The oldest Ethiopic manuscripts date from the 17th cent. (Paris, BN Éth. 65; BritLib Orient. 732; EMML no. 2158, from 1607–32 [Lk, Jn]).

As the part concerning Mt is the largest, it is sometimes transmitted separately (e.g., ms. BritLib Add. 16,248).

In some younger manuscripts, from the 18th cent. onward (e.g., EMML no. 630), the text of the T.w. is preceded by an Amharic introduction, and some copies (EMML no. 679, 20th cent.) have both Amharic and Gəᶜəz introductions.

There is also an Amharic commentary on the Gospels (**የወንጌል፡ ትርጓሜ**, *Yäwängel tərgʷame*, e.g., EMML no. 277 [Mt, Mk, Lk], 279 [Jn], 20th cent.), but it is not clear whether it is a translation from Gəᶜəz, and, if so, which T.w. was its *Vorlage*. The Scriptural passages, commented in Amharic, are quoted in Gəᶜəz (e.g., EMML no. 674 20th cent. [Lk, Jn]).

↗Bible: Bible commentary traditions

Src.: DillmLond 10f., no. 11 [ms. Add. 16,220]; 11f., no. 12 [ms. Add. 16,248]; EMML nos. 277, 368, 674, 2088, 2158, 2797; 7122 [not catalogued]; WrBriMus 200f., no. 309 [ms. Orient. 732]; ZotBNat 72f., ms. Éth 65.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1899, 197–285, here 272; GuiSLett 68–69; GrafLit II, 166–69; ROGER W. COWLEY, *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Cambridge 1983 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 33); ID., "A Geᶜez Document Reporting Controversy Concerning the Bible Commentaries of Ibn-aṭ-Ṭayyib", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987], 5–13; ID., *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: a Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 38).

Witold Witakowski

Ṭərr ↗Calendar, Christian (Month)

Terra demaniale

During the period of Italian rule in Colonia ↗Eritrea, the term T.d. (Ital. 'domanial land'; also *demanio*; Tgn. **ዶመንያለ** *domänyalä*) denoted those areas of land which had been made the property of the Italian crown. While the Ethiopian rulers had traditionally claimed rights over large areas of land, these claims were, in practice, largely theoretical. The Italian Crown and the Italian colonial authorities, however, took control over a wide range of lands in Eritrea. In addition to agricultural lands to be granted to Italian colonists, claims were exercised over roads, ports, beaches, forests, and many other categories of land (Jordan Gebre-Medhin 1989: 57). Also lands that had been lost by their original owners for political reasons could become T.d. lands as could lands over which no clear indigenous title could be established. While the expropriation of lands in Eritrea began soon after the Italian conquest, it was the Italian land statute of 1909, revised in 1926, which first introduced T.d. land as a clear concept (Pankhurst 1966: 192f.). This decree asserted Italian state ownership over lands below an altitude of 350 m in the Western Lowlands and below 850 m in the Eastern Lowlands, if not already occupied by settlers.

↗Africa Orientale Italiana; ↗Agriculture; ↗Colonialism; ↗Land tenure

Lit.: JORDAN GEBRE-MEDHIN, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 1989, 57ff.; RICHARD PANKHURST, *State and Land in Ethiopian History*, Addis Ababa 1966, 192f.

David O'Kane

Territoire Français des Afars et Issas (T.F.A.I.) ↗Djibouti

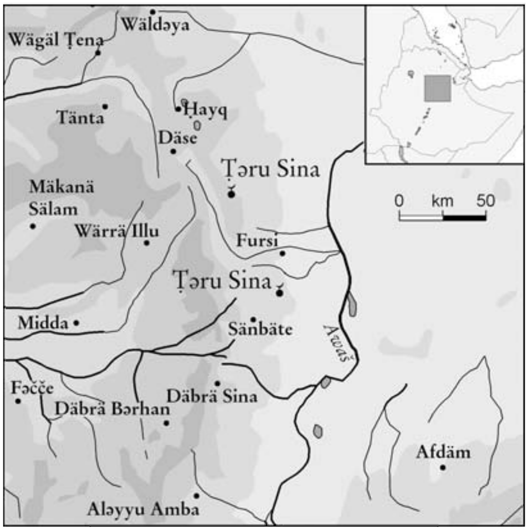
Ṭəru Sina

Ṭ. (**ጥሩ፡ ሲና**) is located in Arba Wayu *qäbälä* in Ğille Ḍimugaa district, in the Oromiyyaa zone of the Amhara regional state (formerly in southern ↗Wällo province). The surrounding area is inhabited by three different ethnic groups, ↗Amhara, ↗Argobba and ↗Oromo. Ṭ. is a ↗*zāwiya* of the Qādirīya ↗Islamic brotherhood established in 1949 by *šayḫ* Səraǧ Muḥammad Awwäl (b. ca. 1875, d. 1972) from Dana, Wällo. Ṭ. is not to be confused with another *zāwiya* in Wällo by the same name of ↗Ṭəru Sina (s. below).

Šayḫ Səraǧ Muḥammad became known as a peace broker in an ethnic conflict between the Amhara and the Oromo in the 1930s and early 1940s. The cause of the conflict was related to land resources which were contended between the pastoralist Oromo and sedentary agriculturalist Amhara. Killing for fame and the celebration of the killer (s. ↗Meritorious complex) was also another factor for the conflict. The government put an effort to end the conflict but failed.

Šayḫ Səraǧ Muḥammad was then on the onset of his religious mission. In conflict resolution he cooperated with the state officials of the area and was successful because of his religious wisdom, his oratory skills and the miracles he is widely believed to have performed as a Ṣūfī *šayḫ*. The *šayḫ* was rewarded with land by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and the community for the significant role he played in restoring peace in the area. *Šayḫ* Səraǧ established his shrine as centre of Islamic learning and mediation.

Unlike most customary institutions which handle conflicts on ad hoc bases (cp. Pankhurst –



Getachew Assefa 2008) Ṭ. has regular hearings weekly on Mondays where conflicts of diverse nature are handled ranging from group conflict to individual conflict and both civil and criminal matters. Although Ṭ. is located in Oromiyyaa zone it also serves Christian Amhara from the neighbouring zone. After *šayḫ* Səraǧ's death the educational activities at Ṭ. stopped but the weekly gatherings and the biannual *ziyāra* (s. ↗Pilgrimage, Islamic) in August and October continued to be carried out.

Lit.: AHMED HASSEN OMER, "Centres of Traditional Muslim Education in Northern Shäwa (Ethiopia): a Historical Survey with Particular Reference to the Twentieth Century", *JES* 39, 2006, 1–2, 13–33, here 27; ALULA PANKHURST – GETACHEW ASSEFA (eds.), *Grass Root Justice in Ethiopia*: *the Contribution of Customary Dispute Resolution*, Addis Ababa 2008; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "The Meritorious Complex: a German Approach to Ethiopian Anthropology", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 2, 652–60; MERON ZELEKE, "*Ye Shakoch Chilot* (the Court of the Sheikhs): a Traditional Institution of Conflict Resolution in Oromiya Regional State, Ethiopia", *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 10, 1, 2010, 63–84; ID., "The Former Sufi Centres of Learning and their Contemporary Courts", *The Journal of Religion, Conflict, and Peace* 3, 2, 2010, in preparation.

Meron Zeleke

Ṭəru Sina

Ṭ. (**ጥሩ፡ ሲና**) is a settlement located between Kämise and Ḥarbu towns in the Ç̣affee-Golana Dawa-Rahmedo *wäräda*, in the Oromiyyaa zone of the Amhara *kəlləl* (formerly South ↗Wällo province; for location s. map for Ṭəru Sina above). It is a ↗*zāwiya* of the Qādirīya Ṣūfī Muslim brotherhood, allegedly established ca. 1950 by *šayḫ* ᶜAbduṣṣāmad ᶜAbdarraḥmān, who was educated in Muslim lore at the famous shrine of ↗Annaa (s. EAE vol. 5) in Rayyaa, northern Wällo.

Ṭ. is not to be confused with the homonymous Qādirīya *zāwiya* in the Amhara Region (↗Ṭəru Sina above), with which it, however, shares features that suggest a similar background. Both emanate from the Ṣūfī Muslim tradition, cherish the memory of Muslim saints and are places of Muslim learning and worship. The Ṭ. discussed here is more a place of retreat and religious reflection and less a centre of local conflict mediation (unlike the other Ṭ.). Both are relatively minor centres that stand in the shadow of the Gäta, Daana, Ǧämma Nəguś and Annaa shrines.

Ṭ. lies on a secluded wooded hilltop and consists of two settlements: one for females and one for males (off-limits for females), in total ca. 250 persons (in 2008). A large wooden mosque stands at the centre of the settlement. There are restrictions on entering Ṭ. and the place has a monastery-like atmosphere, as evident in the male-female division, sexual abstinence, strict standards of cleanliness, and the organization of *corvée* labour. The daily life is organized around religious services. The inhabitants study religious works, pray and fast, and some produce Muslim religious ↗manuscripts and amulets. They do not actively proselytize, avoid politics and try to live an exemplary religious life. They neither cultivate nor keep livestock, and most provisions are supplied to them by local farmers and visitors/benefactors. They, however, prepare their own food in collective kitchens.

The area around Ṭ. is inhabited by the ↗Amhara, ↗Oromo, and ↗Argobba. Local inhabitants regularly come to Ṭ. for religious advice and sometimes to ask for mediation in local disputes. They also occasionally send wayward children (notably young males) to stay in the shrine for a period of recovery (Abbink 2008: 130).

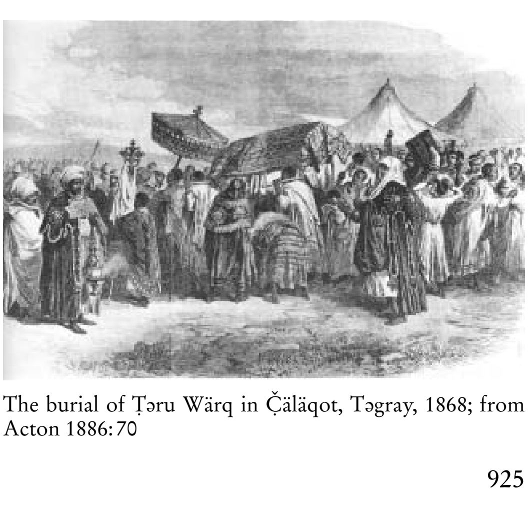
Lit.: JON ABBINK, "Muslim Monasteries? Some Aspects of Religious Culture in Northern Ethiopia", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, 117–33, here 127–30.

Jon Abbink

Ṭəru Wärq Wəbe

Ṭ.W. (**ጥሩ፡ ወርቅ፡ ውቤ**, originally Ṭərunäš; d. 1868) was the daughter of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam and the second wife of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II.

Ṭ.W. and Tewodros were married in mid–1860, two years after the death of his first wife, ↗Täwabäčč (Stern 1862: 112f., 118f.; MonVidTheo 24). It is possibly due to a figurative comparison of her beauty to gold that Ṭərunäš's name became Ṭ.W. Even with her father still in prison she belonged to a politically powerful lineage. She received the news of her father's death in



The burial of Ṭəru Wärq in Ç̣äläqot, Təgray, 1868; from Acton 1886: 70

1867 at ↗Mäqdäla, where she seems to have resided much of the time (MonVidTheo 45).

Ṭ.W. was the mother of ↗ᶜAlämayyähu Tewodros, one of Tewodros's two known surviving sons. After the British expedition defeated Tewodros's army at Mäqdäla, on 10 April 1868, Ṭ.W. and her son passed into the hands of the English, who took them along when they left the country. Ṭ.W., however, died en route, and was buried at ↗Čälaqot in Təgray (FusTeod 49).

Src.: Roger Acton, *The Abyssinian Expedition and the Life and Reign of King Theodore* (*engravings from the Illustrated London News*), London 1886, 70; David Appleyard et al. (ed., tr.), *Letters from Ethiopian Rulers* (*Early and Mid-nineteenth century*), Oxford 1985, 150 (Lit.), s. index; FusTeod 49 (text) = 52 (tr.); Henry Aaron Stern, *Wanderings among the Falashas in Abyssinia …*, London 1862, 112f., 118f.; MonVidTheo 24, 45 (text) = 30, 56 (tr.).

Donald Crummey

Teruzzi, Attilio

T. (b. 5 May 1882, Milano, d. 26 April 1950, Procida, Naples) was an Italian colonial officer and politician.

T. as a young lieutenant served with the Italian army in Eritrea from 1901 to 1911. In 1912 T. accompanied the Vth Eritrean Battalion in Lybia, he then fought in ↗World War I. In 1920 he joined the Fascist movement. In November 1921 he was nominated vice-secretary and then high commissioner of the Partito Nazionale Fascista. From November 1926 to May 1928 T. was governor of Cyrenaica and partially succeeded in "pacifying" the region. In January 1929 T. was nominated Militia chief of staff and a member of the Grand Council.

During the ↗Italian war 1935–36 T. organized six black shirt divisions and headed one of them. In 1937 he was appointed undersecretary at the Ministero dell'↗Africa Orientale Italiana (A.O.I.) and in October 1939 became Minister.

The years at the Ministero were mainly devoted to quelling the Ethiopian ↗resistance. Graziani's policy of ruthless repression had been very ineffective, leading to an increase in resistance activities. In 1938 the appointment of Amedeo di ↗Savoia signified a new policy of appeasement. Although in opposition to the Duke, T. was also well aware that, with the limited resources at his disposal, there was no alternative to this policy. T. visited A.O.I. in 1938, 1939 and 1940.

T. also had to defend the A.O.I. on the eve of ↗World War II, but the lack of adequate resources rendered this target almost impossible. When the conflict started, the empire fell to British troops in less than a year.

After the Grand Council vote against ↗Mussolini, T. remained loyal to the *Duce* and joined the Italian Social Republic. After the fall of the Republic, T. was sentenced to 30 years in prison but was soon released. He spent his last days in Procida.

Src.: Attilio Teruzzi, *L'Africa italiana nel secondo anno dell'impero* [speach at the Camera dei Deputati], Roma 1938.

Lit.: Anon., "Cambio della guardia al Ministero dell'Africa Italiana", *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 3, 3, 1940, 354–58.

Massimo Zaccaria

Terzian, Sarkis ↗Armenians

Ṭəso Gobäze

Ṭ.G. (**ጥሶ፡ ጎበዜ**; d. 31 March 1868; also Ṭərso Gobäze) was a 19th-cent. interim ruler of ↗Bägemdər and a rebel against Emperor ↗Tewodros II.

Ṭ.G. first appeared in ↗Wälqayt in 1863 (RubInd 241). His rebellion provoked the Emperor to sack both ↗Dämbəya and ↗Gondär which only increased Ṭ.G.'s popularity. 1864 proved a critical year for the Emperor who suffered heavy defeats in both ↗Goǧǧam and ↗Šäwa, following which he withdrew towards ↗Mäqdäla. Thereafter, his power steadily declined and the area he controlled shrank with it, leaving plenty of room for rebels. Meanwhile, Ṭ.G., taking advantage of the Emperor's growing unpopularity and his withdrawal, seized control of Bägemdər including Gondär from where he also made incursions into ↗Təgray. By the end of the year all the territory between Lake ↗Ṭana and the ↗Täkkäze River including Gondär had fallen into the hands of Ṭ.G.

By 1868 Tewodros's sway was confined to the immediate environs of Mäqdäla, where, in April of that year, he was defeated by the British expeditionary force under General ↗Napier and committed suicide. Ṭ.G.'s ambition to control the central provinces was contested by *wag šum* Gobäze Gäbrä Mädḫən (*aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II) of Lasta. The two met in battle at Qäha on 3 March, a few days before the Battle of Mäqdäla. The *wag šum* prevailed, killing Ṭ.G. in the process, thereby ending the latter's brief political career (BTafA 597; Lämläm in ms. BN Éth. 259, fol. 5v).

Src.: ChMonV 44, ms. Éth. 259 – Mondon-Vidailhet 72, fols. 8r–22v [*aläqa* Lämläm, **የአጼ፡ ተክለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ የአጼ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾaṣe Täklä Giyorgis yäʾaṣe Yoḥannəs tarik*, 'The History of *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis and *aṣe* Yoḥannəs')]; Public Record Office, Kew, Correspondence 1846–1868, fols. 302ff., 345ff.: Colquhoun to Russell, 27 Jan. 1865, Rassam to Merewether, 12 May 1865; BTafA 579, 593, 597; Johann Martin Flad, *Zwölf Jahre in Abessinien*: *oder Geschichte des Königs Theodros II und der Mission unter seiner Regierung*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1887, 70, 82.

Lit.: BZHist 40, 42; PankHist II 46f.; RubInd 241; RubTew 80f.

Donald Crummey

Tessämme Darge ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase

Testa, Zenone Albino

T. (b. 29 May 1914, Vertova, Bergamo, d. 19 September 1982, Bergamo) was a ↗Capuchin friar and Apostolic Vicar for the Latins in Eritrea. He received the Capuchin habit when he entered the noviciate in 1 January 1930 and made his religious vows one year later. T. was ordained priest in Milan on 7 August 1938.

On 18 September 1939, T. left for the Mission in Eritrea from the Italian port of Brindisi and upon his arrival he was appointed deputy secretary of the Apostolic Vicar, Giovanni C. Luigi Marinoni. In 1940 he became the director of the Istituto S. Giuseppe in Asmära, which took care of the "meticci", i.e. people of mixed "race" and in 1947 he was appointed parish priest of the (Latin) Cathedral. From 1958 to 1959 he served as major superior (*Custode*) of the Capuchins in Eritrea. On 1 August 1959, T. was named bishop, titular of Tinista (Mauritania) and Coadjutor (bishop with the right of succession) to Mgr. Marinoni.

After some difficulties, mainly of a political nature, T. was consecrated bishop on 9 April 1961 in the Cathedral of Bergamo. T. succeeded bishop Marinoni as Apostolic Vicar on 12 August 1961 and led the Vicariate until 1971 trying to implement the guidelines of the Second Vatican Council at which he had participated. Not endowed with the diplomatic skills nor with the charisma of his predecessor, he nonetheless was equally active in the pastoral ministry. He tried to foster ecumenical dialogue and was involved in social activities, such as schools, with an increased attention to the local population.

On 25 June 1971, T. resigned his post for health reasons and returned to Italy. He went to live in Bergamo, at the Capuchin provincial clinic. From 1974 on, his mental conditions deteriorated dramatically and T. completely lost his memory. He died after a long illness.

Src.: Archives of the Provincial Curia of the Longobard Province of St. Charles, Milano.

Lit.: "A Sua Ecc. Rev.ma Monsignor Zenone Albino Testa dei Frati Minori Cappuccini Vescovo Titolare di Tinista (Mauritania). Coadiutore del Vicario Apostolico di Asmara. Nella Solenne Consacrazione Episcopale 9 Aprile 1961", Bergamo 1961; *Proceedings of the Symposium on the First Centenary of the Capuchin Presence in Eritrea: 1894 – 9/12 – 1994*, Asmara 1996, 126.

Tedros Abraha

Testamentum Domini

The T.D. (Gəᶜəz **ኪዳን፡ ዘእግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ**, *Kidan zäʾəgziʾənä Iyäsus Krəstos*, 'Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ'), with the ↗*Senodos* and the ↗*Didəsqəlya*, is one of the major canonico–liturgical works of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. As with other works of the same genre, the purpose of the T.D. is to establish upon the basis of a pseudo-epigraphical authority – in this case, Jesus Christ in person – rules and prescriptions for the right organization of the Church and Christian practice. Transmitted by more than 20 codices (besides the 9 manuscripts listed by Beylot 1984: viif., cp. some 13 additional manuscripts in Bausi 1992: 42, n. 42, none of which antedates the 15th cent.), linguistic evidence seems to indicate that the T.D. belongs to the limited number of Gəᶜəz works translated from the Greek in the ↗Aksumite period.

The T.D. consists of 60 chapters and is clearly subdivided into two parts. The work opens with a shorter apocalyptic section where Christ appears to the Apostles and to the holy women (Mary, Martha and Salome) after the Resurrection, announcing the end of the world (chs. 1–6): this section is quite similar to chs. 5–6 of the Gəᶜəz ↗*Testamentum Domini* in Galilee (often transmitted in the same mss. as the T.D.), from which it probably derives. The subsequent canonico-liturgical section is one of the several reworkings of the so-called *Traditio Apostolica* and systematically deals with the teachings given by Christ to the Apostles concerning the building of the church, the ordination of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, from metropolitan (*pāpās*), to bishop, presbyter, deacon, subdeacon, reader, as well as the respective ordination prayers. In particular, ch. 16 contains the "Anaphora of Our Lord Jesus Christ", also widely attested as an independent text (↗Anaphoras; cp. Harden 1922; Hammerschmidt 1961: 15); and ch. 22 contains the ↗*Təmhərtä Ḫəbuʾat*, which has a rich textual tradition as an independent text, including a second recension known as *Ǝlmäsṭoʾagya*, i.e. Gr. μυσταγογία, 'Mystagogy', certainly a version from the Arabic (cp. Hammerschmidt 1960: 44ff.). The condition of widows, virgins, lay people, catechumens, and Eucharistic and baptismal orders and prayers are also dealt with at large in the T.D. The work ends with the Ascension of Christ.

The long investigation carried out after the discovery and publication of the Syriac version of the T.D. (cp. Rahmani 1899) has reached the almost unanimous conclusion (cp. Coquin 1974; Ellwardt 2005) that the work, one of the last products of the pseudo-apostolic literature, was originally composed in Greek in the 5th cent. (*contra*, cp. Drijvers 1994). The almost totally lost Greek original is attested by three integral versions in Syriac, Arabic, and Gəᶜəz, plus a few Latin and Georgian fragments, and the widely attested Coptic version of the *Mystagogy*. The Syriac was certainly translated in 687 by James of Edessa, as stated in a colophon, and is also transmitted within the "Clementine Octateuch" (cp. Vööbus 1975: 1–49 [text], 27–64 [tr.]); a second recension of the apocalyptic part is also known. Four different (not yet edited) Arabic versions are known, which to various degrees rely upon a Coptic *Vorlage*, thus revealing, to the contrary of what is usually believed, the early circulation of the T.D. in Egypt: (1) a free version; (2) a very slavish version in the canonical collection of Macarius; (3) a version in good Arabic, but with some Copticisms; (4) a version included into the Arabic *Didascalia* (cp. Ellwardt 2005: 23ff.). The Gəᶜəz version of the T.D. is probably an independent translation upon a Greek *Vorlage*. Yet, the editor's attempt at establishing the critical text by comparison with the Syriac versions (cp. Beylot 1984: viii) has sometimes obscured some peculiarities of the Ethiopic tradition (cp. Cowley 1986).

As for other similar works, the normative and referential character of the T.D. is sanctioned by its frequent quotations in the works of *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, where, together with the *Senodos* and the *Didəsqəlya*, it was assumed and quoted as the paradigm of the true Christian law (cp. Bausi 1992: 42, n. 43).

Src.: *CPG* no. 1743; ROBERT BEYLOT (ed., tr.), *Testamentum Domini éthiopien*, Louvain 1984 (Lit.); OSWALD HUGH EWART BURMESTER, "The Coptic and Arabic Versions of the Mystagogia", *Le Muséon* 46, 1933, 203–35; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopische liturgische Texte der Bodleian Library in Oxford*, Berlin 1960 (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung. Veröffentlichung 38), 39ff.; JOHN M. HARDEN, "The Anaphora of the Ethiopic Testament of our Lord", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 23, 1922, 44–49; IGNATIUS EPHRAEM II RAHMANI (ed., tr.), *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, Mainz 1899; ARTHUR VÖÖBUS (ed., tr.), *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition* (CSCO 367, 368, Scriptores Syri 161, 162), Louvain 1975.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Alcune considerazioni sul «Sēnodos» etiopico", *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 5–73; RENÉ-GEORGES COQUIN, "Le Testamentum Domini: problèmes de tradition textuelle", *Parole de l'Orient* 5, 1974, 165–88; ANDREAS ELLWARDT, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu den syrischen und arabischen Redaktionen der Apokalypse aus dem Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, M.A. thesis, Universität Tübingen 2005; ROGER WENMAN COWLEY, [review of Beylot 1984], *JSS* 31, 1986, 292–95; HAN JA WILLEM DRIJVERS, "The Testament of Our Lord: Jacob of Edessa's Response to Islam", *ARAM* 6, 1994, 104–14; LOUIS GUERRIER, *Le Testament de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ. Essai sur la partie apocalyptique*, Ph.D. thesis, Lyon 1903; ERNST HAMMERSCH2MIDT, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Berlin 1961 (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 25) [repr. Stuttgart 1987 (AeF 25)], 15; ID., "Das Pseudo-apostolische Schrifttum in äthiopischer Überlieferung", in: *PICES* 2, 114–21, here 118ff.; HUBERT KAUFHOLD, "La littérature pseudo canonique syriaque", in: MURIEL DEBIÉ et al. (eds.), *Les apocryphes syriaques*, Paris 2005 (Études syriaques 2), 147–67, here 153–55; MICHAEL KOHLBACHER, "Wessen Kirche ordnete das Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi? Anmerkungen zum historischen Kontext von CPG 1743", in: MARTIN TAMCKE – ANDREAS HEINZ (eds.), *Zu Geschichte, Theologie, Liturgie und Gegenwartslage der syrischen Kirchen. Ausgewählte Vorträge des deutschen Syrologen–Symposiums vom 2.–4. Oktober 1998 in Hermannsburg*, Münster – Hamburg – London 2000 (Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 9), 55–137; BRUNO STEIMER, *Vertex Traditionis. Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen*, Berlin – New York 1992 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift fur die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 63), 95–105.

Alessandro Bausi

Testamentum Domini in Galilee

The T.D.G. (Gəᶜəz **ኪዳን፡ ዘነገሮሙ፡ እግዚእነ … ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ለ፲ወ፩አርዳኢሁ፡ በገሊላ**, *Kidan zänägäromu Ǝgziᵓənä … Iyäsus Krəstos lä 11 ardaᵓihu bäGälila*, 'Testament that Our Lord … Jesus Christ told to his eleven disciples in Galilee', cp. ms. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. orient. fol. 49, fol. 31rb, in SixDeu 463; instead of 'eleven disciples' other mss. have 'twelve disciples') is the title given by Guerrier (1907, 1913) to a Gəᶜəz apocryphal work of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, where two original writings, still distinguishable, have merged: (1) a later apocalypse of Jesus to the Apostles in Galilee (very similar to the introductory chapters of the ↗*Testamentum Domini*), prefixed to the following section and probably dating to the 4th/5th cent. (chs. 1–11 in ed. Guerrier 1913; Erbetta 1981: 38–41); (2) the so-called *Epistula Apostolorum*, 'Letter of the Apostles' (chs. 12–62), the *incipit* of which is marked in the Ethiopic tradition by a passage where the word *mäṣḥaf*, 'book, writing' appears (cp., e.g., SixDeu 463 from the manuscript in Stuttgart, *Kidan zänägäromu wäzäkäśätä lomu Ǝgziᵓənä … läᵓardaᵓihu. Wäzäkämähi käśätä Iyäsus Krəstos läᵓardaᵓihu mäṣḥafä əntä maḥbäromu läḥawaryat*, 'Testament that Our Lord told and revealed … to his disciples. And how Jesus Christ revealed to his disciples the book of the congregation of the Apostles').

The *Epistula Apostolorum*, the most important section of the T.D.G., is an ancient Christian apocryphal writing composed in Greek ca. 160/70 A.D., and translated in turn into Coptic (the version is extant in one damaged manuscript of the 4th/5th cent., cp. Schmidt – Wajnberg 1919; *Clavis Patrum Copticorum* no. 0034), and Ethiopic (the only witness to chs. 1–6, 31–37, 49–51, probably from the Arabic); one Latin palimpsest fragment of the 5th/6th cent. is attested. Its origin has been variously located in Syria and Asia Minor, as well as in Egypt, where the Coptic version attests that the T.D.G. certainly circulated. Chs. 1–12 of the *Epistula* (= T.D.G. chs. 12–23) constitute what more resembles a 'Letter of the Apostles' consisting of a 'writing' on the powers and virtues of God and Christ, including two confessions of faith, and some episodes of the life of Jesus; chs. 13–50 (= chs. 24–61 of the T.D.G.) are a dialogue in form of questions of the Apostles and answers of Jesus, concerning Christ's pre-existence, incarnation and parousia, the mission of the Apostles, Christ's descent into hell, the last judgment, and final recommendations; ch. 51 (= ch. 62 of the T.D.G.) ends with Christ's Ascension in Jerusalem. As it is clear from its contents, the writing combines the genre of the "epistle", to which it has been attributed also on the basis of two marginal notes in the Latin fragment, with that of the "dialogue".

As a rule, all the Ethiopic manuscripts which contain the *Testamentum Domini* also contain the T.D.G., which immediately follows it almost without interruption. The edition by Guerrier (1913) is based upon the ms. BritLib Orient. 793, with reference to the variant readings of the mss. BritLib Orient. 795, and BN d'Abbadie 51, 90, 199; the translation by Wajnberg (in Schmidt –Wajnberg 1919), and those which have followed, also considered the ms. in Stuttgart (already used by DillmLex viii); for other mss. cp. Pérès (1994: 57f.).

The *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic could be Arabic: yet, no definitive research has been undertaken on the subject and there are clues to a Greek-dependent textual component too (cp., e.g., *ibid.* 121, n. 35; Guerrier 1913). Like other similar works, quotations of the T.D.G. are reported in writings of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿǝqob, such as the *Homily in honour of Sabbath* (cp. *ibid.* 20, n. 12; Getatchew Haile 1982: 192 [text], 216, nn. 13f. [tr.]). Quotations from the *Epistula Apostolorum*, chs. 3 and 16, and are also likely to be found in the *Kǝbrä Nägäśt*, chs. 68 and 96 (cp. Beylot 2008: 420).

Src.: ROBERT BEYLOT (tr.), *La Gloire des Rois ou l'Histoire de Salomon et de la reine de Saba*, Turnhout 2008 (Apocryphes Collection de poche de l'AELAC; CANT no. 22 (Lit.); DillmLex viii; HUGO DUENSING (tr.), *Epistula Apostolorum, nach dem aethiopischen und koptischen Text herausgegeben*, Bonn 1925 (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 152); Clavis Patrum Copticorum [http://cmcl.let.uniroma1.it/] no. 0034; MARIO ERBETTA, "L'Epistola degli Apostoli", in: ID. (tr.), *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, vol. 3: *Lettere e apocalissi*, Casale Monferrato 1981, 37–62 (Lit.); GETATCHEW HAILE (ed., tr.), "The Homily of *Aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿǝqob of Ethiopia in Honour of Saturday", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 13, 1982, 185–231; LOUIS GUERRIER – SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed., tr.), *Le Testament en Galilée de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ*, Paris 1913 (PO 9/3 [43]); CASPAR DETLEF GUSTAV MÜLLER (tr.), in: WILHELM SCHNEEMELCHER (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, vol. 1, *Evangelien*, Tübingen 1990^{5}, 205–33 [Engl. tr. ROBERT MCLACHLAN WILSON (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 1: *Gospels and Related Writings*, Cambridge – Louisville 1991, 249–84] (Lit.); JACQUES-NOËL PÉRÈS (tr.), *L'Épître des Apôtres et le Testament de notre Seigneur et notre Sauveur Jésus-Christ*, Turnhout 1994 (Apocryphes. Collection de poche de l'AELAC 5); ID. (tr.), "Épître des Apôtres", in: FRANÇOIS BOVON – PIERRE GEOLTRAIN (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 1, Paris 1997 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442), 357–92; CARL SCHMIDT – ISAAK WAJNBERG (tr.), *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung*, Leipzig 1919 (Texte und Untersuchungen 3/13), 25–155; SixDeu 461–66.

Lit.: LOUIS GUERRIER, "Un 'Testament de Notre-Seigneur et Sauveur Jésus-Christ' en Galilée", *ROC* 2ème sér., 2 (12), 1907, 1–8; JULIAN VICTOR HILLS, *Tradition and Composition in the Epistula Apostolorum*, Minneapolis, MN 1990 (Harvard Dissertations in Religion 24); JACQUES-NOËL PÉRÈS, "L'économie de la grâce: L'emploi du mot **ምሕረት** (*meḥrat*) dans la version éthiopienne de l'Épitre des apôtres", in: *MiscAethKur* 217–22; ID., "Le prologue de l'Épitre des apôtres comme exhortation parénetique", in: JEAN-DANIEL DUBOIS – BERNARD ROUSSEL (eds.), *Entrer en matières. Les prologues*, Paris 1998 (Patrimoines. Religions du livre), 103–09; ID., "Correction fraternelle et amour de Dieu dans l'Épître des apôtres. De la Syrie à l'Éthiopie", in: *Dieu Miséricorde, Dieu Amor, Actes du VIIIe colloque du patrimoine syriaque*, vol. 1, Antélias (Liban) 2003, 109–20; ID., "Un élément de christologie quartodécimane dans *l'Épître des apôtres*: l'agape paschale come occurrence de solidarité", *Apocrypha* 13, 2002, 113–21; ID., "L'interprétation de la parabole des dix vierges dans *l'Épître des apôtres*", in: SIMON CLAUDE MIMOUNI (ed.), *Apocryphité. Histoire d'un concept transversal aux religions du livre. En hommage à Pierre Geoltrain*, Turnhout 2002 (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études. Sciences religieuses 113), 183–90.

Alessandro Bausi

Tewodros ↗Fǝkkare Iyäsus

Tewodros I

Aṣe T. I (**ቴዎድሮስ**; r. 1413–14) was one of the sons of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II and *ǝtege* ↗Ṣǝyon Mogäsa (GuiSyn I, 696). According to the ↗*Täʾammǝrä Maryam*, T. was supported by most of the clergy against his own father. However, it seems that Dawit was not overthrown and T. only ascended the throne upon his father's death (Colin 1987: 31).

According to a version of the ↗*Sənkəssar* preserved at Däbrä Bizän (Sapeto 1857: 437f.) T. was killed nine months after his ascension to the throne, in a military campaign against the ↗ʿAdal sultanate. His death at the hands of Muslims is probably one of the reasons why the Ethiopian *Sənkəssar* considers T. a saint; his ↗*täzkar* is celebrated on 29 *Säne* (GuiSyn I, 695f.).

In Ethiopian tradition, *aṣe* T. is frequently identified with the mythical namesake king evoked in the ↗*Fəkkare Iyäsus* as a "king of the east" who will reign during 40 years of peace before the end of the world.

According to the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam, the body of T. was translated from its original burial place to the royal necropolis founded by Bäʾədä Maryam at ↗Atronsä Maryam in Amhara (PerrZarY 171f.). According to later traditions, however, his body was translated to ↗Tädbäba Maryam instead (Spencer 1972: 70).

Src.: BassÉt 11 (text) = 101 (tr.), 240 n. 94; René Basset, *Les apocryphes éthiopiens. XI. Fekkaré Iyasous* (*Explication de Jésus*), Paris 1909; BegCron 11; DombrChr 153 (tr.); FotiCr 91; GuiSyn I, 695f.; ms. *Gädla Giyorgis*, Gäsəč̣č̣a, fol. 64v; Gérard Colin, *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Louvain 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]), 31 (text) = 23 (tr.); PerrZarY 171f.; Giuseppe Sapeto, *Viaggio e Missione Cattolica fra i Mensa*, Roma 1857, 437f.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1899, 197–285 [repr. Roma 1900, here 20]; DerDom 310f.; Enno Littmann, "Geschichte der aethiopischen Litteratur", in: Carl Brockelmann et al. (eds.), *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients*, Leipzig 1907 (Die Litteraturen des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen. 7. Bd. 2. Abt.), 185–270, here 205f.; Diana Spencer, "In Search of St. Luke Icons in Ethiopia", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 67–95, here 70; TadTChurch 73; Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Däbrä Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 95; Id., "Problems of Royal Succession in 15th Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 508–13.

Marie-Laure Derat

Tewodros II

Aṣe T. II (**ቴዎድሮስ**, regnal name; birth name Kaśa Ḫaylu, "horse name" Abba Taṭäq; b. ca. 1820, d. 13 April 1868; r. 1855–68) is one of the outstanding rulers in the history of Ethiopia. He is commonly credited with the termination of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* period, the first attempts at re-unifying the country, and introducing Ethiopia into the modern world. A wide range of sources (works of ↗historiography; travel reports; numerous pieces of ↗epistolography) document T.'s reign in detail.

A. The history of Tewodros's reign
  I. Rise to power
  II. The reign of Tewodros: 1855–68
  III. The fall of Tewodros

B. Assessment of Tewodros's reign
  I. Tewodros's foreign politics
  II. Tewodros as modernizer and reformer
  III. Tewodros and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church
  IV. Tewodros as a national hero

A. The history of Tewodros's reign

I. Rise to power

T. (the then Kaśa) was born to Ḫaylä Maryam Wäldä Giyorgis (Ḫaylu), a petty nobleman from ↗Qʷara, and *wäyzäro* ↗Attəṭṭägäb. The origin of his mother, supposedly of impoverished Gondärine nobility, and the fact that later she was to endure hardships, generated a tradition that she was a ↗*kosso*-vendor (but cp. RubTew 25ff.). When Ḫaylä Maryam disappeared from the scene, Attəṭṭägäb withdrew to a monastery in Gondär, and sent her son to be educated at the monastery of Čänkar Täklä Haymanot. Ca. 1830, when the place was looted by *ras* ↗Yəmam, as a result of a feud between him, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Maru (Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya 1968/69: 52ff.), the boy narrowly escaped mutilation and death. He probably also spent some time in the monastery of ↗Maḫbärä Śəllase.

By ca. 1835, T. was at Fänǧa in Dämbəya, at the court of his much elder half-brother *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kənfu, who at that time governed a wide region known as ↗Maru Qämmäs. There, T. received his military training and developed his own aspirations to rule this domain. Towards the end of 1838, Kənfu made T. leave his house after a quarrel (a tradition relates that this was because of the prophecy that one day T. would rule over Kənfu's own sons) and seek asylum in Goǧǧam. Upon Kənfu's death in 1839, Kənfu's sons and uncle, Wälde Täkle, were disinherited by *ras* ↗Ali Alula and his mother, *ətege* ↗Mänän Libän, in favour of ↗Bərru Goššu, the son of Mänän's general *däǧǧazmač* ↗Goššu Zäwde; they were defeated in October 1839, at Qʷənzəla. Later, Maru Qämmäs was seized by *ətege* Mänän (ZanLitTheod 6; RubTew 23f.; cp. the account in CRReal §§ 62–64).

After briefly serving *däǧǧazmač* Goššu, T. returned to Qʷara and started his career as a

↗*šəfta*. Success brought him fame and many followers (Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya 1968/69: 65f.), and by the mid-1840s he threatened Mänän's rule in Qʷara. To win his loyalty Ali Alula offered T. the hand of his daughter ↗Täwabäčč and the governorship of Qʷara, an offer which T. accepted. In 1846, however, T. entered Dämbəya, and in January 1847 occupied Gondär whilst Ali was campaigning against *däǧǧazmač* Wəbe. When in June Mänän returned to Gondär, T. defeated her and took her prisoner, together with her husband *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs III. Ali reconciled with T., giving him Maru Qämmäs and the title of *däǧǧazmač* (RubTew 38). In 1848 T. entered the ↗Sudan, where he fought an unsuccessful battle with the Egyptians at Dabarki, and witnessed their superior military organisation and technology (CRNuov 396 [III.i]; ZanLitTheod 13; RubTew 40).

Relations between T. and Ali completely collapsed in 1852, when Ali ordered that T.'s land be given to Goššu Zäwde. On 27 November 1852, in the first of a series of battles that were to bring him to the throne, at ↗Gur Amba, T. defeated and killed Goššu. The following year, on 12 April 1853, he defeated Ali at Bəččəñ in Bägemdər (in the so-called Battle of four *däǧǧazmačočč*). In May, T. burnt down ↗Däbrä Tabor, Ali's residence. Ali made a desperate attempt to stop T.'s advance on 29 June 1853 at ↗Ayšal, but was defeated again and fled to Yäǧǧu, the homeland of the Wärräsek dynasty. This flight ended both Ali's political career and the era of Yäǧǧu domination (MorTeod 158). Some historians mark this event as the end of the *Zämänä mäsafənt* (cp. RubTew 43); and even the beginning of the modern history of Ethiopia (s. Tubiana 1965: 166).

In the following year, T. defeated Bərru Goššu of Goǧǧam (MorTeod 159). Later that year, at the Council of ↗Amba Č̣ara, he laid down one of the fundamental policies of what was to become a revived Solomonic kingship, when he reconciled *abunä* ↗Sälama III with *əč̣č̣äge* Wäldä Maryam, proclaimed Sälama's ↗*Karra* doctrine official, had himself elevated to ↗*nəguś*, and entered into a religious marriage with his wife Täwabäčč. On 9 February 1855, T. defeated his last adversary Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, in the Battle of ↗Däräsge, following which he had himself anointed by Sälama and crowned as *nəguśä nägäśt* in the church of ↗Däräsge Maryam. His regnal name referred to a prophecy in the work known as the ↗*Fəkkäre Iyäsus*, announcing the coming of a messianic king by this name (MorTeod 160; RubTew 51).

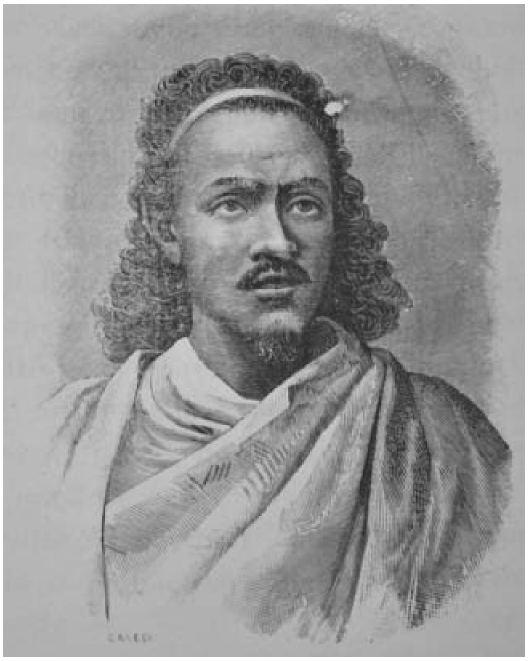


Fig. 1:Engraving of Kaśa, the future *aṣe* Tewodros II; from MasMis vol. 2, 205

II. The reign of Tewodros II: 1855–68

By 1855, T. had a reputation for invincibility. He established his capital at Däbrä Tabor, founded the church of Mädḫane ʿAläm there and transferred *abunä* Sälama to his court. He now focused on unifying the disintegrated empire.

In March 1855, he campaigned in Wällo to bring the Wärräsek and the ↗Mämmädočč under his control. T. fought ↗Wärqitu, Ali Adara of Wärrähimano, and Sädiq Danqa, and by September 1855 much of the province was in his hands. The Wällo-Oromo submitted; and T. captured ↗Mäqdäla, which he turned into a treasury, a political prison for his defeated adversaries and, eventually, into his new capital. Presaging the violence which was to mark his later years, he is said to have had the hands of 47 captured Oromo amputated (MorTeod 162).

In October 1855, accompanied by *abunä* Sälama, T. entered ↗Šäwa at Gəšše. The following month, the ruler of Šäwa, ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot, died before he could offer battle and his grandmother, ↗Zännäbä Wärq, his mother, Bäzzabbəš, and his half-brother, Ḫaylä Mikaʾel, submitted to T., who gave to the latter the governorship of

Šäwa with the title of *märəd azmač*. Šäwan resistance continued under *ato* Bäzzabbəh, who eventually was defeated by T.'s officer *ras* ↗Əngəda Wärq. T. captured Ḫaylä Mäläkot's widow and his nine-year-old son Śahlä Maryam (future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) and other Šäwan nobles, and took them to Mäqdäla (for a short time, Śahlä Maryam was married to T.'s daughter ↗Alṭaš). T. went through Šäwa fighting the Oromo, and reached ↗Däbrä Libanos (MorTeod 164), but soon had to leave Šäwa.

In March 1856 T. crossed the ↗Abbay into Goǧǧam, looking for ↗Tädla Gʷalu, who escaped. T. captured another rebel, Čäkkʷäl, and appointed Əngəda Wärq as governor of Goǧǧam. Before he could face a fresh rebel, Täsämma Goššu, his army was affected by an epidemic, and he moved from Goǧǧam to spend the rainy season near Gondär. Soon, two episodes revealed underlying tensions between T. and the Orthodox clergy. In September 1856, a confrontation took place between T., on the one hand, and the clergy, led by *abunä* ↗Sälama, on the other, over revenues and precedence. In December the Coptic Patriarch Cyril IV visited Ethiopia. T. accused him of spying for ↗Saʿīd *bāšā* of Egypt and arrested him (MorTeod 167f.).

T. spent most of 1857 in central Ethiopia, chasing ↗Amäde Bäšir and his brother Libän, whom T. had appointed over Mäqdäla, but who had defected.

In 1858, foreshadowing the years to come, T. continued to face rebels. He defeated and hanged *wag šum* ↗Gäbrä Mädḫən and subdued Wag and Lasta. In the meanwhile, Wəbe's nephew ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel, assisted by his brother Täsämma, overthrew T.'s appointee in Təgray Kaḥsay, the son of *daǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis, and challenged T.'s rule from the north. Campaigning in Bägemdər and Wällo was interrupted by the sudden sickness, then death on 19 August 1858, of his beloved wife, Täwabäčč. This was the first of a series of personal blows which may have contributed to the deterioration of T.'s character.

In 1859, T. hunted Amäde Bäšir, severely punishing the Wällo Oromo. He then turned his attention to Šäwa, where, in October 1859, he suppressed the rebellion of *abeto* ↗Säyfu Śahlä Śəllase. The massive punishment that followed lived on in folk memory (s. MonVidTheo 21). Šäwa was still not completely under T.'s control, despite the large tribute provided by Ḫaylä Mikaʾel (MorTeod 174), whom T., however, replaced with *ato* Bäzzabbəh. In 1860, he turned his attention to Təgray (cp. ↗Russel). In March of that year, T. married Wəbe's daughter, *wäyzäro* ↗Ṭəru Wärq, who bore him his only legitimate son, ↗ʿAlämayyähu. In that same month, his nephew ↗Gärad Kənfu, who had joined Nəguśe, killed T.'s close friend, the British Consul ↗Plowden. Revenging his death, T. lost another close friend and advisor, *liqä mäkʷas* John ↗Bell. In 1861 T. captured, and cruelly executed both Nəguśe and his brother Täsämma. The deaths of Plowden and Bell dealt T. another traumatic blow, though the defeat of Nəguśe probably marked the peak of his power.

In 1862, despite his great efforts and some success, T.'s realm was still far from stable. Complete victory over regional lords and rebels remained elusive, while resistance to T.'s policy and methods kept growing. In addition, the Egyptians again threatened the Sudanese border. In 1863 T. defeated Tädlä Gʷalu in Goǧǧam, killing nearly 7,000 of his soldiers; Tädla himself managed to escape. In the same year, Bäzzabbəh rebelled in Šäwa, and ↗Ṭiso Gobäze in ↗Wälqayt. Lasta fell into the hands of *wag šum* Gobäze (Gäbrä Mädḫən's son, the future *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis). On 30 June 1865 young Mənilək escaped from Mäqdäla, and made his way to Šäwa where he deposed Bäzzabbəh.

In 1865 there were clear signs that T.'s real power was weakening. His officers and chiefs were conspiring against him, his soldiers were deserting his army, and local governors were searching for ways to reassert their autonomy. By 1866, T. was isolated and hated by most of his subjects, and had lost control over the larger part of his realm. In December he attacked and pillaged ↗Gondär and sacked its churches, which he perceived as bastions of sedition. In 1867, desperate, he burnt Däbrä Tabor and retreated to Mäqdäla.

III. The fall of Tewodros

T.'s end was brought about not by his own rebellious subjects, but by the military force of a foreign power, the ↗Napier expedition, the result of the dispute about European captives ("the Abyssinian question"), which had started as early as 1862. On 30 October 1867, British military forces landed at Zula and set out towards Mäqdäla in order to free the captives (67; s., e.g., Markham 1869: 340), encountering no resistance from the local chiefs and people. On 10 April 1868, the invaders defeated T.'s army and killed his general ↗Gäbrä Ḥəywät Goššu at Aroge (↗Fala). After a short siege, Mäqdäla fell on 13 April, Easter Monday. In the evening, before the British soldiers could reach him, T. committed suicide. On their withdrawal from Ethiopia, the British presented Kaśa Mərč̣a, one of the local princes whose support was crucial for the expedition, with a large supply of ammunition, a circumstance that later helped him ascend the throne as *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV.

B. Assessment of Tewodros's reign

I. Tewodros's foreign politics

The wish to establish contacts with Europeans and European states was not uncommon among 19th-cent. Ethiopian lords. T., however, appears to have been the first to develop a strategic vision of an exterior policy for Ethiopia, with a kind of an "international project" for other Christian states, his allies by definition, in which the "new" Christian Ethiopia would have its place and be treated as an equal. As a part of this policy, T. wanted to remove the Egyptians and get direct access to the ↗Red Sea (RubInd 55ff.). T. clearly saw the necessity of an alliance with a European state and actively sought it. At the same time, T. realized the European states' immense power, and the possible danger of their infringing on Ethiopian sovereignty.

T.'s policy and vision of how to reform and modernize Ethiopia was much shaped by his personal relations with Europeans. The first Europeans whom T. befriended were the Englishmen Bell and Plowden, the latter giving full support to T. by 1855. A visit from the missionaries ↗Krapf and ↗Flad in April 1855 resulted, with the help of ↗Gobat (RubActa II, no. 5), in the arrival of the first missionaries of the ↗St. Chrischona Pilgermission in 1856. The St. Chrischona missionaries, were prepared to serve the Emperor as artisans, and a few of them, notably ↗Waldmeier and ↗Saalmüller, became T.'s close friends.

Initially disposed well to all Europeans, T. favoured the British, associated with ↗Protestantism. After the expulsion of Catholic missionaries, who had turned to Nəguśe, a fact of which T. was aware, the French became unwelcome at T.'s court (cp. ↗Lejean). T. repeatedly wrote to a few European monarchs, including Napoleon III and the Tsar Nikolai I, asking for craftsmen, weapons and technology, but a dream he particularly cherished was that of an anti-Muslim alliance with the ↗United Kingdom and of a personal "friendship" with Queen Victoria. T., however, could not have been aware of the complexities of changing European politics (by 1862, Britain had switched to a pro-Turkish policy), and was unable to distinguish between the personal opinion of individual Europeans (Bell and Plowden) and the official position of their respective governments. As in many other cases, personal qualities of T. and his "erratic" and "mercurial" behaviour also played a significant role. The tension with the Europeans was thus not an unlucky coincidence (cp. Waldmeier 1886: 78–86), but rather a logical development.

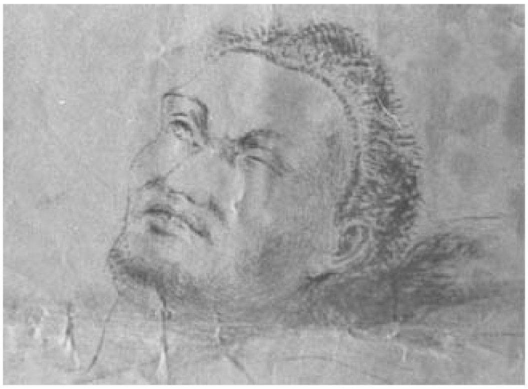


Fig. 2:Portrait sketch of *aṣe* Tewodros II after his suicide by R.R. Holmes, 13 April 1868; from the collection of Ken Doig

After Plowden's death, his replacement as British consul, ↗Cameron did not arrive until 1862. In October of that year, T. sent via Cameron his famous letter to Queen Victoria asking for an exchange of embassies and help against the "Turks" (Girma-Selassie Asfaw – Appleyard – Ullendorff 1979: xiif., no. 3b; RubActa II, no. 117; RubTew ill. pp. 48f.), whom T. wanted to see not only defeated on the Red Sea coast and the Sudanese border (from Qʷara, ↗Mätämma to ↗Kassala), but also expelled from ↗Jerusalem. He never received a reply to this letter (nor to letters he had sent in 1857 and 1861). In 1863, T. began to understand that his hopes for support from European states would not be realized, and he became very sensitive to the behaviour of foreigners. Instructions from the Foreign Office, that Cameron keep his distance from, and make no commitments to, T., created problems and the discovery that the British had sided with the Turks insulted the Emperor. The same year, he placed the St. Chrischona missionaries in custody. The situation worsened thanks to the quarrelsome behaviour of the French consul, Guillaume ↗Lejean, unsatisfactory correspondence with the French Government, and the still more offensive behaviour of the missionary to the Betä Ǝsraʾel, Henry ↗Stern, which led to the arrest, in October 1863, of Stern and his colleague, ↗Rosenthal (RubTew 85f.). In early 1864 T. imprisoned Cameron and other Europeans.

In July 1864, yet another British agent, ↗Rassam, came to Massawa (with Henry Blanc and ↗Prideaux), but was allowed to proceed only after months of correspondence and reached T. only in January 1866. Artisans were promised in exchange for the prisoners and Flad was sent to Britain to fetch them, with a letter from T. (Rassam 1869, vol. 2, 100). Finally, Rassam was also imprisoned. On 21 August 1867, the British decided to send a military expedition to Ethiopia. Tragically, until the very last T. continued to hope for the friendship of, and an alliance with, Great Britain (cp. Pankhurst 2008: 63) and made desperate attempts at reconciliation.

II. Tewodros as modernizer and reformer

T.'s role as modernizer and reformer is discussed in many studies (Pankhurst 1965; Crummey 1969; Morgan 1969; Pankhurst in Taddese Beyene – Pankhurst – Shiferaw Bekele 1990; RubTew etc.). The wish to acquire modern (military) technology and bring craftsmen had been expressed by several Ethiopian lords before him. However, T. was the first to believe that a modernized centralized state was the only way for the Empire to be restored and survive, and to gain acceptance among "civilized countries".

T. was highly interested in technical innovations. With the cannon-casting efforts of his Gafat artisans (esp. Saalmüller, ↗Hall, Waldmeier), T. sought to realize his dream of producing ↗firearms in Ethiopia; he initiated construction of ↗roads, tried cart- and boat-making and introduction of ↗printing. Despite their tentative nature, as precedents, these innovations were significant.

As in the case of technology, T. aspired to a wide range of changes which would help him create a unitary state in which the monarch alone would have the supreme power. T. tried to replace local lords with appointed governors and administrators responsible directly to him, and (re)gain control over the local ↗tributes and revenues. Also T. pioneered in keeping the records of tribute (cp. Pankhurst – Germa-Sellassie Asfaw 1978).

The most important reform was an attempt at creating a standing army: building up regular, disciplined regiments with subsequent integration of all local military forces; introduction of payment for the soldiers; prohibition of traditional pillaging (endeavours in which T. himself was inconsistent, mostly applying the techniques of traditional warfare unchanged).

Simplification of custom duties, prohibition of the slave trade (↗Slavery) and some judicial reforms were also attempted, including the abolition of blood feud, limitations to polygamy, and introduction of collective criminal liability. T. actively adhered to his role as the supreme and just judge (referring to the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*) and tried to reduce crime by all possible means. (However, especially during the last period of his reign, T. frequently took recourse to excessive punishments or mass executions and even random killings).

As far as land politics was concerned, T.'s decree limiting the number of ministrants in the churches and confiscating redundant church lands, subjecting them to taxation (MonVidTheo 27f. [text] = 34f. [tr.]; CrumLand 205), rectified the imbalance which had emerged during the ↗Gondärine Kingdom and which had favoured ecclesiastical tenures over military tenures.

T. firmly believed in his being "elected by God" to the throne, and he claimed for himself a link to the ↗Solomonic dynasty (RubTew 49; Crummey 1988: 17–23). Reviving the old ideal of a vigorous warrior-king (blurred after a number of puppet-kings of the *Zämänä mäsafənt*), he added to court culture new features, exemplary for the entire country and sometimes going much against Ethiopian custom such as personal participation in road construction.

While T.'s attempts and determination – revealing quite an extraordinary personality – won great admiration among Europeans (cp., e.g., Plowden 1868: 455–59), they scored less sympathy among T.'s Ethiopian subjects. There is still no coherent picture of T.'s reforms, but they look spontaneous and uncoordinated, and in principle had hardly any chance for success. In addition, T. was not much concerned about the social consequences of his measures (cp. Crummey 1969: 465), nor did he really understand the depth of the problems he had to tackle. Despite some initial sympathy and support, it soon turned out that T.'s policy affected negatively nearly all groups of the population. Encountering growing opposition everywhere and having no institutionalized means to carry out his reforms, nor, despite his being from Qʷara, an assured political base, T. increasingly resorted to violence (cp. Crummey 1971).

After T.'s death, his reforms were discontinued and his innovations fell out of use; however, it is widely recognized, that many of T.'s visions were realized, though in different forms and with a different tempo, in the policies of Mənilək II and ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. In this sense T. – in spite of his apparent failure – is justly called "the father of modern Ethiopia" (RubTew 90; cp. Crummey 1969).

III. Tewodros and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church

T. was a deeply religious person, who grew up within the cultural context of Orthodox Christianity. He believed that a strong and vital Church was a necessary foundation for the survival of the ↗monarchy. He saw Ethiopia as a Christian state and considered ↗Islam its enemy. Initially, but briefly, his reign was marked by an alliance with *abunä* Sälama who praised the new monarch (Crummey 1969: 462; CrumMis 141) and gave him full support. In turn, T. tackled the issue of the unity of the Church. In Šäwa he pursued the adherents of the ↗*Śost lədät*; he was also harsh to the followers of the ↗*Qəbat* and ↗*Ṣägga* teachings, all seen as heretics by *abunä* Sälama, who insisted that the only true interpretation of faith was the *Karra* doctrine. Catholic missionaries were expelled. As to the Protestants, T. intended to employ them exclusively as craftsmen and was in favour of lay missionaries (CrumMis 116–20; cp. Appleyard et al. 1985, no. 26). Finally, he allowed them to preach among the Betä Ǝsraʾel on the condition that all converts become members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (cp. ↗London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews).

However, tensions between T. and the Church, as well as *abunä* Sälama personally, soon emerged. After ascending to the throne, T. revealed his plans concerning the landed property of the Church (CrumLand 205). In October 1856 he quarrelled with Sälama over the issues of landed property and of monarchical versus ecclesiastical authority (MorTeod 168f.; RubTew 70f.). They were reconciled by Ethiopian clergy and the Coptic Patriarch Cyril, but from that moment onward their relationship deteriorated. The rupture was complete in 1864, when Sälama was imprisoned in Mäqdäla.

Full of messianic vigour, T. developed his own view of Christian life and the reformation of the Church, in which the latter would be fully submitted to the State and its head. Despite T.'s personal religiosity, pious life and rigorous anti-Muslim stance, his harsh treatment of the clergy, and support of such innovations as the ↗Bible in Amharic made him deeply unpopular with the clergy. T.'s underestimation of the role and strength of the Church contributed to his isolation and fall.

IV. Tewodros as a "national hero"

Apart from the scholarly debate about the personality of T. and his historical role, which still goes on, his controversial and tragic, but magnificent figure acquired in the 20th cent. an important and symbolic place in the self-consciousness of many Ethiopians, as well as in a new Ethiopian nationalism and state ideology. The image of T. appeared in the murals of the ↗Parliament building, inaugurated in 1931. To subsequent generations T. appeared as the first of the three great 19th-cent. Ethiopian emperors. Quite a number of works of ↗Amharic literature are dedicated to T., e.g., by ↗Bərhanu Zäryəhun, ↗Gərmaččäw Täklä Ḥawaryat, ↗Abbe Gubäñña, ↗Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən (cp. Taye Assefa 1983: 115–28); several scenes from his life, like "the judgement of T." and "the suicide of T.", became recurrent topics of folk ↗painting. Reinforcing T.'s image, a replica of his great cannon "Sebastopol" was recently inaugurated at the T. square in Addis Abäba.

Src.: AbbSéjour I; David L. Appleyard et al. (ed., tr.), *Letters from Ethiopian Rulers* (*Early and Mid-nineteenth Century*), Oxford 1985 (Oriental documents 9); Id., "The Last Two Letters of Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1987, 23–43; BlunChr; BTafA s. index; CRNuov; CRReal §§62–64; Gärima Taffärä, **አባ፡ ታጠቅ፡ ካሣ፡ የቋራው፡ አንበሳ** (*Abba Taṭäq Kaśa yäqʷaraw anbäsa*, 'Abba Taṭäq Kaśa, the Lion of Qʷara'), Addis Ababa 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; Girma-Selassie Asfaw – David L. Appleyard – Edward Ullendorff (ed., tr.), *The Amharic Letters of Emperor Theodore of Ethiopia to Queen Victoria and Her Special Envoy*, Oxford 1979 (Oriental Documents 11); GueCopMen 79–118; FusTeo; Guillaume Lejean, *Théodore II, le nouvel empire d'Abissinie et les intérêts français …*, Paris 1865; Robert Markham, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869; MasMis vol. 2, 205 (ill.); MorTeod; MonVidTheo; Richard Pankhurst (ed., tr.) – Germa-Selassie Asfaw (tr.), *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Téwodros of Ethiopia* (*1855–1868*), London 1978 (Fontes historiae Africanae: Series aethiopica 1); Richard Pankhurst, "Imperial Orders in a Command or Pre-Market Economy: an Unpublished Letter from Tewodros II", in: *PICES* 15, 321–27; Id., "Two Unpublished 19th Century Ethiopian Letters: from Emperor Tewodros to Sir Robert Napier, and from *Däğğazmač* Nəguśe to Naib Hasan Bey", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, 61–67; Walter Chichele Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country with an Account of a*

Mission to Ras Ali in 1848, London 1868 [repr. 1972], 453–68; Hormuzd Rassam, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*, London 1869; RubActa I; Wolbert G.C. Smidt, "Deutsche Briefe von Äthiopiern 1855–1869 aus dem Umkreis der protestantischen Mission zur Regierungszeit von Tewodros I", in: *VarAeth* 287–316; Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya, **አጼ፡ ቴዎድሮስና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት** (*Aṣe Tewodrosənna yäʾityopya andənnät*, 'The Emperor Tewodros and Ethiopian Unity'), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; Theophilus Waldmeier, *Theophilus Waldmeier, Missionary*: *Being an Account of Ten Years' Life in Abyssinia*, London 1886; ZanLitTheod. **Lit.**: AbPrince s. index; CrumMis 92–144; Donald Crummey, "Tēwodros as Reformer and Modernizer", *JAH* 10, 1969, 457–69; Id., "The Violence of Téwodros", *JES* 9, 2, 1971, 107–25; Id., "Imperial Legitimacy and the Creation of Neo-Solomonic Ideology in 19th-Century Ethiopia", *Cahiers d'Études africaines* 28, 1988, 13–43; Kofi Darkwah, "Emperor Theodore II and the Kingdom of Shoa 1855–1865", *JAH* 10, 1969, 105–15; Gerd Gräber, "Die befreiten Geiseln Kaiser Tewodros' II. Aus dem Photoalbum der Royal Engineers 1867/68", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 159–82; Margaret Morgan, "Continuities and Traditions in Ethiopian History: an Investigation of the Reign of Tewodros", *EthObs* 12, 4, 1969, 244–69; Richard Pankhurst, "Misoneism and Innovation in Ethiopian History", *ibid.* 7, 4, 1964, 287–320, here 294ff.; Id., "Popular Opposition in Britain to British Intervention against Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia (1867–1868)", *ibid.* 16, 3, 1973, 141–203; Id., "Téwodros as Depicted in European Engravings", *JES* 20, 1987, 75–96"; RubInd passim; RubTew; Barbara Strebel, "Leben auf dem Missionsfeld. Chrischona-Pilgermission in Äthiopien (1856–1868)", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 121–57; Evgenia Sokolinskaia, "From Qʷara to Mäqdäla. Index of Proper Names from the Three Chronicles of Emperor Tewodros II's Reign", in: *StudAeth* 269–90; Taddese Beyene – Richard Pankhurst – Shiferaw Bekele (eds.), *Kasa and Kasa*: *Papers on the Lives, Times and Images of Téwodros II and Yohannes IV* (*1855–1889*), Addis Ababa 1990 (Lit.); Taye Aseffa, "Tewodros in Ethiopian Historical Fiction", *JES* 16, 1983, 115–28; Joseph Tubiana, "Theodore II d'Éthiopie, *Yä-Mäysa Ləǧ*", *RSE* 19, 1963, 155–63; Id., "Turning Points in the Ethiopian History", *ibid.* 21, 1965, 162–66.

Donald Crummey – Denis Nosnitsin –
Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Tewodros

Wag šum T. (**ቴዎድሮስ**; fl. 1740s) was a grandson of ↗*wag šum* Assər I (fl. 1680s) in the line of local rulers of ↗Wag and ↗Lasta and a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II. T. came to power in a period of intense power rivalry within the family of Assər I, and his nephew *wag šum* ↗Arʾayo.

In 1740 *aṣe* Iyasu campaigned at the head of a large army to ↗Wag. When he arrived at the ↗Täkkäze crossing, he sent a stern warning to T. reminding him to pay his annual ↗tribute. T. paid in the form of cattle, and the planned invasion was averted.

In order to assure his suzerainty, Iyasu made another expedition to Wag in 1746. His army, on the way to ↗Säqoṭa, destroyed many towns and seized numerous animals, they also received help from T.'s son, Məhərka. In Säqoṭa Iyasu spent five days in the house of *wag šum* ↗Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab but afterwards chased him and his son ↗Gigar out of town, they had to retreat to ↗Wäfla. Subsequently Iyasu reinstated the family of Assər to power and officially appointed one of T.'s sons, either Täklä Häymanot or Məhərka, as *wag šum* (cp. GuiIyas 128–40). T.'s later life remains unknown.

Src.: GuiIyas 108, 128–40 (text) = 117, 138-50 (tr.).
Lit.: PankHist I, 182; Richard Pankhurst, "Wag and Lasta: an Essay in the Regional History of Ethiopia from the 14th Century to 1800", in: *PICES* 7, 213–31; Wudu Tafete Kassu, *A Political History of Wag & Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 84, 88.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Tewoflos

Aṣe T. (**ቴዎፍሎስ**, regnal name Aṣrar Sägäd; r. 1708–11, d. 14 October 1711) was the brother of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, who died in 1706, and was the second ruler to succeed him, after the assassination of his nephew and Iyasu's son ↗Täklä Haymanot I.

T. came to the throne at the instigation of one of the court notables, ↗Yosṭos, who would later, in turn, depose him. In his first round of appointments, T. made Yosṭos the governor of ↗Səmen and Təgray.

On 3 August 1708, shortly after his accession, T. issued a proclamation establishing the doctrine of ↗*Qəbat* as the official teaching of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (BassÉt 63f.; BégCron 90; DombrChr 86), thus ending the domination of the ↗*Täwaḥədo*.

It is possible that already the deposition and subsequent murder of Iyasu had been at the hands of *Qəbat* partisans from Goǧǧam. Iyasu's successor, Täklä Haymanot I, continued, to their disappointment, to support *Täwaḥədo*, with the result that he was assassinated during a hunting excursion in Goǧǧam. T., finally, took the side of the *Qəbat* party.

T.'s proclamation was challenged by the *Täwaḥədo* party who protested that doctrinal matters were not like matters of landed property, *rəst* and *gʷəlt*, and were not to be resolved just by royal edict, but first required discussion in council. T. argued that his proclamation did not reflect hostility towards their doctrine, but was a measure designed to allow him to rule Goǧǧam – a reflection of how deeply doctrine and regionalism had become associated. However, T.'s actions went well beyond a gesture designed to placate Goǧǧam. He appointed a *Qəbat* follower to the post of ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*, previously a preserve of the *Täwaḥədo* clergy. For over a year and a half he neglected to appoint an ↗*əčč̣äge*, the leader of the monks of St. Täklä Haymanot at ↗Däbrä Libanos who were major proponents of *Täwaḥədo* teaching. He also patronized a contemporary Ethiopian saint, *abunä* ↗Abranyos, a noted *Qəbat* proponent, and endowed his monastery with land (Raineri 1983:601; Bausi – Lusini – Taddia n.d.). To legitimate his religious views, T. also dedicated his most notable foundation, the church of ↗Ḥamärä Noḫ in Gondär (1709; ms. BritLib Orient. 508, fol. 278r), to the 318 Fathers of the Council of ↗Nicaea.

T. quickly avenged the deaths of his predecessors. On 13 October 1708, he sentenced Iyasu's murderers to death. Iyasu's wife, *ətege* ↗Mäläkotawit, and her brother, P̣awlos, were hung in the main square of Gondär (BassÉt 64). The gunmen, who actually had shot Iyasu, were themselves shot. The murderers of Täklä Haymanot were executed by spear thrust.

T. spent the early months of 1710 in ↗Dämbəya and ↗Wägära (two regions bordering on Gondär) and ↗Səmen, killing bandits and thieves who had plundered and killed people on the main roads and in churches (DombrChr 93; cp. BassÉt 65; BégCron 92).

T. faced the challenges of several pretenders, one in the first half of 1710, the other in the latter half. The latter was put forward by Tige, formerly governor of Səmen, who had assembled a large army of Oromo troops. This insurrection was quelled in a major battle at ↗Yəbaba in early April 1711.

There were two ↗famines in T.'s reign: the drought from September 1708 until June 1709; and an even worse one the following year (DombrChr 254f.).

Although his reign was marked by political and sectarian conflict, T. did find time for more strictly administrative matters. In 1709 he visited ↗Ǝste, where the royal horses were bred and pastured and had them inventoried.

Shortly before his death, T. granted land to ↗Däbrä Daga Ǝsṭifanos, for commemorative services for his predecessors Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, Dawit, Zädəngəl, Fasilädas, as well as for himself. Then he "transferred" to Yosṭos "the power in his kingdom" (DombrChr 258). T. died of illness and was buried at Ṭädda, a foundation of his father.

Src.: BassÉt 63–67 (text) = 175–80 (tr.); ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI – IRMA TADDIA, *Documents from Sära'e*, ms. n.d.; BégCron 90–94; BruNile II, 533–37; CRNuov 384; DombChr 84–92 (text) = 248–56 (tr.); OSVALDO RAINERI, "Atti di abuna Abrānyos, santo eritreo (1633–1718)", *MRALm* 380, ser. 8ª, 26, fasc. 4, 1983, 435–530 (text) = 562–622 (tr.), here 601.
Lit.: CrumLand 90f.

Donald Crummey

Tewoflos

Əčč̣äge T. (**ቴዎፍሎስ**, b. Wägära, d. after 1896) was a 19th-cent. head of ↗Däbrä Libanos in Šäwa.

When T. (for ill. s. ↗Photography) was a ↗hermit, he prophesied to *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu (the future *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV) that the latter would become emperor. When the prophecy was fulfilled, Yoḥannəs showed his gratitude by appointing T. the 55th ↗*əčč̣äge* of Däbrä Libanos in 1872. Another reason for the appointment may have been Yoḥannəs's wish to have an adherent of ↗*Karra*, the doctrine Yoḥannəs supported, as head of Däbrä Libanos which for several centuries had followed the ↗*Yäṣägga ləǧ* doctrine. In any case, Yoḥannəs seems to have revered T., even bowing to him when they met. T. was also present at the ↗coronation of Yoḥannəs, who later also made T. ↗*liqä kahənat* of Šäwa (Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase 1988/89:114).

Trying to settle the conflict between *Karra* (based mostly in Təgray and Goǧǧam) and *Yäṣägga ləǧ* (dominant in Šäwa), Yoḥannəs summoned a synod in ↗Boru Meda in 1878. The resulting edict banned the *Yäṣägga ləǧ* doctrine, threatening those who would not renounce it with severe punishment (Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase 1988/89:114). Yoḥannəs tortured *Yäṣägga ləǧ* monks who would not recant, but T. is reported to have intervened and stopped the execution.

Soon upon his ascension to power in 1889, ↗Mənilək II deposed T. and appointed his own father confessor ↗Gäbrä Śəllase *əčč̣äge* (CerDLib III, 164; BTafA 695). He also deposed T. as *liqä kahənat*, replacing him with *abunä* ↗Matewos, bishop of Šäwa and later metropolitan.

T. withdrew to ↗Aksum where he also became involved in political events. In 1892, he convened a meeting in ↗ᶜAdwa, attended by *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, *ras* ↗Ḥagos Täfäri and *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs, in order to discuss the conduct towards the Italians in Eritrea (Conti Rossini 1935:76).

The British traveller ↗Wylde met the aged T. in Aksum and conversed with him. He described T. as a very pleasant and intelligent person (Wylde 1900: 158). Besides religion and politics they even discussed the taxation system of Ethiopia, which T. considered too burdensome (↗Tributes and taxation).

T. is also reported to have been in close contact with some Italians such as ↗Baratieri and even uttered proclamations in their favour. It was known that T. showed more sympathy to the Italians than to Mənilək (Wylde 1900: 158). He died of pneumonia sometime after 1896 (ibid.).

Src.: BTafA 679; GueCopMen 140, 144f., 153, 225, pl. XIII; MasMis vol. 11, 67; Augustus Wylde, *Modern Ethiopia*, London 1900, 158; Yacob Beyene, *Controversie cristologiche in Etiopia. Contributo alla storia delle correnti e della terminologia nel secolo XIX*, Napoli 1977 (*Annali IUO*, Supplemento 11), 37.

Lit.: CerDLib III, 162–65; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Italia ed Etiopia: dal Trattato d'Uccialli alla Battaglia di Adua*, Roma 1935, s. index; Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, **ዋዜማ** (*Wazema*, 'The Eve'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.], 113f.

Sophia Dege

Tewoflos

Abunä T. (**ቴዎፍሎስ**, birth name Mälᶜəktu; b. 24 April 1909, Däbrä Gännät Elyas, Goǧǧam, d. 14 July 1979, Addis Abäba) was the second Patriarch of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC).

T.'s parents were *ato* Čämbäre Wəbe and *wäyzäro* Zäritu Adällahu. T. completed the first and second stages of traditional ↗education at his home parish, ↗Däbrä Gännät Elyas. In 1927, he travelled to the Šäwan monastery Addis ᶜAläm Maryam where he studied commentary (↗*Mäṣḥaf bet*) under *nəburä əd* Ḥaddis Täkle (later *abunä* ↗Yoḥannəs). He received monastic orders at ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa in 1937 and was ordained priest by *abunä* Abrəham, the then Archbishop of Goǧǧam.

Soon after the Liberation from Italian occupation, T. became abbot (↗*Mämhər*) of the Mäkanä Śəllase monastery in Addis Abäba and later *liqä śəlṭanat* (↗*Liq*) of the modern church of ↗Qəddəst Śəllase. After five years of service, he was elected to one of the bishops in 1947 and was ordained by Joseph II of Alexandria as bishop of ↗Harär with the name of T.

T. was also appointed by Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I as regent for *abunä* ↗Basəlyos, the first Archbishop (January 1950) and later Patriarch (June 1959) of the autonomous EOTC. Upon the death of Basəlyos in 1970, T. became Patriarch on 9 May 1971.

T. introduced a number of reforms. He attempted to bring the EOTC into the 20th cent. by introducing modern educational methods both in the theological schools and in the churches. He reorganized the administrative structure of the church from the patriarchate to the parish level. He opened Parish Councils and Sunday School departments, both at the diocese and parish level. He introduced the first modern church constitution, called *Qalä ᶜawadi*, to bring bureaucracies in order and unify the administrative structures of the church at all levels. He also understood the importance of the church's engagement in alleviating social problems in the country and hence established the church's development wing, the Development and Inter-church Aid Commission. The commission did a remarkable job in response to the catastrophic famine of 1973/74.

T. is today perceived as the most far-sighted leader of the Church. Anticipating future developments, he invested much money in constructing business and residential complexes in the capital and the regions, thereby securing reliable sources of income for the EOTC (Märša Alläḵäññ 2004: 57). Aware of the problem of the disappearance of the literary heritage, he inspired Walter Harrelson to initiate the ↗Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library project. He himself was also engaged in research and publication. He edited and published a commentary to the ↗Psalter (1957/58). T. also reviewed EOTC representation abroad, elevated its status to an archdiocese and appointed *abunä* Atnatewos as its head. He encouraged ecumenical relationships with other Oriental and Eastern Orthodox Churches. In January 1965, he convened the first conference of the Heads of Oriental Orthodox Churches in Addis Abäba. T. also represented the church at the establishment of the World Council of Churches and began the process of rapprochement with the Roman Catholic Church, which, however, earned him some internal opposition.

After the ↗Revolution, the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council (*Därg*) suspected T. of corresponding with the leadership of the monarchist Ethiopian Democratic Union. When T. ordained five new bishops (including *abunä* Ṗawlos, the fifth Patriarch of the EOTC), the *Därg* arrested him on 3 March 1976 accusing him of acting without government approval. T. along with other top imperial officials was executed on

14 August 1979. *Abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot was elected the third Patriarch.

On 10 August 1992, following the fall of the military regime, T.'s remains were unearthed, and reburied in full ceremonial state at the Gofa Qəddus Gäbrəᵓel church which he himself had built in southern Addis Abäba. The EOTC canonized him as a martyr.

Src.: EMML I, i–iii, 4f.; **ዝክረ፡ ቴዎፍሎስ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ፪ኛው፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ፓትሪያርክ** (*Zəkrä Tewoflos sämaᶜət hulättäññaw yäᵓityopya patriyark*, 'The Story of Tewoflos the Martyr, the Second Ethiopian Patriarch'), ms.; Archive of the EOTC, File no. 100, folder no. 755 ["Abune Theophilos"]; TEWOFLOS (ed.), **መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት፡ ንባቡና፡ ትርጓሜው** (*Mäzmurä Dawit nəbabunna tərgʷamew*, 'Reading and Commentary to the Psalter'), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1957/58 A.D.].
Lit.: ABÄRRA ǦÄMBÄRE, **የእስር፡ ቤቱ፡ አበሳ፡ በታላቁ፡ ቤተ፡ መንግሥት** (*Yäᵓəsər betu abäsa bätallaqu betä mängəśt*, 'The Agony of Jail in the Grand Palace'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.]; MÄRŠA ALLÄḴÄÑÑ, **ዜና፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን** (*Zena pappasat ityopyawəyan*, 'History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 51–60.

Mersha Alehegne

Textiles ↗Clothing; ↗Cotton; ↗Silk; ↗Wool; ↗Weaving

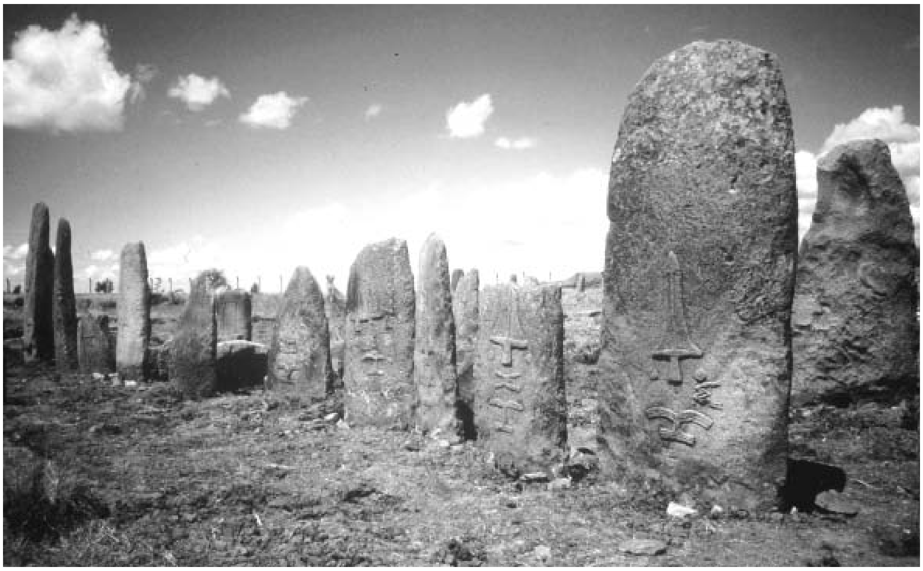
Ṭəya

Ṭ. (also Ṭiya, 8° 26' N, 38° 36' E) is a town located in ↗Soddo *wäräda*, Gurage zone (for location s. map for Ṭəčo). It is best known for its adjacent archaeological site, which was included on UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1980. In 2004 the population of the town was 3,210 (CSA 2004).

The site of Ṭ. was visited by François ↗Azaïs and Adolf Ellegard ↗Jensen in April 1935. It was the object of three excavations in 1982, 1990 and 1991 and of restoration in 1998 directed by Roger Joussaume (Joussaume 1995). It comprises three groups of ↗stelae. The first group is composed of some 40 stelae forming an area about 50 m long and orientated south-west/north-west. Behind the stelae, slabs standing on their sides form polygonal spaces in relation to tombs below them. To the north, four stelae form a second line where the biggest stela of the site is located (over 5 m). It shows 19 swords carved on two registers. The top of this stela was relocated to the park of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba. To the west, another group with four standing stelae has not yet been studied.

The stelae are flat slabs worked with the help of metal adzes. They contain a basal perforation of a few centimetres in diameter that is situated at ground level when standing. On the first level, a branched design, normally in relief, is topped by an X or upside-down W sign, sometimes with two circles in relief. This symbolic triad forms the first level of decoration of the stela. The second level, when it exists, is formed of swords, with the points upwards when they are alone and upside down when they are in groups.

All the stelae studied have been found to be associated with tombs placed behind the deco-



The restored stelae of Ṭəya; photo courtesy of the author rated side of the stela. The bodies were placed at a depth of some 2 m. Often with knees bent and lying on one side, they may be superposed in the same grave by other bodies separated by a slab.

The 45 tombs that have been excavated contain 54 skeletons. The tombs containing two bodies include a male and a female. No young person was buried in the cemetery and it can be hypothesized that it was reserved for the elite. 2/3 of the people buried were between 20 and 30 years old and the average height was 1.70 m for males and 1.62 m for females.

In the tombs, some beads in multicoloured glass forming bracelets were found as well as necklaces, earrings in bronze, a bracelet and an iron pin. Cattle breeders, the people of Ṭ. consumed grains such as sorghum and millet.

Carbon 14 dating indicates an occupation from the 12th and 13th cent. A.D. The end of the site may be associated with the beginning of the Christianization of southern Ethiopia in the 14th cent.

Src.: CSA 2004.

Lit.: Francis Anfray, "Tiya et le mégalithisme d'Ethiopie", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 1–8; François Azais – Roger Chambard, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Ethiopie. Province du Harar et Éthiopie Méridionale*, 2 vols., Paris 1931; Adolf Ellegard Jensen (ed.), *Im Lande des Gada*, Stuttgart 1936, 448–83; Roger Joussaume, *Le mégalithisme en Ethiopie*: *Monuments funéraires protohistoriques du Harar*, Addis-Abeba 1974; Id. (ed.), *Tiya – L'Ethiopie des mégalithes*: *du biface à l'art rupestre dans la Corne de l'Afrique*, Paris 1995.

Roger Joussaume

Theatre

Theatre in Ethiopia

As with many African countries, pre-colonial T. in Ethiopia is under-researched. We know the ↗*azmari* tradition of singer-musicians has existed for many hundreds of years amongst the ↗Amhara the Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church has long had a range of performance traditions, including ↗*aqqʷaqʷam* and an elaborate poetry tradition of ↗*qəne*. *Zar*, a form of ↗possession predominantly dance-ritual performed by women, has long been widespread though under-reported since it is approved by neither Christian or Muslim authorities. However, the performance traditions of Ethiopia's plethora of ethnic groups, especially those outside the Christian heartlands, have been little studied and knowledge remains minimal.

Modern T. dates back to ca. 1921, when ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat Täklä Maryam's play **ፋቡላ፡ የአውሬዎች፡ ኮሜዲያ** (*Fable. Yäʾawrewočč komediya*, 'Fabula. The Comedy of Animals'), influenced by the fables of La Fontain, was staged at the court. This thinly veiled vehicle of criticism was promptly banned. Until ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I came to the throne in 1930, modern T. was only seen in the handful of modern high schools operating in the capital of ↗Addis Abäba.

Ḫaylä Śəllase sought to use drama both to signify his modern credentials and to support his imperial status. In the period between 1930 and the Italian invasion of 1935 the Emperor commissioned school-master playwrights ↗Yoftahe Nəguśe and ↗Mälʾaku Bäggosäw to produce between them five plays for special court production. This work was supported by drama as a focus at the govermental Lycée Menelik II where the nation's first T., a large zinc shed, was constructed in 1934. What is significant is that Ethiopian T. developed as a partnership between court and an elite with European influences. Productions were all in Amharic, and emphasis was put on fine, flowery language. Acting and actors were seen as relatively unimportant. Actors were schoolboys pressed into service and no women were seen on stage. From Europe was taken the idea of the proscenium arch stage, the concept of dialogue-oriented drama, and European ideas of theatrical form were broadly appropriated.

Under the Italian occupation of 1936–41 all cultural production was suppressed. However, the return to independence was directly related to the establishment in 1941 of Ethiopia's first professional theatre company, *Yähagär Fəqər Maḥbär* (Ethiopian Patriotic Association). The Association had its origin in the cultural agitation against the Italian invasion. It was transformed into the ↗*Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər* in 1957/58. This venue put on variety-style performances which remain popular to this day, with a professional *azmari* company, privileging ↗*qəññət* in the widely popular dance, song and music traditions of the *azmari.* Short drama productions were largely improvized around a scenario produced by a playwright since the actors were illiterate. The most prominent of the populist scenario producers of the period was Iyoʾel Yoḥannəs who produced over 70 scripts in the course of a long career.

In the following years more T. were built in the capital. The City Hall Company was set up in 1946/47 and in 1955 the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre was built as a focus for the Emperor's silver jubilee celebrations. Imperial support led to a dramatic writing vogue amongst the elite.

Most prominent of the aristocratic playwrights was *ras bitwäddäd* ↗Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkaččäw. Other prominent names of the 1940s and 1950s include ↗Käbbädä Mikaʾel and ↗Gərmaččäw Täklä Ḫawaryat, while 1949/50 saw the first play written by an Ethiopian woman, Sənəddu Gäbru's **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ናፍቆት** (*Yäʾityop̣ya Ḥəzb Nafqot,* 'The Longing of the Ethiopian People') about the massacre of Ethiopians in Addis Abäba by the Italian general ↗Graziani. These plays were never popular drama, but were for court circles, and the playwrights had rather peculiar ideas about form. Plays ran up to thirteen acts, many in verse, and stage directions were often not separated out from dialogue (KaneLit 21).

Ethiopian T. underwent a radical change in 1959 when ↗Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən became the first of a key group of young writers, actors and directors, including ↗Mängəśtu Lämma, Täsfaye Gässäsä, Däbbäbä Ǝšätu and Wogayyähu Nəgatu, to return from taking up T. scholarships in Europe and the USA. The young Ṣäggaye was appointed Vice-Director of the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre (later National Theatre) and promptly set about promoting his own taste in T. This featured a series of his own plays, plus translations of classics such as Molière and Shakespeare. For the first time world T. was being seen in Amharic and serious original plays such as Ṣäggaye's **የከርሞ፡ ሰው** (*Yäkärmo Säw,* 'Next Year's Man') were focusing on the lives of ordinary people. What was important about this new generation was not only that it was much more technically assured as to the nature of drama than the aristocratic generation which preceded it, but all those who had travelled abroad had become significantly radicalised. Consequently the T. became both much more widely popular, and began to come under scrutiny from the Emperor who obsessively and personally read and censored all plays put forward for production. By this time, women had entered the Ethiopian stages. The first actress, Sälamawit Gäbrä Śəllase had been employed in 1954, but almost all actors had very low status and correspondingly low wages, while the playwright directors were admired and took a substantial cut of box office receipts.

Although T. had been developing a radical edge throughout the sixties, it became a true political force in 1974, as part of the growing tide of events leading to the overthrow of the monarchy. In February 1974 Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən threw his lot in with the army grouping, the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), which would soon seize power. His **ሀ ሁ፡ በስድስት፡ ወር** (*Ha Hu bäsəddəst wär,* 'ABC in Six Months') portrayed a soldier as the hope for a better future. Once Ḫaylä Śəllase had been overthrown in September 1974 the now uncensored T. became a focus for debate as to the political way forward. Playwrights like ↗Abbe Gubäñña, ↗Mängəśtu Lämma and Täsfaye Gässäsä all put on works damning the old regime and suggesting strategies for political transformation, while actors took part in demonstrations demanding change.

A patriotic play on stage in 1935; from Rikli 1935: 48

This honeymoon period was hugely influential but lasted a relatively short time. By late 1975 censorship was once more in place.

During the late 1970s the military government tightened its grip on the T., but also expanded its use as a propaganda tool. Two new T. were opened in the capital, but more importantly the state embraced agit-prop drama as a means of conveying its messages across the country. Youth associations were encouraged to produce drama explaining the new state and there is evidence that for some years at least this form was a popular means of getting information out, especially to the illiterate peasantry in the countryside.

By the late 1970s the T. and its output were firmly under state control and playwrights moved away from politics towards more historical plays, comedy and uncontroversial translations of foreign classics, a policy which has largely continued for fear of state reprisals. Developments have largely been in training and the spread of theatrical expertise.

In 1978 a Theatre Arts Department was set up at ↗Addis Ababa University and this has gradually driven up acting standards and the status of actors as well as developing new playwrights and directors. The introduction of women graduates also led to some challenges to the endemic sexism of the Ethiopian theatre establishment. The government has sought to send graduates into the regions to promote good practice, though this policy has been so under-funded that the impact has remained minimal outside major towns. The T. remains popular but is no longer dominated with radical intellectuals, rather it has become popular entertainment for middle and lower-middle class families and youth.

With the overthrow of the *Därg* in 1991 many hoped that T. would be allowed more freedom. A limited youth T. movement has developed, but as in many African nations with the arrival of cheap video technology, many leading T. personnel have moved into independent video production where financial returns are often much higher than in the theatre.

↗Amharic drama

Lit.: ABONEH ASHAGRIE, "Popular Theater in Ethiopia", in: *Ufahamu. Journal for the African Activist Association* 24, 2 & 3, CA 1996, 32–41; GALINA A. BALAŠOVA, *Sovremennaja dramaturgija Efiopii* ('The Contemporary Dramaturgy of Ethiopia'), Moscow 2008 (Lit.); GerLit 271–87; KaneLit 21f.; MolLit passim; JANE PLASTOW, *African Theatre and Politics: the Evolution of Theatre in Ethiopia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe*, Rodopi 1996, 47–54, 91–103, 144–58, 203–28; LANFRANCO RICCI, "La «Komidiyā» di Takla Hāwāryāt (letteratura amarica)" in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 193–203; MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935 (ill.).

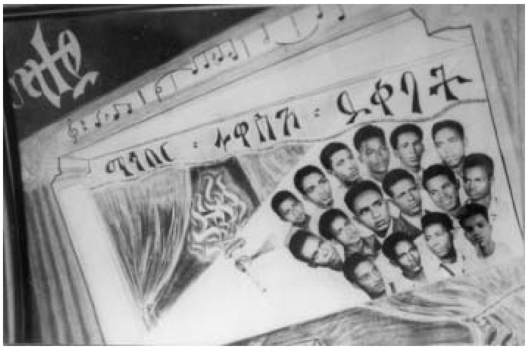
Jane Plastow

Theatre in Eritrea

T. arts in Eritrea can be divided into the performance forms of the nine ethno-linguistic groups and urban T. Indigenous performing arts (religious and secular) are largely music-, song- and dance-based and practiced widely. Urban T. arts were initially introduced with Italian ↗colonialism in the form of neo-naturalistic drama, variety shows, concerts and operas. Originally they were not accessible to Eritreans due to rigid race segregation under Italian colonial rule.

Eritrean theatrical activities on urban stages started during the ↗British Military Administration (1941–52), owing to an emergent Eritrean nationalism and better access to education (school drama). Following the success, and subsequent censorship, of Bärḥe Mäsgun's anti-colonial play **ዘሓለፈ፡ ንብረት፡ ኤርትራ** (*Zəḥaläfä nəbrät Ertəra*, 'The Past Condition of Eritrea') under the Unionists (↗Unionist Party), the first indigenous T. association, *Maḫbär täwasəᵓo däqqäbbat* [MaTäDä] ('Association of Indigenous Theatre' or, in their own words, 'The Native Comedy and Dramatic Association') was founded in 1947. Among its formative members were ᶜAlämayyähu Kaḥsay, ᶜAli Saᶜid, Täsfay Gäbrä Mikaᵓel and many teachers. MaTäDä mounted Təgrəñña drama, variety shows and the 1st National Singing Contest in 1956, after which it fell apart. A second association, *Maḥbär məməᶜbal hagärawi ləmdi* ('Association for the improvement of national customs') followed from 1957–60. *Maḫbär təyatər Asmära* ('Asmära Theatre Association', [MaTəA]), initiated in 1961 by Täwäldä Rädda and Təkkabo Wäldä Maryam, proved to be the most prolific Eritrean theatre association. Under the leadership of ᶜAlämayyähu Kaḥsay, it operated until the mid-1970s in the areas of comedy, stage drama and music. Popular artists such as the singer Täbärək̠ Täsfahuñ originated from the group. Censorship and political repression under the Ethiopian regime led to MaTəA's decline. Some artists were coerced to stage pro-government propaganda, others joined the liberation fronts, the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF).

Cultural activities in the ELF – mostly music, agitprop and dances of selected ethnic groups – started under Romädan Gäbrä in 1968, but took more professional form under Nəguśä Ḫaylä Mänsaᶜay and Bäräk̠ät Mängəśtäᵓab in the mid-1970s until the political demise of the ELF in the



Contemporary advertisement for the first Eritrean theatre association MaTäDä, by ᶜAlämayähu Kaḥsay (2nd row, 3rd from left); photo courtesy of Osman Aḥmed (upper row, 2nd from right) early 1980s. The EPLF encouraged cultural work from ca. 1975, in the form of a succession of full time central cultural troupes and innumerable smaller amateur ones in all departments. They produced variety shows dominated by music, song, and dance representing all Eritrean nationalities, along with short educational and political sketches. Stage drama became more prominent when a Division of Literature and Drama was introduced in 1981 in the Department of Political Orientation, Education and Culture. Among its formative cultural officers was ᶜAlämsägäd Täsfay, author of the well-known EPLF play *The Other War* (1984).

Since independence various professional dance, music and/or drama groups have been working under the People's Front for Democracy and Justice' Cultural Affairs Division, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Defence. Amateur groups often operated in secondary schools, the university, churches or under the National Union of Eritrean Youths and Students. Säwit Children's Theatre provides popular entertainment for the young, with their own programme on Eri-TV, the national broadcasting service. Cross-cultural theatre projects have also been undertaken, in collaboration with e.g. the Norwegian Playwrights' Association and the University of Leeds. While the 1998–2000 Eritrean-Ethiopian war saw an upsurge in patriotic theatre activities, stage drama is now largely seen during festivals and National Holidays. Increasingly, theatre artists produce for television or for the rapidly growing local film industry ("Eriwood"). The successful production of Bäyyänä Ḫaylä's philosophical play **ወግዒ፡ ልቢ** (*Wägʾi ləbbi*, 'Heart to Heart Talk') in 2008 hints at a new direction stage drama might be taking. T. arts in their various forms are enormously popular in Eritrea, with urban drama and long-established performance forms increasingly overlapping these days.

Src.: Alemseged Tesfai, *Two Weeks in the Trenches*, Asmära 2002; *mämhər* Asräs Tässämma, **ጠዓሞት፤ ካብ፡ ታሪኽ፡ መድረኻዊ፡ ስነ፡ ጥባብ፡ ኤርትራ** (*Ṭäᶜamot, kab tarik̠ mädərk̠awi sənä ṭəbab Ertra*, 'Tea-Time Snack, Stories of the Performing Arts in Eritrea'), Asmära 1999 A.M. [2006 A.D.]; Jane Plastow (ed.), *Three Eritrean Plays*, Leeds 2005.

Lit.: Christine Matzke, "Of *Suwa* Houses and Singing Contests: Early Urban Women Performers in Asmara, Eritrea", in: Martin Banham et al. (eds.), *African Theatre: Women*, Oxford 2002, 29–46; Ead., "Theatre at the 'White House': Shakespeare and Surgery in the Eritrean Liberation Struggle", in: *PICES* 15, 459–68; Ead., "*Mahber Teyatr Asmera* – The Asmara Theatre Association, 1961–1974", in: James Gibbs (ed.), *African Theatre*: *Companies*, Oxford 2008, 62–81; Ead., "'Life in the Camp of the Enemy': Alemseged Tesfai's Theatre of War", in: Ernest E. Emenyonu (ed.), *ALT 26*: *War in African Literature Today*, Oxford 2008, 15–32; Jane Plastow, "Uses and Abuses of Theatre for Development: Political Struggle and Development Theatre in the Ethiopia-Eritrea War", in: Kamal Salhi (ed.), *African Theatre for Development*: *Art for Self-Determination*, Exeter 1998, 97–113; Ead. – Solomon Tsehaye, "Making Theatre for a Change: Two Plays of the Eritrean Liberation Struggle", in: Richard Boon – Jane Plastow (eds.), *Theatre Matters*: *Performance and Culture on the World Stage*, Cambridge 1998, 36–54; Ead., "Finding Children's Voices: a Pilot Project Using Performance to Discuss Attitudes to Education among Primary School Children in Two Eritrean Villages", *Research in Drama Education* 12, 3, 2007, 345–54.

Christine Matzke

Theodosios of Alexandria

T. (Eth. **ቴዎዶስዮስ**; d. 22 June 566) was an anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria.

T. was a disciple of ↗Severus of Antioch, whose anti-Chalcedonian stance (cp. ↗Chalcedon, Council of) he shared, and secretary of ↗Timothy III of Alexandria, whom he succeeded in 535. In the same year opposition rose against T. The archdeacon Gaianos, a supporter of ↗Julianism, was elected anti-patriarch, but expelled three months later. In 536 Emperor Justinian summoned T. to Constantinople and demanded that he join the Chalcedonian party. T. refused and was formally deposed in 537 but remained under the protection of Empress Theodora. In 565, Justin II permitted T. to return to Alexandria, but T. died and was buried in Constantinople.

T. was the leading ecclesiastical and theological authority among the adherents of ↗Monophysitism, particularly after Severus's death in 538. It was he who consecrated ↗Jacob Baradaios as bishop (543) and in 563 he consecrated his *synkellos*, Paul of Bēṯ Ukkāmē, Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch (CPG nos. 7140–42). T. actively supported missionary activities: ca. 543 he sent a priest Julian to ↗Nubia, and shortly before his death he consecrated a priest of his entourage, Longinos, as bishop of Nubia.

T.'s works, in which he fought for Monophysite orthodoxy and unity, survive mostly in translation: only six fragments in the original Greek have been preserved, three of which are citations in the work by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes (CPG nos. 7130–32; Orlandi 1971: 175). In Syriac, the *Tome to Theodora*, the *Letter to the Armenians* and the *Theological Discourse* (CPG nos. 7134–49; Chabot 1907, 1933; Van Roey – Allen 1994) have been preserved; in Coptic, some homilies

(CPG nos. 7150–53; Orlandi 1971) and the *Encomium of Michael the Archangel* (Budge 1915), as well as the *Encomium on John the Baptist* (Kuhn 1966, 1975) have survived, and, in Arabic, five homilies and the *Letter to the Alexandrians* (CPG nos. 7154–59; GrafLit I, 420f.).

In spite of his Monophysite fame, T. was regarded as a heretic by the 15th-cent. ↗Giyorgis of Sägla, who, in his *Mäṣḥafä ↗məśṭir*, opposes T.'s alleged view of Christ's passion against his will (YaqMist I, ch. 15).

The ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, translated into Ethiopic in the 16th cent., preserves:

1) an extract from the *Synodal Letter* (**ጦማረ፡ መልእክቱ**, *Ṭomarä mälʾəktu*) to Severus of Antioch (CPG no. 7134), written when he became patriarch of Alexandria (Syriac version: Chabot 1908: 5–11; 1938: 1–5);
2) *Homily on the consubstantial Trinity*, against impious men written 'after his expulsion' (**ድርሳኑ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ስደቱ**, *dərsanu əmdəḫrä səddätu*);
3) *Letter to the Alexandrians* written from exile (CPG no. 7159);
4) five *Anathematisms*, drawn from the same *Letter.*

A 17th-cent. manuscript of the *Haymanotä abäw* (ms. EMML no. 1) has a miniature showing T.

T. is also referred to as one of the authorities in the 18th-cent. treatise ↗*Haymanot rətəᶜt*.

Src.: Ernest Arthur Wallis Budge (ed., tr.), *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1915, 321–431 (text) = 893–947 (tr.); Jean-Baptiste Chabot (ed., tr.), *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, Parisiis – Leipzig 1907, tr. Lovanii 1933 (CSCO 17 [Scriptores Syri 2:37], CSCO 103 [Scriptores Syri 52]); CPG nos. 7130–59; EMML no. 1; Albert Van Roey – Pauline Allen (eds., trs.), *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, Leuven 1994 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 56); Karl Heinz Kuhn (ed., tr.), *A Panegyric on John the Baptist attributed to Theodosius Archbishop of Alexandria*, Louvain 1966 (CSCO 268, 269 [Scriptores coptici 33, 34]); Id., "Three Further Fragments of a Panegyric of John the Baptist attributed to Theodosius Archbishop of Alexandria", *Le Muséon* 88, 1975, 103–12; YaqMist I, 267–75 (text) = 165–71 (tr.).

Lit.: GrafLit I, 420f.; Alois Grillmeyer – Theresia Hainthaler, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, Band 2/4: *Die Kirchen von Alexandrien mit Nubien und Äthiopien nach 451*, Freiburg 1990, passim; Edward R. Hardy, "Theodosius I", in: *CE* vol. 7, 2241; Tito Orlandi, "Teodosio di Alessandria nella letteratura copta", *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* nuova ser. 2 [23], 1971, 175–85; Dietmar W. Winkler, "Theodosius, ökumenischer Patriarch der Miaphysiten", *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 12, 1, 1999, 396–412.

Witold Witakowski

Theodosios of Antioch

T. (Eth. **ቴዎዶስዮስ**, baptismal name Romanos; d. 896) was a Patriarch of the Syrian Orthodox Church. Before his election, he was a monk in the monastery of Qartmin, where he was educated as a physician. Since the Syrian Orthodox Church had not had a patriarch for four years, the congregations put some pressure on their bishops and, as a result, Romanos was chosen the new patriarch by the synod at Amid in Mesopotamia. He assumed the name T. and was ordained on 5 February 887. Little is known about his activities as a patriarch, except that he ordained 33 bishops. He was buried in Qartmin on 1 June 896.

His writings in Syriac include: an *Admirable Collection of Medicine* (not preserved), a very detailed commentary on (Pseudo-)Hierotheus's *On the Hidden Mysteries of the House of God* (a 6th-cent. forgery of a pantheist Stephen BarSudhaile), and a collection of 112 maxims and proverbs partly translated from Greek, partly his own, all with brief explanations.

In Arabic he wrote a Lenten homily and a so-called *Synodal Letter* to Michael III, the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria. The *Letter* was of the kind that every new Syrian Orthodox patriarch sent to the head of the ↗Coptic Church (and *vice versa*), to confirm the ecclesiastical communion between them.

The only text of T.'s in Ethiopic is a fragmentary translation of the *Letter*, included in the ↗*Haymanotä abäw* (no. 40 in the Addis Abäba edition, 1993/94: 405–08). Although the *Haymanotä abäw* is a frequently copied work, only one manuscript, EMML no. 1, dated 1667–82, is illuminated and contains T.'s miniature (along with those of other 36 fathers).

Src.: EMML no. 1; **ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው** (*Haymanotä abäw*, 'Faith of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1975 A.D.], ^{2}1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.].

Lit.: Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, 280; GrafLit II, 233; Martin Tamcke, "Theodosios, Patriarch der Syrischen Orthodoxen Kirche (Jakobiten)", in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 11, Herzberg 1996, coll. 987–88.

Witold Witakowski

Theodotos of Ankyra

T. (Eth. **ቴዎዶጦስ**, Tewodoṭos, **ቴዮዶጦስ** Teyodoṭos, **ቲዮዶጦስ** Tiyodoṭos) was a bishop of Ankyra in Galatia (today Ankara). As a metropolitan of Galatia, he attended the Council of ↗Ephesus (431), or rather the part chaired by ↗Cyril of Alexandria, and signed the deposition of ↗Nestorius, whose friend he had previously been. He participated in the delegation of the Cyrilian bishops to Emperor Theodosius to inform him about the actions of John, patriarch of Antioch. John excommunicated him at a synod in Tarsos in 432. Cyril wrote him a letter in 438 showing that, notwithstanding the agreement of 433 between the latter and John of Antioch, the Nestorian controversy was not over. Nothing is known of T.'s later vicissitudes. Since his successor was ordained by Proclus, patriarch of Constantinople, who died in 446, T. had probably died before that date.

T.'s Greek works (CPG nos. 6124–41) are not well preserved. Two homilies on the Nativity of Christ are added to the Acts of the Council of Ephesus (CPG nos. 6125–26). He wrote also an *Exposition of the Symbol of ↗Nicaea* (CPG no. 6124), three anti-Nestorian treatises preserved only in Syriac (CPG no. 6131), and one which has been preserved in Greek (CPG no. 6127).

In Ethiopic, two homilies by T. are included in the ↗*Qerəllos*, and, like the rest of the collection, entered ↗Gəᶜəz literature during the ↗Aksumite period. The first is a version of the Greek CPG no. 6127, *Against Nestorius* (Weischer 1979: 42–53). It explains Nestorius's deposition, which was pronounced in Ephesus on the day of the feast of John the Evangelist (8 *Ḥamle* = 2 July). The second (Weischer 1979: 122–33; DillmChr 103–06), not preserved in the original Greek (CPG no. 6132), develops the topic of Mt 16: 13–19, but begins with a eulogy for Cyril. The theological importance of the homilies can be illustrated by the fact that the Amharic commentary on the *Qerəllos* (known from a late ms. EMML no. 1669, dated 1952–57) devotes two folios to the commentary upon T.'s text.

The dogmatic collection ↗*Haymanotä abäw* also includes extracts from T.'s works. Weischer (1979: 182–91) identified eight quotations, of which the first six come from the *Second Homily on the Nativity* (CPG no. 6126), the seventh has not been identified, and the eighth is from the *Homily against Nestorius* (Weischer 1979: 50).

The *Homily* (↗*Dərsan*) *on St.* ↗*George of Lydda* is traditionally attributed to T. The attribution is probably apocryphal, though it already appears in Coptic tradition (Budge 1930: 54). The *Homily* is frequently copied alongside the Acts of St. George, where it usually precedes the actual ↗*gädl*.

Src.: HamTana I, 122, ms. Ṭānāsee 17 = Kebrān 17, fols. 3ra-5vb; STEPHAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, Manchester 1974, 31, ms. Manchester 12, fols. 3ra–13vb; EMML nos. 1669, 3052; CPG III, 192–96; BERND MANUEL WEISCHER (ed., tr.), *Qērellos IV 1: Homilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesos*, Wiesbaden 1979 (AeF 4); DillmChr 103–06; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE, *George of Lydda. The Patron Saint of England: a Study of the Cultus of St. George in Ethiopia*, London 1930; *liqä ṭäbbäbt* AYYALEW TAMMƎRU (ed.), **መጽሐፈ፡ ገድለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ** (*Mäṣḥafä gädlä Giyorgis*, 'The Book of the Life of George'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; **ገድለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወተአምራቲሁ፡ ዘምስለ፡ መልክአ፡ ጊዮርጊስ** (*Gädlä Giyorgis wätäʾamməratihu zäməslä mälkəʾa Giyorgis*, 'The Life of George and his Miracles with the Image of George'), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; VERONIKA SIX, "Der heilige Georg und das Mädchen: Ein orientalisches Motiv und sein Weg nach Äthiopien", *AuÜ* 77, 1994, 9–30.

Lit.: CerLett 142; GrafLit I, 366; TITO ORLANDI, "Theodotus of Ancyra", in: *CE*, vol. 7, 2242–43; GUSTAVE BARDY, "Théodote d'Ancyre", in: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* vol. 15, 1, Paris 1996, col. 328–30.

Witold Witakowski

Theological College of St. Paul

The T.c. (**የሰዋስወ፡ ብርሃን፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ መንፈሳዊ፡ ኮሌጅ**, *Yäsäwasəwä bərhan qəddus Ṗawlos mänfäsawi kolleǧ*, 'Säwasəwä Bərhan [lit. 'the ladder of light'] St. Paul Theological College') is one of the three theological colleges of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC; the other two being ↗Holy Trinity Theological College, Addis Abäba, and Kāśate Bərhan Frumentius Theological College, Mäqälä).

The T.c. was originally founded in 1942, soon after the Liberation from the Italian occupation, as an orphanage, to teach basic church education for children who had lost their parents in the war and for those patriots who were handicapped during the Fascist persecution. The land in western Addis Abäba (today Kolfe-Qäranəyo district) was donated by Empress ↗Mänän. The objective was later revised in order to recruit the best theologians for the service of the EOTC and to teach secular education (grades 1–8). After completion, students were sent to ↗Holy Trinity Theological College for further studies. Many students later joined the then Ḫaylä Śəllase University College (↗Addis Ababa University), which was under the same administration. After the ↗Revolution, the secular section was separated and taken over by the government, becoming Sälam Bärr elementary and junior school. The T.c. continued teaching exclusively traditional church education. It was inaugurated as "Säwasəw Bərhan" St. Paul Higher Theological Seminary by the Holy Synod, thanks to the efforts of Patriarch *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, in 1978. The first dean was *abunä* Bärnabas, the then Secretary General of the Holy Synod and Archbishop of ^{c}Asäb. The second dean was Bishop *abunä* Ṗawlos (the current Patriarch).

The T.c. has two main programs: the ↗*mäṣḥaf bet*, specializing in ↗Bible commentary (two streams, for O.T. and N.T.), and *kors*, i.e. different (over 20) seminary courses in "units", such as biblical studies, dogmatic theology, church history, practical theology, social sciences, language studies.

The courses are taught in Amharic. The N.T. commentary cycle takes five years, O.T. seven years and the seminary courses four years. The graduates receive a "theological diploma", confirmed by the administrative board and issued by the Holy Synod.

In 2005, the T.c. Seminary was promoted to College and got its present name.

The graduates of the T.c. are assigned in many positions as preachers, teachers of Sunday Schools and administrators in different hierarchies of the church. Many bishops, members of the Holy Synod, are graduates of the T.c.

Src.: **በኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ የቅዱስ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ከፍተኛ፡ መንፈሳዊ፡ ትምህርት፡ ቤት** (*Bäʾityoṗya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan yäqəddus Ṗawlos käffətäñña mänfäsawi təmhərt bet*, 'Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church St. Paul Higher Theological School'), Addis Abäba 29 *Gənbot* 1975 A.M. [6 June 1983]; **ሐመር፡ ዘኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ** (*Ḥamär zäʾortodoks täwaḥədo*, 'The Ark of the Orthodox Täwaḥədo'), 11, 4, *Mäskäräm/Ṭəqəmt* 1996 A.M. [September–October 2004 A.D.], 4–5; **የቅዱስ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ከፍተኛ፡ መንፈሳዊ፡ ትምህርት፡ ቤት፡ ዓመታዊ፡ መጽሔት** (*Yäqəddus Ṗawlos käffətäñña mänfäsawi təmhərt bet ^{c}amätawi mäṣḥet*, 'The Annual Bulletin of St. Paul Higher Theological School') 2, 28 *Säne* 1978 A.M. [5 July 1986 A.D.].

Lit.: PATRIARCHATE OF THE EOTC, **ቀዳማዊ፡ ዐፄ፡ ኃይለ፡ ሥላሴ፡ እና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Qädamawi ^{c}aṣ́e Ḫaylä Śəllase ənna yäʾityoṗya betä krəstiyan*, 'His Imperial Majesty Ḫaylä Śəllase I and the Church of Ethiopia'), *Ṭəqəmt* 1992 [October 2000]; *diyaqon* SÄLOMON YOḤANNƎS, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወርቃማ፡ ዘመናት** (*Yäʾityoṗya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan wärqamma zämänat*, 'Golden Ages of Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church'), Addis Abäba 2001 A.M. [2009 A.D.].

Amsalu Teferra

Theology, Ethiopian

Theological discourse in Ethiopia emerged with the introduction of ↗Christianity as the official religion in ↗Aksum in the first half of the 4th cent. A.D., even if T. in the strict sense of a systematic presentation of doctrine, dogma and spirituality of Orthodox Christianity as proposed by its adherents did not exist in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) until a much later point.

At that early stage, as soon as the first Christian writings (primarily the ↗Bible and such writings as the ↗*Qerəllos*, ↗*Traditio apostolica*, etc.) reached Ethiopia, Christians faced the need to learn and expound Christian doctrine. The understanding had to be in line with the Church, which had accepted ecumenical councils from ↗Nicea to ↗Ephesus, but had rejected the decisions of the Council of ↗Chalcedon concerning the nature of Christ (↗Christology), following the ↗Coptic Church (cp. ↗Monophysitism). It is sometimes said that Ethiopian T. basically did not go far beyond the T. of those first councils. Due to the long-term relative isolation of the EOTC, theological thinking in Ethiopia did not change much throughout centuries.

During the 12th–16th cent., a large corpus of writings of the Church fathers was translated into Gə^{c}əz and was assimilated by the EOTC (↗Athanasius; ↗Basil the Great; ↗Eusebios of Caesarea; ↗Eusebios of Herakleia; ↗Gregory of Nazianzus; ↗Gregory of Nyssa; cp. ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, ↗John Christosom; *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ḥawi*, etc.). The central theological issues were those that received particular attention in the context of the development of ↗Gə^{c}əz literature (e.g., such subjects as the Creation, cp. ↗*Aksimaros*, ↗*Śənä fəṭrät*; ↗*Ṭəntä haymanot* etc.).

The traditional teaching of the EOTC was (before the 20th cent.) not written down in a systematic and comprehensive way (cp. ↗*A^{c}əmadä məśtir*). The first overviews of Ethiopian doctrine and rite were prepared by outsiders. The first who can be called an Ethiopian theologian was the 14th–15th-cent. *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla.

It is not clear how public theological discourse was in 14th–17th-cent. Ethiopia. In any case, it was not a purely intellectual exercise but had a great practical influence on the life of the society, whether in regard to the performance of the Sacraments (↗Baptism and Confirmation, ↗Eucharist, ↗Matrimony, ↗Ordination, ↗Penance, ↗Unction of the Sick) or in more general daily issues (cp. ↗Eschatology; ↗Feasts; ↗Law: Canon law; St. ↗Mary; ↗Saints).

The isolation was brought to an end by the arrival of the ↗Jesuits in the 16th cent. and their attempt to impose ↗Catholicism. When the EOTC was reinstalled, several conflicting "theological schools" emerged: ↗*Karra* (cp. also ↗*Hulätt lədät*), ↗*Qəbat*, ↗*Ṣägga* (with *Śost lədät*). The discord, which continued well into the 19th cent., when ↗*Täwaḥədo* finally established itself as the ruling creed, had a formative impact upon the course of Ethiopian history.

The Coptic metropolitan (↗*Ṗappas*) was formally considered the final recourse in all theological issues. Though in many cases theological disputes were solved through the emperors of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, the metropolitans always pronounced their opinions (↗Gäbrəʾel and Mikaʾel on the ↗Sabbath; the metropolitans of the ↗Gondärine kingdom; cp. ↗Sälama III) and some of them greatly enriched Ethiopian theological thought (cp., e.g., *abunä* ↗Sälama II "the Translator").

From the period of the ↗Gondärine kingdom onward, theological discourse in the sense of explication of the Scriptures and the Church fathers (↗*Andəmta;* ↗Exegesis; ↗*Tərgʷame*; ↗Bible commentary tradition) became a subject of the upper level of traditional ↗education (↗*Mäṣḥaf bet*). These studies, which developed almost completely within local cultural settings (being refined and cultivated in a number of churches and esp. ↗monasteries), represented the best systematized knowledge in Ethiopia for centuries.

Theological discussion in pre-modern Ethiopia had a predominantly polemical character and involved a basically negative assessment of the "opponent religion" or point of view. In his *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśtir,* Giyorgis of Sägla principally argued against "heresies" (cp. ↗Arius; ↗Eutychius; ↗Nestorius; ↗Origen). The writings of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob were directed against non-Christian religious practices (↗*Ṭomarä təsbəʾət*), the opinions and doctrines of ↗*Ayhud*, ↗Stephanites, and asserted an exclusively Orthodox Trinitarian doctrine (↗Trinity) and ↗Mariology (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*milad*; *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*śəllase*). An example of anti-Islam discourse is the ↗*Anqäṣä amin* by *əččäge* ↗ʿƎnbaqom. An apologetic exposition of the faith of EOTC is the *Confessio* of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos. Later, the representatives of competing theological schools promoted their views in oral discourse (cp. ↗*gubaʾe*) or in writing (cp. ↗*Haymanot mäsiḥawit*; ↗*Haymanot rətəʿət*, etc.).

The limitations of traditional T. were clearly revealed in the 19th cent., with the coming of the ↗missions, promoting ↗Catholicism and ↗Protestantism in Ethiopia. In the 20th cent., the idea of "modern" theological studies (comprehensive, systematic and comparative, with a more positive attitude to other confessions; yet incorporating the national features) was understood as a vital necessity by the EOTC, and its realisation started with the foundation of ↗Holy Trinity Theological College in 1944 (symbolically, for a while a faculty of Addis Ababa University), followed by some other institutions (↗Theological College of St. Paul).

Lit.: Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (ed.), *The Church of Ethiopia: a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa 1970 [repr. 1997]; Id., **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነት፡ ሥርዓት፡ አምልኮትና፡ የውጭ፡ ግንኙነት**. *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Ababa 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.]; Aymro Wondmagegnehu – Joachim Motovu, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Abäba 1970; Christine Chaillot, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition,* Paris 2002, esp. 83–100; Harry Middleton Hyatt, *The Church of Abyssinia*, London 1928, 85–97; Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopien: Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 100–15; Friedrich Heyer, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens. Eine Bestandsaufname*, Berlin – New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 211–83.

Red.

Theological research s. EAE vol. 5

Theophilos of Alexandria

T. (Eth. **ቴዎፍሎስ**, Tewoflos, **ቴዮፍሎስ**, Teyoflos, **ቴኦፊሎስ**, Teʾofilos; b. ca. 345, d. 412) was a Patriarch of Alexandria from 384/387 to 412.

While suppressing the remnants of paganism in Egypt and destroying temples, T. built several churches in Alexandria. Although initially an admirer of ↗Origen, T. condemned his doctrine at a synod in Alexandria in 400, turning against those monks who adhered to Origenism. Some of the latter, the so-called Tall Brothers, went subsequently to Constantinople to seek support of ↗John Chrysostom. This, and the rise of Constantinople as the most important ecclesiastical centre in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, was the reason of T.'s campaign against John Chrysostom, which ended with the latter's deposition at the synod "Of the Oak" near Chalcedon (403). Ensuing riots made T. retreat to Alexandria and appeal to Pope Innocent I. John also appealed, and T. was excommunicated at a synod in 405. Alexandria's communion with Rome and Constantinople was only restored in 419, when T.'s successor and nephew, ↗Cyril of Alexandria, restored John's name to the diptychs (Russell 2007: 34).

T. is venerated as a saint by the ↗Coptic Church (15 October) and Syrian Orthodox Church (17 October). The ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church commemorates him on 18 *Ṭəqəmt* (25 October, BudSaint 162–65; ColSyn VII, 94–101).

T. wrote extensively, but perhaps due to the conflicts he gave rise to, most of his works are preserved in fragments only, and/or in translations (CPG nos. 2582–2682). Important are three *Festal* (paschal) *Letters* (epistles 16, 18, 19; in Hieronymus' Lat. tr. 96, 98, 100, CPG nos. 2585, 2586, 2588) of the years 401, 402 and 404 respectively, which address the problem of Origenism. So do the circulars to the bishops of Palestine and Cyprus, and to other bishops (CPG nos. 2597–99). Out of his homilies only one is fully preserved in Greek (*Homily on the mystic* [*i.e. the Last*] *Supper*, CPG no. 2617) and two, possibly authentic, in Coptic (*On the Crucifixion* and *On the Penitence*, CPG nos. 2622–23). A *Treatise against the Origenists* (CPG nos. 2683), preserved in Latin, is perhaps his composition too. Two letters sent to Jerome have been preserved among the latter's correspondence, also a letter to ↗Epiphanius of Salamis (CPG no. 2599), and synodal letters to bishops of Palestine and Cyprus (CPG no. 2596), as well as the above mentioned *Festal Letters* of the years 401, 402, and 404. An *Epistle to Emperor Theodosius* (preserved completely in Latin, CPG no. 2593) is a preface to the Easter cycle that T. suggested the Emperor to adopt. Other T.'s letters are preserved in small fragments only or are completely lost.

In Ethiopic following compositions are attributed to T.

Two excerpts from T.'s writings are extant in the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, the first, 'concerning the faith' (**በእንተ፡ ሃይማኖት**), is on the Council of ↗Nicaea; and the second is an extract from the 21st *Festal Letter* (CPG no. 2589; Graf 1937: 383), on the Incarnation.

In other texts T. is quoted as a theological authority, for instance in: *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ḥawi* (WrBriMus 253, no. 348 [Orient. 253]).

Some of the versions (or manuscripts) of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gənzät* (of the 19th and 20th cent., e.g. EMML nos. 2638 or 3618) contain a *Homily on the departure of the soul* (**ድርሳን፡ በእንተ፡ ፀአተ፡ ነፍስ**) attributed to T.

Other attributions (or authentic works, but not identified) include:

A Homily on the Three Youths in the fiery furnace (Dan 3) in a *Gädlä* ↗*sämaᶜətat* manuscript (d'Abbadie 179, 17th/18th cent.; CRAbb 173, no. 163), to be read on 10 *Gənbot*;

A Homily for Lenten Fast: in a homiliary, ms. EMML no. 1956 (ca. 1400);

The Homily (also known as *Vision of Theophilus*) *on the House in which the Holy Virgin lived on Mount Qusqām* (*Qʷəsqʷam*) (CANT no. 56; CPG no. 2628; Conti Rossini 1912), a story of the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt, to be read on 6 *Ḫədar*, is often included in the ↗*Dərsanä Maryam*, a collection of various texts devoted to Mary. It is said to have been recorded by one Ger(ə)los, who heard it from T. himself. Gianfrancesco Lusini (s. EAE vol. 2, 138) dates it to the middle of the 14th cent. Most of the manuscripts are rather new (19th–20th cent.), but the oldest, EMML no. 1833, is from the 14th cent. Here the *Homily* is a separate text (the *Dərsan* was not yet compiled).

An abbreviated version of the *Qʷəsqʷam* homily is extant in the ↗*Täʾamməra Maryam* (Budge 1900), e.g. in EMML nos. 2059 and 2060 (both of the 17th cent.), but also known from manuscripts of the 20th cent., e.g. EMML no. 1606.

T. appears in an episode in the Miracles in the ↗*Dərsanä Rufaʾel*: after three days and nights in a grave he is resuscitated by the archangel. The earliest text witness is EMML no. 1835 from the epoch of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob.

There is also a non-legendary account of T.'s life (**ዜናሁ፡ ለቴዎፍሎስ**), extant as an introductory part of the Life of ↗Cyril of Alexandria (**ዜናሁ፡ ለቄርሎስ**). The latter is usually copied as a sort of preface in the manuscripts containing the *Qerəllos*, e.g. in EMML no. 639 (19th cent.), but may also stand separately, as in EMML no. 2847 (17th cent.). The whole account is based on the ↗*Sənkəssar* and the historiographical works of ↗John of Nikiu, ↗*Abušakər* and ↗Giyorgis Wäldä ᶜAmid.

Src.: CPG nos. 2580–2684; CRAbb 173, no. 163 [ms. d'Abbadie 179]; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Life of Ḥannâ* (*Saint Anne*) …, London 1900, 62–70, 112–31; BudSaint 162–65; CANT no. 56; ColSyn VII, 94-101; EMML nos. 639, 1606, 1833, 1835, 1956, 2059, 2060, 2638, 2847, 3618; NORMAN RUSSEL (tr.), *Theophilus of Alexandria*, London 2007 (The Early Church Fathers), esp. 1–44, 47–174; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), "Il discorso su monte Coscam attribuito a Teofilo d'Alessandria nella versione etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 21, 1912, 395–471; WrBriMus 235–54, no. 348 [ms. Orient. 253].

Lit.: GuiSLett 57; GrafLit I, 316–18; GEORG GRAF, "Zwei dogmatische Florilegien der Kopten", *OrChrP* 3, 1937, 49–77, 345–402; WINRICH ALFRIED LÖHR, "Theophilus von Alexandrien (gest. 412)", in: GERHARD MÜLLER (ed.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 33, Berlin 2002, 364–68; DONALD B. SPANEL, "Theophilus", in: *CE* vol. 7, 2247–53.

Witold Witakowski

Theophilos the Indian s. EAE vol. 5

Thesiger, Wilfred Gilbert

T. (b. 25 March 1871 Simla-Calcutta, Punjab, India; d. 31 January 1920, Brighton, England) was a British diplomat who served as the British Minister Plenipotentiary in Addis Abäba from December 1909 to early 1919, when he left the country. T. was born to a noble family, a son of General Frederick Augustus Thesiger, 2nd Baron Chelmsford, one of the leading officers in the 1867–68 ↗Napier campaign against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. T.'s elder brother, Frederick John Napier Thesiger, 1st Viscount Chelmsford, was the viceroy of India (1916–21). In 1909 T. married Kathleen Mary Vigors and they had four sons, three of them born in Ethiopia. His eldest son was Wilfred Patrick ↗Thesiger.

Before serving in Ethiopia, T. held a number of diplomatic positions in different countries, such as Turkey, Italy, Serbia, Russia and the Belgian Congo. His experience also included participation in the Boer War in 1900 and 1901. He held the rank of Honorary Captain and was awarded the Distinguished Service Order. During his service in Ethiopia, T. was decorated by *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) with the Order of the Star of Ethiopia (1st Class; s. also ↗Orders and Decorations).

T.'s stay in Ethiopia spanned an eventful period, from the last years of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu's rise to power and his decline, to the initial period of ↗Zäwditu's, respectively Täfäri's, reign. T. played an important role in developing relations between Ethiopia and the ↗United Kingdom. In accordance with British policy towards Ethiopia, he actively supported the growing influence of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən. Before the ↗coup d'état 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081) T., with the help of Johannes ↗Semerjibashian, the second interpreter for the British Legation and a school friend of *ras* Täfäri, stayed in close contact with the future heir to the throne. During the coup d'état and the following Battle of ↗Sägäle, T. and his wife took care of Täfäri's eldest son, ↗Asfa Wäsän, who was looked after in the British Legation in Addis Abäba.

World War I and the internal power struggles in Ethiopia were the major issues during T.'s service. His diplomatic reports provide an interesting analysis of the development of the political situation in Ethiopia, especially, in view of a possible engagement of Ethiopia on the side of the Axis, which the British tried to prevent. T. changed his mind about advising a policy of non-interference, instead suggesting action against Iyasu in the days before the coup (Mosley 1964: 88) as well as supporting Täfäri's call for British planes to bomb Mäqdäla, where Iyasu retreated after the coup (ibid. 118).

T. also pushed the (never successful) project of constructing a ↗Ṭana Lake dam, worked against arms trade and cross-border slave raiders.

Src.: Public Record Office, Kew, F.O. 401, F.O. 371 (1910–1916); WILFRED THESIGER, *The Life of My Choice*, London 1987, 27–31, 39, 43–65.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "The Forgotten Patriot: the Life and Career of Johannes Semerjibashian in Ethiopia", *Armenian Review* 59, 38, 1985, 13–39, here: 16; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844-1913*, Oxford 1975, 280; CHARLES MOSLEY (ed.), *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage*, Wilmington 2003, vol. 1, 760; LEONARD MOSLEY, *Haile Selassie*: *the Conquering Lion*, London 1964, 88, 90, 92, 118, passim; FREDERIC A. SHARF – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Letters from Abyssinia 1916 and 1917*: *Written by Hugh Drummond Pearson*, Hollywood, CA 2004, s. index; MAY YDLIBI, *With Ethiopian Rulers*: *a Biography of Hasib Ydlibi*, Addis Abäba 2006, s. index.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Thesiger, Wilfred Patrick

T. (b. 3 June 1910, Addis Abäba; d. 24 August 2003, London) was an explorer, writer and at times a British officer fighting for the liberation of Ethiopia (↗World War II).

T. was a son of Wilfred Gilbert ↗Thesiger and grew up in Ethiopia. In 1930, after studies at Eton and Oxford, T. returned to Ethiopia, invited to ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's coronation, as an honorary attaché to the Duke of Gloucester. He then undertook an explorating journey through the ↗ᶜAfar desert, carried out with Somali and ᶜAfar guides; in 1933/34, funded by the Royal Geographic Society, he returned to explore the ↗Awaš up to the yet unknown Lake Abhe and became one of the first Europeans to visit the ↗Awsa sultanate. His diary focuses on hunting and curiosities, quite in the manner of 19th cent. explorers.

In 1934 T. joined the Sudan Political Service, was appointed to Northern Darfur, and then to the Western ↗Nuer District, where colonial presence was still weak (1938). In 1941 T. joined ↗Wingate's brigade, earning a decoration for capturing an Italian fort of 2,500 troops, and then fought in Syria and northern Africa. In 1943–44 he served as advisor to the governor of ↗Wällo, ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase, under the ↗British Military Administration of Ethiopia (s. EAE

Wilfred Patrick Thesiger in the desert of Oman, 1948; collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum

vol. 5; ↗United Kingdom of Great Britain). A life of extensive travelling in southern Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, the Sudan, Ethiopia (1959/60, 1966) and Kenya followed. From 1968 he lived with his adoptive son Lawi Leboyare, a Samburu, in Maralal, Kenya. From the late 1950s, T.'s travel reports and photo books, especially on his life with Arab nomads, earned him a name as one of the last great explorers. T. was knighted in 1995.

His autobiography (1987) contains valuable information on the history of early-20th cent. Ethiopia. In 1993, T. left his rich negative and photo collection to the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, who made a detailed catalogue of it available in 2004.

Src.: Wilfred Thesiger, *The Life of My Choice*, London 1987 (²1992); Id., *My Kenya Days*, London 1994; Id., *The Danakil Diary: Journeys through Abyssinia, 1930–4*, London 1996; Id., *My Life and Travels*, New York 2002.

Lit.: Michael Asher, *Thesiger*, London 1995; Alexander Maitland, *Wilfred Thesiger: the Life of the Great Explorer*, New York 2006.

Wolbert Smidt

Tiǧānīya ↗Islamic brotherhood

Tigray People's Liberation Front

The TPLF (Tgn. ሕዝባዊ፡ ወያነ፡ ሓርነት፡ ትግራይ; *Ḥəzbayawi Wäyyanä Ḥarənnät Təgray*, 'Popular Struggle for the Freedom of Təgray'; popularly known as ↗*Wäyyanä*), according to its official history, was established on 18 February 1975 in Dädäbit, western Təgray. Within 16 years it grew from a few dozen men into the most powerful of the various armed ↗liberation movements in Ethiopia. Leading a coalition of movements named the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) since 1989, and with the help of its ally, the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), it inflicted a total military defeat on the *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) and established on 28 May 1991 a new regime that has ruled Ethiopia ever since. The TPLF and the EPLF are the only African liberation fronts whose armed struggle against a militarily vastly superior enemy, conducted as a 'protracted peoples' war', ended with a total military victory and skillfully combined the struggle for national self-determination with radical socio-economic changes.

The TPLF is in a way the product of the marginalization of Təgray within Ethiopia after ↗Mənilək II of Šäwa had become emperor in 1889. The Təgrayan traditional elite and peasantry had a strong regional identity and deeply resented the decline of Təgray. Memoirs of the armed revolt of 1942–43 (the "first [*qädamay*] *wäyyanä*") against the re-establishment of imperial rule after ↗Italian colonialism remained alive and provided an important reference for the new generations of educated Təgrayan nationalists.

At Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (↗Addis Abäba University), from the early 1960s onwards, Təgrayan students, inspired by Marxist ideas of revolution and armed national liberation struggle, fully participated in the Ethiopian ↗student movement spearheading the rising opposition against the rule of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

To address the specific grievances of Təgray within the empire, Təgrayan students created the Political Association of Tigrayans (PAT) in 1972 and the Tigrayan University Students' Association (TUSA). PAT developed into a radical nationalist group calling for the independence of Təgray, establishing the Tigray Liberation Front (TLF) in 1974. In TUSA emerged a Marxist trend favouring national self-determination for Təgray within a revolutionary transformed democratic Ethiopia. Whereas the multinational left movements subordinated the national self-determination of the Ethiopian nationalities to class struggle, the Marxists of TUSA argued that due to the existing inequalities among Ethiopian nationalities, revolutionaries must use the struggle of Ethiopian nationalities for self-determination as the launching pad for the ultimate socialist revolution.

In February 1974 the Marxists within TUSA welcomed the Ethiopian ↗Revolution, but opposed the *Därg* as they were convinced that it would neither lead a genuine socialist revolution nor correctly resolve the Ethiopian nationality question. Three days after the *Därg* took power, on 14 September 1974, seven leaders of this trend established the *Association of Progressives of the Tigray Nation* (Tgn. ማሕበር፡ ገስገስቲ፡ ብሔር፡ ትግራይ, *Maḥbär Gäsgästi Bəḥer Təgray*), also known as Tigrayan National Organization (TNO): ᶜAlämsägäd Mängäša (nom de guerre: Ḫaylu), Amməḫa Ṣ́äḥay (Abbay), Arägawi Bärḥe (Bärḥu), Ǝmbay Mäsfən (Śəyyum), Fäntahun Zärʾaṣəyon (Gidäy), Mulugeta Ḥagos (Asfäḥa) and Zärʾu Gäsäsä (Agᶜazi). TNO was to prepare the ground for the future armed movement of Təgray.

It secretly approached both the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the EPLF for support but the ELF already had relations with the TLF. In November 1974 the EPLF agreed to train TNO-members and allowed EPLF-fighters from the Təgray community in Eritrea, among them Mäḥari Täkle (Muse), to join the TPLF. The first batch of trainees was sent to the EPLF in January 1975.

On the night of 18 February 1975 eleven men including Gäsäsä Ayyälä (Səḥul), Gidäy, Asfäḥa, Śəyyum, Agᶜazi, and Bärḥu left Ǝnda Śəllase for Səḥul's home area of Dädäbit, where they established the TPLF (original name: ተጋድሎ፡ ሓርነት፡ ሕዝቢ፡ ትግራይ, *Tägadlo Ḥarənnät Ḥəzbi Təgray*, 'The Struggle for the Freedom of the People of Təgray'). Wäldä Śəllase Näga (Səbḥat), Lägäsä Zenawi (Mälläs) and others soon joined the original group and, after the arrival of the trainees from Eritrea in June 1975, the TPLF had about 50 fighters. It then chose a formal leadership composed of Səḥul (Chairman), Muse (Military Commander) and the seven TNO-founders. Bärḥu was appointed as political commissioner. Səḥul played a crucial role in helping the nascent TPLF to establish itself among the local peasantry.

Although some successful raids established its military credibility, the TPLF grew to only about 120 fighters in early 1976, but a rapidly expanding clandestine network of supporters in the towns and support base among the peasantry provided vital supplies and intelligence. On 18 February 1976 a fighters' conference elected a new leadership: Bärḥu (Chairman), Muse (Military Committee), Abbay (Political Committee), Agᶜazi (Socio-Economic Committee), Śəyyum (Foreign Relations), Gidäy, and Səbḥat. Mälläs became head of the political cadre school.

The underground headquarters of the Tigray People's Liberation Front from 1989 to 1991, ᶜAddi Gäzaʾti, Tämben, Təgray; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

In mid-1976 the TPLF published its Political Manifesto, which stressed Təgray nationalism over class struggle and called for the establishment of an independent Təgray encompassing Təgray proper and the Təgrəñña-speaking areas of ↗Gondär (↗Wälqayt), ↗Wällo and ↗Eritrea. Meant to attract Təgray nationalists, the Manifesto antagonized Təgrayans committed to Ethiopian unity and the EPLF, which took umbrage at its Greater Təgray chauvinism.

The first three years of its existence were marked by a constant struggle for survival, instable cooperation with the Eritrean forces, and power struggles against the other Təgrayan fronts: in 1975 the TPLF liquidated the TLF, in 1976–78 it fought back the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) in ↗Šire and in 1978 it fought the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party (EPRP) in eastern Təgray. Besides this the Front had to suffer heavy losses due to the *Därg's* offensives in the region.

Although the TPLF, the ELF and the EPLF co-operated during the *Därg* offensives of 1976 and 1978 in Təgray and Eritrea, no stable alliance was formed. The ELF resented the liquidation of the TLF and viewed the relations between the EPLF and the TPLF as a serious threat. Since 1977 the ELF and the TPLF had conflicts over the issue of Eritrean settlers in western Təgray, who were organized under the ELF and rejected the TPLF-land reform.

Relations with the EPLF also did not develop smoothly. Its material support was much less than the TPLF expected. Politically the EPLF preferred the multi-national EPRP to the ethno-regionalist TPLF with its then separatist agenda.

In February 1979 the TPLF held its first regular congress. It declared its struggle to be the second *wäyyanä* (*kalʾay wäyyanä*) and changed its Tǝgrǝñña name to *Ḥǝzbayawi Wäyyanä Ḥarǝnnätä Tǝgray*. It adopted a new political programme calling for self-determination within a democratic Ethiopia with independence as an option only if unity proved to be impossible.

Following the *Därg's* victory in the ↗Ogaden War in February 1978, Mängǝśtu Ḫaylä Maryam's new alliance with the Soviets and the revolutionary growth of his armed forces, the TPLF momentum seemed to slow.

In retrospect however, it is apparent that the 1978-85 period further strengthened the TPLF. The *Därg's* increasingly alienating intervention, the front's handling of the famine and of the refugee problems, as well as the foreign connections it built through its mission in Khartoum, all enabled the movement to mobilize and better equip more fighters and prepare for a change from guerrilla to frontal battles. Also, in the mid-1980s, developments within the TPLF led to a conceptual change from a struggle for the liberation of Tǝgray to that of all Ethiopia.

The TPLF succeeded in turning the catastrophic ↗famine of 1984–85 to its overall advantage. In early 1985 it organized a march of over 200,000 famine victims from Tǝgray to Sudan to draw international attention to the plight of Tǝgray. Its humanitarian branch, the Relief Society of Tǝgray (REST), established in 1978, received large amounts of international humanitarian aid for famine victims and small-scale development projects in liberated Tǝgray, which the TPLF skillfully exploited to generate huge funds for its own operations.

In July 1985 a congress of a few hundred selected cadres established the Marxist-Leninist League of Tǝgray (MLLT). The MLLT was conceived to be the nucleus of the future Marxist-Leninist vanguard party for the whole of Ethiopia. The MLLT invited the genuine revolutionaries in the ranks of the *Därg* regime, which was then busy organizing its own communist party, the Ethiopian Workers Party, to join it.

After the congress, the TPLF and its mass organizations were ruthlessly brought under the control of the MLLT, dissenting cadres among them TPLF-co-founders Gidäy and Bärḥu, were purged. Unconfirmed rumours also speak of some secret executions.

In December 1988 the TPLF and Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Movement (EPDM, a TPLF-loyal splinter group from the EPRP, founded in 1980) founded the EPRDF as the nucleus of the envisaged United Democratic Front. In spring 1989 first the MLLT and then the TPLF held a congress. Abbay was elected Chairman of both but towards the end of 1989 Mälläs became the chairman of both organizations. In May 1989 the EPDM established the Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Force (EMLF). In July 1989 MLLT and EMLF created the Union of Ethiopian Proletarian Organisations. In April 1990 the TPLF formed the Ethiopian Democratic Officers Movement from politically re-educated captured Ethiopian officers to undercut the Free Officers Movement formed in 1987 by exiled Ethiopian officers in opposition to the *Därg*. In May 1990 Oromo-members of the EPDM and politically re-educated Oromo-Prisoners-of-War founded the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO) to deny the Oromo Liberation Front the claim to be the exclusive representative of the Ethiopian Oromo. In November 1990 an Oromo Marxist-Leninist Movement was established within the OPDO. Also in 1990 the TPLF created the Afar Democratic Union to undercut the Afar movements. Before 1985 it had already helped to establish liberation fronts in ↗Gambella and ↗Beni Šangul.

In early 1988 both the EPLF and the TPLF went on the offensive. The developing situation in both Eritrea and Tǝgray but also the shifting international context after the demise of the Soviet bloc induced the TPLF and EPLF to put their differences aside and to resume military cooperation. In 1989 the EPRDF formed a shadow government of Ethiopia administering the liberated areas under its control.

Reflecting the changed international context after the demise of Soviet communism by 1990 the TPLF internationally avoided references to Marxism-Leninism. In February 1991 the EPRDF launched its final offensive against the *Därg* regime assisted by a large EPLF-contingent. When on 28 May 1991 the EPRDF entered Addis Abäba and took power as the Provisional Government of Ethiopia, the TPLF had 80,000, the EPDM 8,000 and the OPDO 2,000 fighters. The total number of TPLF-members was well beyond 100,000.

Reacting to the international political context after the demise of the Soviet Union the EPRDF/TPLF dropped all Marxist references in its political discourse, adopted a programme of democratic change based on multi-party democracy, ethnolinguistic federalization and a mixed economy.

Src.: interviews with Yämane Kidane, Khartoum, 3 March 1985 and 12 August 1986; interview with Arägawi Bärḥe, Khartoum, 21 April 1989.

Lit.: Aregawi Berhe, "The Origin of the Tigray People's Liberation Front", *African Affairs* 103, 413, 2004, 569–92; Id., *A Political History of the Tigray People's Liberation Front* (*1975–1991*), Los Angeles, CA 2009, passim; Randi Balsvik, *Haile Selassie's Students*: *The Intellectual and Social background to a Revolution, 1952–1977*, East Lansing, MI 1985; Jon Bennet, "Tigrai: Famine and National Resistance", *Review of African Political Economy* 26, 1983, 94–102; James Firebrace – Gayle Smith, *The Hidden Revolution*: *an Analysis of Social Change in Tigray, Northern Ethiopia*, London 1982, passim; Haggai Erlich, "Tigraian Nationalism, British Involvement and Haila-Selasse's emerging Absolutism – Northern Ethiopia, 1941–1943", *Asian and African Studies* 15, 2, 1981, 191–227; Gebru Tareke, *Ethiopia*: *Power and Protest, Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991, 87–121; Id., "From Af Abet to Shire: the Defeat and Demise of Ethiopia's 'Red' Army 1988–89", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 42, 2, 2004, 239-81; Id., *The Ethiopian Revolution: War in the Horn of Africa*, New Haven, CT 2009, 76-177; Jenny Hammond, *Sweeter than Honey*: *Testimonies of Tigrayan Women*, Oxford 1989, passim; Ead., *Fire from the Ashes: a Chronicle of the Revolution in Tigray, Ethiopia, 1975–1991,* Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 1999, passim; Kahsay Berhe, *The National Movement in Tigray Myths and Realities*, Münster 1991; Id., *Ethiopia*: *Democratization and Unity – The Role of the Tigray People's Liberation Front*, Münster 2005; Kiflu Tadesse, *The Generation: The history of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party,* Part 1: *From the Early Beginnings to 1975*, Trenton, NJ 1993, idem., Part 2: *Ethiopia – Transformation and Conflict*, Lanham, MD 1998; John Young, *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia, the Tigrai People's Liberation Front, 1975–1991*, Cambridge 1997.

Günter Schröder

Tigrinya Language Council

The T.L.C. (Tgn. **ናይ፡ ሓበሻ፡ ቋንቋ፡ ምኽሪ** *Nay Ḥabäša qʷanqʷa məḵri* or **ዋዕላ፡ ቋንቋ፡ ትግርኛ** *Waᶜla qʷanqʷa Təgrəñña*) was an advisory institution founded in 1944 by the author, then a senior officer of the ↗British Military Administration (B.M.A.) of ↗Eritrea, after it had been decided to strengthen the use of ↗Təgrəñña in administration and public life in Eritrea.

Firstly, writing in ↗Təgrəñña required a measure of standardization in its modes of spelling. Secondly, Təgrəñña needed some adaptation to contemporary demands (e.g., the vocabulary of war and modern martial equipment necessitated the fashioning of suitable technical terms). Thirdly, the limited experience of writing Təgrəñña among the local population entailed that means of expression as well as syntactical and stylistic conventions and patterns had to be devised which were likely to meet with fairly general acceptance. It was therefore thought that it would be useful to establish a limited pilot scheme which might perform, on a modest scale, what the Hebrew and Arabic Language Academies did in their grander spheres.

Thus the T.L.C. was set up, composed of representatives of the churches and of a few of the most experienced practitioners of the language. The writer and grammarian *abba* ↗Yaᶜəqob Gäbrä Iyäsus, a Catholic priest, was elected President of the T.L.C., while *qäšši* ᶜUq̲bazgi Mikaᵓel, representative of the Seventh Day Adventists, became its Vice-President. The only British member was the author; further notable Eritrean members were ↗Tädla Bayru (until mid-1944), ↗Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam, and, as a "technical member", *abunä* ↗Marqos (who also retreated some time after Tädla Bayru, s. Ullendorff 1988: 196f.).

The influence of the T.L.C. on the development of a literary Təgrəñña language was rather low, contrary to first expectations. For example, even if the B.M.A. publication ↗Eritrean Weekly News, mainly edited by Wäldä Ab, was actively involved in the discussions, it subsequently developed its own style, independent of the T.L.C. This was due to a general tendency towards "Eritreanization". However, the adaptation of new words for modern spheres of politics and technology was partially successful. The T.L.C. ceased its activities in 1946.

Many years later, *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I projected the foundation of an Amharic Language Academy and informed himself about the T.L.C. In 1972 a law was enacted to create such a body, following therefore the example of the T.L.C. (↗Ethiopian Language Academy).

Src.: Tigrinya Language Council, "**ቀዳመይቲ፡ ዋዕላ፡ ቋንቋ፡ ትግርኛ**" (*Qäddamäyti waᶜla qʷanqʷa təgrəñña*, 'The First Meeting on the Tigrinya Language'), **ናይ፡ ኤርትራ፡ ሰሙናዊ፡ ጋዜጣ** – *Eritrean Weekly News* 94, 1944; British Military Administration, Eritrea, *Glossary of Tigrinya terms in Law, Custom, and Land Tenure* [compiled by Siegfried Nadel – Edward Ullendorff], Asmara 1943.

Lit.: Ghirmai Negash, *A History of Tigrinya Literature in Eritrea, the Oral and the Written 1890–1991*, Leiden 1999, 116–18; Edward Ullendorff, "A Tigrinya Language Council", *Africa* (London) 19, 1949, 63f.; Id., *A Tigrinya (Təgrəñña) Chrestomathy, Introduction, Grammatical Tables, Tigrinya Texts, Letters, Phrases, Tigrinya–English Glossary, Select Bibliography*, Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 19), 17f., 145f., 237; Id., "Along the Margins of the Tigrinya Chrestomathy", in: Siegbert Uhlig – Bairu Tafla (eds.), *Collectanea Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden 1988 (AeF 26), 193–201, here 193–97.

Edward Ullendorff

Tiling, Maria von

T. (later Klingenheben-von Tiling; b. 13 February 1886, Riga, Russian Latvia, d. 11 November 1974, Hamburg) was a German African linguist.

T. went to school and was trained as a teacher in Germany and later took up teaching in Goldingen (Latvian: Kuldiga) in Kurland (Latvian: Kurzeme). In 1916, Carl Meinhof invited her to join him as a scientific assistant at the *Seminar für Kolonialsprachen* at the then *Kolonialinstitut* (founded in 1908) in Hamburg, which, at the founding of the University of Hamburg in 1919, was renamed *Seminar für Afrikanische und Südseesprachen*, i.e. Department of African and South Sea Languages. Here she taught Swahili and later Somali and Galla (= ↗Oromiffaa), in spite of her not having followed courses in African languages as a student.

Her work in this Department with informants of these languages resulted in a series of works, most important of which are her contributions on Somali. In her doctoral thesis (1925, s. also Czermak 1926) she explored Somali phonetics (Berbera dialect) with the help of texts that are transcribed more narrowly than usual – an investigation that has so far not been superseded by more recent works. In more extensive contributions she investigated ↗Ğäbärti, a southern dialect of Somali (1921/22, 1924/25).

In 1927 T. married August ↗Klingenheben; they had one daughter. In 1930 she followed him to Leipzig University. They returned to Hamburg in 1936, when Klingenheben succeeded to Meinhof's chair, but T. no longer pursued any further research on African topics.

Src.: Maria von Tiling, "Die Vokale des bestimmten Artikels im Somali", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 9, 1918/19, 132–66; Ead., "Adjektiv-Endungen im Somali", *ibid.* 10, 1919/20, 208–40; Ead., "Die Sprache der Jạbạ́rti mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verwandtschaft von Jạbạ́rti und Somā́li", *ibid.* 12, 1921/22, 17–52, 97–162; Ead., *Somali-Texte und Untersuchungen zur Somali-Lautlehre*, Ph.D. thesis, Berlin – Hamburg 1925 (repr. Nendeln 1969); Ead., "Jạbạ́rti-Texte", *ibid.* 12, 1924/25, 50–60, 139–58; Ead., "Gottesvorstellungen der heidnischen Galla", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitschrift* 29, 1926, 947–51; Ead., "Ein Somali-Text von Muhammad Nur", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 18, 1927/28, 230–33; Ead. [as Klingenheben-von Tiling], "Galla-Texte", *ibid.* 19, 1928/29, 1–12.

Lit.: Wilhelm Czermak, [Review of von Tiling 1925], *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 33, 1926, 150–56; Ernst Dammann, "Maria Klingenheben†", *AuÜ* 58, 1974/75, 2, 81–82; Hilke Meyer-Bahlburg, "Maria Klingenheben née von Tiling – the First German Woman Africanist", in: Sigmund Brauner – Ekkehard Wolf (eds.), *Progressive Traditions in African and Oriental Studies*, Berlin 1988 (Asia, Africa, Latin America 21), 96–100; Rainer Voigt, "In memoriam Maria Klingenheben-von Tiling", *Africana Marburgensia* 8/1, 1975, 68–71.

Rainer Voigt

Ṭimbaaro

Ṭimbaaro language

Ṭ., or Ṭambaaro, is a slightly divergent dialect of ↗Kambaata (↗Highland East Cushitic language group). The lexical similarity between Ṭ. and Kambaata is 95 %. Although Ṭ. is little documented, the available data suggest that speakers of both dialects can communicate without difficulty. According to the census of 1998, the number of Ṭ. speakers is 82,803, among whom 51,541 are monolingual. Ṭ. is spoken in the Omo Šäläqo *wäräda* of the Kambaata-Ṭambaaro Zone (Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region, SNNPR).

The consonant phonemes of Ṭ. are: labials *b*, *f*, *p̣*, *m*, *w*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *s*, *z*, *ṭ*, *n*, *l*, *r*; palatals *č*, *ğ*, *š*, (*ž*), *č̣*, *y*; velars *k*, g, *q*; glottal ʾ, *h*. Consonant gemination is phonologically distinctive. Ṭ. has a five vowel system (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, and *u*) with a phonemic length contrast.

The grammar of Ṭ. and Kambaata is remarkably similar. The Ṭ. case system is as elaborate as that of Kambaata: nominative (*adab-oo* 'boy'), accusative (*adab-aa* 'boy'), genitive (*iitt-a* 'of love'), dative (*koh-eha* 'to the guests'), locative (*mentič-oon* 'on the woman'), instrumental (*biṭ-iin* 'with the stick'), ablative (*geb-eeč* 'from the market'), oblique (*min-e* 'in the house'). Unlike in Kambaata (where the feminine marker *-ta* is employed), the gender of Ṭ. nouns is usually not marked overtly but only reflected in modifiers and verbs: cp. Ṭ. *azu* 'milk' and *hiṭi* 'grass' with Kambaata *azu-ta* and *hiṭi-ta.*

In the pronominal systems of Ṭ. and Kambaata, only the dependent possessive / object pronouns display minor differences in the 1st and 2nd pers. pl.: cp. Ṭ. *mini-ʾne* with Kambaata *mini-nne* 'our house' and Ṭ. *mini-kiʾne* with Kambaata *mini-ʾne* 'your [pl.] house'.

The verbal system of Ṭ. is largely identical with that of Kambaata. In the indicative, three aspects are distinguished in main verbs: perfective (*mass-eemmi* 'I took'), imperfective (*mass-aammi* 'I take') and progressive (*lall-ayyoo* 'he is appearing'). One of minor differences is that the negative marker *-baᵓa* is preceded in the perfective by an aspect marker *-um* (*mass-um-baᵓa* 'I did not take'), and not by *-im* as in Kambaata. The jussive verbs are characterized by *-uni* in the affirmative (*mass-uni* 'let him take!') and *-un-ka* in the negative (*mass-un-ka* 'let him not take!'). The imperative morphemes are *-i* (sg.) / *-iyye* (pl.) for positive (*mass-i* / *mass-iyye* 'take!') and *-tooti* (sg.)/*-toonooččiyye* (pl.) for negative (*mass-itooti*/ *mass-itoonooččiyye* 'don't take!'). Converbs are so far known to exist only in the perfective.

Relative clauses are the base of some adverbial clauses: *an marumbu ǧaan* 'when I did not go' (*ǧ-aan* [Loc.] 'at the time'); *maru hooggoommi daafiha* 'because I did not go' (*daaf-iha* [Dat.] 'for the reason').

Some of the recorded lexical differences between Ṭ. and Kambaata are Ṭ. *zaguma*/Kambaata *samaga* 'leopard' and Ṭ. *zakkaᵓ-*/Kambaata *waačč-* 'swim'. Cognate lexemes may have different but related meanings: *muummi* Ṭ. 'head' / Kambaata 'hair'.

Ṭ. ten-word list: *matu* 'one', *lamu* 'two', *sasu* 'three', *giira* 'fire', *waa* 'water', *arriičču* 'sun', *aganču* 'moon', *qegi* 'blood', *arrabi* 'tongue', *inqu* 'tooth'.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 116.

Lit.: JULES BORELLI, *Ethiopie-Méridionale*: *Journal de mon voyage aux Pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama, Septembre 1885 à Novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 463–83; ELSA KORHONEN – MIRJA SAKSA – RONALD JAMES SIM, "A Dialect Study of Kambaata-Hadiyya (Ethiopia)", part 1, *AAP* 5, 1986a, 5–41; part 2: (Appendices), *ibid.* 6, 1986b, 71–121; WOLF LESLAU, "Proto-*Sidamo *z", *AuÜ* 63, 1980, 119–29 [repr. in: ID., *Fifty Years of Research*: *Selection of Articles on Semitic, Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic*, Wiesbaden 1988, 399–409].

Yvonne Treis

Ṭimbaaro ethnography

The majority of the Ṭ. inhabit the Omo-Šäläko *wäräda* of Kämbata–Ṭimbaaro Zone (Kambaata-Ṭambaaro Zone) in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region. According to the census of 1994 (CSA 1994:122) they numbered 79,614. The favourite area of settlement and the capital Durgee are situated at an altitude of ca. 2,000 m A.S.L. In the west it is bordered by the gorge of the Omo; in the south the Šapa river demarcates the border with ↗Wälaytta. In the north and east the ethnic and linguistic boundaries with ↗Hadiyya, ↗Dubamo and ↗Donga are fluid.

According to their oral traditions (BrKam 27–29, 56f.) the ancestor of the Ṭ. was Mola who, in the genealogies, is placed 14 to 15 generations ago. He is said to have lived in Yemererra in Sidaamaland, where he died. Following a dispute with neighbouring groups his seven sons, the founders of the "original" Ṭ. clans Yaga, Taasee, Kuᵓtna, Waga, Sambaata, Addee, Agoora, migrated to their present domiciles. Mola's memory has been kept until the present by the term *Lamolemola* ('the seven of Mola') and oaths are still made by invoking his name. The traditions claim that he was married to Manǧoole, an alleged daughter of the ↗Hadiyya leader Boyaamo, who can be identified as a contemporary of *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (r. 1434–68; BrHad 85f.). It is more likely, however, that the ancestors of the Ṭ. left Sidaamaland during the turbulences of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's *ǧihād* against the Christian empire in the 1530s. Approximately three decades later they invaded the area north of the Šapa River which was thinly occupied by Hadiyya nomads of the Wiitto-Giira group. No details are known of the history of Ṭ. from the 17th to the 19th cent. In an Oromo song Ṭ. is mentioned as a Muslim principality with a chief called Negita (CerFolk 1922:43, 45). However, Islamic influences resulted only from contact with the ↗*fandaanano* religion of the Hadiyya, and a ruler Negita is not known in oral tradition.

Some information on the Ṭ. were collected by Borelli (1890:331ff., 346, 439), who passed through the area in 1888, and by Antoine d'Abbadie (AbbGeogr 64, 89, 94, 101ff., 187, 233). The Ṭ. were agro-pastoralists and known for their commercial activities including slave trading in the regions west of the Omo.

The T. claim that their ancestors took the *laha*, a ring made of yellow metal, as a symbol of legal leadership, from Yemererra, their country of origin in Sidaamaland. Their socio-political organization was basically characterized by a monarchic institution and not by a ↗*gadaa* age-class system of the Oromo type. However, the position of the ↗*woma*, the king, was neither strictly hereditary nor vested with absolute power. To a considerable extent the governmental structure involved egalitarian and democratic features. Each of the seven clans elected a leader (*magaba*), and this council of elders appointed a chairman called *korifiira*. This dignitary organized and supervised the installation of the *woma* with all its ritual implications such as anointing the candidate and passing the *laha* to him. The ideal concept involved circulating the kingship among the original clans, whereas those clans of different descent incorporated at a later stage were excluded. This system, however, obviously did not function in this way, because historical data reveal that the *woma* were mostly elected from the "eldest" and strongest clan, the Yaga (BrKam 127f.). The ceremonial functions, performances, socio-religious duties, ritual prescriptions and proscriptions were basically similar to the general pattern of divine ↗kingship as found among many ethnic groups of southern Ethiopia. In particular, the appointment and funeral of the monarch demanded an enormous amount of organizational consideration and activity. The *woma* was the supreme spiritual representative and the highest judge of his group, but he was not directly involved in administrative and military functions.

Between 1889 and 1893 Ṭ. suffered severely from epidemics of rinderpest, smallpox and cholera. By 1891 the Amhara conquest of the area by *ras* ↗Wälde Aššagari was completed, and Ṭ. became part of the Ethiopian province of Kambaata. The ↗*gäbbar* system was introduced and *mälkäñña* from northern Ethiopia received land grants for usufruct in the region of Durgee. The last *woma* Bačoore (ca. 1888–94) of the clan Yaga was appointed *balabbat*, a position which was later adopted by the Sooro-Hadiyya. The dignity of the *woma* was transferred within the Yaga clan to Atiiso (ca. 1894–1928), Anneebo (ca. 1928–34), Asäffa (ca. 1934–36) and then Bäyyänä until this tradition was obviously abandoned by the Revolution of 1974.

Orthodox Christianity was introduced among the leading families after the Amhara conquest. From the 1960s onwards, most of the population converted to Protestant congregations. There are minorities of Roman-Catholics, Muslims and a dwindling rest of followers of the *fandaanano*-like "traditional" ↗religion.

The higher elevations of Ṭ. are a fertile area where ↗*ənsät* is cultivated as a highly productive staple food. It was also known for sweet potatoes and bananas. However, the area is increasingly suffering from overpopulation and draught so that measures of resettlement have been proclaimed and implemented since the 1980s.

Src.: AbbGeogr 64, 89, 94, 101ff., 187, 233; JULES BORELLI, *Ethiopie méridionale. Journal de mon voyage au pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama* (*septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*), Paris 1890, 331ff., 346, 439; BrKam 27ff., 56f., 127f.; CerFolk 9–228; CSA 1994, 122.
Lit.: BrHad 85f.

Ulrich Braukämper

Time and Space

In many societies of the Horn of Africa, a complex variety of cultural concepts and representations of T. and temporality as well as of S. can be identified. The categories of T. and S. are fundamental cognitive concepts for the formation of any mental, social or cosmological order. The temporal and spatial dimensions, in general, are integral to each other. For systematic reasons, however, they are treated separately in this article.

Time

Every understanding of T. (Amh.: ጊዜ, *gize*) is based on socially constructed concepts. The notion of T. covers a multitude of aspects, and its cultural conceptualisation varies according to context and purpose. Thus a broad "temporal diversity" of different local and sociocultural T. has to be considered. Likewise, within any given society different complementary concepts of T. (e.g., cyclic, linear or helical) can be identified. They may be correlated with each other to form a general temporal framework that simultaneously has cosmological and practical dimensions, framing the temporal structure of its worldview.

T. concepts are necessary to coordinate the activities of the group, be it to organize ritual or political gatherings or to fix the T. for cyclical economic activities, e.g., in agriculture or as part of the transhumance-cycle. The social conceptualisation of T. includes a) the measurement of duration (or T.-reckoning), b) the definition, by narrative or ritual means, of temporal sequences as well as of fixed dates and ↗calenders, and c) the establishment of hierarchies of cultural significance among such temporal units.

Many T. concepts as well as modes of measurement or reckoning of T. derive from the correlation of natural rhythmic processes including regular astronomical phenomena (i.e. the motion of the ↗Sun, the ↗Moon and the stars) and the cycles of vegetal and animal life. The temporal structure is further determined by the agro-ecological seasons (s. also ↗Climate) as well as by the succession of terms of cultural commemoration and other regular social events (cp., e.g.,

↗Feasts) in the life of the group (cp. e.g., Turton – Ruggles 1978: 585–600).

Life-time and life cycle

The basic temporal structure of an individual's life-T. is, in most societies, a life cycle which is determined by a succession of rites (e.g., ↗Initiation), which both enable, and mark, the passage from one social status to another or from one phase of life to the next. This passage is realized by ritual acts which redefine the initiate's position within the cosmological and social order.

While the age of a person counted in years is, traditionally, of minor interest, the "social age" or generation class has great importance, as evidenced by the authority that seniority has in all Ethiopian cultures (cp. ↗Gerontocracy; ↗*Šəmagəlle*). Thus, the life cycle of the individual is, in many Ethiopian cultures, interwoven with the "life cycle of the group" which is organized by age- and/or generation groups (↗Age-group system), such as, e.g., the ↗*gadaa* system.

Hours and days

In many Ethiopian cultures the T. between two sunrises makes up one 'day' (Amh.: **ቀን**, *qän*). This is again divided into 'day' (*qän*) and 'night' (Amh.: **ሌሊት**, *lelit*). The day, and, according to Ethiopian counting, the first hour, starts with the rising of the sun at about 6 a.m. 'Morning' or 'early day' (Amh.: **ጥዋት**, *ṭəwat*) is superseded by 'midday' (*qän*) and then by 'evening' (Amh.: **ማታ**, *mata*) which ends with the twelfth hour of the day (i.e., 6 p.m.) followed by 'dusk' (**ምሽት**, *məšət*). After sunset the first hour of the night starts. This division of the day has its equivalent in the Ethiopian Orthodox liturgical day (*Säᶜatat*, *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*säᶜatat* [s. EAE vol. 5]). The Muslim day is structured by the prescribed five ritual prayers (*ṣalāt*) which are determined by the different phases of sunlight.

In day-to-day practice the concept of the 'hour' (Amh.: **ሰዓት**, *säᶜat*) is far from the modern idea of objective precision. Before the introduction of the clock (in many rural areas still today) hours were estimated by the correlation of natural phenomena, such as, e.g., luminance, the length of the shadow, the position of the sun or birdsong.

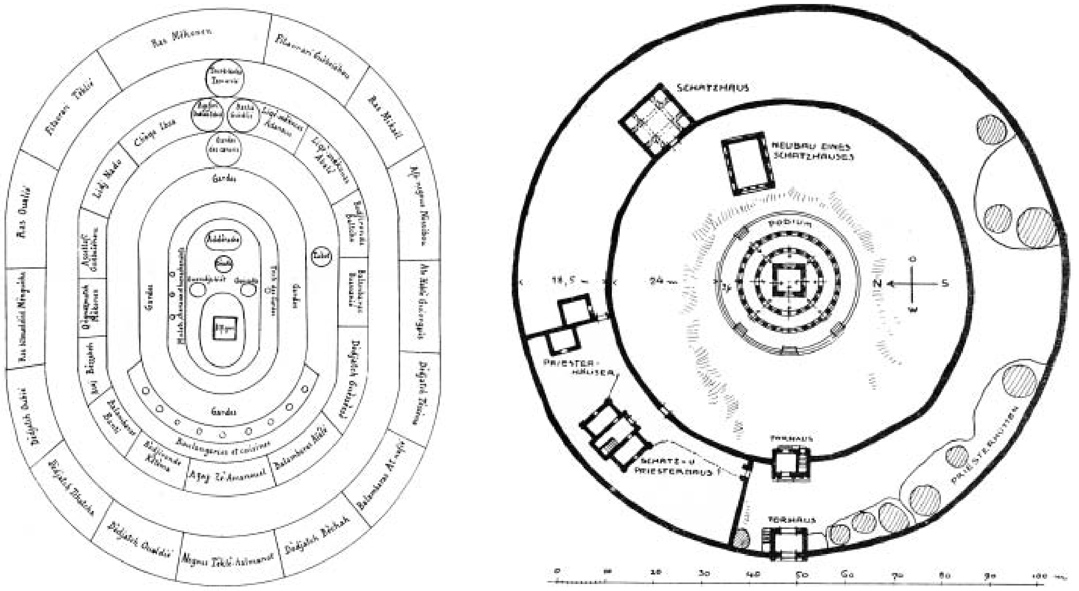
The first Ethiopians who possessed clocks were noblemen who received them as ↗gifts from European travellers (e.g., a big mechanical clock game from Venice given to ↗Dawit II [I], Rainieri 1999). At the end of the 19th cent. there was already a considerable number of clocks in use at Mənilək's court. Moreover, the Swiss Edouard ↗Evalet, who later became instrumental in importing clocks, was employed as imperial clockmaker. Apart from a large clock displayed at Mənilək's palace, visible and audible from afar, the first public clocks were probably those installed at the main railway stations. Today, the traditional concepts of the day and the hours coexist with the 24-hours day according to international convention.

Weeks, months and years

Days are subsumed under longer temporal units, such as weeks and months. The northern highlanders, and today's Ethiopian mainstream culture, know a 'week' (Amh., **ሳምንት**, *sammənt*) as a sequence of seven days starting on Sunday (Amh.: **እሁድ**, *əhud*). The week is structured by the different significance ascribed to every single day. Orthodox Christians, e.g., differentiate between the weekly ↗fasting days (Wednesday, Friday) and the non-fasting days. For them the ritual apex of the week is *Sänbät* (↗Sabbath) on Sunday while for the Betä Ǝsraᵓel it is on Saturday. The most important saints as well as central theological concepts are objects of monthly veneration at their shrines (e.g., days of commemoration, such as ↗*Lədäta* [*lämaryam*] on the first day of a month, *Śəllase* on the third, *Mikaᵓel* on the twelfth, ↗*Kidanä Məḥrät* on the 16th, *Maryam* on the 21st etc.; ↗*Tabot*). Furthermore, every day of the liturgical year of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is dedicated to a certain saint or martyr. He is commemorated by the reading of his vita as related in the ↗*Sənkəssar*.

Muslims observe 'Friday' (*Ǧumaᶜa*) as their day of public ↗prayer in the ↗mosque. In addition to the great feasts (*ᶜĪd al-fiṭr* and *ᶜĪd al-aḍḥā* [↗*Aräfa*]) and the ↗*mawlid* for Prophet ↗Muḥammad on 12 *Rabīᶜ al-awwal*, many Muslim communities dedicate days of the week as well as monthly and yearly days of commemoration to certain ↗holy men, e.g., among the Harari (cp., e.g., Foucher in PICES 11, 82f.).

In most parts of Ethiopia the week is also represented in the circular system of rural markets: the different weekly markets in a given area are temporally adjusted to each other in order to enable a maximum of partners for barter or trade to meet at one place. Sometimes such markets or market places are called after the specific day on which they are held (e.g., Säñño Gäbäya in Däse).



Position plan of Mənilək's army during the ᶜAdwa campaign of 1896 (from GueCopMen, Atlas pl. 6) and (on the right) site map of the Mädḫane ᶜAläm church in Aksum (from DAE III, 52), both showing similar spatial concepts

Calendars structure T. in rhythmic form by the correlation of different annual cycles (Amh.: **ዘመን**, *zämän*), such as the regular succession of seasonal agricultural or pastoral activities and the ritual or liturgical year. However, crucial for defining the "year" as the major calendrical unit are the solar and lunar cycles; mostly, these two cycles are made to – or seem to – complement one another. The year is further divided in accordance with the 'seasons' (Amh.: **ወቅት**, *wäqt*). The climatic pattern in the Ethiopian highlands is characterized by the main 'rainy season' (Amh.: **ክረምት**, *kərämt*), the 'little rainy season' (Amh.: **በልግ**, *bälg*) and the 'main dry season' (Amh.: **በጋ**, *bäga*). In accordance with local climatic conditions, other concepts of season may be found.

The months of the Christian Ethiopian calendar are disconnected from the exact moon phases in order to adjust the lunar year with the solar year. The lunar month proper, however, mostly defined by the lunations, is common in many other cultures, e.g., among the Muslims and Oromo. The ↗Boorana have no weeks but twelve 'lunar months' (*ǧiʾaa*), each day having an individual name and spiritual aspect or force (called *ayyaana*, s. ↗Waaqa). Their lunar year is not correlated with the solar cycle or the seasons. Yet again, the ↗Gabbra have a 'week' (Orom. *torbaan*, lit., 'seven') of seven days. These weeks are grouped into six periods that make up one year, while the lunar month is not used as a temporal unit (AsmGada 180f., 188–200; Bassi in EAE vol. 1, 675f.; Elfneh Udessa in PICES 11, vol. 2, 61–70).

Ethiopian Orthodox Christians follow the Julian calendar (*ᶜAmäta Məḥrät* = A.M.) which stays 7 to 8 years behind the Gregorian calendar. The year begins with the ↗New Year celebrations, which already start the evening before (Amh.: **እንቁጣጣሽ**, *Ǝnquṭaṭaš*), in *Mäskäräm*, and is divided into two types of periods, the T. of 'fasting' (Amh. **ጾም**, *ṣom*) and the T. of non-fasting (Amh.: **ፍስክ**, *fəsək*). The most important part of the liturgical year is the Easter cycle (↗*Fasika*; for more details s. EAE vol. 1, 668–73). Among Muslims the ritual apex of the year is, apart from the major feasts, the holy month of ↗*Ramaḍān*.

Many cultures use temporal terms that subsume a certain number of years under categories of a higher order or eras (for details s. articles ↗Calendars, ↗Chronography and ↗*Ṭəntyon*).

Concepts of mythological and historical time

Concepts of T. provide a framework for mythological and historical worldviews. They identify change and repetition and give meaning to the past, present and future (↗Oracles and divination).

Oral historical traditions frequently structure the past with the succession of ancestors, enabling them to harmonize the experience of historical change with concepts of continuity. The ↗genealogy of a lineage is correlated with certain historical events and developments (e.g., migrations; cp., e.g., the case of the Səlṭe, Bustorf 2009:114ff.). Historical periodization is mostly based on 'periods' (*zämän*) of rule of single rulers or leaders as well as of dynasties or, in the case of the Oromo, of a certain *gadaa*.

T. concepts can be identified, e.g., as cyclic, helical or lineal. While, for example, the concept of the Oromo *gadaa* system is helical, the Christian and the Muslim ideas of T. are lineal: Both are defined by the Creation as the beginning, and the Last Judgement (↗Eschatology) as the end of T. In these two Abrahamitic religions the life-T. of the founders, Jesus Christ and Prophet Muḥammad respectively, is considered as the central mythological T. of reference. Throughout history, religious purism or revitalism has tried to re-establish the piety of the early days.

Since the reign of *aṣe* Mənilək II a teleological understanding of historical T. has gained increasing influence due to different ideologies of modernization and progress (cp. article "Chronography").

Src.: personal communication of Abbebe Kifleyesus; Mersha Alehegne, Denis Nosnitsin, Wolbert Smidt and Richard Pankhurst in July 2009; KaneDic.

Lit.: AsmGada 180f., 188-200, esp. 197ff.; MARCO BASSI, "Oromo Calendar", in: *EAE*, vol. 1, 675-76 (Lit.); PAUL TREVOR WILLIAM BAXTER – URI ALMAGOR, *Age, Generation and Time*: *Some Features of East African Age Organisations*, London 1978; DIRK BUSTORF, *Die Səlṭe. Geschichte, Geschichtserzählung und Geschichtsbewusstsein eines muslimischen Volkes im südlichen Zentral-Äthiopien*, Ph.D. thesis, Universität Hamburg 2009, 38ff., 114ff.; ELFNEH UDESSA, "The Guji Calendar", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 61–70; EMILE FOUCHER, "The Cult of Muslim Saints in Harar: Religious Dimension", *ibid*., 71–79; OSVALDO RAINERI, "I doni della Serenissima al re Davide I d'Etiopia (ms Raineri 43 della Vaticana)", *OrChrP* 65, 1999, 363–448; DIANE OWEN HUGHES – THOMAS R. TRAUTMANN (eds.), *Time*: *Histories and Ethnologies,* Michigan 1995; NANCY D. MUNN, "The Cultural Anthropology of Time: a Critical Essay", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21, 1992, 93–123 (Lit.); OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus*, Vienna 1979, 127f., 209–15; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ethiopia and the Great Transformation", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 84–113, here 88f., 96f.; DAVID TURTON – CLIVE RUGGLES, "Agreeing to Disagree: the Measurement of Duration in a Southwestern Ethiopian Community", *Current Anthropology* 19, 3, 1978, 585–600.

Dirk Bustorf

Space

The category S. includes the given spatial conditions of the natural ↗environment as well as the S. formed by human activity (e.g., cultivated landscape, built-up S.). A mental dimension, central to this article, is constituted by the representations of S. and the various social meanings applied to different places. The symbolic structuring of S. is essential for any worldview. By dividing S. into spheres, defining places and relations of meaning between semiotic objects, a symbolic "landscape" is constituted which reflects and, at the same time, determines cultural concepts, social relations as well as how people encounter their environment.

The mental representation of S. or places is a primary mnemonic device for historical or mythological narration. The oral narrator links legendary events directly with geographical places. In his worldview the two complementary aspects of mental S. are representations which are based on direct experience and, at the same time, mythological or symbolical landscapes (cp. Bustorf 2009: 40f. and ch. 8). Thus, such locations may become places of "cultural memory" and, as such, resources for the construction of identity. Locations of collective commemoration are often marked by ↗trees, wooden sculptures (s., e.g., ↗*Waakaa*) or grave planks (cp. ill. EAE vol. 3, 431), stones or ↗stelae. In some cases they are protected by certain ↗taboos and regulations, e.g., the prohibition to plough the land, to cut the trees or to speak aloud.

Sacred landscapes

The cosmological understanding of S. in many Ethiopian cultures is based on the distinction between sky and earth. This is reflected in the dichotomies found in some traditional ↗religions (cp. ↗Oromo religion; ↗Waaqa) as well as in the Christian idea of Heaven and earth. According to the ancient Greek *Book of the Wise Philosophers* (Gəᶜəz tr.: *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Fälasfa ṭäbiban*) S. is the limited sphere between the firm and flat earth and the sky arching above it (Sumner 1974: 219ff.).

Religious ideas or mythology may be anchored in a landscape in the form of sacred places. Many such locations are the destination of a ↗pilgrimage. Typical sacred places are trees or groves, mountain tops, and bodies of water (↗Water; ↗*Ṣäbäl*). In many Ethiopian cultures the ↗grave of an ↗ancestor, a "hero" or a ↗holy man or ↗saint may also fulfil the function of a sacred place. Other locations owe their sacred meaning to mythical events that are believed to have taken place there, such as the origin of a clan, the birth of a holy man, a miracle etc.

At holy places the relationship of the human and the non-human (divine/spiritual or natural) sphere is renovated and balanced by way of rituals (e.g., ↗Sacrifice; ↗*Qəddase*), and people can partake in the spiritual dimension believed to be present. According to a spatial model inherent in many Ethiopian cultures, there is a dichotomy of the social world on the one hand, and an alien and unsafe exterior identified with darkness and the natural environment (bush, wilderness) on the other. The wide-spread topos of the ↗*qʷälla* ↗ecological zone and the waters as areas where ↗spirits dwell and ↗disease is prevalent belongs in the same context. Sacred trees, groves, waters etc. may in some cases be interpreted as a symbolic interface between the two dichotomous spheres.

The sacred landscape of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity is structured according to Biblical topography and theological concepts. It is centred around ↗Jerusalem, which is identified with Mount ↗Zion, and important stations of Jesus' life. In Ethiopia, which is traditionally interpreted as the new "Holy Land" (s. below), these and other Biblical locations are symbolically multiplied by toponyms (e.g., Nazret, Däbrä Zäyt, Däbrä Tabor) and names of churches or ↗*tabots* (e.g., Däbrä Ṣəyon, Däbrä Sina). The River ↗Abbay is now identified with ↗Gihon, one of the rivers of paradise. Likewise, different elements of ecclesiastical architecture (↗Church buildings; ↗*Mäqdäs*) have symbolical allusions to Biblical places, such as Golgotha, the River Jordan and Bethlehem. The trees around churches according to some traditional interpretations symbolize the garden of Eden.

The circular or octagonal – in Təgrəñña-speaking areas usually rectangular – church building of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is constructed around the *tabot* which is enshrined in its centre (but portable in principle). It is protected from the "impure" world by a number of concentric dividing walls, which define grades of purity or holiness decreasing from the centre to the periphery. According to canonical ↗law, the houses of the laity have to be separate from the church compound in order not to ritually pollute it. The presence of the *tabot* is believed to bless the area outside the church compound and to protect the human against the non-human sphere, i.e. the wilderness, which is identified with the ↗devil, with ↗demons, dangerous animals, sickness and disorder. However, the preferred place of a monastery or church is the symbolic 'desert' (↗*Gädam*, s. also ↗Hermits) or a 'mountain' (↗*Däbr*), seen as the appropriate site for ascetic practice and the subjection of the "evil" forces identified with such areas (for the symbolic interpretation of the sacred church S. s. ↗*Śərᶜatä betä krəstiyan*).

The spatial order in Islam is structured around the Kaᶜba in ↗Mecca and the holy sites in Medina and al-Quds (i.e. Jerusalem). The unique role of Mecca as the focus of Islamic practice is reinforced by the *qibla* as well as by *ḥağğ* and *ᶜumra*. In Ethiopia and Eritrea the sacred landscape of folk-Islam as well as of the ↗Islamic brotherhoods is constituted by a multitude of shrines (↗*Zāwiya*), most of them only playing a local role. Major sacred places of transregional importance are, e.g., ↗Faraqasa (s. also ↗Momina, in EAE vol. 5), ↗Šonke and especially ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn, where the stations of the rites of the *ḥağğ* are encoded in the natural landscape, and Nägaš, the mausoleum of al-↗Nağāšī (cp. ↗Təgrəñña-speakers).

Social space and political mythology

Classification by spatial order helps to define power relations and symbolic relations. Inherent in the layout, the construction and the design of buildings are spatial models of socio-political relations, political organization and legitimation. Socio-political structures may also be reflected in the spatial division of common ↗houses.

Lagopoulos and Stylianoudi (2001: 55–95) have shown how the royal or military camp (↗*Kätäma*), as described in the ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt*, was designed according to an underlying spatial model that prevailed over centuries and is equally present in the layout and organizational patterns of regional courts, towns and churches. The model is characterized by a "charged centre surrounded by circles of decreasing significance" (LevWax 74f.). The same model can be identified in the concept of the ↗Ark of the Covenant in ↗Aksum as the manifestation of the heavenly Zion or Jerusalem. Its presence makes Aksum the "new Zion" and the symbolic centre of Ethiopia (cp. ill. EAE vol. 2, 753) or the world. During the ↗Zagʷe period, Roha (↗Lalibäla) became another symbolic "copy" of Jerusalem (van Donzel 1998; Lagopoulos – Stylianoudi 2001: 86ff.). While the existence of symbolic and political centres is characteristic of the more centralized societies in Ethiopia, the spatial organization of comparatively egalitarian groups shows only weak or even no real centres, this fact is sometimes reflected in the dispersed settlement patterns (for example cp. Smidt 2008: 280f.).

Lit.: Dirk Bustorf, *Die Səlṭe*: *Geschichte, Geschichtserzählung, Geschichtsbewusstsein eines muslimischen Volkes im südlichen Zentral-Äthiopien*, Ph.D. thesis, Universität Hamburg 2009, 40f. and ch. 8; Marilyn E. Heldman, "Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 3, 1992, 222–41; Steven Kaplan, "Seeing is Believing: the Power of Visual Culture in the Religious World of *Aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob", *ibid.* 403–21; Alexandros Ph. Lagopoulos – M.G. Lily Stylianoudi, "The Symbolism of Space in Ethiopia", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 55–95; LevWax 74f.; Petra Maass, "All Lies in the Eye of the Beholder: Anthropological Perspectives on Cultural Landscapes, Religious Worldviews and Environmental Conservation", in: Alke Dohrmann – Dirk Bustorf – Nicole Poissonnier (eds.), *Schweifgebiete*: *Festschrift für Ulrich Braukämper*, Münster 2010, 214–26 (Lit.); Wolbert Smidt, "Die Landbesitzordnung Tigrays", in: Abdulkader Saleh et al. (eds.), *Friedensräume in Eritrea und Tigray unter Druck. Identitätskonstruktion, soziale Kohäsion und politische Stabilität*, Berlin 2008, 269–91, here 280f.; Helmut Straube (ed. by Hermann Amborn), "Von der Stadt zur sakralen Landschaft. Bóohée Burji. Eine städtische Siedlung in Südäthiopien. Helmut Staube zum 10. Todestag gewidmet", *Tribus* 44, 1995, 65–99; Claude Sumner, *Ethiopian Philosophy*, vol. 1: *The Book of the Wise Philosophers*, Addis Ababa 1974, 219ff.; Emeri van Donzel, "Ethiopia's Lalibäla and the Fall of Jerusalem 1187", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 27–94.

Dirk Bustorf

Timothy of Alexandria

T. (Eth. **ጢሞቴዎስ**, Ṭimotewos [III], called by his opponents "Ailouros", Gr. 'weasel', because of his leanness, d. 31 July 477) was an anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria (457–77).

T., a monk in the monastery of Qalamūn (John of Nikiou 88: 14), was brought "by force" (Ps-Zachariah 4: 1) to Alexandria and consecrated presbyter during the pontificate of patriarch ↗Cyril of Alexandria. Together with Cyril's successor Dioscorus, T. attended the Second Council of ↗Ephesus (the "Latrocinium") in 449. He remained loyal to Dioscorus even after the latter's deposition by the Council of ↗Chalcedon in 451. In 457, when the pro-Chalcedonian Emperor Maurice died, T. gained the patriarchal see of Alexandria as usurper, being elected by the anti-Chalcedonians who had a majority in the city, but in opposition to the Chalcedonian patriarch Proterius, who was killed by a mob 20 days after T.'s election.

In a circular to bishops and monks Emperor Leo (457–474) asked for opinions about Chalcedon and the legitimacy of T.'s ordination (Evagrius 2:9) – he had been consecrated by two bishops only – and as the unanimous answer was against T., the Emperor deposed him (460). Instead, a pro-Chalcedonian patriarch, Timothy Salofakiolos, was appointed in Alexandria. T. was exiled, first to Gangra in Paphlagonia, and later (464/5–475) to Chersonesus, Crimea. In exile he continued his anti-Chalcedonian campaign writing letters to various ecclesiastics and communities, thereby becoming the main figure of the anti-Chalcedonian party. After the death of Emperor Leo, Basiliscus, the short-time emperor favourable to ↗Monophysitism (475–76), reinstated T. as patriarch of Alexandria. A year later, Emperor Zeno (476) cancelled all the rulings of his predecessor. T. died before the deposition order could reach him.

T.'s views place him in the line of theological development between Cyril and ↗Theodosius of Alexandria and ↗Severus of Antioch. He was a clear miaphysite, since he also fought against Eutychianism (Monophysitism proper), i.e. he regarded Christ's body as being of the same substance as those of men.

Both in the ↗Coptic Church and in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church T. is venerated as a saint; the latter commemorates him on 7 *Näḥase* (= 10 August; GuiSyn III, 283; BudSaint 1198).

Few of his writings (originally in Greek) have survived, except for those which had been translated into Syriac or Armenian (CPG nos. 5475–91). His major work, the treatise *Against those who Speak about Two Natures (of Christ)*, is preserved in full only in Armenian and in fragments in Syriac (CPG no. 5475). The *Refutation of the Synod of Chalcedon and of the Tome of* (*Pope*) *Leo* (CPG no. 5482) is preserved only in Syriac. Two letters to his supporters are preserved in Syriac:

> *Letter to the people of Constantinople* sent from Gangra (CPG no. 5476; Ebied – Wickham 1970:337–41 [text] = 357–62 [tr.]; Ps.-Zachariah 4:12, final part);
>
> *Letter to the people of Alexandria* sent from Gangra (CPG no. 5477; Ebied – Wickham 1970:333f. = 351ff.; Ps.-Zachariah 4:12), both directed against those who deny that Jesus Christ's body was of the same substance as that of the human beings.

These two letters are also extant in Gəʿəz. They are preserved in at least two manuscripts of the *Mäṣḥafä ↗məśṭir* by Giyorgis of Sägla (mss. BN Éth. 113 [ZotBNat 129f.], 16th cent.; EMML no. 1831 [EMML V, 290], late 15th cent.) and are included in the so-called *Aksumite Collection*, composed between 447 and 686/87 and known from a unique manuscript dating not later than the 14th cent. (nos. 31 and 32 in Bausi 2006:48). The second letter here seems to be a different edition from the one found in the *Mäṣḥafä məsṭir* manuscripts (Bausi 2006:68f.).

The same *Aksumite Collection* contains an Ethiopic version of T.'s *Refutation of the Synod of Chalcedon* (CPG no. 5482; Bausi 2006:69 no. 34), which is otherwise only known in Syriac. Bausi hypothesises the existence of a collection (*Silloge*) of T.'s writings in Greek which was translated into both Syriac and Gəʿəz (during the ↗Aksumite period) and which survived in the latter version in the *Aksumite Collection.*

Several more writings in Gəʿəz are attributed to T.:

Letter concerning the death of children (CPG no. 5490, Suppl.; preserved in ms. EMML no. 6307, late 16th cent.; cp. Getatchew Haile 1987). Although not preserved in other languages, this letter of consolation, sent to a woman named Arbikya, whose three children had died, is perhaps authentic.

Homily on Archangel Michael included into the ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel*, to be read on 12 *Ḫədar*. The author's name is given here as Dämatewos (ed. 1989:24) or Damatewos (e.g., ms. EMML no. 569, ca. 1770). Some copyists corrected it to either Dämatrəyos (i.e. 'Demetrios', e.g., ms. EMML no. 1433, 18th cent.), or Dorotewos (ms. Ṭānāsee 74 = Dabra Māryām 16, 19th cent.), but, since this *Homily* is an abbreviated version of the *Homily* of T. known in Coptic (and Arabic; Müller 1959:161f.), those "improved" forms met in Ethiopic manuscripts must be regarded as garbled or overcorrected.

Homily on the Church of the Rock (ed. Colin 2001), also extant in Coptic (partially) and in Arabic (in two editions; ed. Boud'hors – Boutros 2001). According to Colin (2001:6) the homily was composed not earlier than the 6th–7th cent., whereas the Ethiopic translation (from an Arabic text close to the shorter edition), was done perhaps in the second decade of the 18th cent. The translation date could possibly have been earlier (Bausi 2002:478). It tells of the construction by T. of the church on a rock at the Mountain of the Bird (Ǧabal aṭ-Ṭayr), where the Holy Family stayed during the flight to Egypt. The homily was apparently composed in order to reclaim some prestige for this place of pilgrimage, less famous than that of Qusqām. It is often found in the ↗*Dərsanä Maryam* (e.g., ms. BritLib Orient. 604, 1716–21, or BN d'Abbadie 158, 18th cent.).

T. is mentioned in some episodes of the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* (CerMaria 72f., 206): in a vision Mary appears to him in the Church of St. Pachomius, and also to a priest who since his childhood always accompanied T. Mary tells T. about her stay in Egypt and the places she visited there, particularly Ašmunayn, a story that includes an account of her meeting with thieves. Also the visit to Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam (Qusqām) is mentioned (e.g., in mss. EMML no. 3872, 16th cent., EMML no. 2952, ca. 1720).

The aforementioned *Aksumite Collection* as well as some manuscripts of the ↗*Senodos* contain the *Canonical Responsa* (Bausi 2006:70, no. 36; Id. 2005). The *Responsa,* known in Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Coptic and Arabic versions, are generally attributed to another "Timothy of Alexandria", i.e. the patriarch Timothy I (380–85; CPG no. 2520). In the Ethiopic translation, they are attributed to Peter of Alexandria (373–80), as is found in a Coptic manuscript (Bausi 2006:70).

This "Timothy of Alexandria", Timothy I, is also one of the authorities whose canon law rules are quoted in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*fäws mänfäsawi* (e.g., in BritLib ms. Add. s. 16205, DillmLond 39a). Because of the wrong attribution found otherwise in Ethiopic, the correct attribution in the *Fäws mänfäsawi* seems to come directly from its Copto-Arabic source.

Src.: T.'s works: GÉRARD COLIN (ed., tr.), *L'Homélie sur l'Église du Rocher attribuée à Timothée Aelure*, Turnhout 2001 (PO 49:2 = 218); CPG III, 62–65 [nos. 5475–91] and Suppl. 355f.; CPG IIIA, 9f.; RIFAAT Y. EBIED – LIONEL R. WICKHAM (ed., tr.), "A Collection of Unpublished Syriac Letters of Timothy Aelurus", *The Journal of Theological Studies* new ser. 21, 1970, 321–69; EMML nos. 569, 1433, 1831, 2952, 3872, 6307; GETATCHEW HAILE (ed., tr.), "An Ethiopic Letter of Timothy II of Alexandria concerning the Death of Children", *ibid.* 38, 1987, 34–57; **ድርሳነ፡ ሚካኤል። ግዕዝና፡ አማርኛ** (*Dərsanä Mikaʾel. Gəʿəzənna amarəñña*, 'The Homily of Michael. Gəʿəz and Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [2006/07 A.D.]; sources on T.: [Ps.-Zachariah]: E.W. BROOKS (ed., tr.), *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, I, Parisiis 1919 (CSCO 83 [Scriptores Syri 3:5–6 = 38]; text) = Lovanii 1924 (CSCO 87 [Scriptores Syri 3:5–6 = 41]; tr.); [Evagrius]: ANDRÉ-JEAN FESTUGIÈRE (tr.), "Évagre, *Histoire ecclésiastique*", *Byzantion* 45, 1975, 187–488; [John of Nikiou]: ROBERT HENRY CHARLES (tr.), *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*: *Translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text*, London 1916 (Text and Translation Society Works 13); GuiSyn III, 283; BudSaint 1198.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "La versione etiopica delle *Risposte canoniche* di Timoteo I, attribuite a Pietro di Alessandria (CPG nr. 2520)", in: BASIL LURIÉ – ALEXANDER MURAVIEV (eds.), *Universum Hagiographicum. Mémorial R. P. Michel van Esbroeck, s. j. (1934–2003)*, St. Petersburg 2006 (= *Scrinium* 2), 43–70; ID., "La *Collezione aksumita* canonico-liturgica", *Adamantius* 12, 2006, 43–70, here 48, 51, 54, esp. 67ff. and n. 44; ID., [review of Colin 2001], *OrChrP* 86, 2002, 477–83 (Lit.); CerMaria; WILLIAM HUGH CLIFFORD FREND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*: *Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, Cambridge 1972; GrafLit vol. 1,

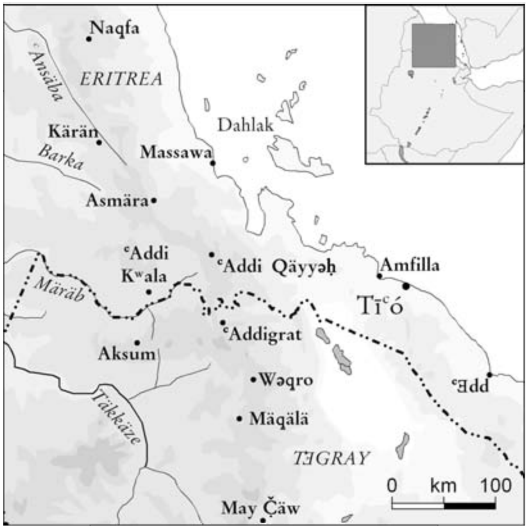
464f.; ALOIS GRILLMEYER – THERESIA HAINTHALER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche,* Band 2/4: *Die Kirchen von Alexandrien mit Nubien und Äthiopien nach 451*, Freiburg 1990, 7–35; CASPAR DETLEF GUSTAV MÜLLER, *Die Engellehre der Koptischen Kirche*: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der christlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 1959; DONALD B. SPANEL, "Timothy II Aelurus", in: *CE* vol. 7, 2263–68; IAIN R. TORRANCE, "Timotheus Aelurus (gest. 31. Juli 477)", in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* vol. 33, 2002, 565–67; WADI ABULIFF, "Timoteo II Ailuro", *EncSan* 1296–98.

Witold Witakowski

Tī^{c}ó

T. is a coastal town, about 260 km south of Massawa, to the south of Cape Ḥaffalé (the "↗Amfilla" or "Anfile" Bay in colonial literature corresponds to Cape Mi^{c}dir). Also spelled Thio in Italian, the pronunciation [*tī^{c}ó*] seems to be an Italian adaptation from Arabic, instead of the regular Tew^{c}o, a toponym which is also found in the Ḥanle plain (north-west of Djibouti). Derived from the verb *ewe^{c}* 'to climb', 'to extract', the noun T. refers to the three wells in its vicinity: Ḍiḍḍo^{c}ó (in *wadi* ^{c}Adgaban), Dabáyu and Borróyta (MorDicAfar 263).

Ancient foundations of the town are known as Bolo, the modern T. is an Italian creation, whereas Mi^{c}dir is an ancient town with its six mosques. Included in the Dammohoytá territory, T. was the residence of the deputy commissioner under the Commissario della Dancália in ↗^{c}Asab with territorial competence up to the Bôri Peninsula (↗Buri). The local chief of T. had the title of *kabbo markat* (Ital. *capo di mercato*). The town was a centre for the *Aḥmadīya* ↗Islamic brotherhood with its own ↗*šari^{c}a* Court. An *Aḥmadī* congregational mosque was built in 1907 (cp. EAE vol. 3, 209, 214).



In the 1960s, the town hosted the Lutheran Red Sea Mission Team which initiated literacy programs in the ^{c}Afar language.

Lit.: *Guida* 329, 335; MorDicAfar 263; PollEr 251; MASSIMO ZACCARIA (ed.), *Le note del Commissario Teobaldo Folchi e i Cenni storico-amministrativi nel Commissariato di Massaua*, Milano 2009, passim.

Didier Morin

Tirmaga

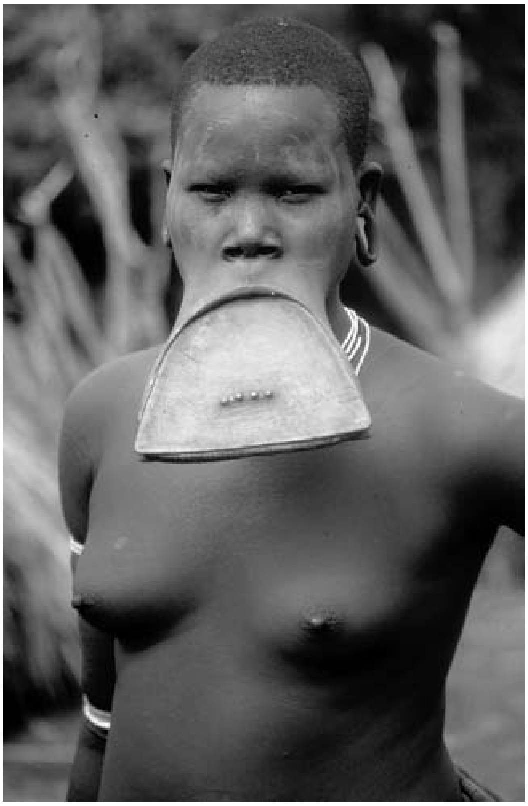
T. (sg. Tirma) is an ethno-linguistic South-East Surmic-speaking group of ca. 7,000 people living in south-western Ethiopia. They inhabit the Benç̌-Maği zone, Surma *wäräda*, between the upper valley of the River Kibiš and the Ethio-Sudanese border, expanding to the north up to the Akobo River (for location s. map for Suri). Ca. 1,000 T. live in the Sudan, in the Eastern areas of the Boma Plateau, among other groups such as ↗Baale and Ŋalam (Boma ↗Murle).

The T. are one of the moieties or sub-groups (next to the ↗Čai) of the ↗Suri. Like the Čai, who inhabit the lowlands between the upper Kibiš valley and the ↗Omo, the T. live in small villages and pastoralist camps. Several families have settled around the missionary station of Tulgit. The T. have the same subsistence economy as the Čai (mainly agro-pastoralism and shifting cultivation of sorghum, corn and garden crops, with hunting, gathering and gold mining as secondary activities) and the same language and culture.

Together with the Čai and the ↗Mursi, the T. believe in a sky-god called *Tumu*. Traditional leadership is embodied by two priest-like mediators called *kòmòréna* (Sg., *kòmòrú* [↗*Komoru*]; today, *wolezogi* in the Tulgit area and *bolo gidañi* in the Mardur area) who belong to the senior age-group of elders (*rórà*).

Warriors (*tègay*) acquire prestige during violent stick fights (*ságine*). To be eligible for ↗marriage, nubile women of the T., Čai and Mursi (but no longer Baale) have their bottom teeth removed and their bottom lips pierced and stretched so as to allow the insertion of a large round clay lip plate (*ḍébé*); some women of the T. and the Čai still wear trapezoidal wooden lip plates (*búrgwi*, cp. ill.).

T. territory has become more accessible with the recent improvement of seasonal roads connecting Dima with the Akobo, Tulgit and the market town of Ğabba. The T., nevertheless,



Tirmaga girl wearing a wooden lip-plate (*burgwi*); photo 2001, courtesy of Christian Bader

remain largely self-sufficient and self-governed, and still have only limited contact with the outside world. Living in a very unstable border region, with easy access to (semi-)automatic weapons and ammunition from southern Sudan, they are persistently in conflict over pasture, cattle and territory with the ↗Ñaŋatom to the South, the Toposa to the East, and the ↗Añwaa and ↗Meʾen to the North; raiding against agriculturist Dizi, Baale and Boma-Murle, is still rife.

Lit.: JON G. ABBINK, "Authority and Leadership in Surma Society (Ethiopia), 1985–91", *Africa* 52, 3, 1997, 317–42; CHRISTIAN BADER, *Les Guerriers Nus*, Paris 2002; MICHAEL BRYANT, *Aspects of Tirmaga Grammar*, M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Arlington, TX 1999.

Christian Bader

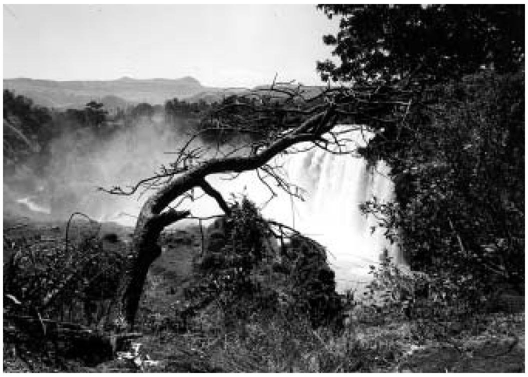
Ṭisəsat

The Ṭ. (**ጢስሳት**, also **ጢስዕሳት**, Ṭisʾəsat, lit., 'fume-fire') falls, also known as the Blue Nile Falls, are located ca. 30 km south of ↗Baḥər Dar where the River ↗Abbay leaves Lake ↗Ṭana and plunges over a 45–55 m cliff made of recent (pleistocene) black and hard basalt and eroded tuffs (for location s. map for Ṭana). From September to October, when in full flood, the flow reaches 8,000 m^3/second and the width of the falls swells from 250 m to 500 m. At the foot of the cliff a dense forest grows around a small lake. During the low water period it sometimes happens that the river only dribbles over the falls.

In 1963 the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority built a run-off power plant in order to produce circa 10,000,000 kwh/year mainly used for the consumers of Baḥər Dar town. There are extension plans which could dry the falls for several months each year and decrease the number of tourists.

About 1.5 km from Ṭ., after passing the "Portuguese" bridge (also **የጢስ፡ ውኃ፡ ድልድይ**, *yäṭis wəha dəldəy*, 'fume water bridge'), built during the reign of *aṣe* Susənyos, the Abbay flows through a deep canyon which cuts Goǧǧam first from Wällo then from Šäwa.

In the vicinity of the falls lies the town of Ṭis Abbay (Baḥər Dar *wäräda*, Mərab Goǧǧam zone, Amhara *kəlləl*). It has 6,998 inhabitants who, besides agriculture, work in the power plant and sell their products and services to tourists (CSA 2004). It is quite a boom town: there were only 2,827 inhabitants in the 1984 census, while the 1994 census (CSA 1998) counted 4,227 inhabitants.



The Ṭisəsat; photo 2006, courtesy of Günter Klatt

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2004; EMAtlas; *Guida* 386; MesfGeogr 135f.

Alain Gascon

Tisserant, Eugène-Gabriel

T. (Eugène-Gabriel-Gervais-Laurent T.; b. 24 March 1884, Nancy, d. 21 February 1972, Albano Laziale [Rome]), was a Catholic ecclesiastic and scholar especially interested in the Biblical, Christian and Islamic Orient.

From 1900 to 1904, T. studied theology, Bible, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Old Testament and Oriental Patristics at the Grand séminaire of Nancy: fields in which he would later make major philological and historical contributions (most of them collected in Pop 1955). In 1904–05, he completed his education under the guidance of the Dominican scholar Marie-Joseph Lagrange, at the École biblique in Jerusalem, where he met Sylvain ↗Grébaut and also had the opportunity to further his knowledge of Arabic. From 1906 to 1908, in Paris, he attended courses at the Institut catholique, the École pratique des hautes Études, the École des langues orientales and the École du Louvre. Ordained priest in 1907, he graduated with a diploma in five languages (Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic and Assyrian) at the Institut catholique and a dissertation on the Ethiopic *Ascension of ↗Isaiah* (publ. Tisserant 1909); his mentor and supervisor for Semitic languages, including Gəʿəz, was the learned abbé François Martin, who influenced T. in terms of methodology and textual criticism after his first experiences in Jerusalem.

In 1908, T. became a professor of Assyriology at the Pontifical Roman Athenaeum of Sant'Apollinare, and a keeper ("scriptor") of the Oriental manuscripts in the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: he then had contacts with such important specialists as Alfred Rahlfs, who asked him to draw up a catalogue of manuscripts with Oriental translations of the Septuagint.

T. travelled extensively, not only in Europe: as a special diplomatic envoy of the pope for matters concerning diplomacy (e.g., he was a member of the pontifical delegation to Ethiopia in 1929, reciprocating the official visit paid to Pius XI by the later Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1924; s. Pop 1955: 804) and the relationships with Orthodox or Catholic Oriental Churches (e.g., in the Balkans and the Near East, 1923), but also as a scholar, to consult or purchase manuscripts and printed books (in the Near East, 1911–12), and to inquire into the state of library science (in the United States, at the invitation of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1927). He was thus able to contribute substantially toward the growth, increase and modernization of the Vatican Library, where he became assistant to the prefect in 1919 and pro-prefect in 1930. A monsignor since 1921, he was appointed protonotary apostolic and then cardinal in 1936.

Cardinal Eugène-Gabriel Tisserant at Mariazell (Styria) in 1957, on the occasion of the celebrations for the eighth centenary of the Marian shrine; photo courtesy of the author

A staunch opponent of Fascism and Nazism, T. insisted on "the duty of Catholics to resist the unjust orders of an authoritarian state". He opened the Vatican Library to such great Orientalists as the anti-Fascist Ugo ↗Monneret de Villard and the Jew Giorgio Levi Della Vida (1886–64), with whom he established a long friendship – as he also did with Carlo ↗Conti Rossini and Enrico ↗Cerulli, in whose research and personal circumstances he was much involved. Consecrated archbishop in 1937, T. became dean of the Sacred College of cardinals in 1951. In this capacity, he went again, as a representative of the Pope, on several missions, especially in Africa and in the East: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco (1954), Egypt and India (1950–51 and 1953), and Ethiopia (1959 and 1967, for the inauguration of the Catholic seminary and, resp., the University of ↗Asmära; s. Mojoli 1973: 34, 124f.). Later, he followed Pope Paul VI in his journeys throughout the world.

T. presided over the conclaves of 1958 and 1963, and was the first person after the Pope to sign the acts of the Second Vatican Council (1962–65). Highly considered by the popes Pius XI and Pius XII, he held a few other prestigious offices in the Roman Curia, among them: Secretary of the then Congregation for the Oriental Church (↗Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus; 1936–59), president of the Pontifical Biblical Commission (1938–46), prefect of the Congregation of Ceremonies (1951–67), and Librarian and Archivist of the Holy Roman Church (1957–71). A much respected scholar, he received several honorary degrees and was awarded such prestigious memberships as those of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in 1958 and the Académie française in 1961.

T.'s various historical and philological interests focused on manuscripts and literature, with special attention to palimpsests and palaeography (s. Tisserant 1914, 1923), but also on the life of the Christian Oriental communities (e.g., Tisserant 1930, 1941) and the history of Oriental studies (cp. Levi Della Vida 1955: 11). He devoted several contributions to Ethiopia and its Biblical and Christian traditions, always envisaged within the major framework of Eastern Christendom. In 1922 he was consulted by the ↗Capuchins in Asmära on how to edit the Ethiopian ↗Bible, the text of which was being prepared for publication by Francesco da ↗Bassano (Vosté 1946:66f.). Especially worth noting is the catalogue of Ethiopic manuscripts in the Vatican Library, prepared with Grébaut (1935–36; GreTisVat). Besides the exemplars acquired by the latter during his 1926 Ethiopian mission, the catalogue comprises those ancient mss. already in the possession of the Library, a few of them from ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori, with a remarkably well-documented excursus on the history of this monastery, its collection and the latter's fortunes by T. himself (GreTisVat vol. 2, 9–32; s. already Tisserant 1925).

Particularly sensitive to the conditions of the Ethiopian students in Rome, T. often promoted the publication of their dissertations on Ethiopian matters; within the jurisdiction of the Congregation for the Oriental Church, he was quite close to the Pontifical Ethiopian College in the Vatican City (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori). Thus, he presided over the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of its canonical foundation in 1955 (when he also consecrated Bishop Urbain-Marie ↗Person, vicar apostolic of Harär), and eventually accompanied Ḫaylä Śəllase during his visit there in 1970 (s. *The Pontifical Ethiopian College* n.d.: 12–15).

T.'s personal library (more than 20,000) was bequeathed to the Grand séminaire of Nancy. His private archives, carefully kept by the association "Amis du Cardinal Tisserant" in Montferrer, a small village in the eastern Pyrenees, are currently the object of research, aimed at publishing the documents they contain (s. *Le cardinal Eugène Tisserant* 2003). To this end, T.'s correspondence with Wladimir d'Ormesson (1940–71), French ambassador to the Holy See during and after World War II, has been thoroughly investigated; it sheds light on several problems of contemporary history, from Vichy to the former Nazi collaborationists, the Cold War and the Catholic Church beyond the Iron Curtain (Guinle-Lorinet 2000).

Src.: "Bibliographie de Son Eminence le Cardinal Eugène Tisserant (1907–1964)", in: *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, Città del Vaticano 1964, vol. 1: *Écriture Sainte – Ancien Orient* (Studi e Testi 231), vii–xviii; Sever Pop et al. (eds.), *Recueil Cardinal Eugène Tisserant. «Ab Oriente et Occidente»*, Louvain 1955, vols. 1–2 (Travaux publiés par le Centre International de Dialectologie Générale près de l'Université Catholique de Louvain 1–2); GreTisVat; Eugène Tisserant, *Ascension d'Isaïe. Traduction de la version éthiopienne avec les principales variantes des versions grecque, latines et slaves, introduction et notes*, Paris 1909; Id., *Codices Armeni Bibliothecae Vaticanae: Borgiani, Vaticani, Barberiniani, Chisiani*, In Bibliotheca Vaticana 1929; Id., "Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits arabes du Fonds Borgia à la Bibliotheque Vaticane", in: *Miscellanea Francisco Ehrle*, Città del Vaticano 1923, vol. 5 (Studi e Testi 41), 1–34; Id., "Nestorius, II. Église nestorienne", in: *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, vol. 11, 1, Paris 1931, cols. 157–327 [repr. in: Pop et al. 1955, vol. 1, 119–317]; Id., "Syro-malabare (l'Église)", *ibid.* 14, 2, 1941, cols. 3089–162 [repr. *ibid.* vol. 2, 343–437 = *Eastern Christianity in India*: *a History of the Syro-Malabar Church from the Earliest Times to the Present Days*, adapt. by Édouard-René Hambye, Bombay – Westminter, MA 1957]; Id., "The Ethiopic Church", *Liturgical Arts* 4, 1935, 207–12 [repr. in: *The Eastern Branches of the Catholic Church*, New York – Toronto 1938, 36–47]; Id., "Le Christianisme en Égypte", in: Maxime Gorce – Raul Mortier (eds.), *Histoire générale des religions*, vol. 3, Paris 1945, 301–04, 471 [repr. in: Pop et al. 1955, vol. 2, 447–51]; Id., "L'Église chrétienne en Éthiopie", *ibid*. 305–08, 472 [repr. *ibid.* 439–45]; Id., [review of A. Rahlfs, "Ueber einige alttestamentliche Handschriften …" (1918)], *Revue biblique* 34, 1925, 292–96; Id., "Souvenirs d'orientaliste et de bibliothécaire", in: *Cérémonie de la remise du Recueil Cardinal Eugène Tisserant, le lundi 28 novembre 1955*, Louvain 1957 (Travaux publiés par le Centre International de Dialectologie Générale 3), 16–24; Id., *Specimina codicum Orientalium*, Bonnae 1914 (Tabulae in usum scholarum 8), 42–47, nos. 62–80 for Eth. mss.

Lit.: Arthur Breycha-Vauthier, "Le cardinal Tisserant dans la vie internationale des bibliothèques: in memoriam 1884–1972", *Libri* 22, 3, 1972, 252–55; Sylvain Grébaut, "Note", *Aethiops* 3, 1930, 63; Sylvaine Guinle-Lorinet, "De Vichy à la fin de la Guerre froide: la correspondance Tisserant-d'Ormesson (1940–1971)", *Cahiers d'historie inmmédiate* 18, 2000, 97–118; ÉDOUARD-RENÉ HAMBYE, "Pie XI et Eugène Tisserant", in: *Achille Ratti, pape Pie XI. Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome* (*15–18 mars 1989*), Rome 1996 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 223), 215–22; MASSIMO FAGGIOLI, "Per una biografia di Eugène Tisserant. Il convegno di Toulouse (22–23 nov. 2002)", *Cristianesimo nella storia* 25, 2004, 195–200; *Le cardinal Eugène Tisserant* (*1884–1972*). *Une grande figure de l'Église, une grande figure française. Actes du colloque international, Toulouse, les 22 et 23 novembre 2002*, Toulouse 2003 (Sources & travaux d'histoire immédiate 14); PAULE HENNEQUIN, "Le cardinal Eugène Tisserant, témoin de la charité", *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 107, 3, 2006, 207–396; GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA, in: POP et al. 1955, vol. 1, 1–11, here 11; FRANÇOIS MICHEL, "Notice sur la vie et les travaux du cardinal Eugène Tisserant, membre de l'Académie", *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1979, 646–59; GIUSEPPE MOJOLI, *La Chiesa in Etiopia. Note e ricordi di un nunzio*, Vicenza 1973, 34, 124–28, s. index (312); *The Pontifical Ethiopian College in the Vatican City*, Rome n.d., 12–15; SEVER POP, "Études et missions scientifiques du Cardinal Eugène Tisserant", in: ID. et al. 1955, vol. 2, 725–807; NELLO VIAN, "Barbadirame, bibliotecario vaticano. Un ricordo del card. Eugène Tisserant", *Strenna dei romanisti* 61, 2000, p. 607–18 [repr. ID., *Figure e fatti della Vaticana. Uomini, libri e biblioteche*, Città del Vaticano 2005 (Studi e Testi 424), 319–30]; JACQUES-MARIE VOSTÉ, "La Pešiṭtā de Mossoul et la révision catholique des anciennes versions orientales de la Bible", in: *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, Città del Vaticano 1946, vol. 1 (Studi e Testi 121), 59–94, here 66f.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Titles s. EAE vol. 5

Tobacco

T. (Amh. **ትምባሆ**, *təmbaho*) seems to have been little known in Ethiopia prior to the 19th cent. This was largely on account of misoneistic opposition from the Church, which regarded both smoking and snuffing as "un-Christian" (cp. also ↗Coffee). This view was reinforced by the fact that both practices were adopted by Muslim merchants in contact with the outside world, as well as by "animist" peoples who allegedly used T. at their ceremonies.

Opposition to T. found expression in various traditional beliefs. Some held that at the Crucifixion the T. plant, the "enemy of [↗]Mary", was the sole plant not to wither in shame. Another tradition declared that the plant was "infamous" because it grew on the grave of the arch-heretic Arius (Borelli 1890: 117; Griaule 1928: 78). A text of the *Dərsanä Raguʾel* dating from late-Gondärine times quoted the Archangel as stating that the T. plant was "worse than [↗]hyena's flesh", and had been "poisoned by the [↗]Devil". Raguʾel reportedly prophesied that if *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl shunned the weed he would defeat Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, but otherwise would suffer terrible disaster (Caquot 1957: 91–102).

Despite such beliefs, T. imports, cultivation, smoking and snuffing by the early 19th cent., were widely reported, particularly among Gurage, Oromo and other peoples in the south, less influenced by Orthodox Church teachings. Imported T. was on sale at major markets, where snuff was referred to as **ሱራት** (*surat*), after the Indian T.-exporting port of that name (KaneDic 489). Locally-grown leaves were harvested by women, sun-dried, and pressed by being placed under a bed (Pankhurst 1964: 226).

Opposition to T. was particularly intense during the reign of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV (r. 1872–89). He decreed that habitual smokers and snuffers should respectively have their lips and noses amputated. These punishments were however rarely realized – and the ban on T. scarcely enforceable: the British traveller A.B. Wylde (1901: 44f.) reports that the monarch's aide Mərč̣a Wärqe once absent-mindedly attempted to take snuff in the presence of the Emperor, who merely said, "Not before me [...] whatever you do before others". Commercial T. cultivation was meanwhile initiated around ↗Kärän outside the Emperor's control.

Restrictions on the use of T. were weakened during the reign of Mənilək II, when *abunä* Matewos, the Coptic head of the Ethiopian Church, smoked extensively, albeit behind closed doors (Hohler 1942: 126). Mənilək himself adopted a relaxed attitude to T., declaring that addicts should use it discreetly, following the injunction: "Your vice [i.e. T.] under your arms [i.e. in secret] – Your provisions on your donkey [i.e. openly]."

Subsequently, in 1910, Mənilək officially accepted T. when he established a monopoly for its production and import, a lucrative enterprise which he entrusted to an Armenian entrepreneur, Matig Kevorkoff (ZerÉth 212f.; Rey 1923: 202).

Src.: JULES BORELLI, *Ethiopie méridionale*: *Journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama septembre 1885 a novembre 1888*, Paris 1890; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'homélie en l'honeur du l'archange Raguel", *AE* 2, 1957, 91–122; KaneDic 489; ZerÉth 212f.

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "Fumer dans l'Éthiopie chrétienne au XVIIIe siècle: des mœurs de païen? Témoignage et contre-témoignage d'une image", paper at the *Conference Identités composées*: *Dynamiques linguistiques et religieuses en Afrique, Centre de Recherches Africaines*, Université de Paris-I, 24–26 novembre 2003; EAD., "La tête qui fume de l'église de Nārgā ..." *Afrique. Débats, méthodes et terrains d'histoire* 1, 2010; MARCEL GRIAULE, "Mythes, croyances et coutumes du Bégemder (Abyssinie)", *JA* 212, 1, 1928, here 78; THOMAS HOHLER, *Diplomatic Petrel*, London 1942; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Notes for a History of Ethiopian Agriculture", *EthObs* 7, 1964,

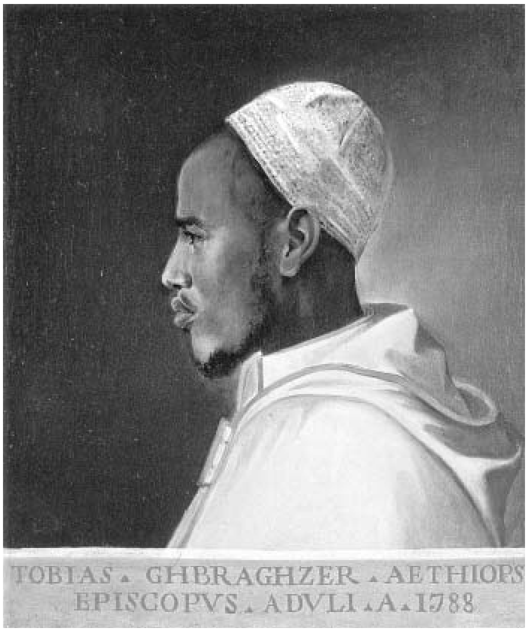
224–26; Charles Fernand Rey, *Unconquered Abyssinia,* London 1923; Charles Howell Walker, “Abyssinian Superstitions and Customs”, *African Observer* 3, 1932, 42; Augustus Blandy Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia,* London 1901.

Richard Pankhurst

Ṭobiya Giyorgis Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer

Ṭ. (**ጦቢያ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር**, Lat. *Tobias Georgius Gheraghzer*, b. 19 June 1755 [or 1750], Däbrä Maryam, Dämbəya, d. 7 May 1801, Cairo, Egypt) was an Ethiopian Catholic Bishop.

Ṭ. was an Orthodox monk, when, in 1781, he and a fellow monk from Šäwa, Gäbrä Krəstos, reached ↗Jerusalem. They continued to Italy, landing at Livorno in August 1782 and proceeding to Rome. At ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori, Ṭ. embraced Catholicism. He was received into the church and took up studies for six years at the Collegio Urbano di Propaganda Fide (↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide). There, he copied biblical texts for the then secretary of the Congregation, Cardinal Stefano Borgia, who became his patron: as a scribe and/or owner of manuscripts, Ṭ appears in ms. VatLib, Vat. Borg. Aeth. 1, 12, 22 (fols. II–XII, in Italian, with his translation of an Ethiopic description of Ǝnda Abunä Arägawi at ↗Däbrä Damo, ed. Guidi 1894: 93–96), 23, and 24. In 1788 he sent the latter book he sent from Livorno to his patron in 1788 (s. Ṭ.’s unpublished letter to him in ms. Borg. Lat. 285, fols. 352–53; cp. GreTisVat I, 834, and Nocca 2001: 283). Possibly on account of Ṭ.’s activity as a copyist and purveyor of manuscripts, on the same year, Cardinal Borgia appointed him a member of the Accademia dei Volsci of Velletri (s. ill.).



Portrait of Ṭobiya Giyorgis Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer, bishop of Adulis, as a member of the Accademia dei Volsci (Velletri), by an anonymous painter active in Rome, ca. 1788; Città del Vaticano, Congregazione per l’Evangelizzazione dei Popoli; from Germano – Nocca 2001: 283

Ṭ. produced a ↗Gəʿəz translation of Cardinal Bellarmine’s *Dottrina cristiana* that was printed by Propaganda Fide in 1786, with a partly autobiographic dissertation by him at the end, 87–93 (s. Mauro da Leonessa 1920: 324f.). He copied further excerpts of this catechism and elaborated it in ms. Vat. Borg. Aeth. 1, fol. 100f. (GreTisVat I, 766).

At the suggestion of the ↗Franciscan Michelangelo Pacelli, lecturer in Arabic and later superior of the mission in Egypt, whom he had befriended, Ṭ. was nominated by Propaganda Fide, and then appointed by Pope Pius VI, as titular bishop of ↗Adulis and Apostolic Vicar of Ethiopia. He was consecrated in Rome, on 24 June 1788, by an Oriental-rite Greek bishop. First, the appointee had to take the usual preliminary oath *de servando proprio ritu*: a customary formula that appears in both the decree of the Congregation and the papal bull, and means ‘about retaining one’s own rite’, i.e. the “Copto-Abyissinan” one, as made clear by T.’s 1797 letter from Cairo to the cardinal prefect of Propaganda Fide (BecRASO XIV, 475, no. 181: “secondo il rito cofto et abissino”). The decree and the papal bull specifically refer to the Gəʿəz rite, of which Ṭ. was thereby the first Catholic Bishop (cp., e.g., O’Mahoney 1987–88: 153 and n. 181), de facto “anticipating” a question that had been raised as early as 1637 (s. ↗Mendez), but was dismissed soon after, and was hardly referred to again before the age of de ↗Jacobis.

Already in 1788, Ṭ. left for Ethiopia in the company of *abba* Mikaʾel Kəflä Giyorgis and Fr. Michelangelo (the latter, having caused some tension, eventually withdrew from the mission). They reached ↗Massawa, via Suez and al-Muḫā, in October 1789.

Ṭ.’s years in Ethiopia were a sequence of persecutions. He stayed at Ṣäʾazzäga, Ǝmbəyto, ʿAddi Gʷaʿdad, ʿOra Betä Mäsqäl, Kämkäm, Däbrä Damo, and perhaps Waldəbba. Hopes concerning his encounter with *aṣe* ↗Ḥəzqəyas were dispelled with ↗Täklä Giyorgis I’s return to power.

In 1792, the Coptic Patriarch Mark VIII of Alexandria excommunicated the Catholic Ṭ. In October 1797, Ṭ. moved to Egypt, where he died of plague. A reliable source seems to suggest that the Latin pontifical vestments preserved at Däbrä Damo – in the vicinity of which he spent three months in 1795 – may have belonged to Ṭ. (whatever their relationship with "his own rite"), who entrusted them to the custody of Mikaᵓel Kəflä Giyorgis (s. the 1800 letter of Propaganda Fide to him in BecRASO XIV, 480; cp. O'Mahoney 1987–88: 167).

Ṭ. was the first black African bishop in modern times. With him, the training of Ethiopian clerics at the Collegio Urbano di Propaganda resulted eventually in the consecration of an autochthonous bishop, which marked a new phase in ↗Vatican's Ethiopian politics since the failure of the ↗Jesuit mission.

↗Catholicism; ↗Missions

Src.: Collegio Urbano archives, *Registro e memorie degli alunni*, vols. 1, 2; Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, archives: *Acta*, vol. 70–175 (1700–1800), *Lettere*, vol. 240–279, *Scritture originali riferite nei congressi*, vol. 878, 896, *Scritture riferite nei congressi: Etiopia, Arabia, Socotra*, vol. 3 (1721–85), *Egitto, Copti*, vol. 12 (1791–1802); BecRASO XIV, xxii, 413–80, 475, 497 (s. index, 519f.), and XV, 152ff.; *Diario ordinario* (Roma), no. 1408, 20 giugno 1788, 15f.; NICCOLÒ DE LAGUA, *Lettera di S. Ignazio di Loyola a Claudio* …, Roma 1790; MICHELANGELO PACELLI [DA TRICARICO], *Viaggi in Etiopia*, Napoli 1797, passim; OSVALDO RAINERI (ed.), *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici* (*sec. XII–XX*). *Versioni e integrazioni*, Città del Vaticano 2005 (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 55), 243ff., no. 58, here 243 and n. 636; VatLib, mss. Vat. Borg. Aeth. 1, 12, 22 [fols. II–XII], 23, 24, s. GreTisVat I, 763–67, 804f., 831–34; II, 38; [ṬOBIYA GIYORGIS GÄBRÄ ƎGZIᵓABƎḤER (tr.)], *Dottrina cristiana, composta dall'E.mo e R.mo Cardinale Roberto Bellarmino* …, Roma 1766; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Il «Gadla 'Aragâwî»", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1894, 54–96, here 93–96.

Lit.: AYELE TEKLEHAYMANOT, "Abuna Tobias Ghyorghis Ghebre-Sghiabiher: an Ethiopian Bishop of Two Hundred Years Ago", *Ethiopian Review of Cultures* 1–2, 1991, 3–32; CrumMis–9f.; MAURO DA LEONESSA, *Santo Stefano Maggiore degli Abissini e le relazioni romano-etiopiche*, Città del Vaticano 1929, 322–25; METODIO DA NEMBRO, "Martirio ed espulsione in Etiopia", in: JOSEF METZLER (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum*, vol. 1, Roma 1972, 624–49; ID., "La missione etiopica", *ibid.* vol. 2, Roma 1973, 463–95; KEVIN O'MAHONEY, "Abune Tobia and his Apostolic Predecessors. In Commemoration of the Bicentenary of an Ethiopian Bishop's Consecration", *QSE* 8–9, 1987–88, 102–71; MARCO NOCCA, "ST. 59 *Ignoto artista operante a Roma 1788 ca.* (?), Ritratto di Tobia Giorgio Gabra Egzìabhèr Vescovo di Adulis Accademico Volsco", in: ANNA GERMANO – MARCO NOCCA (eds.), *La collezione Borgia: curiosità e tesori da ogni parte del mondo*, Napoli 2001, 283, ill. (Lit.); OSVALDO RAINERI, "La versione etiopica del breve *Onerosa pastoralis officii* di Urbano VIII", in: *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, vol. 13, Città del Vaticano 2006 (Studi e testi 433), 581–611, here 582f.; TEWELDE BEYENE, "Mons. Tobia Ghiorghis Ghebregziabiher, vescovo cattolico etiopico del XVIII sec.", *Adveniat Regnum Tuum* [Asmara] 29, 1975, 19–25 (Lit.).

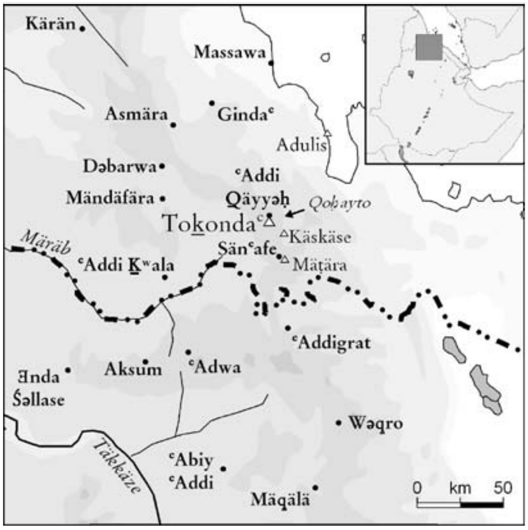
Tewelde Beyene – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

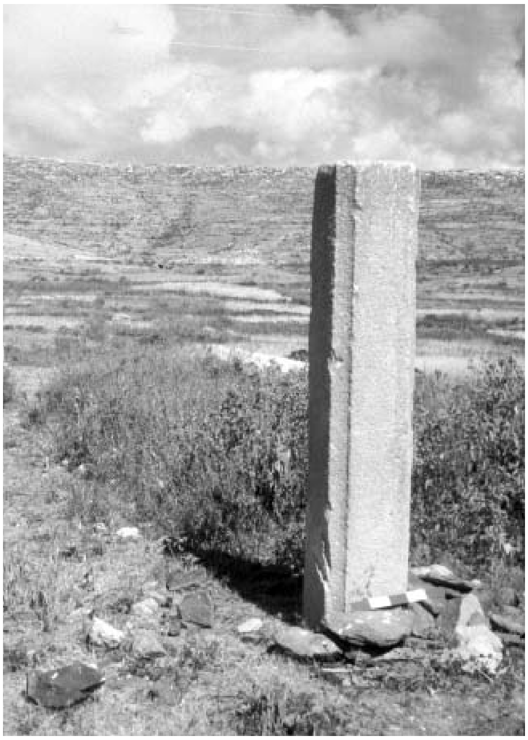
Toḵondaᶜ

T. (**ቶኾንዳዕ**) is a village and an archaeological site, on top and eastern slope of a hill, about 4 km south of ↗ᶜAddi Q̱äyyəḥ (39° 23' 30'' East, 14° 48' 80'' North) in ↗Akkälä Guzay, opposite the plateau of ↗Qoḥayto.

When the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition arrived here on the return from Aksum to Asmära on 20 April 1906 ↗Littmann was told by an Italian officer, Garelli, that there were several graffiti in the village (s. Voigt in WenDAE II) which were documented (DAE nos. 36–39 = RIÉ 85ff., 385). Later another was found by Drewes (RIÉ 88).

Furthermore, Garelli found three major Aksumite buildings in the valley east of the village (A–C). Two of them with podiums were excavated by him, one with two rows of six pillars (ruin C) and another with two rows of five pillars (ruin A). They were described (including plans and reconstruction of ruin C) by Daniel ↗Krencker (DAE II, 143ff.). The area – now agricultural land – was visited by a German archaeological mission led by Steffen Wenig in 1995, 1996 and 1997. Only a few architectural pieces are still existing. The fields are covered with sherds (mainly red wares) and burnt bricks, but also white ground-stone beads were found (Schmidt – Curtis – Zelalem Teka 2008, fig. 5.8). Here was once a major Aksumite site, the first which caravans reached when coming





Pillar from an Aksumite podium building at Toḵonda^{c}; photo 1995, courtesy of the author

up from ↗Adulis through the Ḥaddas Valley. T. was proposed as being a candidate for the ancient ↗Coloë (Wenig 2003: 94).

Some surface finds are kept at the Department for Egyptology and Archaeology of North-east Africa, Humboldt University Berlin.

Src.: RIÉ nos. 85–88, 385; DAE IV, nos. 36–39, 63f.

Lit.: DAE II; PETER R. SCHMIDT – MATTHEW C. CURTIS – ZELALEM TEKA (eds.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 2008; RAINER VOIGT, "Enno Littmanns Tagebuch der Abessinischen Expedition …", in: *WenDAE* II, in preparation; STEFFEN WENIG, "Enno Littmanns Deutsche Aksum-Expedition und die German Archaeological Mission to Eritrea (G.A.M.E.) 90 Jahre später", *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie* 18, 2001–02, 79–98; ID., "Der archäologische Platz von Tokonda", in: *WenDAE* I, 343–52.

Steffen Wenig

Ṭomar: Mäṣḥafä ṭomar

The M.ṭ. (**መጽሐፈ፡ ጦማር**, lit. 'The Book of the Letter [from Heaven]'), or **ጦማረ፡ አትናቴዎስ** (*Ṭomarä Atnatewos*, 'Letter to Athanasius'), also known as the *Sunday Letter* (CANT no. 311) is the Ethiopic version of the legend of a letter that fell from heaven in either Rome or Jerusalem and that contained an injunction for celebration of Sunday. It was believed to be sent by Jesus Christ himself.

The *Letter* was extremely popular within Christendom, both Western and Eastern, in the Middle Ages, and versions in many languages exist (Palmer 1986: 344). It is first mentioned ca. 584 A.D., in the letter of Licinianus, the bishop of Cartagena (Spain), who condemned it as a forgery. The original was probably composed in Greek, in Jerusalem in the middle of the 5th cent. (van Esbroeck 1989), and it is from the Greek that the Eastern Slavonic and Christian Oriental versions derive. Recently however, Backus (2005: 1106) suggested that its origin may in fact be Western European, i.e. that the original was composed in Latin.

The text narrates how, in the year 1057 "of Alexander" (= 746 A.D.), on the 25th of Kanun the first (Syriac month = December), during the mass celebrated by the (fictitious) patriarch of Rome (Eth. Romәya), Athanasius (Eth. Atnatewos), in the Church of Peter and Paul, in the presence of 23,000 people and 12,000 priests, a letter appeared outside the church hovering in the air. When Athanasius finished celebrating the mass he spread his chasuble (Eth. spelled *qelasno* for *qelanos*) on the ground and the letter fell upon it. Its sender urged the people to keep the commandments, but particularly to observe the Sunday rest (from the ninth hour Saturday to Monday morning). Should the people fail to obey, various punishments would be sent upon them. Subsequently, a voice from heaven identified the Son as the sender, whereupon the patriarch confirmed that these were the words of God.

The M.ṭ. was translated into Ethiopic from Arabic, in which language there are three versions (GrafLit 296). The Ethiopic is derived from the one based on a Syriac version, which is clear from the dating according to the Seleucid (or Alexander) era and from the use of a month name of the Syriac calendar.

Guidi (GuiSLett 73) places the translation of the M.ṭ. in the mid-16th cent., and the earliest manuscript (ZotBNat 125, no. 111) dates to that period. The M.ṭ. has been copied well into the 20th cent. (e.g., EMML nos. 14 and 151). In most cases the text of M.ṭ. is included in manuscripts that contain the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*.

Src.: IRENA BACKUS (tr.), "Lettre de Jésus-Christ sur le dimanche", in: PIERRE GEOLTRAIN – JEAN-DANIEL KAESTLI (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 2, Paris 2005, 1099–119; RENÉ BASSET (tr.), *Les apocryphes éthiopiens*, II: *Mas'h'afa T'omar (Livre de l'Épître)*, Paris 1893; MAXIMILIAN BITTNER (ed., tr.), *Der vom Himmel gefallene*

Brief Christi: *in seinen morgenländischen Versionen und Rezensionen*, Wien 1906 (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 51:1), 216–30 [Eth. text and German tr.]; CANT no. 311 (Lit.); EMML nos. 14, 15; Franz Praetorius (ed., tr.), *Mazḥafa Tomâr*: *Das Aethiopische Briefbuch*, Leipzig 1869; ZotBNat 125, no. 111; 126, no. 112.

Lit.: GrafLit I, 295ff.; GuiSLett 73; Hippolyte Delehaye, "Note sur la légende de la lettre du Christ tombée du ciel", *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Académie Royale de Belgique* 36, 1899, 171–213 [= Id., *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine*, Bruxelles 1966 (Subsidia hagiographica 42), 150–78]; E. Renoir, "Christ (Lettre du) tombée du ciel", in: Fernand Cabrol (ed.), *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* vol. 3:2, Paris 1914, coll. 1534–546; Nigel F. Palmer, "Himmelsbrief", in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 15, Berlin 1986, 344–46; Michel van Esbroeck, "La Lettre sur le Dimanche, descendue du ciel", *ABoll* 107, 1989, 267–84.

Witold Witakowski

Ṭomarä təsbəᵓət

The Ṭ.t. (**ጦማረ፡ ትስብእት**, 'Epistle of Humanity') is a work of ↗Gəᶜəz literature. Being probably the first of several works of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and his 'clergy of the Tabernacle' (*kahnatä däbtära*, i.e. the clergy of the royal church in the Emperor's ↗*kätäma*), it is a collection of three homilies designed to be read on the feast days of the ↗Apostles and ↗Evangelists, with each homily assigned to several of them. Each shares the same introduction that deals with the importance of honouring the ↗saints and martyrs by observing their feast days as ordered by the Apostles in their ↗*Senodos*.

The Ṭ.t. was composed with the purpose of eradicating the superstitious practices (↗Magic) that Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's (Christian) subjects had taken up (cf. Getatchew Haile 1991:113 [text]: "And the subject of its words is about the worship of God with a heart pure from the filth of the idol of this world, which is the magician").

Until the discovery of the text of Ṭ.t. in ms. EMML 1480, the existence of this work was only known from references to it in other texts. Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*milad* (Wendt 1963:95f. [text]) mentions both Ṭ.t. and the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*bərhan*, indicating thus that the former had been authored first. The Chronicle of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (PerrZarY 75) lists the Ṭ.t. before the other works, another possible indication that the Ṭ.t. was composed first. Finally, the Ṭ.t. is a narrative of the reprisal the Emperor took against those who opposed his ascension to the throne, and according to the colophon, its composition began immediately upon his coronation (on 26 *Säne* [of 1426 A.M./ 1434 A.D.]; Getatchew Haile 1991:113 [text]). The text does not explain the choice of the title.

In the Ṭ.t., Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob identifies four groups of sorcerers whom he was determined to eradicate: "magicians" (**ጠንቋልያን**, *ṭänqʷalyan*), "soothsayers" (**ማርያን**, *maryan*), and "demons" *dino* (**ዲኖ**) and ↗*däsk* (**ደስክ**). It seems that the *ṭänqʷalyan* and *maryan* were a country-wide phenomenon while the *dino* and the *däsk* were regional. The other regional soothsayers mentioned in the *Mäṣḥafä milad* and the *Mäṣḥafä bərhan*, such as **ፈጸንት**, *fäṣänt*; **ጕዳሌ**; *gʷədale*, **መቃውዜ**, *mäqawze*; and **ጽጕዕ**, *ṣəgʷᶜ*, are not mentioned in the Ṭ.t. The Emperor must have discovered these four as he learned more about divination practices in different regions of his empire (cf. Strelcyn 1972:43–55).

The homilies draw heavily on the condemnation of sorcerers, diviners and soothsayers by the Apostles found in the *Senodos* and the ↗*Didəsqəlya*. Many Biblical stories of plotters and diviners whose lives ended tragically as a punishment for the deadly sin of sorcery are retold. Intending to inspire the faithful with fear, the Emperor quotes repeatedly the Apostles' words in the *Senodos* where they equate the magician with a Jew (↗*Ayhud*). Gal 4:8–10 is frequently repeated. Each major part is concluded with the formula "Glory to God who created us to worship him".

In the introductory section shared by all three homilies, Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob defends his promotion of the *Miracles of Mary* (↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam*), an effort that was objected to vigorously by the ↗Zämikaᵓelites Gämalyal and Zämikaᵓel. Defending his position, Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob turns to Rev 11:19–12:1 (Getatchew Haile 1991:4f. [text]).

Whilst written to fight superstitious practices, the Ṭ.t. can also be viewed as Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's justification for dealing ruthlessly with people whom he accused of plotting to destroy him through the power of magicians, soothsayers and diviners. A similar report on the destruction of plotting diviners is found in the *Mäṣḥafä bərhan* (CRRicBerhan II, 20f. [text]), but there it is sketchy as it should be seen as a continuation of the story recorded in the Ṭ.t. The list of the plotters includes many of the Emperor's relatives and high ranking officials, including his wife, sister, and in-laws, all of whom are accused of attempting to stop Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob from ascending the throne. The Emperor justified the punishment he meted out to them by describing it as the wrath of God visited upon them for their violation of their oath of loyalty to him (Getatchew Haile 1991: 66–79 [text]).

Concluding, Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob recalls a huge manuscript of magic texts found in his palace and destroyed, which had been copied under *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq, and once again calls upon his subjects to renounce the wide-spread practice of "magical names" (↗*Asmat*; Getatchew Haile 1991: 91 [text]).

Src.: CRRicBerhan II, 20f. (text) = 11f. (tr.); EMML IV, 600f., no. 1480; Getatchew Haile (ed., tr.), *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob* (*Ṭomarä Təsbəᵓt*), Louvain 1991 (CSCO 522, 523 [SAe 95, 96]); PerrZarY 75; Stefan Strelcyn, "Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts of the Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine in London", *BSOAS* 35, 1, 1972, 27–55; Kurt Wendt (ed., tr.), *Das Maṣḥafa Milād* (*Liber Nativitatis*) *und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē* (*Liber Trinitatis*) *des Kaisers Zarᵓa Yāᶜqob II*, Louvain 1963 (CSCO 235, 236 [SAe 43, 44]), here 95f. (text) = 84 (tr.).

Lit.: Getatchew Haile, "A Preliminary investigation of the *Ṭomarä Tesbe't* of Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob of Ethiopia", *BSOAS* 43, 2, 1980, 207–34; Steven Kaplan, "Magic and Religion in Christian Ethiopia: Some Preliminary Remarks", in: *StudAeth* 413–20, here 416.

Getatchew Haile

Ṭona

Ṭ. (ca. 1870–1909) was the last king (*kawo*) of the ↗Wälaytta kingdom, deposed in 1894 after the devastation and conquest of his country by Ethiopian imperial forces under *aṣe* Mənilək II. He was the son of Gaga and grandson of the great 19th-cent. King Gobe, whose dynasty was called "Təgre". Ṭ.'ṣ mother was *wäyzäro* Wärqe (or Madalče), the daughter of a famous ↗Arsi chief. His first wife was the daughter of the king of ↗Dawro. Ṭ. had become king in early 1889, after his father Gaga was rejected as unfit to rule and when the Wälaytta people and the advisory council of King Gobe had preferred him, despite his youth, above Gaga's twin brother Haddáro.

Ṭ., who was a man of large physical stature and who had a good record as ruler of one of Wälaytta's sub-districts, ruled for five years before his defeat, and his short reign was marked by implacable opposition to the encroaching imperial forces. Several campaigns by Mənilək's forces against Wälaytta had been defeated in the years before 1894. Ṭ.'s decision to wage armed resistance instead of submitting peacefully to overwhelming force was supported by many, but also criticized within Wälaytta before the final defeat, and several oral traditions persist in asserting that several of the Wälaytta noble class betrayed Ṭ. revealing the weak points in the kingdom's defences to Mənilək (cp. Bureau 1990: 75).

Under Ṭ., Wälaytta remained a centralized, hierarchical kingdom, and Ṭ. formally remained a "divine" king (↗Kingship, divine), but his authoritarian rule was often resented by the peasants and by members of certain rival elite clans. In oral traditions, Ṭ.'s impetuous and stubborn character is repeatedly mentioned. Despite this, the people largely supported the King when he decided to fight the imperial army, especially when they saw that its soldiers, and, in their wake, members of neighbouring peoples, came to loot and destroy the rich Wälaytta countryside. The important queen-mother *wäyzäro* Digitti, second wife and widow of King Gobe, also came to support Ṭ.'s policy, although, before the war, she had pleaded for negotiations with Mənilək.

After the 1894 defeat, which brought devastation and deep impoverishment to the country, Ṭ., in a conversation with *aṣe* Mənilək, admitted his mistake in resisting to the end (Chiatti 1984: 336f.). He was initially allowed to remain as governor but with his now insignificant "court" in Humbo, not Dälbo, and given a Šäwa Amhara wife by Mənilək in Addis Abäba. However, when it was rumoured that he was stirring up trouble among the neighbouring Gamo people (Wanna Wagäšo 2001: 79), he was replaced in 1902 and interned in Addis Abäba, where he died in 1909. His son Fəśśəha (Orobe) became governor. After World War II, his grandson *fitawrari* Dästa Fəśśəha was an administrator of ↗"Wälamo" *awrağğa*.

The memory of Ṭ. among contemporary Wälaytta people is still strong, as evidenced by several families from among the former ruling elites having a photo portrait of Ṭ. on their living room wall, and especially by the evocation in cultural manifestations and songs of Ṭ. as an important historical figure and a kind of "proto-nationalist". Among many Wälaytta people, he is seen as the epitome of past Wälaytta glory and independence, held up in contrast to the dismal state of the country today.

Src.: Jon Abbink, *Fieldnotes on Wälaytta*, 2002–2007 (ms.); Eike Haberland, [no title] "Fieldnotes on Wälaytta", 1955, 1967, 1970 (ms.).

Lit.: Jacques Bureau, "Un fragment de l'Histoire du Peuple Wollaita d'Afework Gebre-Sellassie", *AE* 15, 1990, 47–81; Wanna Wagäšo, የወላይታ፡ ህዝብ፡ ታሪክ (*Yäwälaytta həzb tarik*, 'The History of the Wälaytta People'), Addis Abäba ^{2}2001, 78f.; Remo Chiatti, *The Politics of Divine Kingship in Wolaita* (*Ethiopia*), *19th and 20th centuries*, Philadelphia 1984; Eike Haberland, "Zum Geschichtsbewusstsein der Wolayta (Süd-Äthiopien)", in: Peter Snoy (ed.), *Ethnologie und Geschichte,* Wiesbaden 1983, 212–20.

Jon G. Abbink

Topography, historical s. EAE vol. 5

Tourism

People have travelled to the ↗Horn of Africa from the earliest times, attracted by its cultural heritage, its geography and to learn from its history and peoples. In the 19th cent., with the rise of ↗expeditions, a great number of foreigners, principally Europeans, visited the region. The accounts that some of these travellers wrote (cp. Henry ↗Salt, William Cornwallis ↗Harris, Arnauld d'↗Abbadie, Eduard ↗Rüppell) contributed to encouraging interest in the Horn of Africa and acting as an incentive to further expeditions and private visits. The first T. infrastructure of the country was the hotel named after ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul built in the early 20th cent. (↗Hotels).

During the Colonia ↗Eritrea and especially in the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana the Italians promoted a form of T. (cf. Sbacchi 1980: 321ff.). As in Lybia (cp. McLaren 2006: 43ff.), the Italians focused on the enhancement of T. resources (↗roads) to bring a metropolitan level of comfort to the colonial context. An important role in promoting T. was played by colonial media, such as the *Annali dell'Africa orientale italiana* and the *Guida dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*; the latter, issued in 1938 by the Touring Club Italiano (then known as the "Consociazione Turistica Italiana"), reached a first edition of 490,000 (cf. Guida).

T. proper developed after the liberation under Ḫaylä Śəllase I. In the 1960s, T. was recognized as a key economic growth factor and it was then that Habtä Śəllase Taffäsä, head of T. in the Prime Minister's Office, coined the slogan "Ethiopia: Land of 13 Months of Sunshine". In 1964, the Ethiopian Tourist Organization (ETO) was established by Order No. 36/1964, as an autonomous public organization, to promote the industry and to undertake tourist activities. It was later granted the privilege of engaging in duty-free business as a source of income in support of its functions. The proceeds from duty-free sales was invested in setting up a car hire and tour service, which later became the National Tours and Travel Agency, with a design and advertising section, as well as a workshop for the production of handicraft articles, the latter aiming to conserve and promote the country's culture. Moreover, the ETO designed and executed many Ethiopian pavilions for international and local exhibitions, including the Kyoto and Montreal fairs.

Besides supporting the ETO's main activities, the duty-free business itself became a major tourist attraction that contributed to an increase in the number of visitors. ETO was responsible for the formation of the Hotels Association and for the opening of the Catering and Tourism Training Institute (CTTI) in 1969 to provide teaching in basic skills to the personnel needed by the sector. During this early phase of developing the T. industry, ↗Ethiopian Airlines became an important asset by helping reach distant locations from the capital. In the 1960s, tourist arrivals grew at the rate of 12 % a year.

In 1971, the Ethiopian Tourism and Hotels Investment Corporation (ETHIC), a government owned financial intermediary, was set up to provide loans and credit to the private sector engaged in the hotel business. The ETHIC built four ↗hotels in the northern historic/cultural circuit and also served as one of the government institutions that worked with foreign consultants engaged in T. development studies: the Italian Firm IANUS 1965; the American, Arthur D. Little in 1966; and the World Bank, among others.

Following the ↗revolution of 1974 T. was at its nadir for nearly two decades. The industry suffered from the closed-door policy of the military regime, the prolonged civil war and recurrent drought. As of 1974, private hotels, tour operators and travel agencies were nationalized and merged together with the ETO and ETHIC into one department in the Ministry of National Resources Development. Under proclamation No. 182/1980, the Tourism and Hotels Commission was created in order to develop and promote T. by building and expanding hotels and recreational facilities, tour operation activities, and to train manpower for the industry. The National Hotels and the Ethiopian Tourist Trading Enterprise later became corporations and brought under the umbrella of the commission together with the National Tour Operation and Travel Agency and the CTTI. In 1989, the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) declared a new economic policy, allowing the private sector to build hotels of limited capacity.

Following the overthrow of the *Därg* in 1991, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front-led Transitional Government declared a market orientated policy. The new policy ended the National Tourist Operation's (NTO) monopoly on tour operations, though the business is still reserved by law for Ethiopians only. It also gave rise to the mushrooming of private owned hotels, travel and tour operation companies, and the privatization of certain hotels that had been under government control. The National Hotels Corporation was dissolved, and those institutions still under government control as well as the NTO and ETTC (Ethiopian Tourist Trading Corporation, now Ethiopian Tourist Trading Enterprise) were transformed into government enterprises, each with a management board to direct its operation. The ETTC was also stripped of its monopoly position and private individuals were allowed to enter the duty-free business.

The Ethiopian Tourism Commission thus became the federal agency responsible for the development of the T. sector. Regional cultural and T. bureaus (departments) have been set up in every regional state since 1992, in accordance with the new federal structure of the country. In 2004, the universities of ↗Gondär and ↗Awasa started degree programs in T. management and hotel management, respectively. Private schools and colleges also began providing low level training in T. in the capital and other urban centres.

In 1997, the CTTI, which is currently administered by the Ministry of Culture and T. (MOCT), acquired the Gännät Hotel for use as a model hotel and the training of T. personnel. The government also allocated funds to the CTTI to enable it to expand its teaching facilities and modernize the hotel. Recently, the government created a MOCT upgrading its T. portfolio and has become the supervising body of the Ethiopian Wildlife and Conservation Authority by Proclamation No. 575/2008.

As part of a strategy for the sustainable development of T. (seen as a means of contributing to economic growth and poverty reduction), the MOCT has begun a pilot project, with technical and financial assistance from the World Tourism Organization, to implement community-based T. in ↗Konso and ↗Arba Mənč̣. The MOCT will also be launching a major project: the Ethiopian Sustainable Tourism Development Project with the assistance of the World Bank.

Recently, T. has grown considerably. International tourist arrivals in Ethiopia in 2008 were 383,400 as compared to 115,000 in 1997. However, in a global perspective, T. remains largely underdeveloped and international arrivals in 2005 represented 1,3 % of the total arrivals in Sub-Saharan Africa (17.6 million). T. in Ethiopia focuses on its historical, natural and cultural heritage. The most popular historical sites are ↗Aksum, ↗Lalibäla, Gondär and ↗Harär. Natural attractions include the national ↗parks and game reserves, the ↗Ṭisəsat Falls and lakes such as ↗Ṭana, ↗Abbayya, ↗Abyata, ↗Z^{w}ay and ↗Langano. Visiting peoples of the ↗Omo region is an important part of the cultural T. offer.

↗Museums

Lit.: *Guida*; Ayalew Sisay, *Historical Development of Travel and Tourism in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998; Krishna Ahooja, *Development and Legislation in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1966 (= EthObs 10, 4), 284; Brian L. McLaren, *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya: An Ambivalent Modernism*, Seattle, WA 2006, 43ff.; Alberto Sbacchi, *Il colonialismo italiano in Etiopia (1935–1940)*, Milano 1980, 321ff.

Habte Selassie Tafesse

Tourism in Eritrea

T. in Eritrea grew in the 1990s. International tourist arrivals in the year 1991 were 12,567 and 416,596 in 1996. However, with the Ethiopian-Eritrean war (1998–2000) T. suffered a decline (56,699 international visitors in 1999). The sector has recently improved and in 2006 the international arrivals were 78,000. The main T. attractions include historical sites such as ↗Däbrä Bizän and ↗Massawa as well as natural sites and the Danākil Depression (↗^{c}Afar).

Lit.: Mussie Ziena Gebreyohanns, *The State of Tourism in Eritrea: Tourism Development in the Dahlak Islands*, M.A. thesis, University of Pretoria 2006 (Lit.).

Red.

Tovmacean, Yohannes ↗Armenians

Trade

Trade in antiquity

The earliest evidence of commercial activity in the Ethio–Eritrean region, on the T. routes to and from ↗India, is found in ancient records from ↗Egypt about Pharaonic sailing expeditions to the Land of ↗Punt, an elusive site either along today's Somali or, more probably, northern Sudanese and Eritrean coast. Those expeditions reached their apogee with Queen Hatshepsut, ca. 1495 B.C. (Breasted 1952: 274–78): in exchange for Egyptian axes, daggers, bracelets, and beads, they involved the supply of local myrrh, ↗ivory, ↗leopard skins, monkeys, dogs and slaves (↗Slavery), but also of cinnamon – brought to Punt from India and Ceylon. Likewise, in old Indian texts, pearls and corals are mentioned with reference to the ↗Red Sea.

This was indeed part of the broader traffic framework between the Mediterranean and the

Indian Ocean, ruled by the monsoon (or "trade-winds"), that soon developed around ↗Adulis, a port and an emporium known since Biblical times, and annexed by Aksum only at a much later date (De Romanis 1996:152–56, 159–62) – in the exclusive terms of Red Sea T. monopoly (Fiaccadori 2004:108, 112, 118ff., 126, 137f.). The ascendancy of Adulis was then favoured by the decline of ↗Meroë and the Roman presence in the Red Sea.

Towards the middle of the 1st-cent. A.D., Aksumite foreign exchanges, as well as the already minimal involvement of Meroë on the coast of the Red Sea, are documented in the ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (§§4–5): T. was largely based on the inland "metropolis" of Aksum, the huge "port of trade" of Adulis, still independent under King ↗Zoskales, and the town of ↗Qoḥayto, on the route between them. Exports consisted mainly of ↗ivory, rhinoceros ↗horn, ↗hippopotamus hides, tortoise-shell, ↗obsidian, ↗gold and slaves. Imports included cloth and garments; brass, copper and ↗iron; and manufactured goods: axes, adzes, ↗spears, ↗swords, ↗jewellery (with bracelets and anklets), drinking-cups, and glassware (MHAksum 172–76; cp. DAE no. 10 = RIÉ no. 188).

By the 3rd/4th cent., Adulis was fully integrated into the Aksumite organization of "administered trade", thereby offering security and protection, facilities for anchorage and storage for foreign partners. The extent of the relevant exchanges once Aksum had definitively taken over Meroe's role in the Red Sea area, assuming control of the ivory T. between the Nile and the Red Sea, is confirmed by the findings of Aksumite ↗coinage in such distant countries as South ↗Arabia, Palestine, and ↗India (MHAksum 184). Likewise, the Indian (Kuṣāṇa) and Arab (Umayyad and Abbasid) coins, as well as, perhaps, the Islamic textiles (Abbasid, Ṭūlūnid and Iḫšīdid), found at ↗Däbrä Damo might well suggest commercial ties with the Middle and Far East throughout the centuries.

Against a background marked by the long standing military and commercial antagonism between Romans and Persians, the Aksumites acted as middlemen to the former, of whom they were important allies in T. both from the Gulf of Aden and from India and beyond, while the Arabs did the same for the latter. The Aksumite adoption of ↗Christianity – already spread among the foreign ↗traders based in Adulis – was indeed the result of a political and commercial alliance continuing well into the Constantinian era and beyond.

Aksum's inner T. activity has left scant record, but clearly attained some sophistication, as evident from the minting of low denomination copper coins, unlikely to have been used in external transactions. At the onset of the events in ↗Nağrān (ca. 520), ultimately triggered by the rivalry between Rome and Persia, ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes reports on the "silent T." (already known to ↗Pliny for India) as it was practised on the way between Aksum and the gold-producing country of "Sasou" (in Wälläga?), "next to the Ocean" *(Top. Christ.* II, 51ff.; cp. Fiaccadori 1992:48 and n. 16, 76f.). Every other year, the king of Aksum organized a six months expedition to the benefit of foreign traders, who were allowed to go there bringing along oxen and pieces of iron and salt. On reaching their destination they established a camp, and surrounded it with a hedge, on which they placed pieces of meat, ↗salt, and iron; after that, they withdrew. Local people then approached, and placed gold nuggets beside the piece of meat, salt or iron they wanted, and then withdrew in turn. The merchants, leaving the latter items behind, collected the gold or, if unhappy with the proposed exchange, offered more meat, salt and iron, or else removed what they had left. All this was carried out with no exchange of words, given the mutual ignorance of one another's languages.

Yet, already in the second half of the 6th cent., T. was declining in the Red Sea, esp. on its African side with Adulis, owing first to the Persian conquest of Yemen in ca. 570, which destroyed Aksum's external power. A few decades later, the Muslim conquests in 636–42, by causing the eclipse of the Roman prosperity and power, as well as the demise of the Sassanian empire, put an end to the old political and commercial system of the "Erythraean Sea". T. was then largely diverted to the Asian side, i.e. to the Persian Gulf and the overland routes of Arabia; not until the 9th cent. did it revive in the western Indian Ocean to a recognizable degree, yet with quite a different orientation, focusing on new harbours towards the Abbasid capital of Baghdad.

Especially under the ↗Fāṭimids, in the 10th cent., Islamic maritime T. quickly extended into the Red Sea and Egypt, but the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia had already retreated inland and southwards (to Amhara and Šäwa), and was in fact unable reassume its old role.

Lit.: JAMES HENRY BREASTED, *A History of Egypt,* London 1952, 274–78; CecZeila; CerEt; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 48 and n. 16, 76f. (Lit.); ID., "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (DAE IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 105–57, here 108, 112, 118ff., 126, 137f.; MHAksum 172–76, 184; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, "The Foreign Trade of the Aksumite Port of Adulis", *Azania* 17, 1982, 107–25; FEDERICO DE ROMANIS, *Cassia, cinnamomo, ossidiana. Uomini e merci tra oceano Indiano e Mediterraneo*, Roma 1996 (Saggi di st. antica 9); JOHN EDWARD GILES SUTTON, *Early Trade in Eastern Africa*, Nairobi 1973 (Historical Association of Tanzania, Papers 11); ID., "Aksum, the Erythrean Sea, and the World of Late Antiquity: a Foreword", in: STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, *Excavations at Aksum: an Account of Research at the Ancient Ethiopian Capital Directed in 1972–74 by the late Dr. N. Chittick*, Contributors: A. Kaczmarczyk & al., vol. ed.: DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, London 1989 (The British Institute in East Africa, Memoirs 10), 1–6.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Trade in the middle and early modern ages

Ethiopian T. in the Middle Ages was very largely based on barter (e.g., a dozen eggs or a pinch of pepper exchanged for a handful of grain) and "primitive money", i.e. intermediary commodities serving as an universal exchange equivalent (McCrindle 1929: 52ff.): most commonly, bars of iron or of rock salt (↗*Amole*). Gold, usually weighed by the *wäqet*, or ounce (↗"Measurement", s. EAE vol. 5), and gold and silver coins imported from abroad were also used at several of the most important markets (CrawItin 173).

T. was, however, limited, by geographical difficulties of transport, and other factors. The ↗peasantry, who constituted the most numerous section of the population, lived a subsistence, or self-sufficient, life. Making little use of articles produced by others, they had only minimal need for commodity exchange. Most rulers and much of the nobility on the other hand relied for their consumption on ↗tribute or ↗taxation rather than on T. A certain amount of commerce was, however, carried out by other groups, among them priests, monks, nuns, and ↗handicraft workers, as well as a small number of itinerant or other traders. At least starting from the establishment of the ↗Dahlak sultanate, Muslim traders (↗Ǧäbärti) assured the T. between the Red Sea and the Ethiopian interior (s. also sub-article on traders).

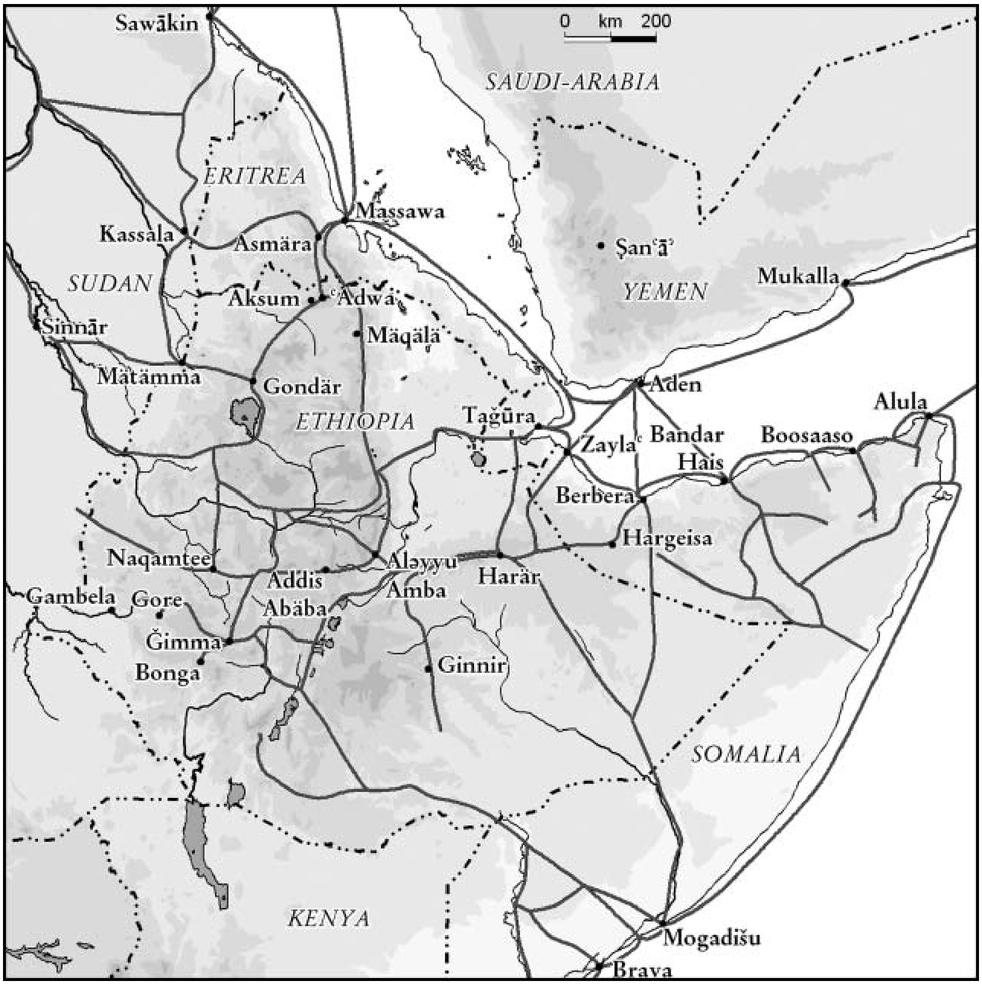
T. was likewise greatly influenced by geographical factors – notably variations in altitude, and hence climate, which caused certain areas to specialize in different types of economic activity, e.g., ↗agriculture in the highlands and pasturage in the lowlands, and myrrh and incense in certain arid areas. Rock salt was similarly available only in the ᶜAfar salt plain. The peasantry was likewise dependant on T. for certain items of commerce which they could not produce, among them plough-shares and spear-heads, pottery, and cotton clothing. These could be obtained only on purchase from specialized craftsmen.

T. in this period, as well as much later, was based virtually entirely on markets, shops of any kind being entirely unknown. Most markets were living on barter, and petty T., in local agricultural produce or livestock, e.g., grain, pepper, chickens, sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules, horses, etc. Such markets, where T. was subject to taxation, were generally held on a weekly basis, on the same day each week, by which they were often named. This enabled itinerant traders to visit several markets weekly. Vendors and purchasers, however, generally lived no further than a day's journey away from their local market.

In addition to such highly localized markets, there were a number of larger fairs, based to a greater or lesser extent on imports or exports. Such markets, which operated more or less on a wholesale basis, provided a lucrative source of taxation for the monarch or his provincial governors. Items of T. at such markets included imported cotton and luxury goods, as well as such exports as slaves, ivory, gold, and civet musk (↗Zibeth). T. at these markets was often heavily dependant on itinerant traders, in many instances Arabs or other Muslims, also ↗Armenian and ↗Greek Christians.

Many long-distance traders, largely Muslims (TadTChurch 41, 81–89), travelled in commercial caravans comprising camels and/or other pack animals. Gathered together such merchants were better able to resist attacks by robbers, or exaction from customs officials. Alvares offers a vivid picture of Ethiopian T. before ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's time: market T. consisted of "bartering one thing for another" (BeckHuntAlvar 125, 469); and some of the larger caravans consisted of a thousand people or more (ibid. 193). The richest markets, such as that of Wiz, reportedly effected business solely in gold (Stenhouse 2003: 176).

Many caravans carried *amole* for the purpose of T. as well as consumption. Like other commodities, merchants transporting it were obliged to surrender some of it, by way of taxation at ↗*kella,* or customs posts, located all over the country. Such dues constituted a major source of imperial revenue, but ended by weighing heavily on merchants, and often resulted in disputes that hampered commerce.


Sawākin
0 km 200
SAUDI-ARABIA
ERITREA
Massawa
Kassala
Asmära
SUDAN
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YEMEN
Mukalla
Mätämma
Gondär
ETHIOPIA
Aden
Tağūra
Alula
Zaylaᶜ
Bandar Hais
Boosaaso
Berbera
Hargeisa
Naqamtee
Aləyyu Amba
Harär
Addis Abäba
Gambela
Gore
Ğimma
Bonga
Ginnir
SOMALIA
KENYA
Mogadišu
Brava

Ethiopia, by the 14th cent., was spanned by a network of discernable T. routes which linked the country with the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden ports of Africa, and provided the ground for its business, which consisted then mainly of the export of gold, slaves, and some agricultural products; and the import of cloth, clothes, pepper, ↗spices, and sundry manufactured goods. One cluster of routes ran from the country's central highlands: ↗Təgray, Lasta, ↗Goğğam and ↗Šäwa to the northern ports of ↗Massawa, and ↗Sawākin. Another group of routes led from the south-westerly provinces of ↗Damot, ↗Däwaro, ↗Hadiyya, and ↗Bale, via the lowlands of either ↗Ifat or ↗ᶜAdal, to the easterly port of ↗Zaylaᶜ (CrawItin 231).

Several of the above T. routes passed by way of political or religious centres, such as ↗Aksum, ↗Lalibäla, and ↗Berbera; and contributed significantly to their wealth. Control of T. routes, and of the revenues resulting therefrom, was likewise of major importance to the country's rulers. Many of them took a keen interest in the country's import-export T. They were particularly interested in luxury imports, and in the acquisition, after the 14th cent. development of gun-powder, of ↗fire-arms. Conflicts between the Christian monarchs and the Muslim rulers to the east arose in many cases from the struggles, as in the time of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, to control the lucrative T. routes to the coast.

Ethiopia's principal exports in this period were destined mainly for Egypt, Arabia and India. Limited quantities of commodities (e.g., cereals, fruits) were likewise dispatched to coastal towns on both sides of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden.

Imports throughout this time were mainly of textiles, including costly silks, and other luxury goods, among them beautifully coloured vestments, umbrellas and ornamental carpets destined for the nobility and higher priesthood.

T. was then dependent on the ports of ↗Massawa, ↗Zayla^c and ↗Berbera; and on a lesser western route to ↗Sudan. This pattern was to change in the 17th cent., as a result of the establishment of the country's capital at ↗Gondär, in the north-west of the country – a location that increased the importance of T. routes to Massawa and the Sudan, and reduced those to Zayla^c and Berbera. Gondär had a sizable and affluent population of Muslim merchants.

Trade since the 19th century

The above picture holds good for early 19th-cent. T., which is well described by foreign travellers. They provide detailed information on markets and market prices, caravans, T. routes, and import-export figures (PankEcon 346–503).

Technical and other developments, which began to be felt in Ethiopia in the last quarter of the 19th cent., led to a major transformation in T. The invention of the steamboat and telegraph (↗Telecommunications), and the introduction into the region of the ↗Maria Theresa thaler, subsequently followed by the advent of the aeroplane and the radio, were international events, but other developments were Ethiopia-specific. These included Mənilək II's occupation of ↗Harär, which facilitated commercial contact with Aden (↗Yemen) and ↗India; the founding of ↗Addis Abäba, which became the country's mercantile centre; the establishment of the Addis Abäba-Djibouti ↗railway, which accelerated economic activity, and increased the size of transportable articles, and volume of foreign T.; the opening of the ↗Gambela-based river shipping service, which expanded T. with Sudan and Egypt; the installation within Ethiopia of the telegraph and telephone, which led to rapid diffusion of commercial information; the founding of the Bank of Abyssinia (↗Banking system), and the introduction of a national currency, including paper money and postal orders, the grant by Mənilək and his successors of commercial and other concessions; the coming first to Harär and ↗Dərre Dawa, and later to Addis Abäba, and many parts of the country (including the far west) of many foreign merchants, mainly ↗Indians, ↗Armenians and Europeans (mostly French and ↗Greeks); the establishment of the Addis Abäba Municipality, and the granting of land tenure favourable to merchants; the abolition of the *kella* system; the introduction of modern schools, leading to the creation of an indigenous "middle class"; the establishment of the neighbouring European colonies; and the conclusion of the ↗Klobukowski treaty with ↗France which granted special rights to French, and by extension to other foreign nationals.

The subsequent Italian Fascist occupation witnessed an expansion of the ↗road network, led to the expulsion of Indian traders, the replacment of silver thalers by unpopular Italian paper money, and the establishment of state trading corporations (Haile Mariam Larebo 1994:248, index).

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 125, 193, 469; BeckHuntAlm; CecZeila; CerEt; CrawItin 191, 231 and maps; DAE no. 10 = RIÉ no. 188; John W. McCrindle, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas,* London 1929, 52ff.; Paul Lester Stenhouse (ed., tr.), *Futuh al-Habaša, The Conquest of Abyssinia* (*16th Century*), Hollywood, CA 2003, 176.

Lit.: Haile Mariam Larebo, *The Building of an Empire,* London 1994; James Henry Breasted, *A History of Egypt,* London 1952; PankEcon, passim; Richard Pankhurst, "Commercial Developments during the Fascist Occupation", *EthObs* 14, 1, 1971, 47–67; PankIntro 16–24, 36–44, 307–88; TadTChurch 80–91.

Richard Pankhurst

Traders

In pre-modern times, especially in the northern highlands where Christians formed the majority of the population, the occupation of traders (Amh. ነጋዴ, *näggade*) was regarded with contempt and was mostly associated with Muslims, who formed the majority of merchants dealing in long-distance T. Commercial centres tended to be set up near political centres. For example, ↗Aləyyu Amba, located near such centres as ↗Ankobär and ↗Angoläla, was to three quarters populated by Muslims (Johnston 1844:95). Most of the traders attracted to Baso, the commercial centre of ↗Goǧǧam in the 19th cent., were Muslims as well (Abdussamad Ahmad 1989:2). However, there were a handful of wealthy Christian traders in the 19th cent. (PankSoc 207), and some foreign traders from Europe, ↗Sudan, ↗India, Armenia (↗Armenians), Greece (↗Greeks) and ↗Arabia, most of them agents of trading companies stationed abroad (PankEcon 398, 410, 448ff.).

In the 19th cent., when the long-distance T. connecting the ↗Red Sea ports to south-western Ethiopia thrived, Muslim traders migrated from the northern highlands to commercial centres in south-western Ethiopia and played an instrumental role in the spread of ↗Islam. The

Local market in Gondär; photo 2000, courtesy of Jürgen Beil

Oromo kings (↗*Mootii*) benefited from their presence, and Muslim traders were assigned quarters to set up residence near marketplaces, e.g., Mandera near ↗Hirmaata in ↗Ǧimma (Borelli 1890:288; Lewis 1968:94; Soleillet 1886:179).

Traders were organized in caravans carrying their merchandise on camels, mules, donkeys or horses. On the way, they risked losing their merchandise as well as their own lives due to assaults of bandits, and therefore often sought protection from local political leaders along the route, occasionally in exchange for some rare ↗gifts in addition to taxes. Rich caravans were also well-armed and traders needed to feed their troops well and pay regular wages in addition (PankSoc 207; Plowden 1868:126).

Muslim traders from Ethiopia became known in Arab countries as ↗Ǧäbärti (Mittwoch in EI^1, 985; HusIslam 60). The term gradually was applied to the whole Muslim population of Ethiopian highlands (cp. TrIslam 150). It could, however, be more frequently encountered in contexts limited to foreign relations (as, e.g., in AbSea 11, 12, 25, 32, 201) or also exclusively T.: e.g., Mohammed Hassen uses the term Ǧäbärti to refer to Muslim traders from Gondär, Goǧǧam, Wällo, Šäwa and Harär, who engaged in long-distance trade dealing with large-scale merchandise (MHasOr 98).

Besides long-distance traders, there were also local traders, specializing in small-scale trade. Local traders brought their merchandise to local weekly-held markets, meeting places where local peasants exchanged their produce. Merchandise sold or exchanged in these local markets were agricultural and dairy products, various types of livestock, and locally manufactured goods such as pottery, leather crafts, and metal goods made by blacksmiths.

Reference to local traders is quite rare. Oromo traders known as ↗Afkala figure in reports of Antoine d'Abbadie, who calls them "afcala" or "aftãla" and defines them as Oromo merchants originally from Lofe Leeqaa (d'Abbadie 1840:383–86, 569; cp. AbPrince 85). They emerged as a class in the Gibe region in the 19th cent. (MHasOr 88f.).

In the Gibe region there is also a group of people called Naggadee, who claim to be descendants of Muslim traders who had adopted the Oromo language and culture. Their ancestors most probably originated from the northern highlands, as expressed in the subgroup names of the Naggadee, e.g., Infraaze (from ↗Ǝnfraz), Dariita, and "Tǝgre" (Minako Ishihara in PICES 15, 126).

In ↗Käfa, the descendants of Muslim migrant traders are called Naggado, and the subgroup names are similar to those in the Gibe Oromo regions (Ifraaǧo, Nasiro, Tǝgero, etc.). The Naggadee of the Gibe Oromo region and the Naggado of Käfa are also well-known for their exclusive knowledge of civet-cat (↗Zibeth) farming (Minako Ishihara 2003).

Modernization improved the means of transportation and created opportunities for both Christians and Muslims to join in the occupation of T. Nonetheless, there are certain nationalities such as the ↗Gurage, ↗Harari and ↗Somali, well-known for their trading activities. Some merchandise such as ↗*č̣at* and civet are still monopolized by Muslim traders, who have their own network and knowledge in handling them.

Src.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, N.A.F. (Nouvelle Acqusition Française) 21300, Paris 1840, 383–86, 569; N.A.F. 21303, Paris 1840, 360; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale*, Paris 1890, 288; CHARLES JOHNSTON, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia through the Country of Adal to the Kingdom of Shoa*, London 1844, 95; HERBERT S. LEWIS, *A Galla Monarchy*, Madison, WI 1968, 94; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country*, London 1868, 126; PAUL SOLEILLET, *Voyages en Éthiopie*, Rouen 1886, 179.

Lit.: Abdussamad H. Ahmad, “Baso: a Commercial Entrepot of Gojjam 1841–1889”, in: *Proceedings of the 4th Seminar of the Department of History*, Addis Ababa 1989, 1–9; AbPrince 85; AbSea 11f., 25, 32, 201; HusIslam; Minako Ishihara, “The Religious Roles of the Naggadie in the Historical Gibe Oromo Kingdoms”, in: *PICES* 15, 119–27; Ead., “The Cultural Logic of Civiculture in Ethiopia”, *Nilo-Ethiopian Studies* 8–9, 2003, 35–60; Eugen Mittwoch, “Djabart”, in: *EI*^{1}, vol. 2, 985; MHasOr 88f., 98; PankEcon 346–459; PankSoc 207; TrIslam 150.

Minako Ishihara

Traditio apostolica

T.A. (‘Apostolic Tradition’, Gr. ʼΑποστολικὴ παρα΄δοσις) is the most important canonico-liturgical ancient Christian writing. Once quoted as the “Egyptian Church Order” and later attributed to ↗Hippolytus of Rome – on the basis of the problematic title [Π]ΕΡΙ ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ [ΑΠ]ΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΗ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΣ, ‘On the Charisms Apostolic Tradition’, inscribed on a statue discovered in Rome in 1553 and wrongly interpreted as representing the Christian writer Hippolytus, – the T.A. was composed around the first half of the 3rd cent. Almost completely lost in its original Greek, the T.A. has only survived embodied in a palimpsest fragmentary Latin and several Oriental canonico-liturgical collections (Sahidic and Bohairic Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic), as well as in reworkings in later works and collections, such as the *Epitome of the Apostolical Constitutions* and the *Apostolical Constitutions* (preserved in Greek and in Oriental versions, s. ↗*Didəsqəlya*), the *Canons of Hippolytus* (in Arabic, from Greek and Coptic), the ↗*Testamentum Domini* (in Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic, originally in Greek), and other writings. Several scholars have attempted to reconstruct the original T.A. from the extant witnesses (cp. Botte 1963; Bradshaw et al. 2002), even though the attribution itself of the name T.A. has recently been questioned (cp. Markschies 1999; Bausi 2009).

The T.A. has been the most influential piece of writing from pseudo-apostolical literature, and covers a wide range of topics of Christian practice: the status of bishops (prayers of ↗ordination included), presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, widows, confessors of the faith, the offering of oil, olives and cheese, the status of catechumens, offices and prayers, baptism, Holy Communion (including the ‘Anaphora of the Apostles’, cp. Horner 1904:11.19–12.16; Duensing 1946:20.10–24.2; Hammerschmidt 1961:13f.), fasting, common meals, offerings to the bishop and their blessing, the Communion service, time of the prayers, the sign of the Cross, and burial.

The Ethiopic version of the T.A. (first published by Horner 1904; better edited by Duensing 1946; thoroughly used for his textual reconstruction by Botte 1963) is embodied in the so-called *Synodus Alexandrina*, attested in Ethiopic by the *71 canons* or *Statutes of the Apostles* (in turn a section of the ↗*Senodos*), of which the T.A. occupies canons 21–47 (ed. Duensing = 22–48 ed. Horner). The Ethiopic version is basically a translation from the Arabic: yet, it has also incorporated archaic passages which cannot be found in its purported Arabic *Vorlage*, including the important “Prologue” displaced in canon 39 (ed. Duensing = 40 ed. Horner: cp. chs. 1 and 30B in Bradshaw et al. 2002: 20ff., 164), baptismal and other prayers (for a detailed comparison, cp. Bausi 2009), which definitely hint at an archaic textual layer and point to a different, probably Greek, *Vorlage*. The “Prologue”, preserved only in the Latin and Ethiopic versions (Horner 1904: 29.5–17; Duensing 1946: 78.12–80.6), is all the more important because it mentions the crucial words “charisms” and “tradition”, reminding of the Greek title on the Roman statue, which has suggested very different explanations (cp. a summary of the question in Bradshaw et al. 2002: 1ff.; Nicolotti 2005).

The new evidence provided by the recent discovery of an archaic *corpus canonum* translated early into Ethiopic (*Aksumite collection*, cp. Bausi 2003; in PICES 15), also including an earlier version of the T.A., has made it clear that the recension of the T.A. transmitted in the *Senodos* represents a complex combination of the earlier (Greek-based) recension, with a later (Arabic-based) textual layer. The archaic T.A. in the *Aksumite collection* (cp. Id. 2006: 56–59; 2009; edition is in preparation), consisting of 38 chapters and with the “Prologue” at the beginning, is a complete independent translation upon the Greek, parallel to the most authoritative Latin version, and much older and more archaic than all the Oriental recensions known so far. The archaic T.A. misses some prayers (also the ‘Anaphora of the Apostles’) which are preserved instead in separate sections of the *Aksumite collections*, i.e. the *Baptismal order* and a euchological section. The new evidence also makes it clear why the composite T.A. of the *Senodos* in the *71 canons* is followed by two “conclusions”, with the sequence: T.A., “first conclusion”, treatise *On the charisms*, “interpolation”, “second conclusion”. In fact, the T.A. of the *Senodos*, with its own “conclusion”, was combined with a number of texts taken from the *Aksumite collection*: *Bap-*

tismal order, euchological passages, “Prologue”, and treatise *On the charisms*, included into the *Senodos* in a revised version, but with the addition of the “interpolation” (Horner 1904: 54.18–57.9: “Decree of the apostles”, a fragment from the *Didache*, ‘Teaching [of the Apostles] XI, 3–5.7-12, XII, 1–5, XIII, 1.3–7, VIII, 1–2, and a passage from the *Didascalia* XII) and of its following “conclusion” (cp. Bausi 2009).

Src.: Bernard Botte (ed., tr.), *La Tradition apostolique de Saint Hippolyte*, Münster 1963 (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Untersuchungen 39); Paul F. Bradshaw – Maxwell E. Johnson – L. Edward Phillips (tr.), *The Apostolic Tradition: a Commentary*, Minneapolis, MN 2002 (Hermeneia) (Lit.); *CPG* nos. 1730ff., esp. no. 1737 (T.A.); Hugo Duensing (ed., tr.), *Der äthiopische Text der Kirchenordnung des Hippolyt*, Göttingen 1946 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse III, 32); Wilhelm Geerlings (tr.), “Traditio apostolica. Apostolische Überlieferung”, in: Georg Schöllgen – Id., *Didache. Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre. Traditio apostolica. Apostolische Überlieferung*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1991 (Fontes Christiani 1), 141–313; Michel Hanssens (tr.), *La liturgie d’Hippolyte. Documents et études*, Roma 1970; George Horner (ed., tr.), *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici*, London 1904, 10–48, 138–86.

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, “San Clemente e le tradizioni clementine nella letteratura etiopica canonico-liturgica”, in: Philippe Luisier (ed.), *Atti degli Incontri di Roma, 29 marzo e 22 novembre 2001*, Roma 2003 (OrChrA 268), 13–55 (Lit., mss.); Id., “The Aksumite Background of the Ethiopic ‘Corpus canonum’”, in: *PICES* 15, 532–41; Id., “La *Collezione aksumita* canonico-liturgica”, *Adamantius* 12, 2006, 43–70, here 56–59; Id., “The ‘so-called *Traditio apostolica*’: Preliminary Observations on the New Ethiopic Evidence”, in: Heike Grieser – Andreas Merkt (eds.), *Volksglaube im antiken Christentum. Prof. Dr. Theofried Baumeister OFM zur Emeritierung*, Darmstadt 2009, 291–321; BauSen (Lit., mss.); Alexandre Faivre, “La documentation canonico-liturgique”, in: Jean-Claude Fredouille – René-Michel Roberge (eds.), *La documentation patristique. Bilan et prospective*, Quebec – Paris 1995, 3–41; Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Berlin 1961 (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 25) [repr. Stuttgart ^{2}1987 (AeF 25)], 13f.; Id., “Das Pseudo-apostolische Schrifttum in äthiopischer Überlieferung”, in: *PICES* 4, 114–21, here 117f.; Michel Hanssens, *La Liturgie d’Hippolyte*, Roma ^{2}1965 (OrChrA 155); Christoph Markschies, “Wer schrieb die sogenannte *Traditio Apostolica*? Neue Beobachtungen und Hypothesen zu einer kaum lösbaren Frage aus der altkirchlichen Literaturgeschichte”, in: Wolfram Kinzig – Christoph Markschies – Markus Vinzent (eds.), *Tauffragen und Bekenntnis: Studien zur sogenannten ‘Traditio Apostolica’, zu den ‘Interrogationes de fide’ und zum ‘Römischen Glaubensbekenntnis’*, Berlin – New York 1999 (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 74), 1–74; Andrea Nicolotti, “Che cos’è la *Traditio apostolica* di Ippolito? In margine ad una recente pubblicazione”, *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo* 2, 1, 2005, 219–37; Bruno Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis. Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen*, Berlin – New York 1992 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift fur die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 63), 28–48 and *passim*.

Alessandro Bausi

Transliteration, transcription s. EAE vol. 5

Traversi, Leopoldo

T. (b. 30 October 1856, Piancastagnaio, Siena, d. Rome, 3 January 1949) was an Italian medical doctor and explorer, who during his ten years in Ethiopia collected a lot of geographical, ethnic and naturalistic information on the country.

On completing his medical studies, he entered the Sanitary Corps of the Army. Together with the Russian Count Buturlin he arrived in Ethiopia in November 1884. In March 1885, ↗Yoḥannəs IV forced T. to return to ↗Massawa. T. reached ᶜAsäb in June 1885 and from there, together with Adolfo Aprico reached Šäwa, where he became the personal doctor of *nəguś* ↗Mənilək.

During the year 1885 T. explored the ↗Gurage territories, including ↗Zəqʷala, ↗Libido and ↗Soddo. In the first months of 1886 he was the first European to explore the sources of the ↗Awaš. In May 1886 he accompanied Mənilək on military

Leopoldo Traversi in the costume of an Oromo noble, ca. 1887; photo courtesy of the author campaigns against the Oromo, providing important descriptions of Ethiopian military strategies. He became the first European to reach Lake ↗Zʷay. With Mənilək he reached the Arsi highland where he explored the ↗Wabi Šäbälle and its springs. In June 1886 he returned to ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo, where he organized a meteorological laboratory for the study of the rainy season (*kərämt*). He later continued exploration of the ↗Libido and in 1887 travelled to ↗Ǧimma in the entourage of ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar.

After the departure of Vincenzo Ragazzi and Pietro ↗Antonelli, T. headed the scientific station of ↗Ləṭ Maräfiya. In 1889, he accompanied the Ethiopian delegation of *ras* Mäkʷännən to Italy. In 1890 he returned as director of Ləṭ Maräfiya. In the aftermath of the ↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce ("Wəčale"), T. became a messenger between Šäwa and ᶜAsäb, crossing Danakil (↗ᶜAfar) several times. In 1892, T. led a caravan of 630 camels with 2,000,000 cartridges to Mənilək. In June 1894, T. handed Ləṭ Maräfiya over to Luigi ↗Capucci and returned to Italy.

At the end of 1896, as part of an Italo–Ethiopian commission, T. came to Ethiopia to visit the prisoners of ↗ᶜAdwa.

After the fall of the Crispi government T. was forgotten but was exalted later by the Fascist regime as the last survivor of the first wave of Italian ↗colonialism in Ethiopia.

Src.: Leopoldo Traversi, "Da Entotto al Zuquala: lettere del dott. Leopoldo Traversi al sig. conte Buturlin", *Bollettino della Società geografica italiana*, agosto 1887; Id., *Osservazioni meteorologiche fatte a Entotto Nello Scioa Durante il krempt*, Firenze 1887; Id., *Viaggi negli Arussi, Guraghi, ecc., con alcuni schizzi ed una carta*, Roma 1887; Id., *Escursione nel Gimma: relazione del dott. Leopoldo Traversi alla Societa geografica italiana*, Roma 1888; Id., "Le antichità di Uorcamba nello Scioa: sul corso del Golima; sulle origini del Giuba", *Bollettino della Società geografica italiana* agosto-set. 1893; Id., "Sulla regione dei Danakili", *Bollettino della Società geografica italiana* 30, 1893; Id., "Itinerario Aussa-Doué", *ibid.*; Id., "Sul corso del Golima", *ibid.*; Id., "Il conte Pietro Antonelli e la politica Scioana", *Rivista politica e letteraria*, marzo 1901; Id., *La proprietà della terra in Etiopia*, Roma 1900; Id., *Let Marefià*, Milano 1931; Id., *L'Italia e l'Etiopia da Assab a Ual-Ual*, Bologna 1935; Id., *L'Italia da Assab alla Vittoria: Ricordi etiopici di un medico pioniere*, Roma 1936; Id., *Medici italiani in Etiopia*, Roma 1936.

Lit.: Vincenzo Barbini, *Il Dottor Leopoldo Traversi in Africa*, Firenze 1887; Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, *Note intorno agli animali vertebrati raccolti al Conte Augusto Boutourline dal Dr. Leopoldo Traversi ad Assab e nello Scioa negli anni 1884–87*, Genova 1888; Dino Puccioni, *Leopoldo Traversi Esploratore Africano*, Firenze 1949; Luca Lupi, *Leopoldo Traversi, Dieci anni di esplorazioni africane (1884–1894)*, Pontedera 2003 (Lit.).

Luca Lupi

Treaties and conventions s. EAE vol. 5

Trees

Apart from the evident economic value of T. as a source of ↗wood, they play an important cultural role in most societies of the Horn of Africa. The shade provided by T. makes them a classical location for meetings (e.g., the ↗*čaffee* of the Oromo, the ↗*bayto* of the Təgrəñña, the ↗*yäǧoka* of the Gurage, and other traditional courts) and a place of rest for man and his animals. Single big T. serve as points of orientation and they are, like other natural features, used for the demarcation of boundaries.

The bark and/or the leaves of some T. find usage in herbal ↗medicine. The leaves of some T. standing on cultivated fields may improve soil fertility (VSAe III, 156f., 294).

Contiguous ↗forest, according to many traditional concepts, is interpreted as a "chaotic" or even dangerous non-human area, which man only enters for hunting game and collecting herbs or wild honey. Accordingly, hunters and gatherers were often despised by agriculturists. Certain individual T. (preferably *Cordia abyssinica*, *Ficus sycomorus* [↗Sycamore], *Hagenia abyssinica* (↗*Koso*), ↗*Juniperus procera*, *Olea chrysophylla*, *Podocarpus gracilior*) and groups of T. in traditional ↗religion may represent the connection between the human and the spiritual sphere or a a local *axis mundi*. This is, for example, reflected in legends of several Cushitic-speaking peoples according to which important cultural items and ancestors, cultural heroes or religious experts descended from the sky via a T. (VSAe I, 179, 214, 322; BrHad 86, 180). In the old Gurage religion part of the ↗initiation process of a new *wägäpäča dämam* female spirit medium was to stay inside a hollow T. (a beehive) for several days (Gabreyesus Hailemariam 1991: 133–39).

Many T. are thought to be inhabited by a ↗spirit such as, e.g., the *adbär* local protective spirits of the Amhara folk-religion. Sacred T. and groves, sometimes remains of the cleared original forest, are not allowed to be cut and some are symbolically protected by a fence or surrounded by a stone platform (s. ill.). They serve as places for ↗sacrifices and other rituals. Such activities may include the slaughtering of an animal or the primordial offering of crops. A wide-spread custom is the smearing of butter on the bark (VSAe III, 88, 120, 188f., 194f., 198, 344).

Sacred tree of the Oromo (umbrella acacia, *Acacia tortillis*) on a typical elevated base, Hooraa Lake, Bišoftuu; photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

T. and ↗euphorbia are often planted on graves or at funeral places, a custom also practised by Ethiopian Orthodox Christians. While in some cultures a T. may grow on every grave, in others a T. exclusively marks the grave of chiefs and important ancestors or hunters and killers. Among the ↗Mao, for example, a green branch was placed in the hands of a deceased hunter which might grow and become a T. (CerPeople 34f.; VSAe III, 223). Sometimes T., like, e.g., at the royal court of Angir (cp. ↗Yäm), T. served as a place for displaying trophies (VSAe III, 328, 344, 352).

The ritual role of certain T. in pre-Christian religions made them a target of Christian missionary activities. In order to show the superiority of their faith, to symbolize the end of “paganism” or to ritually clean the area, early missionaries such as, e.g., ↗Täklä Haymanot, ↗Samuʾel of Däbrä Wägäg, ↗Märḥa Krəstos and ↗Fəre Mikaʾel are said to have cut down sacred T. and to have used their wood for church construction (s. KapMon 118ff.). This practice of the early days of Christianization was maintained over time and, after Mənilək II’s conquest, was still carried out as part of the Christian colonialization in the south (for an example from Gurage s. Bustorf in VarAeth 20, nn. 42, 28). Nevertheless, it is quite usual to find churches located in the midst of a grove, or with big T. in the yard. Within the church compound T. are usually not allowed to be cut because they are in the possession of the church and they belong to the sphere sanctified by the *tabot*. Likewise, around the graves of Muslim holy men, around rural mosques and Sufi centres T. are protected by religious piety.

↗Baobab; ↗Eucalyptus

Lit.: Azene Bekele-Tesemma – Ann Birnie – Bo Tengnäs, *Useful Trees and Shrubs for Ethiopia*, Nairobi 1993, passim; Friedrich von Breitenbach, *The Indigenous Trees of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa ^{2}1963; BrHad 86, 180; Dirk Bustorf, “Some Notes on the Traditional Religion of the Ǝndägañ”, in: *VarAeth* 12–34, here 20, 25, 28; CerPeople 67; Gabreyesus Hailemariam, *The Guragué and their Culture*, New York – Los Angeles, CA 1991, 133–39; KapMon 118ff.; VSAe I, 179, 214, 322; VSAe III, s. index.

Dirk Bustorf

Trevaskis, Gerald Kennedy Nicholas

Sir Gerald T. (b. 1 January 1915, d. 14 March 1990) was a British official in colonial Southern Rhodesia (i.e. Zimbabwe), ↗Eritrea and ↗Yemen.

T. was the son of Reverend Hugh Kennedy Trevaskis of the Indian Civil Service. He completed his education at Cambridge, and entered the Colonial Service as administrative cadet in Northern Rhodesia in 1938. In 1939 T. enlisted with the Northern Rhodesia Regiment and made a prisoner of war by the Italian forces in British Somaliland in 1940.

Following the collapse of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, he was seconded to the ↗British Military Administration (BMA) in Eritrea in 1941, where he remained until 1950, being involved in the formation of British policy in the country. During this period T. served as a colonial officer in most of the administrative districts of the country and produced a number of social surveys of the communities that inhabited them, particularly for ↗Ḥamasen and ↗Kärän. T. showed a keen interest in the historical, geographical and social make-up of Eritrea and his reports were drawn from personal interviews and first-hand observations. In the district of Kärän the ↗Təgre-speaking serfs (↗*Təgre*) were struggling for emancipation from their masters (↗*Šəmagälle*) and T., albeit reluctantly, accepted their demands for reform, within the tribal reorganization of the Western Province.

After June 1941 Lieutenant T. acted as assistant political officer; he was appointed Senior Divisional Officer at ↗ᶜAsäb in 1943, promoted Captain in the following year, and acted as Political Officer at ᶜAddi Wägri (↗Mändäfära). In 1945 he married Sheila James Harrington.

With the end of ↗World War II, the question of Eritrea's future arose and the BMA lifted the ban on political parties in October 1946. In 1947, while Senior Civil Affairs Officer at Kärän, T. was a member of the British delegation to the ↗Four Power Commission of Enquiry of the ex-Italian colonies and wrote an interesting report on the results of the hearings of the representatives of the communities of Eritrea. T. also produced a typescript *Note of Guidance for the District Officer in Eritrea*.

In summer 1950 T. was appointed district Commissioner at Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, but worked also as Liaison Officer for the ↗United Nations Commissions for Eritrea. In 1951 T. served as Political Officer in the Western Aden Protectorate, where he was then appointed High Commissioner for Aden and the Protectorate of South Arabia in 1963–65.

In 1960 T. published the volume *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition, 1941–1952*, a well-written account of the British occupation of Eritrea, albeit from an apologetic perspective. He explained the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation as the outcome of Ethiopian political activity coupled with the pro-Ethiopian Orthodox Church's position within a time of hardship, economic crisis and social protest. His writings were fiercely criticized (e.g., s. Tekeste Negash 1997: 32); though the subject remains ideologically charged, T.'s accounts remain worth reading.

↗United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Src.: Trevaskis Papers (personal and official diaries, correspondence, surveys and reports, notes, photographs, and hand-drawn maps), The Rhodes House Library, Oxford; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea: A Colony in Transition, 1941–1952,* Oxford 1960.

Lit.: BEREKET HABTE SELASSIE, *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa*, New York 1980; LLOYD ELLINGSON, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941–1950", *JAH* 18, 2, 1977, 261–82; EYASU GAYIM, *The Eritrean Question: the Conflict between the Right of Self-determination and the Interests of the States,* Uppsala 1993, 64–75, 80–83, 88–92, 134–41; JORDAN GEBRE-MEDHIN, *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea,* Trenton, NJ 1988, 72–106; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence*, Cambridge 1995, 65–82; ANTHONY HAMILTON MILLARD KIRK-GREENE, *A Biographical Dictionary of the British Colonial Service 1939–1966*, London 1991, 359; JOHN MARKAKIS, *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa,* Cambridge 1987, 59–69; SYLVIA PANKHURST – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Ethiopia and Eritrea: the Last Phase of the Reunion Struggle 1941–1952,* London 1953, 39–60, 187–90; DAVID POOL, *From Guerrillas to Government: the Eritrean People's Liberation Front*, Oxford – Athens, OH 2001, 38–47; ErDizBio 288; IRMA TADDIA, *L'Eritrea colonia 1890–1952. Paesaggi, uomini, strutture del colonialismo italiano*, Milano 1986, 361–76; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1997, 24–32; KJETIL TRONVOLL, *Mai Weini, a Highland Village in Eritrea*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1998, 41, 203f.

Federica Guazzini

Tributes and taxation

Tributes and traditional taxation

The traditional fiscal system of Ethiopia was characterized by a seamless transition from Tr. (tributes) to Ta. ([modern] taxation). This is also reflected in the terminology, e.g., Gəᶜəz, **ጸባሕት** (*ṣäbaḥət*) as well as Amharic **ቀረጥ** (*qäräṭ*) and **ግብር** (*gəbər*) can be translated either as 'tribute' or 'tax'. The latter term was additionally used for the ↗*gəbər* banquet sponsored by an important notable or ruler.

Throughout history the submission to a conqueror or the allegiance to a ruler was expressed by the payment of Tr. in kind which, besides its symbolical meaning, could also have considerable material value. Earliest records of such provincial Tr. to the Ethiopian rulers can be found in royal chronicles which list the tributary provinces and in some cases the typical goods they were obliged to send to the ruler. The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq, for example, mentions a long series of vassal territories from where he received goods such as goats, cattle, ↗horses, cotton-cloth, grain or ↗gold (HuntGeogr 92ff.).

The initial Tr. formally established the status of a territorial and political entity as a vassal state or as a province and was followed by regular Tr. which could develop during history into a properly institutionalized tax. Such Tr. were fed by duties levied in the sub-provinces and the revenues generated from the land Ta. (↗Land tenure) collected among the 'peasants' (Amh., **ገበረ**, *gäbbärä*, lit.: 'to pay tribute or tax') by the local administration, according to the old principle "man is free, land is tributary" defined for the first time in an edict by *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl (CrumLand 62f.).

Ethiopia's traditional system of Tr. and Ta. provided for the upkeep not only of the monarch, his family and courtiers, but also a vast number of nobles and privileged individuals, including provincial and other officials, warriors, and members of the clergy (↗Aristocracy). They all depended for their livelihood on dues, and/or labour services provided by the ↗peasantry, who constituted the majority of the population (s. also ↗*Gäbbar*; ↗*Gʷəlt*; ↗Feudalism), and to some extent by handicraft workers, merchants and hunters.

The peasants were obliged to provide a proportion of their crops in kind, or their value in barter equivalents or cash (s. also ↗Currency; ↗Trade), and a proportion of their livestock, as well as a number of days' labour – working on the land of the king, nobility or church. ↗Handicraft workers contributed a share of their manufactures, many of them articles of ironware (↗Iron), woven cloth and ↗pottery. The merchants yielded a share of their revenue, taken from them as market dues or exacted when they passed through ↗*kella* customs posts, located all over the country. Some agricultural taxes were paid annually, either as a fixed due, or as a specific proportion of the crop – e.g., an *ammǝst* (Amh., **አምስት**, lit.: 'five') –, while other duties were levied on particular occasions, e.g., on the outbreak of war, or when a nobleman needed to construct a house, or hold a banquet.

Kambaata carrying tributes to Addis Abäba; photo April 1902, by Emile Brumpt, courtesy of the Institut Pasteur (Boîte 12–224/Mission du Bourg de Bozas)

Some of the earliest European information on Tr. was recorded in the early 16th cent. by Francisco Alvares. He states that the country of the ↗*baḥǝr nägaš* provided *aṣe* ↗Lǝbnä Dǝngǝl with Indian ↗cotton and ↗silk, as well as horses. His annual revenue from ↗Goǧǧam consisted of 3,000 mules, 3,000 horses, and 3,000 large pieces of cloth, besides mules and horses (BeckHuntAlvar 117, 425–29). More detailed data was collected in the early 17th cent. by the Jesuits. Manoel de Almeida noted that the empire's principal source of gold was ↗Ǝnnarya, which had once contributed 1,000 to 1,500 *wäqet* ('ounces', s. also ↗Measurement), later reduced to 500. Goǧǧam provided a further 1,100 *wäqet*, much of which was appropriated by the nobles, as well as over 3,000 pieces of cloth. The peasants of ↗Dämbǝya supplied one load of grain per head. Cattle-owners paid one animal out of ten every three years (BeckHuntAlm 84–87). Provincial revenues included 12,000 head of cattle from Goǧǧam, 6,000 from ↗Bägemdǝr, 5,000 from ↗Tǝgray, and 2,000 from ↗Damot. The population at large was also expected to provide officers of state and other travellers with free meals and accommodation for the night (BeckHuntAlm 79f.; cp. also ↗*Dǝrgo*). Detailed estimates for the sub-districts of Tǝgray were published by both Pedro Páez and Manoel Barradas (BecRASO II, 283ff.; BecRASO IV, 82ff.; Barradas 1996: 7ff.).

The complexity of the system of which such revenues were produced was later described in the mid-19th cent., during the period of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafǝnt* by Walter Plowden (1868: 108): He observed that the peasantry had to pay a high number of different imposts which varied according to the customs of each village. A certain portion in kind had to be paid to the ↗*ras* and sometimes a regular tax in money was additionally demanded from them. The peasants were also forced to furnish oxen to plough the king's lands. Their immediate governor took his share of every kind of grain which he distributed among his soldiers. He had the right to take their animals, butter, ↗honey and every other requisite for subsistence. It was expected from the rural population to receive with joy and feasting whenever he visited them, and he could demand "from them contributions on fifty pretexts", e.g., when going or returning from a campaign, or cases where he had lost a horse or married a wife. He could also expect their aid in case his property had been consumed by fire, or he had lost his all in battle. Likewise, peasants had to provide goods and labour for funeral banquets (ibid.). A key official in the system was the ↗*ċəqa šum*. Holding an influential semi-hereditary position he ensured that the local community, among whom he lived, paid their taxes – and for this service he often received a tenth of the tax and was generally exempt from other fees (United Kingdom 1868: 107; Walker 1935: 184f.).

Traditional Ta. was largely arbitrary and Pearce (1831: 340) observed in the first half of the 19th cent. that the peasants suffered from severe insecurity of their property. Rüppell (1840: 31) argued that *ċəqa šum* and other tax officials being poorly paid, found illicit ways of robbing from the peasantry. Fees were at times so heavy that they had resulted in depopulation in Təgray (Parkyns 1853: 219). Conflict between the peasantry and the soldiers was not infrequent. Pearce (1831: 207f.) relates that the peasants, to protect their grain, would secretly bury it in pits, which they carefully covered over with earth to conceal their identity.

Aṣe ↗Tewodros II's reputation as a reforming ruler rests largely on his far from fully successful attempt to curtail the arbitrary character of traditional Ta. He sought in particular to prevent the exactions which the soldiers levied on the peasantry. He attempted to do this, Plowden reports, by giving his soldiers money, and instructing them not "to harass and plunder the peasants, as before". He also sought to reduce the number of internal customs posts (United Kingdom 1868: 108, 151; PankEcon 523f.). Tewodros' administration had the distinction also of producing the first known detailed Ethiopian tax records. Fragments of them, written in the early 1860s, were looted by the ↗Napier expedition, and are preserved in the British Library. Written in Amharic they reveal that the monarch's revenues from Təgray and Bägemdər respectively amounted to 193,000 and 47,000 ↗Maria Theresa thalers – besides a considerable number of cattle (Pankhurst – Germa-Selassie Asfaw 1978: 1–24).

After ↗Mənilək's conquest of the South, a system of dues was imposed on the region. While some provinces, such as, e.g., ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar, could maintain a semi-independent status and were expected to pay an annual Tr. until the first half of the 20th cent. (cp., e.g. Guluma Gemeda 2009: 78–85, for the system of Ta. within the Kingdom of Ǧimma s. LewJimm 43, 91f., 97-100f., 117, 124), in most of the conquered areas the system of land tax and work duties became the main instrument for the control and exploitation of the subdued population. The land directly subdued by Mənilək had to pay taxes exclusively to the Emperor (*madbet*, 'palace'). But the rest of the conquered land and the right to collect dues from the *gäbbar* living on it was distributed to the church (↗*Sämon*) and to a greater part among the ↗*mälkäñña*, many of them northern Ethiopian ↗*näfṭäñña* settlers, as ↗*mädäriya* or *gʷəlt* land (BrHad 307f.).

Aṣe Mənilək II carried out a substantial tax re-organization. This involved the imposition in Šäwa in 1892 of an ↗*aśrat*, or 'tithe', on agricultural produce. This tax proved difficult to implement, and was modified on several occasions (GueCopMen 324f.; MahZekr 294f.; PankEcon 506f.). Another tax which proved very lucrative at this time was levied on elephant-hunters, who, when killing a beast, were obliged to give Mənilək the first tusk to fall on the ground (↗Ivory; PankEcon 509). Yet another development during Mənilək's reign was the increasing payment of taxes in cash rather than in kind. Typical of this trend was the imposition of a cattle tax of one thaler per cow imposed to help finance the construction of the Djibouti-Addis Abäba ↗railway. By 1902 57% of Mənilək's revenues reportedly came in cash. Many peasants, however, insisted on paying in kind – and many than one days' work every third day (PankEcon 510f.). An arbitrary element in Ta. meanwhile remained. Augustus Wylde comments that the tax-collector always "wanted something for himself", while his guards and servants expected "to receive free rations". Some governors were, however, more considerate, notably *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, under whose rule the peasants could improve their position (Wylde 1901: 262, 264). The abuses implicit in the system were denounced by early Ethiopian intellectuals, notably ↗Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ and ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus (Bahru Zewde 2002: 111–27).

Such criticism was only partially met by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's legislation of 17 September 1930 abolishing personal service. This stated that "all obligations of personal service" were "entirely abolished" and that "no governor" was entitled to exact such services. One article specified that cultivators should not work on the land of governors unless this was voluntary, and did not exceed three days per annum in lieu of land tax. Another Article stated that the making of granaries for the administration was restricted to two months labour performable only in off-agricultural seasons. It was also laid down that peasants should not work for landlords for more than five days a year. The land tax was shortly afterwards standardized by a pre-invasion law of 9 May 1935. This established a uniform tax of 30 thalers, per *gaša* unit of land, i.e. the equivalent to approximately 40 hectares (MahZekr 295ff.).

For many peasants the alleviation of fiscal burdens during the Ḫaylä Śəllase era remained only nominal. Especially in the South, where they severely suffered from the arbitrariness of the local ↗*mälkäñña* landlords, this contributed to their support of the ↗Revolution and the subsequent land reform (cp., e.g., BrHad 369–76, 383, 387, 390f.).

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 117, 425-29; BeckHuntAlm 79f., 84-7; BecRASO II, 283ff., IV, 82ff.; Manoel Barradas, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici* (*1634*): *a Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by Elisabet Filleul, ed. by Richard Pankhurst, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 7ff.; GueCopMen 324f.; MahZekr 294–97; Richard Pankhurst – Germa-Selassie Asfaw, *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia* (*1855–1868*), London 1978, 1–24; Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. 1, London 1853, 219; Nathaniel Pearce, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*, vol. 1, London 1831, 207f., 340; Walter Chichele Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia*, London 1868, 108, 137f.; Wilhelm Eduard Rüppell, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt 1840, 31; United Kingdom, *Correspondence Respecting Abyssinia 1846–1868*, London 1868, 107f., 151; Augustus Blandy Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901, 262–64.

Lit.: Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia*, London 2002, 111–27; Berhanou Abbebe, *Évolution de la propriété foncière au Choa* (*Éthiopie*), Paris 1971; BrHad 307f., 369–76, 383, 387, 390f.; CrumLand 62f.; Gebre-Wold Ingida-Worq, "Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation", *EthObs* 5, 4, 1962, 302–09; Guluma Gemeda, "The Rise of Coffee and the Demise of Imperial Autonomy", in: Ezekiel Gebissa (ed.), *Contested Terrain. Essays on Oromo Studies, Ethiopianist Discourse and Politically Engaged Scholarship*, Trenton, NJ – Asmara 2009, 67–94; LewJimm 43, 91f., 97–100f., 117, 124; Richard Pankhurst, "Tribute, Taxation and Government Revenues in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ethiopia", *JES* 5, 2, 1967, 17–88; *ibid.* 6, 1, 1968, 23–72, 83-118; Id., *State and Land in Ethiopian History*, Addis Ababa 1966; PankEcon 504–44; PankIntro 179–84; Mahteme Sellassie Wolde Maskal, "The Land System of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 1, 9, 1957, 283–301; Craven Howell Walker, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1935, 184f.

Richard Pankhurst

Modern taxation

Ethiopia's modern T. system has a chequered history, evolving in a largely ad-hoc manner from the 1940s in response to the state's rising expenditure requirements.

In the traditional polity, state revenue consisted of tithe and tribute rather than monetary T. The ↗*gʷəlt* and ↗*gäbbar* systems (based on payment of tribute in kind) formed the basis and the means which supported the entire political, social and economic hierarchy (s. sub-article "Tributes and traditional taxation"). Although a rudimentary Ministry of Finance had been formed just prior to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's death, there was "no distinction between the finances of the monarch and those of the state" (Eshetu Chole 2004: 64). While the 1931 ↗constitution provided for an annual budget, this reflected the young monarch's aspirations for a modern bureaucratic state, rather than Ethiopia's fiscal reality (Bahru Zewde 1986); no budgets were produced prior to the Italian invasion in 1935.

After the restoration of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1941 the need to finance a centralized state with a growing army and burgeoning ministries prompted the fiscal reforms of the mid-1940s which focussed largely on land, trade and excise taxes. While legislation was piecemeal, and 'tax' (**ግብር**, for the cultural background s. ↗*Gəbər*) collection was frequently ineffective, the reforms nevertheless established a tax framework which remained largely intact until the ↗Revolution.

A 1942 law provided for the payment of a monetary land tax (↗Land tenure), to replace tributes in kind gradually. This was extended to cover tithe payments in 1944. Tax rates varied according to land use, quality and region. However, implementation was piecemeal. Landlords ignored, resisted or evaded paying tax. The ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church – a major landowner – was exempted from land tax. The Second Five Year Plan of 1962 aspired to implement progressive T. on land holdings; but with entrenched landed interests at play the land-tax remained a negligible source of revenue. In 1967 tithe payments were replaced by a more comprehensive, and ostensibly more equitable and efficient, "tax on agricultural income". In practice however, landlords continued to shift the tax burden to their impoverished tenants. Again, resistance and evasion was the norm, with grievances over agricultural T. fuelling the ↗Goǧǧam uprising of 1968. Specific taxes to cover the costs of the expansion of education (1947) and health

(1958) services were also levied according to a formula linked to land holdings, but neither generated significant funds. Overall, the tax system as experienced by the bulk of Ethiopia's rural population was highly iniquitous. "Rather than serving as a means of redistribution, the tax system therefore aggravated existing inequalities" (Eshetu Chole 2004: 75).

Diverse import duties accounted for a quarter of government revenues in the decade prior to the revolution, while export tariffs – notably on hides, skins and ↗coffee, an additional coffee surtax being introduced in 1964 – were less successful in raising sustained revenues. This was in part due to sharp fluctuations in the world price of coffee. In 1966 coffee prices plummeted, severely denting government revenues. It was only in 1969/70 that tax revenues recovered to the level of the mid-1960s.

'Income tax' (**የገቢ፡ ግብር**, *yägäbi gəbər*) in Ethiopia dates from 1944 with Schedule A covering employment, Schedule B rents from land and buildings, and Schedule C income from businesses and professional activities. Again, piecemeal implementation meant that, like land taxes, income taxes did not generate significant revenues during the imperial era. This left assorted indirect and transaction taxes to raise the bulk of state revenues. Rudimentary import taxes, notably on alcoholic ↗drinks, cigarettes and textiles, had been introduced as early as 1931. The alcohol tax was expanded in 1943 and from 1954 to 1955 a raft of new taxes on both imported and locally produced consumer goods were implemented. These covered items such as ↗salt, sugar and textiles. A blanket import tax of 12 % both generated considerable revenues and offered nascent domestic manufacturers a modicum of tariff protection.

Despite the ad-hoc nature of the tax system, widespread evasion and setbacks such as the 1966/67 collapse of coffee prices, revenues nevertheless grew steadily; rising from 123 million *bərr* in 1955 to 618 million *bərr* in 1973 (Eshetu Chole 2004: 74). In the 1960s taxes on goods and services represented 67 % of all revenues, with 40 % of all revenue derived from foreign trade. The significance of tax revenue for the imperial state should not be underestimated; during the 1960s non-tax revenues (from grants, loans aid etc) represented only 9.5 % of total government income; 90 % of all state revenue was raised from within Ethiopia (Wogene Yirko 1994: 22).

A final characteristic of the imperial T. system of note was its high degree of centralization. Provinces were not granted autonomy to raise tax or to manage their expenditure. This aspect was first reinforced by the state-socialist government from 1974, the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council, and then reversed by the successor Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) government in 1991.

The *Därg*'s revolutionary emphasis on land-nationalisation, state-owned enterprises and accelerated industrialization had necessitated a series of fiscal changes. Consequently state-ownership of land expanded the land-tax base, while a massive increase in state-sector employment magnified the income tax base. The collection of direct taxes quadrupled to 2,317 million *bərr* in 1988, representing almost 70 % of total government revenue (Getachew Gebre 1992: 303). In keeping with its egalitarian ethos, marginal rates of income tax were set punitively high over relatively low thresholds (set at *bərr* 600 for rural incomes). While incomes below this paid *bərr* 10 tax via their Peasant Associations, ad-hoc quotas of grain delivery imposed on the peasants translated into an extremely high real tax burden, unconsciously echoing the predation of the imperial tribute system.

In terms of state revenues, nationalization had also generated a significant new non-tax revenue by the 1980s in the form of a 5 % capital charge and a 90 % 'residual surplus' (effectively a tax on profits). These were levied on state-owned enterprises and channelled into state coffers. By 1988, Ethiopia's ratio of tax revenue to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) stood at 30 %, which was higher than most low-income economies at this period.

Despite this, hikes in government expenditure, the sclerotic impact of the state-socialist policies, and deleterious impact of civil war and famine on state finances all weakened the T. system inherited by the transitional government in 1991. Expressed as a proportion of overall economic activity, state revenues and expenditure had tripled under the *Därg*, revenue rising from 11 % of GDP in 1974 to almost a third in 1988 (Getachew Gebre 1992: 303). However, while generating significant revenues for current expenditure, like its imperial predecessor, the *Därg*'s T. regime failed to mobilize significant surpluses for productive reinvestment.

Three aspects of EPRDF administrative approaches to T. are noteworthy, during the transition (1991–93) and thereafter. On paper the federal constitution provides for a significant delegation of both revenue and expenditure powers to the regions. While there have been significant reforms in the modalities of both revenue collection and regional expenditure, in practice regional fiscal autonomy is less evident than initially anticipated. This partly reflects political imperatives and the acute economic imbalances between Ethiopia's disparate regions; only four of the nine regions (Addis Abäba, Oromiyaa, Amara and the Southern Regional State) generate significant economic surpluses, one of several economic weaknesses in the federal template (Eshetu Chole 1994: v). A second innovation was the introduction in 2003 of a Value Added Tax (VAT), largely replacing the sales tax. Finally there have been incremental changes to marginal tax rates and collection mechanisms. As with the introduction of VAT, tax reforms partly reflect donor policies, although the tax framework reflects the EPRDF's twin-track policy of encouraging both domestic entrepreneurs and foreign investment, while ensuring state and party-owned companies retain control of key markets.

Lit.: Bahru Zewde, "Economic Origins of the Absolutist State in Ethiopia (1916–1935)", *JES* 17, 1986, 1–29; Eshetu Chole, *Underdevelopment in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2004, 64, 74; Getachew Gebre, "Fiscal Policy in Ethiopia", in: Mekonen Taddesse (ed.), *The Ethiopian Economy: Structure, Problems and Policy Issues*, Addis Ababa 1992, 295–314; Shiferaw Bekele (ed.), *An Economic History of Ethiopia, 1941–74*, Dakar 1995, 334; Wogene Yirko, "History of the Post-War Ethiopian Fiscal System", in: Eshetu Chole (ed.), *Fiscal Decentralization in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1994, 19–62.

David Styan

Trimingham, John Spencer

John Spencer T. (b. 1904, Thorne, England, d. ca. 1986), was an Evangelical missionary and a scholar in Arabic and Islamic Studies, particularly in the fields of Islamic history and culture in Africa and in Islamic mysticism (↗Islam).

T. studied Social Sciences in Birmingham, and Arabic and Persian in Oxford. He trained for the ministry of the Church of England at Wells Theological College. In 1937, he started working for the British ↗Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Egypt and Sudan and became secretary of the local branch of the CMS. The religious mission he carried out until the early 1960s saw him travelling and acting in several different areas of East and West Africa. In the academic field, he affiliated with the University of Glasgow in 1953 as lecturer and then as head of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies. On retirement, T. became visiting professor at the American University in Beirut; in 1970 he went to the Near East School of Theology in Beirut as representative of CMS.

The last period of T.'s life is obscure. Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, he appears in the list of its Fellows in 1985: in this same year he is reported to have lived in Worthing, Sussex. T.'s death was reported at the Annual General Meeting of the RAS held on 14 May 1987. One may thus surmise that Reverend T. passed away in 1986 or early 1987.

The list of T.'s publications is long. Most famous is his handbook on ↗Islamic brotherhoods (Trimingham 1971). His work on Christianity in pre-Islamic Arabia (1979) has also acquired wide fame. However, T. is particularly renowned for his general and comprehensive surveys on Islamic Africa which are the direct fruit of his long missionary experiences in many regions of the continent (TrIslam, Trimingham 1949; 1959; 1962; 1962b; 1968; Trimingham 1939 is a manual of colloquial Sudanese Arabic which was conceived during T.'s stay in the country). Parallel to this, T. authored a series of books in which he discusses the main problems faced by the CMS in Muslim communities in Africa and the best ways to solve them (1948; 1949b; 1950; 1955). The relationship between T.'s missionary and scholarly activity has still to be analyzed in detail (s. Tayob 2004 for a first assessment and Sharkey 2002 for a general evaluation of the activities of the CMS in Northern Sudan) but it seems clear that T.'s general approach to the study of Islam was deeply influenced by his involvement in the Evangelical mission.

T.'s central contribution to ↗Ethiopian studies is his study of Islam in Ethiopia published in 1952 (TrIslam), which remains an essential basic reference tool, brilliantly combining deep insight with satisfying exhaustiveness. Whilst recent progress in research on Islam in Ethiopia and Eritrea has clearly exposed the shortcomings of T.'s handbook, now obsolete in some respects, at the same time it recognizes the exceptional value of T.'s contribution (Hussein Ahmed 1992: 29f.; HusIslam 51–59).

Src.: TrIslam; John Spencer Trimingham, *Sudan Colloquial Arabic*, London 1939; Id., *The Christian Approach to Islam in the Sudan*, London, 1948; Id., *The Christian Church in Post-War Sudan*, London 1949; Id., *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949; Id., *The Christian Church and Missions in Ethiopia: Including Eritrea and the Somalilands*, London 1950; ID., *The Christian Church and Islam in West Africa*, London 1955; ID., *Islam in West Africa*, Oxford 1959; ID., *A History of Islam in West Africa*, London 1962; ID., *Islam in East Africa. The Report of a Survey Undertaken in 1961*, London 1962 (C.W.M.E. Research Pamphlets 9); ID., *Islam in East Africa*, Oxford 1964; ID., *The Influence of Islam Upon Africa*, London – Beirut 1968; ID., *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971; ID., *Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, London 1979.

Lit.: ABDULKADER TAYOB, "John Spencer Trimingham (*1904) on Islam in Africa: Integrative or Isolationist?", in: FRIEDER LUDWIG – AFE ADOGAME – ULRICH BERNER – CHRISTOPH BOCHINGER (eds.), *European Traditions in the Study of Religion in Africa*, Wiesbaden 2004, 237–43; HEATHER J. SHARKEY, "Christians among Muslims: the Church Missionary Society in the Northern Sudan", *JAH* 43, 2002, 51–75; HUSSEIN AHMED, "The Historiography of Islam in Ethiopia", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 3, 1991, 15–46; HusIslam.

Alessandro Gori

Trinity

Belief in the T. is a central doctrine which distinguishes ↗Christianity from the other monotheistic religions, ↗Judaism and ↗Islam. In the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) belief in the T. (**ሥላሴ**, *śəllase*), i.e. in "one God who exists in three Persons and one substance, Father, Son and Holy Spirit", is the first of the five "pillars of mystery" (↗*Amməstu aᶜəmadä məśtir*).

Scriptural *testimonia*

There is a standard set of passages from the O.T. and N.T. which is apologetically and often polemically put forward to "prove" and to defend the doctrine of the "T.", including O.T.: Gen 1:3, 2:26, 3:22, 11:7 and particularly 18:2–15; Ex 3:6; Ps 26[27]:8, 44[45]:8; Is 6:3, 6:8 and 44:6; Ecc 4:12; NT: Mt 3:16–17, 17:5, 28:19; Jn 12:27-28; 2 Cor 13:13; 1 Jn 5:7-8. The "oneness" of the three Persons is seen supported by Deu 6:4, Is 44:6, Eph 4:5. These passages are also used in the ↗theology of the EOTC (cp. Weischer 1980: 30, 42–46). Severianos of Gabala (5th cent.) pieces together several texts which contain the figure three and associates them to the doctrine of the T. (cp. Weischer 1980: 32ff.). Pauline expressions such as "faith, hope and charity" (1 Cor 13:13), "three times I have prayed God" (2 Cor 12:8) are linked to the three Persons; 2 Cor 11:25 are associated with the "T." and "unity" of God (Weischer 1980: 38). As with other Christian theologians, Ethiopian church scholars (e.g., *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Käbte) teach that such biblical data show that it is God himself who has disclosed the mystery of the T. in the Bible and legitimizes the axiom: **ይሤለሱ፡ በአካላት፡ ወይትዋሐዱ፡ በመለኮት**, 'They are three in Persons and they are united in the Divinity' (cp. *Mäṣḥafä məᵓəllad*, p. 30).

Patristic and post-patristic teachings

In line with the Alexandrian tradition, Ethiopians emphasize the Unity between the three Persons. Religious texts make use of analogies which try to explain the mystery of the T. and of the Incarnation. They accept ↗Jacob Baradaeus's declaration: "I say, I believe and am convinced that the Father is the heart, the Son is the word and the Holy Spirit is the life" (Cornill 1876:433), which follows ↗John of Damascus, who used three terms νοῦς, λόγος, πνεῦμα, to refer to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, respectively (PG 94: 1340D).

The EOTC draws its trinitarian language and formulations from the ↗Bible, from the Nicene Creed (↗Nicaea), from patristic literature and from Arab Christian writers. The term *śəllase* corresponds to Gr. τριάς (DillmLex 232), a word introduced by Theophilus of Antioch (late 2nd cent.) to describe the Godhead and standing for "God and His Word and His Wisdom" (*Ad Autolycum* 2:15), and to Latin *Trinitas* (DillmLex 232), a term coined by Tertullian (2nd cent., *Adversus Praxeam* 11), also responsible for the formula "three Persons, one Substance".

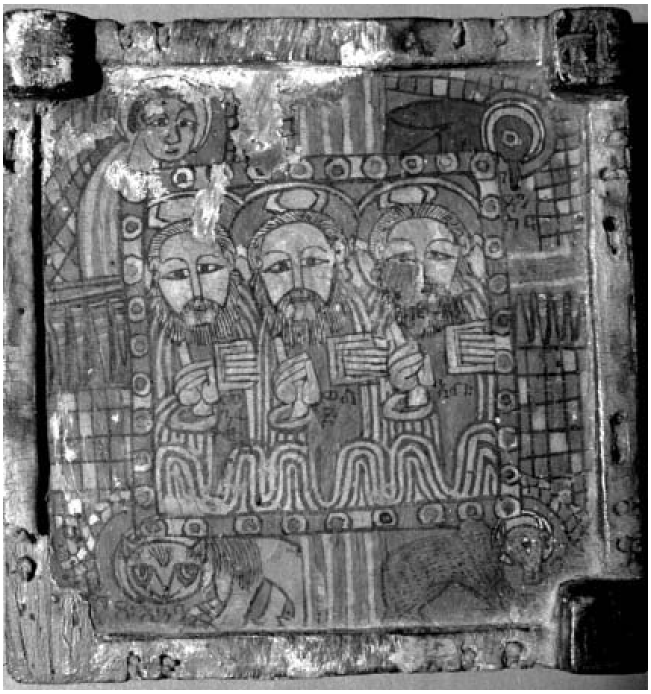
The triad "heart, word, life" (Arab. *ᶜaql*, *natq*, *ḥayat*, Haddad 1985: 123–27) was proposed by ↗Severos of Ašmunayn in his *Book of the Exposition* (*Mäṣḥafä Sawiros* or *Kəbrä haymanot*). He introduced the parallelism between the three segments or phalanges of the finger and the "unity" and "T." of the Divine Persons (ms. BritLib Orient. 773, fols. 2^{r}–15^{r}; Haddad 1985: 122). The ↗sun is a widely used metaphor, also in the EOTC theology: it is one, but in the same sun there is roundness, radiance and heat (e.g., *Mäṣḥafä qəddase* 1995/96 [hereafter MQ]: 492). Another metaphor is the written word: the scribe prepares the ink, the pen and the skin, yet there is no division between the words that he writes on the parchment and those which remain in his heart. In the same way the Word appeared in the flesh without separating himself from the unity with his Father and with the Holy Spirit. The theologians are aware that no analogy can adequately represent the Mystery. Hence, they specify that unlike the case of the heart, word and life, among the three Persons there is no one that precedes or that comes after; none of the Three is inferior or superior (MQ 486f.). There is no time in which the Father was without the Son and Holy Spirit (Confession of the 318 Nicene Fathers, s. ed. Alberigo 1996:5).

Basic terminology and *formulae*

The Father is the heart, the Son is the word of the Father and of the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit is the vital energy of the Father and of the Son. They share equally: *həllawe* ('substance'), *mängəśt* ('reign'), *mäläkot* ('Divinity'), *ḥəllina* ('thought'), *fətwät* ('desire'), *śəmrät* ('will'), *kəhilot* ('power'; YaqMist I, 149). They are distinct in: *səm* ('name'), *akal* ('person'), *gäṣ/gəṣṣawe* ('face'), *raʾəy* ('appearance'), *mälkəᶜ* ('image') and *gəbr* ('activity'). There is also the term *qənum/aqanim* seen as a synonym of *səm* (*Haymanotä abäw* 1974/75 [hereafter HA]:49, ch. 13, part 1, 2–6). ᶜ*Ǝrina* ('equality') is a key word which designates the absolute equality between the Divine Persons. Divine essence (*kunätat*), God's divine character (*baḥrəy*) consists in intelligence (*ləbbənnät*), in the capacity to speak (*qalənnät*) and in vital energy (*ḥəyawənnät*).

"Immanent Trinity"

There are several formulae describing the internal (*ab intra*) life of the T. A passage attributed to Basil of Caesarea says: "Before anything else, let us believe in one God who has three Persons, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Trine, equal, though One, Three and One while Three" (HA 116, ch. 34, part 5, 2–3). Each of the Three Persons has his own property which cannot be predicated to the other: "The Father generates and lets [the Holy Spirit] proceed; the Son is generated and the Holy Spirit proceeds [from the Father]". The liturgy (↗ *Qəddase*) proclaims the eternity of the T.: "From before the world and ever after, God is in his Trinity, God is in his Divinity, and God is in his Kingdom" (*Anaphora* of Dioscorus, MQ 448, § 3). Incarnation and Redemption are a plan of the T. as a whole, as stated in the refrain of Tuesday's ↗ *Wəddase Maryam*: "Because He came and saved us by his own accord, and with the consent of his Father and of the Holy Spirit" (cp. Fries 1892:34, 55).



Trinity, single painted wooden panel (10.8 cm x 10.5 cm), from a folding multi-panel icon, early 16th cent.; photo courtesy of the IES (inv. no. 3898)

The thought and language of the EOTC regarding the doctrine of the T., especially in local compositions such as the writings ascribed to St. ↗ Yared, are still an open field of research. The ↗ *wazema* of 7 *Ḥamle* (the Feast of the T.) reads: "We believe and we worship One God who exists before [the creation of] the world, and we believe in the Second God who, in his authority resembles the Father, and we believe in the Third God, the Holy Spirit who has authority over everything" (*Mäṣḥafä ziq* 1986/87:200). The language of this hymn does not reflect the usual formulation of the Mystery of the Holy T. The Three Divine Persons are never spoken of in terms of "first", "second" and "third". Such expressions represent an uncommon brand of Ethiopian theology and deserve more attention (theme covered in more detail in Tedros Abraha, in preparation).

"Economic/Self-revealing Trinity"

The EOTC professes that the T. rules the world, and the Divine Persons are correspondingly called *agaᶜəztä ᶜaläm* 'the Rulers of the World'. Such texts as, e.g., *Mäṣḥafä* ↗ *ziq* (1986/87:200f., "We believe in the T., we praise the T., we prostrate before the T., because they have created us from the nature of wind and fire, from the nature of water and earth […]", "I sign myself and rise in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, I take the three names and lean [on them], if I was to fall I will stand up, and if I would walk in darkness, God will enlighten me. I have trusted in God") illustrate the vision of the EOTC regarding the relationship of the T. with creation in general and with humanity in particular.

The "unity" and "T." of God is reflected in humans who are created "in the image and likeness of God" (Gen 1:26). The soul is endowed with a trinitarian structure so that it is intelligent (*läbbawit*), speaking (*näbabit*), and living (*ḥəyawit*). The EOTC admits that the T. should be considered in silence and admired (*təträmmäm wätətnäkkär*) rather than investigated and explained (*Mäṣḥafä ziq* 1986/87:202; cp. Weischer 1980:28).

The *Mälkəᶜa śəllase* (Tedros Abraha 2008) by *abba* Səbḥat Läᵓab (of ↗Ṭana Qirqos; a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, he died on 9 August 1702; cp. DombrChr 233) creates a skilful synthesis between the "immanent" and the "economic" T.

Controversies concerning the doctrine

Many of the theological disputes that tormented the first six centuries of the Christian Church emerged almost 1,000 years later in Christian Ethiopia. The *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir* is the earliest known text which deals systematically with old and new heresies. There is a treatise refuting Sabellius (YaqMist I, 1-27). A crisis around the doctrine of the T. exploded at the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. The *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*bərhan* mentions the doctrines of Zämikaᵓel and Aṣqu (cp. ↗Zämikaᵓelites), who taught that "the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit were three names, one person, one hypostasis and one aspect" and that the T. does not have a physical aspect.

In some liturgical texts, e.g., the *Anaphora* of Our Lady attributed to Cyriacus of Behnesa, each Person of the T. is addressed as the sun (MQ 492, §73). This formulation would be the result of differences between Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and the priests of the court who wanted to describe every Person as the sun in order to respect their distinction. On the other hand there were those who chose to speak of one sun only, for fear of falling into the error of worshipping three gods (Getatchew Haile 1981:102–36).

In more recent times, controversies have erupted around the concept of *mäläkot* (Tedros Abraha 2008:333–55). Some stated that "the Father is *mäläkot*, the Son is *mäläkot* and the Holy Spirit is *mäläkot*", the implication being that there are three Divinities. This language was met with fierce opposition from those who teach that the Divinity is one. The two camps are known as supporters of *and mäläkot* ('one Divinity') and *śost mäläkot* ('three Divinities'). According to a legendary account the row was triggered by contrasting interpretations of the first strophe of the *Mälkəᶜa śəllase* composed by *abba* Səbḥat Läᵓab which reads: "Each of your faces has divinity" (BerTarik 238–42). The hotbed of the controversy was the hermitage of ↗Waldəbba where the monks were divided into two rival families: the house of *abunä* Minas which held the "one Divinity" creed and the house of Ṭaᶜəmä Krəstos associated with the "three Divinities" formula. The upholders of the "three Divinities" creed were accused of being disciples of Yoḥannəs Täᶜaqabi, i.e. John Philoponus (6th cent.), known also as Yaḥyā an-naḥawī ("the Grammarian"), or al-Askulāᵓī ("the Scholastic"; GrafLit vol. 1, 417, §117). The dispute involved other areas as well, most notably, the monasteries of ↗Däbrä Abbay, ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, and the clergy of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon. The controversial trinitarian formulas were introduced to ↗Däbrä Bizän by *abba* Kidanä Maryam Gäbre after he returned from Waldəbba (contra KWKDic 595).

On 14 April 1907, *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II wrote a letter to the people of ↗Təgray, inviting them to put aside the differences which split them into two factions: one claiming that "the Divinity is one" and the other that "Divinity is three". The letter called for reconciliation, but also dealt with the issue of the Unity and T. of God, drawing heavily from the writings of the Fathers. The Emperor concluded with a demand to obey what he wrote, adding that "those who disobeyed would be excommunicated by *abunä* ↗Matewos and that physical punishments too would have been meted out" (*Waldəbba* … 2000/01:89ff.).

There was an assembly, involving Aksum and Däbrä Abbay, at ↗Däse in November 1914, in which the Metropolitan *abunä* ↗P̣eṭros participated. The meeting was chaired by *mämhər* ↗Akalä Wäld. The spokespersons were: *nəburä əd* Gäbrä Ḥəywät for Aksum and *nəburä əd* Abraha for Däbrä Abbay. The Aksumites were sticking to the "one Divinity" position and the Däbrä Abbay formation to the "one Divinity in Three Persons" formula. The Metropolitan favoured the Aksumites, whereas Akalä Wäld sided with the Däbrä Abbay party. The argument was won by Däbrä Abbay. The division along the "one Divinity"/"three Divinities" also knew violent aspects (such as the arson of a church in 1945, s. *Waldəbba …* 2000/01: 98); it still lingers on in Waldəbba.

In the last century the T. was at the centre of a polemical argument, with many voices raised against the Jehovah Witnesses who vehemently reject the belief in the T. and are regularly labelled as "new sons of ↗Arius" (cp. Kidanä Maryam Yosef 1995).

The Mystery of the Holy Trinity in daily life

Every prayer starts with the sign of the Cross in which the T. is named. Blessings are imparted in the name of the Three divine Persons and to this purpose, the formula ኣሐዱ፡ ኣብ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ኣሐዱ፡ ወልድ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ኣሐዱ፡ ውእቱ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ 'The one Father is holy, the one Son is holy, the one Holy Spirit is holy' is the preferred prayer. Reconciliation among persons who have had differences is made in the name of the T. Food and drinks prepared for religious celebrations are always blessed with a trinitarian formula which is recited three times: በእንተ፡ ስሙ፡ ለአብ፡ በእንተ፡ ስሙ፡ ለወልድ፡ በእንተ፡ ስሙ፡ ለመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ, 'Through the name of the Father, through the name of the Son and through the name of the Holy Spirit'. The name of the T. is invoked when farmers start to plough, before people start butchering animals, at the beginning of meals and at the end. Male and female personal ↗names, as well as names of churches, monasteries and other places involving the T. are common (cp. ↗*Tabot*). Devotion to the T. is expressed by the works of ↗Gəʿəz literature such as the *Zena śəllase* or the ↗*Täʾammərä śəllase*. The *Säyfä śəllase* (↗Magic literature), an abridged version of *Zena śəllase*, is a widespread devotional book.

↗Theology

Src.: Giuseppe Alberigo et al. (eds.), *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, Bologna ^{1}1996; DillmLex 232; DombrChr 213, n. 420, 233; Karl Fries (ed., tr.), ውዳሴ፡ ማርያም. *Weddâsê Mârjâm. Ein äthiopischer Lobgesang an Maria*, Leipzig 1892; *abunä* Gäbrəʾel, ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ሃይማኖት። አንደኛ፡ መጽሐፍ (*Ortodoks haymanot. Andäñña mäṣḥaf*, 'The Orthodox Faith. Book 1'), Asmära 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.]; ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው (*Haymanotä abäw*, 'Faith of the Fathers'), Addis Abäba 1967 [1974/75 A.D.], ^{2}1986 [1993/94] [HA]; *ʿaqqabe säʿat* Käbte, መጽሐፈ፡ ምእላድ (*Mäṣḥafä məʾəllad*, 'Book of the Birth'), ms. in possession of the author; Kidanä Maryam Yosef, መሰኻኽር፡ ጀሆቫ፡ ምስክርነትኩም፡ ሓቀኛ፡ አይኮነን (*Mäsäk̠ak̠ər Ǧähova məskərənnätkum ḥaqqäñña aykonän*, 'Jehovah Witnesses: Your Witness is not Truthful'), Asmära 1995; KWKDic 595; Mäsärät Səbḥat, ሥላሴ፡ በተዋሕዶ (*Śəllase bätäwaḥədo*, 'Trinity in Unity'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.]; Pontus Leander (ed.), *'Argānōna Ueddāsē*, Leipzig 1922; መጽሐፈ፡ ቅዳሴ (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase*, 'The Book of the Hallowing'), Addis Abäba ^{2}1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.], 448, 486f., 492; መጽሐፈ፡ ዚቅ፡ ወመዝሙር (*Mäṣḥafä ziq wämäzmur*, 'Book of Hymns and Songs'), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.], 200ff.; ምሥጢረ፡ ሥላሴ (*Məśṭirä śəllase*, 'Mystery of the Trinity'), Addis Abäba 1903 A.M. [1910/11 A.D.], ^{2}1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; PG 75, 653–1124; PG 94, 1340D; Rachid Haddad, *La Trinité Divine chez les Théologiens Arabes* (*750–1050*), Paris 1985, 122–27; *abba* Səbḥat Läʾab, ሰይፈ፡ ሥላሴ። ወመልክአ፡ ሥላሴ (*Säyfä śəllase wämälkəʾa śəllase*, 'The Sword of the Trinity, and the Effigy of the Trinity'), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; Tedros Abraha (ed., tr.), "Mälkə'a Śəllase – L'Effigie della Trinità di Abba Səbḥat-Läab. Analisi storica, letteraria, teologica", in: *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* vol. 15, 2008 (Studi e testi 453), 311–98; ዋልድባ፡ በሀገረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አቢሲንያ። ያብረንታንት፡ ገዳም፡ ታሪክ … (*Waldəbba bähagärä əgziʾabəḥer Abisinəya. Yabräntant gädam tarik* …, 'Waldəbba in God's Country, Abyssinia. History of the Monastery of Abräntant …'), n.p. 1993 A.M. [2000/01 A.D.], 89ff., 98; Manuel Weischer (ed., tr.), *Qērellos IV 3*: *Traktate des Severianos von Gabala, Gregorios Thaumaturgos und Kyrillos von Alexandrien*, Wiesbaden 1980 (AeF 7), 19–67, 28, 30, 32ff., 38, 42–46; Kurt Wendt (ed., tr.), *Das Maṣḥafa Milād* (*Liber Nativitatis*) *und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē* (*Liber Trinitatis*) *des Kaisers Zarʾa Yāʿqob*, Louvain 1962, 1963 (CSCO 221, 235 [SAe 41, 43]; YaqMist I, 149 (text) = 89f. (tr.).

Lit.: Berhanou Abebbé (ed.) – Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, ሀይማኖተ፡ አበው፡ ቀደምት። *La foi des pères anciens*, 1. *Texte éthiopien. Enseignement de Mamher Kefla Giyorgis* …, Stuttgart 1986 (SKK 79), 76–105; BerTarik 238–42; Verena Böll, *Unsere Herrin Maria. Die traditionelle äthiopische Exegese der Marienanaphora des Cyriacus von Behnesa*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 48), 46–61; Enrico Cerulli, "«Il Mistero della Trinità» manuale di teologia della Chiesa etiopica monofisita tradotto dall'amarico", *OrChrP* 12, 1946, 47–129; Giuseppe Furlani, "Un Trattato etiopico sulla Trinità", *RSO* 10, 1923, 48–57; *abba* Gabré Yesus Haylu, "Considerations theologiques sur le Melke'a-Sellasie de Abba Sebhat Le'Ab", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 272–79; *mäggabe ḥaddis* Gäbrä Mädḫən Dəmyanos, ህልውና፡ ሥላሴ፡ ዘለዓለም። ሥላሴ፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ህልዋን፡ ኢዮም (*Həlləwənna śəllase zäläʿaläm. Śəllase zäläʿaläm hələwan iyyom*, 'The Eternal Existence of the Trinity. The Trinity Exists from Eternity'), Asmära 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.]; Getatchew Haile, "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *OrChr* 65, 1981, 102–36; GrafLit vol. 1, 417, §117; Mogäs ʿƎquba Giyorgis (ed.), ሥነ፡ ፍጥረት፡ ወአምስቱ፡ አዕማደ፡ ምስጢር (*Śənä fəṭrät wäʾamməstu aʿəmadä məsṭir*, 'The Beauty of Creation and Five Pillars of Mystery'), Asmära 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.]; Pierluigi Piovanelli, "Le controverses théologiques sous le roi Zar'a Yā'qob (1434–1468) et la mise en place du Monophysisme Éthiopien", in: Alain Le Boulluec (ed.), *La controverse religieuse et ses formes*, Paris 1995, 189–227; Adolf Martin Ritter, "Trinität I", in: Gerhard Müller (ed.), *Theologische Realenzyclopädie*, vol. 34,

Berlin 2002, 91–99; Maxim Rodinson, “L’Homélie sur la foi en la Trinité de Sévérien de Gabala”, in: *PICES* 1, 387–96; Domenico Spada, *Le formule trinitarie da Nicea a Costantinopoli*, Roma 1988; Tedros Abraha, *Aʿəmadä Məsṭir*, *“The Pillars of the Mystery”. A Handbook of Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Theology*, in preparation.

Tedros Abraha

Trinity in art

The earliest extant examples of the symbolic image of the Triune God as three identical persons appear in Ethiopian icons datable to the early 16th cent., although this iconography of the Holy T. was probably introduced to the repertoire of Ethiopian art by the means of European models in the 15th cent. (ChojPaint fig. 40), a period of heightened exchange between western Europe and highland Christian Ethiopia (Heldman 1994: 139–62). Ethiopian examples include an engraved processional ↗cross in the collection of the Harn Museum, University of Florida, Gainesville (Inv. No. 2003.10.9) and icons in the collection of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies (Chojnacki 2000, nos. 95, 114, 168). The three-person T. may have been included in the murals of Ethiopian ↗churches decorated during the late 15th and early 16th cent., but none are extant.

Establishing a symbolic representation that signifies the inseparability and the indivisibility of the Triune God presented a challenge. Two distinctive iconographic types of the T. were developed in western Europe. One version, the Throne of Grace (Braunfels 1954: xxxvff.), which shows God the Father holding the Crucified Christ and above whom is the dove of the Holy Spirit, an iconography that inspired little or no interest among the Eastern Churches. The second, the T. as three identical persons (ibid. xvi–xxv), was more readily received. This iconography incorporates the Byzantine portrait type of Christ Pantocrator – dark hair and cruciform halo, holding a book (Jn 1: 1; s. Schiller 1971, figs. 653, 656–-57, 659). A mural fragment from the cathedral at Faras, presently in the National Museum, Khartum (Michalowski 1967, pls. 84f.; Weitzmann 1970: 335f.) demonstrates that the iconography of the T. as three identical persons had been introduced to Nubia, although the context within which this iconography was received awaits investigation.

The reception of this symbolic iconography of the T. as three identical persons by Ethiopian patrons and painters was dependent upon the theological writings of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. In his *Homily in Honour of Saint John the Evangelist*, he argued that God the Father is not separated from the Son and the Holy Spirit, God the Son is not separated from the Father and the Holy Spirit, and God the Holy Spirit, Paraclete, is not separated from the Father and the Son (Getatchew Haile 1983: 158f.; Heldman 1994: 185ff.). This treatise was a primary inspiration for the pictorial programmes developed by the Emperor’s court painter ↗Fəre Ṣəyon, whose surviving works include an image of the white-haired figure of the Ancient of Days (Dan 7: 9–10, Rev 4: 6), i.e. God the Father, combined with that of Jesus Christ the Son. The portrait is surrounded by a mandorla with the Four Heavenly Creatures who hold books, thus indicating that the Four Heavenly Creatures surrounding the throne of God are not only symbols of theophany, but also are symbols of the Four ↗Evangelists, authors of the Word (Jn 1: 1; Heldman 1994: 191ff.). This portrait-type signifies the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son.

16th-cent. Ethiopian representations of the T. show three identical half-length (or knee-length) figures with cruciform halo and framed by a mandorla with the Four Heavenly Creatures. Each blesses with the right hand and with the left grasps a book, usually along the top edge (Chojnacki 2000, nos. 114, 168), as in the manner of Fəre Ṣəyon’s figure of Ancient of Days/Christ engraved upon an ebony icon (AfrZion no. 78). The hair colour of different sets of three identical figures varies; the sets of three figures either have white hair as for God the Father or dark as for Jesus Christ the Son. The striking similarity between these images of the T. and Fəre Ṣəyon’s single figure of Christ/Ancient of Days leads one to conclude that, although the prototype of three-person T. was introduced from Europe, this particular imagery is an Ethiopian innovation.

The 16th-cent. iconography of the T. as three identical persons evidently was abandoned during a century from which few works of religious art are extant. This period came to an end with the founding of the capital of ↗Gondär in the 1630s. Gondärine rulers became important patrons of art. A new iconography which demonstrates the consubstantiality of God the Father and the Son was introduced in the second half of the 17th cent. – the figure of Christ /Ancient of Days is depicted with an orb surmounted by a cross rather than a book in his left hand. This new element was inspired by a European iconographic model known as the *Salvator Mundi*, which shows Christ holding an orb surmounted by a cross. This symbolic portrait, created in northern Europe in the 15th cent., had also become very popular in Italy by early 16th cent. The new Ethiopian iconography of the consubstantiality of God the Father and the Son is found in the murals of the royal church of ↗Däbrä Sina at Lake Ṭana (Di Salvo 1999:143) and the royal church of Ǝnṭonəs at Gondär (Bosc-Tiessé – Wion 2005:65–71). Both sets of murals exemplify the First Gondärine style of painting. Located on the tambour above the west wall of the sanctuary (*↗Mäqdäs)* is the seated figure of God the Father as Ancient of Days with white hair and the cruciform halo of Christ. He holds an orb with cruciform finial, symbol of world rule. Surrounding his mandorla are the Four Heavenly Creatures, symbols of theophany, and at his sides are the Twenty-Four Priests of Heaven carrying censors.

A slightly different combination of symbolic elements appears on several icons of the same period. A double-sided diptych shows a seated figure with yellow halo, his black hair curling down upon his shoulders, much like Western versions of Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, and holding in his left hand an orb surmounted with a cross. He is paired with a bust portrait of Christ crowned with thorns (*↗Kʷərᶜatä rəᵓəsu*) on the adjoining panel (Chojnacki 2000, no. 109). The inscription beside the figure with the orb identifies him as "God, Ruler of the Universe".

A juxtaposition of two virtually identical figures appears on a diptych that was once the property of the Ǝnṭonəs church (Bosc-Tiessé – Wion 2005:39ff.). Below the pair of iconic portraits are two narrative scenes: figures mourning over the body of Christ and a scene of his burial.

A new variation of the iconography of the T. as three identical figures appears in Gondärine art in the early 18th cent. The figures are depicted with white hair as of the Ancient of Days and their yellow or orange halos have no suggestion of a cruciform design. The left hand holds a very small orb or may appear to be empty. As in all images of the T., the right hand is raised in a gesture of blessing.

The compositional layout of this image usually takes the form of a rectangle with greater width than height, and the Four Heavenly Creatures are placed at the four corners of this rectangular composition. This form of this composition is perfectly compatible with the standard placement of a portrait of God or the T. in the standard decorative programme of circular churches, i.e. upon the tambour above the west wall of the sanctuary (Bosc-Tiessé – Wion 2005:71ff., 94f., 110f.). An 18th-cent. version of the T. as three identical persons remains *in situ* upon the tambour above the west wall of the sanctuary of the church of the T. on the island of Narga at Lake Ṭana, ↗Narga Śəllase (Di Salvo 1999:135, 161, 198f.). The church, decorated with paintings in the Second Gondärine style, was founded by Queen Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa). Virtually identical compositions painted in the Second Gondärine style decorate manuscripts produced at Gondär for patrons of the ruling-elite class (ChojPaint fig. 63). Similar images are engraved upon processional crosses (AfrZion no. 114) and painted on icons (Chojnacki 2000, no. 232).

The renewed interest in the iconography of the T. as three identical figures and its widespread reception may have been stimulated by the patronage of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, just as the initial introduction of the T. to Ethiopian art was ultimately dependent upon Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's theological writings on the unity of the T. *Aṣe* Iyasu I's church of the T. – ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase – was consecrated in February 1694 (BassÉt I, 358 [text]). The original circular church burned down and was rebuilt by the early 19th cent. (Annequin 1976:218f.), and the original scheme of decoration is unknown. Nevertheless, it is safe to assume the iconic image of the T. in the original church took the form of the T. as three identical persons with white hair and holding orbs and flanked by the Twenty-Four Priests of Heaven, painted upon the tambour above the west wall of the sanctuary. This 18th-cent. version of the T. as seen in the 19th-cent. rebuilt church of Däbrä Bərhan at Gondär remained the standard representation of the Trinity throughout the 20th cent. and indeed continues to be the standard iconography in the 21st cent.

Src.: BassÉt I, 358f. (text) = II, 305 (tr.); GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily of Zär'a Ya'əqob in Honour of St. John the Evangelist, EMML 1480, ff. 48r–52v", *OrChr* 67, 1983, 144–66.

Lit.: AfrZion nos. 78, 114; GUY ANNEQUIN, "De quand datent l'église actuelle de Dabra Berhan Sellasé de Gondar et son ensemble de peintures?", *AE* 10, 1976, 215-26; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ – ANAÏS WION, *Peintures sacrées d'Éthiopie. Collection de la Mission Dakar-Djibouti*, St-Maur-des-Fossés 2005, 65–71, 94f., 110f.; WOLFGANG BRAUNFELS, *Die Heilige Dreifaltigkeit*, Düsseldorf 1954 (Lukas-Bücherei zur christlichen Ikonographie 6), xxxvff.; STANISLAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University*, Milan 2000, nos. 95, 109, 114, 168, 232; ChojPaint 130–70, figs. 40, 63; AGOSTINO COLLI, "Note di iconografia etiopica: i Quattro Esseri Viventi e la Trinità", *Arte Lombarda* 146, 2006, 23–33; ID., "Dall'Occidente all'Etiopia: cenni di iconografia della Trinità dal XVI al XVII secolo", in: CLAUDIO SILVESTRI (ed.), *L'iconografia della SS. Trinità nel sacro monte di Ghiffa: contesto e confronti. Atti del Convegno Internazionale*, Verbania 2008, 33–53; MARIO DI SALVO (ed.), *Churches of Ethiopia: the Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999, 135, 143, 161, 198f.; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns. Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, 369–75; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 191ff., 139–62, 185ff., 191ff.; KAZIMIERZ MICHALOWSKI, *Faras. Die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand,* Zürich – Köln 1967; GERTRUD SCHILLER, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, Bd. 3: *Die Auferstehung und Erhöhung Christi*, Gütersloh 1971, figs. 653, 656–57, 659; KURT WEITZMANN, "Some Remarks on the Sources of the Fresco Paintings of the Cathedral of Faras", in: ERICH DINKLER (ed.), *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit*, Recklinghausen 1970, 325–46.

Marilyn E. Heldman

Tripartite Treaty of 1906

On 13 December 1906 in London, Britain (↗United Kingdom), ↗France and ↗Italy signed a treaty settling their differences regarding Ethiopia (↗Treaties and conventions, s. EAE vol. 5). In principle, the three powers agreed to "maintain the integrity of Ethiopia" while protecting "their respective interests". (Preamble; cp. Hertslet, 1967: 436). The T.T. contained a pledge of neutrality and "non-intervention" (Art. III; Hertslet, 1967: 437) in the internal affairs of Ethiopia, and emphasized that the signatories must make every effort to prevent the disintegration of Ethiopia and maintain her integrity (Art. IV; ibid.).

Two major factors promoted the signing of the treaty: One was the fact that, ten years after the Battle of ↗^{c}Adwa, *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's empire was independent and strong, reaching its peak. The Emperor was aging (he became ill in May 1906 and would lose some of his physical abilities in 1907), his presumed successor, *ras* ↗Mäk^{w}ännən Wäldä Mika^{ə}el, died in March 1906, and the danger of a chaotic process of succession and of possible disintegration worried the neighboring imperialist powers. The second factor was that Britain and France had drawn closer and, since their 1904 "entente cordiale", they made mutual efforts to reach maximal cooperation in Africa.

All three powers had recognized Ethiopian independence in their respective bilateral treaties with Mənilək in the aftermath of ^{c}Adwa. Nevertheless they had contrasting interests in Ethiopia. The French were in the process of building the Djibouti–Addis Abäba railway line (↗Railways) and were thus in a position to dominate the Ethiopian economy and future modernization. They also aspired to have the regions along the railway line recognized by the other powers as their sphere of interest; and in fact the international status of the railway was regulated by the T.T. (Art. V–IX, Hertslet, 1967: 437–38). The Italians dreamt of a railway line connecting their colonies of ↗Eritrea and ↗Somalia and running east of Addis Abäba and therefore in the French "sphere". They also hoped that their interpretation of their old agreements with Ethiopia, by which they claimed to have the whole country under their patronage, would, at least by a vague implication, be accepted by the other powers. The British sphere of interest was western Ethiopia and, principally, the Blue Nile basin (↗Abbay). As their Nile interests were guaranteed by Mənilək (in the 1902 agreement), the British were interested in maintaining the status quo in Ethiopia and ensuring its stability.

The 1906 T.T. further solidified the British-French Entente and advanced their interests in Ethiopia. In principle, the French were allowed to continue with the railway enterprise and the British would try to promote their Nile interests, uninterrupted by other Europeans. The Italians had to settle for the status of junior partner and shelve their dreams of a railway and a protectorate. The three powers, somewhat prior to the signing, in July, notified Mənilək, who responded: "We thank [the powers] for their communication, and their desire to keep and maintain the independence of our Government. But let it be understood that this arrangement in no way limits what we consider our sovereign rights" (Marcus 1975: 211). In later communications, Mənilək refuted the notion of "spheres of interest" even more strongly, sensing the only barely veiled claims of the three powers to intervene into Ethiopian affairs (cp. BZHist 111, 115f.).

The T.T. was significant in that it deepened the dialogue and coordination between the three powers involved, and prevented other powers from effective intervention. In 1916, the British, French and Italians worked together to depose *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu and to remove the threat of Turkish–German penetration. They later enabled the 1923 admittance of Ethiopia as a sovereign state to the ↗League of Nations. However, the treaty, by its very spirit, did have a paternalistic dimension that was soon to undermine Ethiopian independence. In 1925, the three powers divided Ethiopia into spheres of influence and in 1935, the British and the French betrayed Ethiopia abandoning her to ↗Mussolini who sought to avenge ᶜAdwa and claim the whole country.

Src.: Edward Hertslet, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, 3 vols., London ^{3}1967, here vol. 2, 436–44.

Lit.: George Baer, *The Coming of the Italo-Ethiopian War*, Cambridge 1967; BZHist 85, 101, 111, 114, 126, 150f.; René Ferry, “L’Ethiopie et l’expansion européenne en Afrique orientale”, *Annales des Sciences Politiques* 25, 1910, 17–36; Thomas Lennox Gilmour, *Abissinia: the Ethiopian Railway and the Powers*, London 1906, passim; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II, 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 204–12; Id., “A Preliminary History of the Tripartite Treaty of December 1906”, *JES* 2, 2, 1964, 21–40; Edward C. Keefer, “Great Britain, France and the Ethiopian Tripartite Treaty of 1906”, *Albion. A Quarterly Journal concerned with British Studies* 13, 4, 1981, 364–80, Carlo Rossetti, *Storia diplomatica dell’ Etiopia durante il regno di Menelik II*, Torino 1910, passim.

Haggai Erlich

Tuberculosis ↗Diseases

Tubiana, Joseph

T. (b. 22 October 1919, Algiers, d. 16 December 2006, Paris) was a French ethnologist and linguist (for ill. s. EAE vol. 3, 272).

T. was born to a family of Jewish descent. He attended a lyceum at Algiers and in 1938 he entered Algiers University to become a teacher in Classical Studies. He was mobilized during World War II. Upon demobilization in 1945 he continued his studies in Paris learning Amharic with ↗Cohen at the École nationale des Langues orientales vivantes (ENLOV, later ↗Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales), Gəᶜəz with ↗Grébaut at the Institut catholique and with Cohen at the École pratique des hautes Études (EPHE), linguistics with André Martinet and Gustave Guillaume and religion with Maurice Leenhardt at the same school as well as ethnology with ↗Griaule at the Sorbonne.

In 1948 T. joined the Centre national de la Recherche scientifique (CNRS) as researcher. His first field research in Ethiopia took place from March 1949 to June 1950. His results were significant for the study of Amharic and Gəᶜəz but also for ↗Agäw, and he also collected material on the ↗Kəmant and the ↗Betä Əsraᵓel which remained among his preferred research subjects.

In 1950 he succeeded Cohen as lecturer of Amharic at ENLOV. He took the chair in January 1957 teaching Amharic and Ethiopian cultures until 1974. From 1951–60 he also directed the Department of White Africa and the Levant at the Musée de l’Homme. During this period he conducted research missions in Chad, Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia. From 1960–85 he taught the historical ethnology of East Africa at the EPHE.

In 1974 T. returned to CNRS, for which he created the Peiresc laboratory – research centre of East Africa at Sophia-Antipolis (Antibes). The laboratory closed with T.’s retirement in 1986, T. himself remained academically active until his death.

T. organized a number of international conferences, including “Les langues couchitiques et les peuples qui les parlent” at the CNRS in 1975 and the Fifth ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, whose Proceedings he edited (PICES 5a). He also edited the *Guirlande pour Abba Jérôme* (Paris 1983), *Voyages et Voyageurs* (Bruxelles 1984) and *La Révolution éthiopienne comme phénomène de société* (Paris 1990). Another major work T. contributed to ↗Ethiopian studies is his *Ethioconcord. Concordance automatique des calendriers éthiopien et grégorien* (Rotterdam 1988).

Src.: for T.’s bibliography s. Marie-José Tubiana, “Bibliographie de Joseph Tubiana”, in: Alain Rouaud (ed.), *Les orientalistes sont des aventuriers. Guirlande offerte à Joseph Tubiana par ses élèves et ses amis*, Saint-Maur 1999, 291–301; Alain Rouaud, “Les derniers travaux de Joseph Tubiana”, *Nouvelles de l’ARESAE* 161, Juin 2007, 7.

Lit.: Alain Rouaud, “Joseph Tubiana”, in: *Deux siècles d’histoire de l’École des langues orientales,* Paris 1995, 368; Id., “In memoriam Joseph Tubiana”, *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 218–20; Marie-José Tubiana, “Un tracé biographique”, in: Alain Rouaud, *Les orientalistes* …, op. cit., 287–89; Barbara Casciarri, “The Long Walk, VI: ‘Lors du travail de terrain il faut être comme un poisson dans l’eau’”, *Nomadic Peoples* new ser. 8 (2), 2004 [2006], 5–35.

Alain Rouaud

Tucker, Archibald Norman

T. (b. 10 March 1904, Cape Town, d. 16 July 1980, London) was a major British linguist working on various languages of East Africa from the 1930s onwards. He obtained his M.A. from the University of Cape Town in 1926 and his Ph.D. from the University of London, where he was undertaking postgraduate studies in the Department of Phonetics at University College under Daniel Jones. After a period working for the Education Department of the Sudan government collecting material on various languages of that country, he was appointed in 1932 to the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics at the then School of Oriental Studies (later the ↗School of Oriental and African Studies), London. His research interests covered a wide range of East African languages, including those of the Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and even South Africa, but he is perhaps best known for his work on "Nilotic" and ↗Nilo-Saharan languages. In 1951 he became Professor of East African Languages at the School of Oriental and African Studies, where he remained until his retirement in 1971.

T.'s range of linguistic interests covered a much wider area than is pertinent to Ethiopia, Eritrea and the Horn of Africa, but of note in this narrower scope are the two volumes he co-authored with Margaret Bryan, his colleague at SOAS, on the non-Bantu languages of north-east Africa (1956, 1966), reflecting an interest that T. had in language classification. Though now superseded thanks to the vastly better quality and quantity of language data, both works still remain a landmark in the history of the linguistics of the region. Also a pioneering study is his brief article (1967) in which he identified the Cushitic "block-pattern" of person markers in verbal inflection. His scholarly interests also extended to questions of the orthography of African languages, especially Bantu languages, as well as to the folklore and anthropology of many of the peoples whose languages he had worked on, most notably the Luo of Kenya. Amongst T.'s grammatical descriptions we may note works on Maasai and Luo.

Src.: ARCHIBALD TUCKER, "Erythraic Elements and Patternings – some East African Findings", *African Language Review* 6, 1967, 17–25; ID. – TOMPO OLE MPAAYEI, *A Maasai Grammar with Vocabulary*, London 1955; ARCHIBALD TUCKER, *A Grammar of Kenya Luo (Dholuo)*, ed. by CHET CREIDER, Köln 1994; ID. – MARGARET BRYAN, *The non-Bantu Languages of North-eastern Africa*, Oxford 1956; ID., *Linguistic Analyses of the non-Bantu Languages of North-eastern Africa*, Oxford 1966.

Lit.: JOHN KELLY, "Tucker, Archibald Norman (1904–1980)", in: *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2nd Edition, vol. 13, Oxford 2005, 142.

David L. Appleyard

Tukrīr

In Amharic and Tǝgrǝñña the term T. (and variants; Tgn. Tuk̠rir, Tǝk̠ʷǝrir, pl. Täk̠ʷarir) is mainly used to designate persons of West- or Central-African origin living scattered in Ethiopian and Eritrean territories. T. (from Takrūr) was the name of a medieval capital of a West African kingdom by the same name known by Arab geographers. The kingdom was located on the lower Senegal River and it flourished for a short period in the 11th cent. A.D. From the 14th cent. A.D. Arab writers in the Mediterranean region usually applied the name T. in reference to the entire area of Muslim West Africa and its inhabitants.

The *nisba* Takrūrī (pl. Takārīr and Takārna) was and is still used in the Middle East and the Nile Valley to refer to Muslim West Africans (individuals and communities) in general. From the 15th cent. biographical works include persons who lived in the Middle East with the *nisba* al-Takrūrī attached to their name. West African pilgrims to ↗Mecca have also been identified as Takārīr, as well as those individuals and communities who have settled in the ↗Sudan, Eritrea and Ethiopia on their way to Mecca or upon their return from ↗pilgrimage.

Many T. of the Horn of Africa have their origins in the wider Nigerian region (sultanates of Bornu, Kanem, and other regions dominated by Fulani [i.e. ↗Fellata], and/or by ↗Hausa). Some, however, have no connections to these regions, but are also called T. by their neighbours, due to a local re-interpretation of the term as meaning people with "black skin and curly hair". Except these, all T. are Muslims. T. communities mainly exist all along the western border areas of the historical "Abyssinian" highlands, from the western Eritrean lowlands down to ↗Beni Šangul south of Wälläga, with some T. in other Ethiopian and Eritrean areas from ↗Massawa via ↗Tǝgray to ↗Käfa.

An important origin of T. migrations from western Africa into the Sudan and finally further to Ethiopia and Eritrea were the Fulani *ǧihāds* of the early 19th cent., the first one being the 1804 *ǧihād* of the Fulani *šehu* Usuman dan Fodio against the Hausa state of Gobir. He declared his *ǧihād* to be a preparation for the coming of the Mahdī; finally the Fulani could establish an Empire in 1831, owing allegiance T. *amīr* of Sokoto. These *ǧihāds* influenced the Sudanese ↗Mahdists, and in turn the Mahdī later actively sought support in the Niger-Chad region; his successor *ḫalīfa* Abdullahi was himself of T. origin (Biobaki – al-Hajj 1966: 426f., 432). Following prophecies, which foresaw the appearance of the Mahdī in the east after drought and civil war, people migrated from Hausa to the Nile valley already in 1837–42, followed by further migrations from the Sokoto Empire to the Sudan (ibid. 428f., 434). After colonization the migration of T. increased considerably, around 25,000 Fulani settling in the Blue Nile area after 1902 (ibid. 435f.).

In addition, colonies of T. pilgrims to ↗Mecca exist along the classic pilgrim routes from western Africa to Mecca, throughout the Sudan, from Darfur to al-ᶜUbayyid, in ↗Kassala and ↗Sinnār, and from there along two routes via Shendi to ↗Sawākin, with annually ca. 500 pilgrims (ibid. 431, as described by Burckhardt in 1814), or via Ethiopia to Massawa, with annually 150-200 pilgrims (ibid.). During their pilgrimage, which usually took years, T. sometimes settled permanently or for a long time along these routes in order to earn their living, especially in the Ǧazīra, ↗Qadārif and Kassala.

In the 19th cent. there was a "T. šayḫ-dom" at the western borders of Ethiopia, with ↗Mätämma as its centre, in the Sudanese province of ↗Qallabat; its dominating population consisted of T. settlers from Bornu, Darfur and Wadai, some of whom had remained here after a pilgrimage to Mecca, but many as merchants controlling the trade between the Ethiopian highlands and the inner Sudanese sultanates. This *šayḫ*-dom was at times tributary to Egypt, and to the Christian Ethiopian state. Egypt granted land to them (James 1884), on which they still cultivate dourah. In the early 19th cent. their leader originated from Bornu; later, his followers took refuge further north in the western lowlands below Wälqayt after having been defeated by a competing Furi group from Darfur, who from then on, until the late 19th cent., dominated this *šayḫ*-dom. Still today, a large part of the population of the Sudanese town Qallabat (historically part of Mätämma) are "T." (i.e. mainly Fūr). The latter were counted among the T., as Darfur was once tributary to Bornu and considered part of "*bilad* al-Takrūr" ('country of T.', according to the Fulani *sulṭān* Muḥammad Bello; Saburi Biobaku – Muhammad al-Hajj 1964:427f., 430).

Already in the early 19th cent. much of the lowlands west of Wälqayt (today called Qafta Ḥumära, s. ↗Ḥumära) were described by travellers and is depicted on 19th cent. maps as a "T." area; the T. of this region were locally known for their knowledge of traditional medicine (Parkyns 1853:350). The origin of these T. is largely undocumented. According to informants in Humära today there are Hausa (from Bornu among others), and at least a few Fellata, living in several settlements in the modern plantations around Humära. Many of them migrated there from the Sudan in the course of modern labor migration, but other might descend from Bornu groups settling there possibly before the 19th cent.

After the foundation of the colony of Eritrea, T. were also settling in its western lowlands as plantation workers (e.g., in Kunama areas and near the ↗Gaš River, of north Nigerian origin, EllLusAnt 97), and as petty merchants in Eritrean towns along trade routes into the Sudan such as ↗Kärän and ↗Täsänay, living in their own separate quarters, called Ḥilät Täkʷarir ('Quarter of the Westafricans'), and electing their own chief. Their language is called Tikarna ᶜArabəñña ('Arabic of the T.'), as they mostly use an Arabic dialect due to their Sudanese connections. However, they also use their languages of origin among each other (in Eritrea Hausa and Fulfulde; cp. EllLusAnt 95–105). Other T. settled in Eritrean towns during their pilgrimage to Mecca; some of their descendants live in the port of Massawa.

Another group of "T.", in the lowlands east of the Wälqayt highlands in Mäzäga *wäräda* (not identical with the historical ↗Mäzäga, of which this was only a strip), are the ↗Ṣällim Bet, remnants of an old indigenous Nilo-Saharan-speaking population of ↗Gumuz origin. In older terminology, seemingly before the migration of West- and Central-Africans, these were rather called "↗Šanqəlla". They were first submitted by Muslim ↗Bälaw rulers of Mäzäga, later by Christian Ethiopians. For example, the Chronicle of ↗Iyasu II and Iyoᵓas reports that *aṣe* Iyasu II went to war against the Bälaw and "Šanqəlla", during which male trophies were cut (GuiIyas).

A local tradition recorded in the 1860s north of ↗Dängolo in Təgray, connected even the grave of "a Meccan *šarīf*" (i.e. in ↗Nägaš, the site of the grave of the ↗*naǧāšī*) with T. areas. The tradition claimed that this Meccan (seemingly a reminiscence of the tradition of Nägaš as the asylum for "followers" of Muḥammad) had travelled through all of Africa, including T. areas, such as Timbuktu at the Niger River, the 19th cent. Fulani-Sultanate Sokoto and Darfur, and had died on his way back to Mecca. This tradition establishes a connection between the pilgrimage route to Mecca used by T. and the Muslim pilgrimage site of Nägaš, which can be seen as an indication that T. pilgrimage was then already prominent enough to be known in Təgray (Rohlfs 1882:67f.).

Several "T." settlers of West-African origin, mostly Hausa, but also Fellata, have migrated from the Sudan to western Ethiopia at least starting from the early 20th cent., between Wälläga and Beni Šangul (s. the articles on Hausa and Fellata). The "Fellata" of Beni Šangul, among them certainly also Hausa, have been known locally since decades as merchants and are known for their cattle.

The existence of the holy shrine of ↗Yaᵓa between Begii and ↗Asosa might also have attracted T. settlers. In the first half of the 20th cent. a Northnigerian *ḥăğğī al-faki* Aḥmad ʿUmar from Bornu, has founded this site, which is abundant of water and fruits. After his death in around 1948 he was buried here. In the 1970s the shrine with a small mosque and a garden was attracting tens of thousands of pilgrims on Islamic holidays (Hasselblatt 1973:72). *Šayḫ* Aḥmad ʿUmar had first settled in Gera in ↗Käfa *awrağğa*, where he taught at the local Qurᵓān school, then went to Minka near ↗Dambi Dolloo, travelled to Mecca and finally settled in Yaᵓa, where he possessed much land (cp. Minako Ishihara in PICES 13). Oral tradition suggests that he established an effective irrigation system there, which helped the local peasants to improve their income considerably.

Src.: Charles Beke, *The Sources of the Nile*, London 1860; GuiIyas; Frank Linsley James, *The Wild Tribes of the Sudan*, London 1884; Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia: being Notes Collected During Three Years' Residence and Travels in That Country*, London 1853, 349–51; Gerhard Rohlfs, *Im Auftrage Sr. Majestät des Königs von Preussen mit dem Englischen Expeditionscorps in Abessinien*, Bremen 1882, 67f.

Lit.: Saburi Biobaku – Muhammad al-Hajj, "The Sudanese Mahdiyya and the Niger-Chad Region", in: Ioan Myrddin Lewis (ed.), *Islam in Tropical Africa, Studies Presented and Discussed at the Fifth International African Seminar, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, January 1964*, Oxford 1966, 425–38; Ulrich Braukämper, *Migration und ethnischer Wandel: Untersuchungen aus der östlichen Sudanzone*, Frankfurt/Main 1992 (SKK 103); Giovanni Ellero, "I Tacruri in Eritrea", *RSE* 6, 2, 1947, 189–99 (repr. in *EllLusAnt* 95–105); Gunnar Hasselblatt, "Der Islam in Äthiopien", *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch. Sonderausgabe Äthiopien* 1973, 70–73; John O. Hunwick, "Takrūr", *EI*^{2}, vol. 10, 142f.; Minako Ishihara, "The Life History of a Muslim Holy Man: Al-Faki Ahmad Umar", *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 391–402; Arthur E. Robinson, "The Tekruri Sheikhs of Gallabat (S.E. Sudan)", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 26, 101, 1926, 47–53; Umar al-Naqar, "Takrūr: the History of a Name", *JAH* 10, 3, 1969, 365–74; Id., *The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa*, Khartoum 1972; Id., "The Takarir of Gallabat", *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 67–71.

Wolbert Smidt

Tukul ↗Houses

Tulluu

Däggazmač T. (ቱሉ) was the governor of ↗Damot in the late 17th–early 18th cent. He was a son-in-law of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I and an important politician at the Gondärine court.

Though himself of Oromo descent, T. headed Iyasu's troops during the latter's campaigns against the Oromo. T.'s success as a military commander brought him Iyasu's daughter Wälättä Śəllase in marriage. His influence grew so much that in 1705 he waged a rebellion against his father-in-law. Iyasu suppressed the revolt and with the help of T.'s father the two were reconciled.

In 1706 T. sided with Iyasu's son and successor ↗Täklä Haymanot and was instrumental in Iyasu's deposition. At the beginning, his position was similar to that at Iyasu's court, and Täklä Haymanot sent T. to collect tribute in Wägära and Səmen. However, when the new Emperor refused to proclaim ↗*Qəbat* as state doctrine, T. joined his aunt-in-law, Iyasu's sister ↗Ǝleni, in a dethronement conspiracy to overthrow him. Täklä Haymanot uncovered the plotters and had both T. and his aunt imprisoned. In 1706 Täklä Haymanot exiled T. to Təgray, and had him blinded there by ↗Hab Śəllus. T. was freed in 1708 by ↗Tewoflos. The date and circumstances of his eventual death are not known.

Src.: BassÉt II 318, 321f.; BTafA 415ff.; BegCron 79, 83ff., 118f.; DombrChr 239, 249; GuiIohan.
Lit.: BTafA 979.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Tulluu Guddoo

T.G. (ቱሉ፡ ጉዶ) is the Oromo name for the largest island of Lake ↗Zʷay that is called Däbrä Ç̣on in Zay and Däbrä Ṣəyon ('Mount Zion') in Amharic (for location s. map for Ṭəčo).

Oral traditions from T.G. (Meyer 2001) as well as a document from Aksum (SerHist 226ff.) report that the *tabot* from the Church of Ṣəyon Maryam in Aksum was safeguarded from destruction at Lake Zʷay during the reign of the mysterious Gudit (↗Ǝsato) in the 10th cent. and again during the campaigns of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī in the 16th cent. (cf. SerHist 41, 226). Henze (in PICEA 1, 31) assumes that a monastery was established at T.G. between the 12th and 14th cent. The monks ↗Anorewos and ↗Filəppos, who where exiled to Lake Zʷay in the first half of the 14th cent., are probably its founders (TadTChurch 189). The 16th-cent. *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl is said to have sent manuscripts to Lake Zʷay for safekeeping in a monastery which had already been established (PankBord 141, 207).

Clear evidence about monastic life dates back to *abba* Sinoda at the beginning of the 15th cent., who was given the monastic habit at the T.G. monastery (TadTChurch 189). The Zʷay area served as a place of exile until the 16th cent. (TadTChurch 188f.; VSAe II, 656). Almeida, too, reports the existence of a monastery at Lake Zʷay (BeckHuntAlm 30, 36), which, however, seems to have been in decline at that time. The monastic life at T.G. was revitalized when Mənilək II subjugated the ↗Zay in 1893 (GSMen 202f., Keller 1918: 110f.) and ordered priests from the nearby ↗Zəqʷala mountain to serve at the monastery on T.G. (GSMen; Läykun Bərhanu 1993: 27). Between 1916 and 1919 A.M. *abba* Gäbrä Maryam, the later *abunä* ↗Ṗeṭros, served as teacher at T.G. (Märša Alläḵäññ 2004: 74). He revitalized elementary church education, i.e. teaching writing in Gəᶜəz and Amharic and the memorization of texts (Tesfaye Edetto 1988: 15). During that time the T.G. monastery was officially recognized as monastery of the coenobitic model (Ərgätäqal Ḫaylä Śəllase 1988/89: 8). The monastery served as a center of traditional education until a modern secular primary school was built on T.G. in 1972 (Tuma Nadamo 1982: vii). Although the old monastery and the church of Ṣəyon Maryam were situated on an elevated place at Wäyzäro on the eastern summit, the foundation of a residence for *abunä* ↗Luqas, Archbishop of ↗Arsi near the village of Durmäğa at the south-western bay, entailed the construction of a new church (Henze 1977: 112, Läykun Bərhanu 1993: 27). The new church, which was finished in 1993/94, was built on a small slope near the *Abunä's* residence (Läykun Bərhanu 1993: 28). The foundation of Zʷay town and a nearby theological college probably led to the decline of the monastery.

No information is available as to whether a scriptorium ever existed at T.G. (Henze in PICEA 1, 37). Gäbrä Śəllase (GSMen 97) reports that a prophecy mentioned in a book from the monastery on T.G. was the reason for Mənilək II to chose ↗Ənṭoṭṭo as his camp. Several sources report that the T.G. monastery hosts a number of manuscripts, such as a manuscript on ↗Kaleb's expedition to South Arabia (SerHist 127; Läykun Bərhanu 1993: 26), some fragmentary parchment folios of the Gospels (classified as IES no. 2475) or the *Tulluu Guddoo Book of Saints* (cf. Henze in PICEA 1, 37ff.) which most probably was microfilmed as EMML no. 7602 during an art exhibition in Addis Abäba in the 1980s (cf. Fiaccadori 1993: 150).

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 30, 36; ; Ərgätäqal Ḫaylä Śəllase, **ዕጹብ፡ ድንቅ፡ ዛይ** (*Əṣub dənq Zay*, 'Miraculous Zay') Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.] (ms.); GSMen 202f.

Lit.: Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Aethiopica minima", *Quarderni Utinensi* 7, 13/14 [1989] 1993, 145–65; Paul B. Henze, "Lake Zway and its Islands", *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 76–88; Id., *Ethiopian Journeys*: *Travels in Ethiopia 1969–72*, Addis Ababa 1977; Id., "Lake Zway – Southern Christian Outpost and Repository of Medieval Ethopian Art", in: *PICEA* 1, 30–40; Conrad Keller, *Alfred Ilg*: *Sein Leben und sein Wirken als schweizerischer Kulturbote in Abessinien*, Frauenfeld — Leipzig 1918; Läykun Bərhanu, "**ያልተፈተሸ፡ የታሪክና፡ የባሕል፡ ቅርጽ**" (*Yaltäfättäšä yätarikənna yäbaḥəl qərṣ*, 'Unresearched Monuments of History and Culture'), in: **ያዝዋይ፡ ደብረ፡ ጽዮን፡ ገዳም፡ ታሪካዊ፡ አመጣጥና፡ አመሰራረት** (*Yäzway Däbrä Ṣəyon gädam tarikawi ammäṭaṭənna ammäsärarät*, 'The Historical Foundation and Emergence of the Monastery of Zʷay Däbrä Ṣəyon'), Addis Abäba 1986 A. M. [1993 A.D.], 22–35; Märša Aläḵäññ, **ዜና፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን** (*Zena ṗaṗṗasat ityoṗyawyan*, 'History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.]; Ronny Meyer, "Zay – Traditions of a Christian People in the Heart of Ethiopia", *Hristianskij Vostok* 2, 2001, 317–28; PankBord 141, 207; SerHist 41, 127, 226ff.; TadTChurch 188f.; Tesfaye Edetto, *Socio-Economic Life of the Zay with Special Emphasis on the Fishing Industry*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1988; Tuma Nadamo, *A History of the Zāy in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1982; VSAe II, 656.

Ronny Meyer

Tulluu Gunǧi

T.G. (b. ca. 1800, d. 1839 or early 1840) was the second Oromo king of ↗Geeraa who ruled from 1835 until his death.

T.G.'s father Gunǧi created the nucleus of the state of Geeraa, the last Oromo state to be formed in the ↗Gibe region, during the late 1820s or early 1830s. When Gunǧi died, most likely on a battlefield in the early 1830s, he was succeeded by T.G.

T.G. is remembered in local tradition as a tall, well built man, a talented politician, warrior and administrator (Jimma Interview Programme 1974, fol. 7). His primary ambition was the expansion of the frontiers of the state of Geeraa at the expense of its neighbours. His success in a series of wars against the neighbouring states of ↗Käfa and ↗Gomma brought him broad fame throughout the whole Gibe region (MHasOr 112). However, his campaign against ↗Gumaa, successful at first, eventually led to failure.

T.G.'s half brother, Abbaa Baso, aspired himself to the throne of Geeraa, and the cunny king of Gumaa ↗Ončo Ǧilča offered his support to the rebel. When Abbaa Baso fled to Gumaa, T.G.

decided to attack Ončo, but was defeated by a much more numerous army of his adversary. T.G. was captured and put in chains. The leaders of the states of Limmu-Ǝnnarya, Ǧimma and Gomma sent their ambassadors begging Ončo to spare the life of T.G.,but Ončo had T.G. killed in a horrifying manner (CerFolk 161), subsequently beating and imprisoning the ambassadors themselves (MHasOr 113; CerFolk 161).

Src.: *Jimma Interview Programme*, conducted in the Gibe region in 1974, photocopies of Richard Caulk.

Lit.: CHARLES T. BEKE, "On the Countries South of Abyssinia", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 13, 1843, 254–69, here 259; CecZeila 541f.; CerFolk 161; MHasOr 112f.

Mohammed Hassen Ali

Turaev, Boris Aleksandrovič

T. (b. 5 August 1868, Novogrudok [today's Respublika Belorus], d. 23 August 1920, St. Petersburg) was a renowned Russian Orientalist born to provincial gentry. T. entered the gymnasium in Vilno (Vilnius) and then the historico-philological faculty of St. Petersburg University where he studied Egyptology under the tutorship of Oscar von Lemm. After the completion of the course in 1891, he was retained at the University as a post-graduate student, and was sent for studies abroad for one year. He attended the lectures of a number of prominent scholars (Adolf Erman and Eugène Maspero on Egyptology, Eberhard Schrader on Assyriology and ↗Gəᶜəz) and worked in the museums of Berlin, Paris, London, and also in Italy, collecting the material for his magister thesis.

After his return in 1896 T. lectured on the history of the Ancient Orient and Egyptology at St. Petersburg University as assistant professor. In 1898 he was given the degree of Magister of General History for his thesis: *God Toth*: *an Attempt of a Study in the Domain of the History of Ancient Egyptian Culture* [St. Petersburg ^{2}2002].

T. published his first work in the field of ↗Ethiopian studies in 1897 (*Horologium of the Ethiopian Church*; cp. *Säᶜatat,* EAE vol. 5), and since then, apart from his Egyptological studies (his major field), he produced writings devoted to Ethiopian topics every year. Following the methods and general approach of Vasilij Ključevskij, *Old Russian Vitae of Saints as Historical Source* (1871), T. prepared a study of some Ethiopian hagiographic works (mostly Vitae [↗*Gädl*] of the major Ethiopian ↗saints) as his doctorate thesis (TurIz). It represented substantial progress in the field of Ethiopian studies, since, before T., the endeavours of European students of Ethiopian ↗hagiography had mostly been limited to the edition and translation of texts. Instead, T. undertook the investigation of Ethiopian hagiography as a whole, a work which was less recognized in the western academic tradition since it knows T. first and foremost as a publisher of hagiographic texts (his editions of Vitae of ↗Filəppos of Däbrä Libanos, ↗Samuʾel of Waldebba, ↗Aron, ↗Ewosṭatewos etc.; published in the series *Monumenta Aethiopiae hagiologica*, initiated by T., and in the ↗Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium). In 1904 he launched a second series of publications of Gəᶜəz texts with Russian translations (*Pamjatniki efiopskoj pismennosti*, 'Monuments of Ethiopian literature', eleven fascicles, 1904–12). Feeling obliged to study the materials collected in ↗Russia, he prepared a description of the Ethiopian manuscripts in St. Petersburg (cp. Turaev 1906) and contributed to quite a number of issues of Gəᶜəz literature and Ethiopian history (cp. his numerous studies on hagiography; ↗*Täʾammərä śəllase,* ↗monastic literature [1906a]; liturgy [1891, 1901]; the problem of ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob and his *Ḥatäta*; the ↗*Bəᶜəlä nägäśt*; Ethiopian ↗magic literature [1899], numismatics etc.; s. also important notes of Bolotov for BassÉt, prepared by T. for publication [1910]).

T. was the first professor after ↗Dorn to resume the university course of Gəᶜəz in ↗Russia, considering, however, the teaching of Ethiopian history and literature as his main task.

T. also became well-known for saving the ca. 6,000-item Egyptian collection of Vladimir Goleniščev; due to the efforts of T., the collection was bought by the government and remained in Russia. In April 1911 T. transported the collection to the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts. The work of accommodating and cataloguing the collection (T. was appointed its keeper) led to T. abandoning the University in 1912; he assumed the duties of the head of the Egyptian department of the Museum which he performed until his death. He did not stop his Ethiopian studies and prepared two volumes of his *History of the Ancient Orient*, for which he was awarded the gold medal of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society. In 1913 he was elected a corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, and in 1918 a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The advent of the Communist government in 1917 was a great blow to T., who, being a devoted Orthodox Christian, had to see how the atheistic regime ruined the Church in a rough and resolute way. When the University church was closed, of which T. was a warden, he made a church in house no. 8 in the Birževaja Line near the University.

After the 1917 Revolution T. continued his scholarly activities; for the last two years of his life he actively worked at the Petrograd [the then St. Petersburg] Theological Institute. The hardships of life in post-revolutionary Russia took their toll, and, being exhausted and distressed, T. suffered both physically and psychologically. Shortly before his death, T. was ordained a deacon. He was buried at the Nikolskoe cemetery (St. Petersburg).

T.'s bibliography comprised ca. 160 main titles; quite a number of his works appeared posthumously, including his translations of Ethiopian royal chronicles (of the emperors ᶜAmdä Səyon I, Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, Ləbnä Dəngəl, Gälawdewos, Minas) edited by Kračkovskij in 1936; excerpts from a few Ethiopic texts in manuscript collections of St. Petersburg, in *Rassegna di studi etiopici* (1948); and, finally, an essay on Ethiopian apocryphal literature in 1999.

Src.: TurIz; Boris Aleksandrovič Turaev, "Efiopskie orationes falsae et exorcismi" ('Ethiopian orationes falsae et exorcismi'), in: *Recueil des travaux rédigés en mémoire du Jubilée scientifique de M. Daniel Chwolson, 1846–1896*, Berlin 1899, 242–67; Id., "Nočnoe bogosluženie efiopskoj tserkvi po rukopisi No. 131 arheologičeskogo muzeja pri Kievskoj Duhovnoj Akademii" ('Nocturnal Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church after ms. 131 in the Archaeological Museum of the Kiev Spiritual Academy'), *Trudy Kievskoj Duhovnoj Akademii* 1, 3, 1901, 389–424; Id., *Efiopskija rukopisi v' S.-Peterburge* ('Ethiopian Manuscripts in St. Petersburg'), St. Petersburg 1906 (Zapiski Vostočnago otdelenija Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologičeskago Obščestva); Id., ዜና፡ ደብረ፡ ሊባኖስ. *Povestvovanije o Dabra-Libanosskom monastyre* ('*Zena Däbrä Libanos*. The Narrative about the Monastery of Däbrä Libanos'), St. Petersburg 1906a (Pamjatniki efiopskoj pismennosti 4); Id., "Zametki k kratkoj efiopskoj hronike" ('Notes on an Ethiopian Short Chronicle'), *Vizantijskij vremennik* 17, 1910, 270–82; Id. (tr.), *Abissinskie hroniki XIV–XVI vv.* ('Abyssinian Chronicles of the 14th–16th Centuries'), ed. by Ignatij Kračkovskij, Leningrad 1936 (Trudy Instituta Vostokovedenija 18); Id., "Testi etiopici in manoscritti di Leningrado", *RSE* 7, 1, 1948, 1–12; Id., "Evangelie detstva hristova v efiopskoj pismennosti" ('Infancy Gospels of Christ in the Ethiopian Literature'), *Hristianskij Vostok* 1 [7], 1999, 434–47 [and a note on p. 448ff.]; Id., "Proekt obiteli učonyh inokov" ('A Project of a Monastery of Learned Monks'), *ibid.* 2 [8], 370–75 [s. also articles and brief notes pp. 366–69, 377–89]; *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 7, 1921, 109 ["Notes and News"].

Lit.: Galina Belova – Tatjana Šerkova, *Russkie v strane piramid* ('Russians in the Country of the Pyramids'), Moscow 2003, 74–85; Warren R. Dawson – Eric P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology: a Bibliographical Index of Egyptologists …*, London ^{2}1972, 290; Ignatij Kračkovskij, *B.A. Turaev i hristianskij vostok* ('B.A. Turaev and Christian East'), St. Peterburg 1916; Id., *Vvedenie v efiopskuju filologiju* ('Introduction into Ethiopian Philology'), Leningrad 1955, esp. 104–08, 181–85, s. index; Sofja Miliband, *Vostokovedy Rossii XX – načala XXI veka. Bibliografičeskij slovar'. Russian Orientalists of the 20th and Early 21st Centuries: a Bio-bibliographical Reference*, Moscow 2008, 506f. (Lit.); Maria Right, "Turaev's Contribution to the World Science of Ethiopian Studies", in: *SegBodLes* 323–39; Aleksandr Šarov, *Tvorčeskij put' i naučnoe nasledie akademika Borisa Aleksandroviča Turaeva* ('Creative Life and Scholarly Heritage of the Academician Boris Aleksandrovič Turaev'), Ph.D. thesis 2000, Russian State University for the Humanities 2000 (Lit.); Id., "Dva dokumenta o B.A. Turaeve" ('Two Documents about B.A. Turaev'), in: *Pamjatniki i ljudi* ('Monuments and People'), Moscow 2004, 109–24.

Sevir Chernetsov

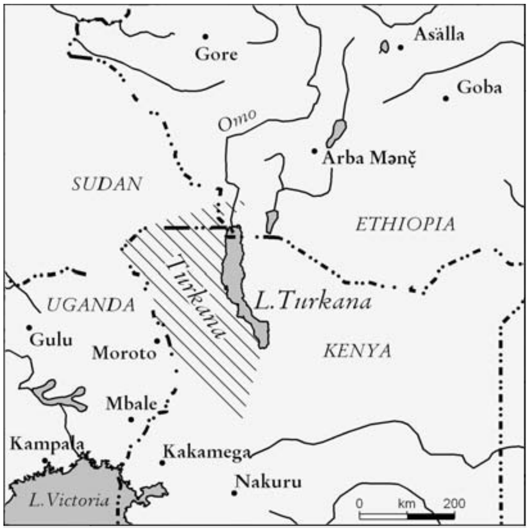
Turkana

Turkana language

T. is an Eastern ↗Nilotic (↗Nilo-Saharan) language spoken by ca. 365,000 people many of whom live west and south of Lake ↗Turkana, north-western Kenya. Around 25,000 T. live north of Lake Turkana in south-western Ethiopia (s. Gordon 2005: 119, 137). The T. people call their language *ŋá-tʊ̀rk(w)ánà´* (fem. pl.), and refer to themselves as *ŋí-tʊ̀rk(w)ánà´* (masc. pl.), *(ñ)ɛ́-tʊ́rk(w)àná-ít* (masc. sg.). They are referred to by neighbouring groups as Bume, a name also used for the neighbouring ↗Ñaŋatom people, whose language is mutually intelligible with T. Ñaŋatom and T. are part of a dialect continuum usually referred to as Teso-T., which also includes Dodoth [*Dodoṯ*], Ğie, Karimoğoŋ, Teso and Toposa. Northern T. is virtually identical to the neighbouring Toposa.

Like the other members of the Teso-T. cluster, T. has two register tones (high and low) as well as downdrift plus downstep. The consonant inventory consists of the labials *p*, *b*, *m*, *w*, the alveolars *t*, *d*, *s*, *l*, *r*, *n*, the palatals *č*, *ǧ*, *ñ*, *y*, and the velars *k*, *g*, *ŋ*.

T. has nine vowels, which can be divided into two sets based on their behaviour in terms of vowel harmony: vowels *i*, *e*, *o*, and *u*, produced with an advanced (+ATR) tongue root, and *ɪ*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ*, and *ʊ*, produced with an unadvanced (-ATR) tongue root (s. Noske 2000). Within a word, a contrast occurs between short and long (i.e. double) vowels: *ǧɪk* 'completely' vs. *ǧɪɪk* 'always'. In word-final open syllables, short vowels are devoiced before pause



when carrying a simplex as against a complex (i.e. high plus floating low or low plus floating high) tone. These vowels (written here between parentheses) are realized as extra-short voiced vowels when followed by another word, a feature also found in other Teso-Turkana languages.

T., like other Eastern Nilotic languages, takes gender-sensitive prefixes as an obligatory inflectional feature of most nouns (s. the ethnonym and language name above); nominal modifiers such as demonstratives, numerals or adjectives also take gender-sensitive agreement markers. The singular gender prefixes have an initial palatal nasal in Northern T., but are vowel-initial in Southern T.: e.g., masc. sg. *ñɛ́-/ɛ́-*. Nouns expressing geographical regions often do not carry gender markers, e.g. *tʊ̀rk(w)án* 'the land of T.'. The majority of nouns is inherently feminine, which is probably also the reason why feminine gender marking is used as a default, e.g., in the numerals 'one', 'two', 'three' below.

The number-marking system is based on a tripartite division for nouns, as is characteristic of many other Nilotic languages. Thus, for nouns which tend to be used in the pl. more than in the sg., the pl. constitutes the morphologically simpler form, as in 'tooth': *(ñ)ɛ́-kɛ́lá-ɪ́*ˋ (masc. sg.), *ŋɪ*ˊ*-kɛ̀l(á)* (masc. pl.). Alternatively, as in the word for 'tongue', the sg. is more basic and the corresponding pl. is inflected with a number suffix: *(ñ)á-ŋáǧɛ́p* (fem. sg.), *ŋá-ŋàǧɛ̀p-á* (masc. pl.). The third inflectional pattern involves number suffixation for both the sg. and the pl., as in 'old woman': *(ñ)á-kɪ*ˊ*má-t* (fem. sg.), *ŋá-kɪ*ˊ*má-k* (fem. pl.).

Gender distinctions are not marked on pronominal forms, either when occurring as independent pronouns or as pronominal subject prefixes on the verb.

T. has a rich and complex verb structure, involving inflectional markers for pronominal subject and object (in 1^{st}/2^{nd} pers. sg./pl.), number (sg. vs. pl.), tense, aspect, mood, and verbal extensions expressing semantic relations such as causative, dative, frequentative, habitual, instrumental, itive (movement away from the deictic centre), ventive (movement towards the deictic centre). The marking of these various notions often involves complex, phonologically and morphologically conditioned, allomorphy. Thus, the 2^{nd} pers. sg. is expressed by *ɪ-* or *i-* (following ATR-harmony rules) in the indicative mood and a prefix *tɔ-* or *to-* (due to ATR harmony) in the narrative mood.

The neutral word order is Verb-Subject-Object: *ɛ̀-sàk-ɪ́*ˋ$_1$ *ŋésì*ˊ$_2$ *ŋá-kɪ́pɪ̀*ˊ$_3$ '(s)he$_2$ wants$_1$ water$_3$'. Postverbal subject nouns and independent pronouns are inflected for Nominative case by way of tonal inflections. Objects as well as preverbal subjects or nouns and pronouns in isolation take Absolutive case. Genitive and Instrumental case are also expressed by way of tonal inflections. Locative case is marked through a combination of case inflection and prepositions, as well as a change in the shape of nominal gender prefixes. E.g.: Absolutive *(ñ)ɛ́-kɛ́lá-ɪ̀*ˊ 'tooth' vs. Locative *lɔ́-kɛ́là-ɪ̀*ˊ 'in, at, on the tooth'.

The T. Latin orthography as used in the Bible translation and a few school primers was developed in the 1970s and is based on the system used for Swahili and other Kenyan languages.

The ten-word list is as follows: *(ñ)á-péy* 'one', *ŋá-áréy* 'two', *ŋá-úní*ˋ 'three', *(ñ)á-kɪ̀m(ɪ́)* 'fire', *ŋá-kɪ́pɪ̀*ˊ 'water', *(ñ)á-kɔ̀lɔ́ŋ* 'sun', *(ñ)ɛ́-láp* 'moon', *ŋá-ákɔ́t* 'blood', *(ñ)á-ŋáǧɛ́p* 'tongue', *(ñ)ɛ́-kɛ́lá-ɪ́*ˋ 'tooth'.

Src.: RAYMOND G. GORDON (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 119, 137.

Lit.: ANTHONY J. BARRETT, *English–Turkana Dictionary*, Nairobi 1988; ID., *Turkana–English Dictionary*, London – Basingstoke 1990; GERRIT J. DIMMENDAAL, *The Turkana Language*, Dordrecht 1983; MANUELA NOSKE, "[ATR] Harmony in Turkana: a Case of Faith Suffix >> Faith Root", *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 18, 4, 2000, 771–812.

Gerrit J. Dimmendaal

Turkana ethnography

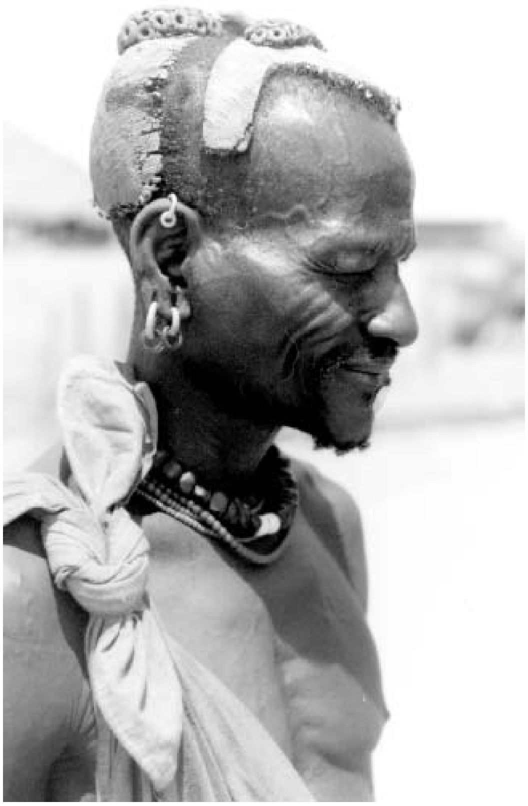
The T. (*ŋitʊ̀rkánà*), like the ↗Ñaŋatom, belong to the Eastern Nilotes and to the Karimoǧoŋ cluster (which includes groups from southern Sudan and Ethiopia, northern Kenya and Uganda). Approximately 250,000 T. inhabit the arid and semi-arid T. district (77,000 km^2) in the north-western part of ↗Kenya; approximately 25,000 live in south-western Ethiopia, and 100,000 in the Sudan, Uganda and western Kenya. The capital of the T. district is Lodwar. According to oral tradition, the T. dispersed from north-eastern Uganda about three centuries ago. They migrated east and forced the Samburu and Pokot to move southwards, and most probably pushed the Marille (↗Ɖáasanač) to the east, though some were integrated into T. society by intermarriage. The T. District was part of the British East Africa Protectorate.

The T. are mainly pastoral nomads practising vertical and horizontal transhumance, keeping cattle, camels, sheep, goats and, for transport, donkeys. They belong to the East African "cattle complex" societies and the "bovine idiom" is still relevant. Traditionally, they live as extended families in temporary homesteads. Descent is patrilineal and the post-nuptial residence viri-patrilocal. On marriage, bridewealth is transferred in livestock.

The T. are a segmentary society comprising 28 exogamous clans; the age-set system still plays a social-political role. In addition to this, everybody belongs to an alternating generation-set of his father/grandfather.

The material culture is typical for nomads and remains traditional to this day. Women wear back-skirts and aprons made of leather, a linen cloak as well as an abundance of necklaces, bracelets and ear-rings; married women also wear a metal neck-ring. Girls' and women's hair is shaved to a centre strip and greased with a mixture of butter and red clay. Men wear a linen cloak and leather sandals; their hair is decorated with white and red clay and, during ceremonies, an ostrich feather is worn; a wooden head-rest is therefore used during rest or sleep. The men's ornaments comprise bracelets and the unique wrist-/circular knives as well as bead necklaces; people who were previously bewitched additionaly wear protective amulets. Both sexes wear wooden, aluminium or ivory lip plugs, metal ear-rings, and, on special occasions, nose and ear ornaments made from aluminium.

The T. recognize a High God (*Akűğ*) who is a demiurge but today is neither present in their lives nor is he worshipped very often. The mediators (*ŋímurok*) between God and the people also often function as diviners, dreamers, seers, medicine men and rainmakers (↗Rainmaking). A T. man (*èkile*) has to be initiated (without circumcision), be the head of a family, own a lot of livestock and be economically independent. Outsiders call the T. a fierce people.


Turkana elder with traditional hairstyle; photo 1979, courtesy of the author

The northern T. maintain particularly close contact to the Ɖáasanač in Ethiopia for three reasons: their social-cultural normative values are very similar, they raid them for their cattle and intermarry with them in times of peace. Ethiopia's interest in the T. region is reflected in the fact that an Ethiopian governor was resident in the north until 1921. During the resistance against "Pax Britannica", the T. exchanged ivory with the *Abaš* (Ethiopians) for Russian and Italian rifles. Mənilək II demanded an Ethiopian-Kenyan frontier, which today can be found ca. 200 km south of the official border but was not bilaterally agreed upon until June 1970. During the last five decades, the T. District has repeatedly been afflicted by severe droughts in which thousands of nomads lost their cattle and were therefore trained in Non-Governmental and Governmental Organization programmes as fishermen and field irrigation cultivators. Research projects in T. District today particularly concentrate on ecological and economic changes.

Lit.: Philip Hugh Gulliver, *A Preliminary Survey of the Turkana*, Cape Town 1963 (Commonwealth School of African Studies new ser. 26); Id., *The Family Herds. A Study of Two Pastoral Tribes in East Africa*: *the Jie and Turkana*, London ^{2}1966; Günter Best, *Vom Rindernomadismus zum Fischfang. Der soziokulturelle Wandel bei den Turkana am Rudolfsee, Kenia*, Wiesbaden 1978 (SKK 14); Id., *Culture and Language of the Turkana, NW Kenya*, Heidelberg 1983; Id., *Nomaden und Bewässerungsprojekte. Eine Studie zum rezenten Wandlungsprozeß der Eheform und Familienstruktur bei den Turkana am oberen Turkwell, NW-Kenia*, Berlin 1984; Id., *Marakwet and Turkana. Neue Einblicke in die materielle Kultur ostafrikanischer Gesellschaften – New Perspectives on the Material Culture of East African Societies*, Frankfurt am Main 1993 (Sammlung 7: Afrika, Museum für Völkerkunde Frankfurt am Main); Hans-Egil Hauge – David Westerlund, *Turkana Religion and Folklore*, ed. by David Westerlund, Stockholm 1986.

Günter Best

Turkana

Lake T. (formerly Lake Rudolph) is the biggest lake in ↗Kenya (for location s. map for Turkana language). With 315 km length (north-south), 56 km width and 37 m depth (maximum) the lake (375 m A.S.L.) covers 9,000 km^2 and fills one of the grabens of the East-African Rift (Guida 547). High temperatures (an average of above 25° C) and the main rainfall (300 mm) first in April and then in July lead to the spread of malaria and trypanosomiasis along its shores. Salty and abounding in fish, this lake has numerous thermal and mineral springs and is the hydrographic endorheic basin of the ↗Omo River (77,205 km^2, Atlas).

The north-eastern and eastern shores of Lake T. are dominated by Mounts Sogo and Hadu, where ↗Boorana, Rendille and Arbore drive their cattle, and to the West, by Mounts Lodapalinga and the Loriyu plateau, where ↗Turkana pastoralists and fishermen are living. These peoples have suffered from droughts and clashes over grazing land. The Kenyan government has started to protect the animals and plants of the lake region (Sibloi and the three volcanic island National Parks on the eastern shore) in order to attract tourists who are accommodated in a couple of lodges.

To the south, the Teleki volcano and Höhnel island recall the names of the first European discoverers, Teleki and his assistant, Höhnel. Count Samuel Teleki von Szek was the first European who reached the southern shore of Lake T. in 1887. He named the lake after Crown Prince Rudolph of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Arthur Donaldson-Smith in 1895 and Vittorio ↗Bottego in 1896 explored its banks. *Däǧǧazmač* Count ↗Leontiev who had been sent by the tsar to *aṣe* Mənilək II left Ada in June 1899 and reached the lake on 20 August 1899. To the north he established Fort Sénégal – Léontieff had a Senegalese guard – and, to the South, Fort Mənilək. He was appointed governor of the Equatorial Provinces of Ethiopia and left in 1900.

The border between Ethiopia and British East Africa was moved northwards following agreements made in 1903–07. Only the northern shore (30 km) and the Omo delta belong to Ethiopia. Independent Kenya has replaced "Rudolph" by the name T. which is the name of the main ethnic group living on the lakeside.

Lit.: Alain Gascon, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", *Tropiques. Lieux et liens*, Paris 1989, 435–44; *Guida* 547; EMAtlas; MesfGeogr^{2}; David Turton, "Exploration in the Lower Omo Valley of Southwestern Ethiopia between 1890 and 1910", in: Maria Caravaglios (ed.), *L'Africa ai Tempi di Daniele Comboni*, Roma 1998 (Lit.); Colin Willock – Goetz D. Plage (photos), *La Grande faille d'Afrique*, Amsterdam 1974–76; *Provinces équatoriales d'Abyssinie. Expédition du Dédjaz comte N. de Léontieff. Photographies, chasses*, Paris n.d.

Alain Gascon

Turkey, relations with

The origins of diplomatic relations between T. and Ethiopia lie in the establishment of diplomatic relations between the ↗Ottoman Empire and Ethiopia at the end of the reign of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, originally prepared by the latter through his ↗trade contacts with the Ottomans.

Originally, the German legation cared for all Ottoman subjects, for which purpose consul Lorenz ↗Jensen built up a German consulate in Harär in 1910 (↗Germany, relations with). Soon, however, the Ottoman Empire opened its own representation in Harär in 1910, appointing Austrian Francis Kaden as honorary consul (b. 1866, Vienna, d. 1929, Harär; representative of Alois Schweiger & Co., Import-Export, Vienna; in 1912–17, he served as the German honorary consul in Harär). Kaden was succeeded in 1912 by *hacı* (*ḥaǧǧī*) Necib from Istanbul as consul in Harär, Michel Ackad being the secretary of the consulate. After the demise of Necib in 1913,

↗Maẓhar *bey* was appointed consul in Harär. He moved the consulate to Addis Abäba in 1914. After the removal of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu from power he returned to Harär, where he served until late 1919.

After the proclamation of the Republic of T., T. opened a legation in Addis Abäba in 1926 and Ahmet Münir was appointed chargé d'affaires; it was the 6th diplomatic mission opened in Addis Abäba. He served until 1931. In addition, in 1928 Emil Loeb (b. 3 January 1879, d. 5 April 1948 Addis Abäba), a German leather and hides merchant, was appointed honorary consul in Addis Abäba. In 1931 the legation was promoted to embassy (located near today's Ghion Hotel behind Mäsqäl Square). Nizamettin Ayaslı served as ambassador until he closed the embassy and left Ethiopia on 14 August 1936. On 29 March 1933 Hans Bernhard Walter Bohnenberger (b. 21 January 1901, Munich, d. 9 December 1988, Munich), a German engineer and businessman, who lived in Addis Abäba from 1927 to 1935, was appointed Turkish honorary consul in Ethiopia's capital; he remained in office until August 1935. In 1936, 20 Turkish citizens were living in Addis Abäba. In 1957, the Turkish embassy was reopened, now located in the Bole area, by ambassador Fikret Özdoğancı.

Aṣe Ḫaylä Śəllase I visited T. twice, and the Turkish President Sunay paid a state visit to Ethiopia in 1963. In 2006, Turkish Airlines opened Istanbul–Addis Abäba flights via Khartoum three times a week and in 2008 started daily direct flights.

By the first six months of 2010, Turkish investments in Ethiopia amount to more than 400 million US-$, mainly in the fields of textiles, agriculture, cables, furniture and construction materials.

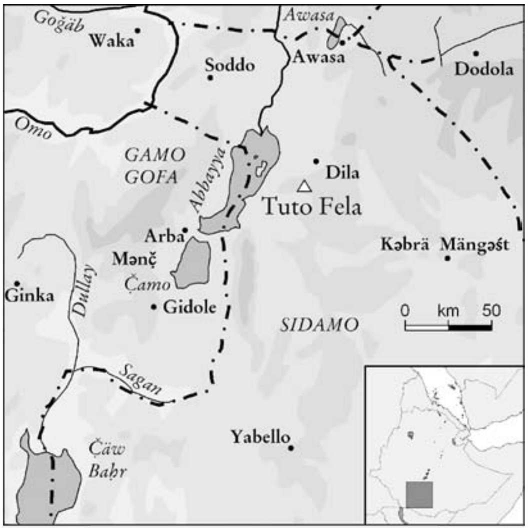
Src.: Collection of Johannes Bohnenberger, Munich; Abessinien-Korrespondenz [Addis Abeba] 5, 15 April 1928.

Lit.: BZHist 1991, 121f.; CENGIZ ORHONLU, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun güney siyaseti, Habeş Eyaleti* ('The Southern Politics of the Ottoman Empire: Habeş Eyalet'), İstanbul 1974; ZerÉth 490f.

Rudolf Agstner – Can Altan – Ali Riza Colak

Tuto Fela

T.F. is a megalithic site (↗Megalithic cultures) in Sidaama and Gideʾo zone, east of Lake Abbaya where thousands of ↗stelae have been erected. While phallic stelae are gathered in several groups throughout the region, the anthropomorphic ones occur only in a part of the Gideʾo zone.



To the south of Wänago, the T.F. site comprises a stone barrow, 50 m long and 20 m wide, covered with anthropomorphic stelae sometimes made from a reused phallic stele. These rhyolitic stelae have a carved face with nose and eyes and are dated from the 12th–13th cents. The site was first dug by a German team directed by ↗Jensen in the 1930s (Jensen 1936) and in the 1990s by a French team under Joussaume (Joussaume 2007).

The tumulus is a cemetery of individual or double tombs made with small adjoining tumuli. Most of these tombs are marked with anthropomorphic stelae that may have been completely hidden by newer tombs. Over 300 stelae, whole or in fragments, have been identifed and another 17 were taken in 1935 to Frankfurt am Main and placed there at the Museum of Ethnography, today Museum der Weltkulturen.

Underneath the surface tumulus another cemetery was found by the French team, made of shaft tombs, dug in the ground, at the bottom of which the dead were laid on one side. The funeral shaft was closed at the surface of the ground by a stone slab, a wooden plank, or by small stones which sometimes support a phallic stele in vertical position. That kind of tomb can be dated to about the 11th cent. by carbon 14. Phallic stelae might have served to mark the tomb of some important figures.

New excavations have recently been undertaken by the same French team at the phallic stele site of Čelba-Tutitti not far from the T.F. site. It was probably composed of more than a thousand ste-

A stele from Tuto Fela; photo 1995, from Joussaume 2007: 271

lae, some up to 6 m high. Nowadays, most of the stelae lie broken in pieces on the ground. These stelae were not associated with tombs and may have belonged to a sanctuary associated with a fertility cult. They might also date to an earlier period than T.F. and belong to a culture that utilized ceramics, polished axes, and an obsidian microlithic industry. The study of the Čelba-Tutitti site has not been concluded yet.

Lit.: ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN (ed.), *Im Lande des Gada*, Stuttgart 1936, 448–83; ROGER JOUSSAUME (ed.), *Tuto Fela et les stèles du sud de l'Ethiopie*, Paris 2007, 271 (ill.).

Roger Joussaume

Tutschek, Karl

T. (b. 13 January 1815, Bayreuth; d. 6 September 1843, Bayreuth) was a jurist and autodidact orientalist, who wrote the first ↗Oromiffaa dictionary and grammar and, thus, was a pioneer of ↗Oromo studies in Europe.

In 1838, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria purchased four slaves in the Sudan and brought them to Munich. T., then teacher to Prince Louis of Bavaria, started to teach the young Africans and to document their languages. One of them, Akafeḍee Dalle from "Botchi in Hambo" (Ambo?), Liiban province (d. 17 May 1841), turned out to be a Booran Oromo and became his most important informant; the other three were Sudanese: a Fori from Darfur, a Tumale, and a 12-years old Dinka.

T. managed to learn to speak Oromiffaa from Akafeḍee (Tutschek 1844: xii). Oromiffaa was at this time almost unknown to scholars. T. then established contacts with other Oromo, who had come to Europe as freed slaves (Fleischer 1845: 145). Among them was Oču Aga from "Urgeza in Sibu", brought to him from Vienna, and who, after leaving, carried on a lively correspondence with Akafeḍee in Oromiffaa (excerpts see PankSoc 122–25). T. also documented Oromo songs recited by ↗Maḥbūba shortly before her death (1840). On the invitation of Duke Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg, T. continued his research with the freed Oromo slave Amaan Gonda from "Hibi in Goma" (baptized Karl ↗Habasch), well-versed in his culture, in Mergentheim, southern Germany, in 1841.

T. died during preparations for an expedition to Africa funded by Crown Prince Maximilian of Bavaria. His brother Lorenz, a medical doctor, edited his dictionary and grammar posthumously (1844, 1845), with the support of the African Civilisation Society in London. The grammar contains Oromo texts, esp. prayers (for other Oromo texts collected by T. s. Praetorius 1889; 1893: 303–06). Only a few years before, ↗Krapf had started publishing on Oromiffaa as well; thereafter T.'s works became an important basis for Krapf's further publications. Lorenz T.'s plan to finish his brother's historical, geographical and ethnographical treatise on the Oromo was never realized.

Other texts in African languages from T.'s papers were not published until much later (e.g., by Meinhof 1921/22). Parts of his collections, kept in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, still remain unpublished. T.'s transliteration of Oromiffaa influenced the modern Oromo spelling in Latin script in the 1970s (Zitelmann 1991: 270).

Src.: KARL TUTSCHEK, "Ueber die Galla, mit Rücksicht auf Tumale, Darfur und Dar Denka", *Gelehrte Anzeigen der k. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 12, 1841, 441–66; CHARLES TUTSCHEK, *Lexicon der Galla Sprache, Dictionary of the Galla Language,* part 1: *Galla–Englisch–Deutsch*, *Galla-English-German,* ed. by LAWrence Tutschek, München 1844; Lawrence Tutschek (comp.), *Dictionary of the Galla Language*, part 2: [*English–Galla*], Munich 1845; Charles Tutschek, *A Grammar of the Galla Language*, ed. by Lawrence Tutschek, München 1845; Franz Praetorius, “Eine Galla-Fabel, aus Karl Tutscheks Nachlass mitgeteilt”, *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische Sprachen* [Berlin] 3, 1889, 77–79; Id., *Zur Grammatik der Galla-Sprache*, Berlin 1893, 303–06; Karl Tutschek, “Sprachproben von der Sprache in Darfur, I. Märchen”, ed. by Carl Meinhof, *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 12, 1921/22, 81–97.

Lit.: Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, “Wissenschaftlicher Jahresbericht”, *Jahresbericht der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1845 [Beilage VIII], 67–146, here 145f.; Monika Firla – Hermann Forkl, “Herzog Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg (1797–1860) und Afrika (Sudan, Äthiopien, Kanuri und Afroamerika)”, *Tribus* 47, 1998, 57–96; Monika Firla, *Exotisch – höfisch – bürgerlich. Afrikaner in Württemberg vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2001; PankSoc 122–25, 246 (Lit.); Thomas Zitelmann, *Nation der Oromo*, Berlin 1991, 270.

Wolbert Smidt

Tuulama

The T. are one of the largest branches of the ↗Oromo. According to T. traditions they have descended from “Boorana”, one of the legendary ancestors of the Oromo. Before the great Oromo population movement (ca. 1520–1620; s. ↗Oromo history, ↗Population history: migrations), they were organized into two big groups known as Bareentuu (↗Bareytuma) and ↗Boorana (s. Asafa Jalata 1993: 16).

The T. inhabit much of the area between the Abbay and the middle course of the Awaš, in the north-east as far as Wällo. There are several large sub-groups within the T.: the Abootee who live in the Salaalee (↗Sälale) area bordering on ↗Morät, the Abbičuu, a large group inhabiting the area between the River Bareessaa and Mount Ǝntoṭṭo including ↗Finfinnee, and the Aabbo who live around Mount ↗Zəqʷala (BTafA 972, 977). The Liiban T. live to the south and south-east of Zəqʷala (note that there are also Liiban in the Bareentuu branch). Subgroups within the Liiban T. include the Kutay, the Ammayyaa and the Walisoo (↗Wäliso) who occupy separate areas to the north, west and south-east of the main Liiban group (BTafA 938). Akkačuu, Timmuugaa, Lummee, Gullallee, Meettaa, Daaččii, Oborraa are also sub-groups of the T. The Oborraa live to the west of Abbičuu and to the south of Salaalee (BTafA 80; Triulzi – Tesemma Ta’a 2003/04: 298).

The Bačoo T. group is large and inhabits the area on both sides of the Awaš to the south of the Meettaa. The Gombbičuu T. live to the west of ↗Bulga, other sections of the group also live on the plateau north of Addis Abäba. The Ǧirruu group inhabits the area to the north-west of ↗Tägulät and south of Märḥabete. The Ǧiddaa T. live to the south of the Abbičuu. The Ǧillee T. live in the area to the north of Lake Zʷay (BTafA 920ff.). The Waayyuu group of the T. lives to the south-east of Däbrä Libanos and to the west of ↗Wägda.

The ↗Mäč̣č̣a and the T. shared a common ↗*gadaa* system with a common centre (↗*Č̣affee*) at Odaa Nabee (also Odaa Nabi; in today’s Aqaqi *wäräda*) until their territorial separation during the second half of the 16th cent. The Mäč̣č̣a moved further west and founded their own centre at Odaa Bisil, while Odaa Nabee remained the main seat of the T. Although the Mäč̣č̣a founded their own *gadaa* centre, they maintained good relations with the T. Throughout the first half of the 17th cent., the Mäč̣č̣a and T. migrated into territories to the north of the Abbay where they eventually settled (for details s. BeckHuntAlm, passim; BassÉt).

Odaa Nabee served as a unifying institution for the T. groups who all sent representatives to the *gadaa* assembly there, even when its influence was considerably reduced after the 18th cent. Before the Šäwan conquest and Mənilək’s prohibition of *gadaa* rule in 1885, up to 100,000 people had gathered from time to time for some *gadaa* ceremonies at Odaa Nabee (Lemmu Baissa 2004: 110; s. also BTafA 185).

Like other Oromo, however, the T. were organized in decentralized local polities. Each of the major T. groups had its own *gadaa* government, a separate *č̣affee* and elected officials. The Bačo, e.g., had their *č̣affee* at Ballo, while the Soddo met at Birbirsa ↗Ṭəya, the Ǧiddaa assembled at Foqa Awaš, and the *č̣affee* of the Galaan was near Addis Abäba (Lemmu Baissa 2004: 110).

The *č̣affees* of the T. functioned at both local and higher levels. For instance, the Foqa Awaš took responsibility for maintaining order, peace, and rendering justice among the Ǧiddaa T. At a higher level the regional or the inter-group *č̣affee* of the entire T. was constituted by the representatives of the respective local *č̣affees*. In theory, the assembly at Odaa Nabee had supreme authority and could reverse decisions passed at local level, but in practice the local *č̣affees* seem to have been virtually independent (Lemmu Baissa 2004: 111).

However, as a result of long interaction with the Amharic-speaking groups, they adopted Amhara culture and Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity. Politically, they were strongly influenced by ↗Šäwa, and there were a number of T. soldiers in the Šäwan army. The T. are one of the most "amharized Oromo" groups (Blackhurst 1980: 55; s. also Levine 2000: 145; Lemmu Baissa 2004: 110). In spite of the strong Amhara influence, they were able to maintain their language, the *gadaa* system, cultural traits as well as, partly, traditional Oromo religion. The T. are one of the most active participants of the *irrečaa* thanksgiving festival at Bišoftuu (↗Däbrä Zäyt).

The incorporation of the T. into the Šäwan kingdom was characterized by resistance and defeat. The T. were made tributary by *nəguś* ↗Sahlä Śəllase. After his death, however, they rebelled until they were subdued by *nəguś* ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot. Again, after his death in 1855 and the imprisonment of his son Mənilək, the T. started an uprising against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros I until they were defeated by the Šäwan rulers (Kofi Darkwah 1969: 110). Internecine warfare and divisions within the T. coupled with the importation of modern weapons by Šäwan rulers paved the way for the conquest of T. by Šäwa. Taking advantage of a long conflict between the Galaan and the Abbičču, *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase allied himself with the Abbičču, and with their support, the Galaan, Ǧidda, Wabari, Ilamu, Aga, Ǧirru, Wayyu and Salaale were subjugated (Abbas Haji 1995). The internal disruption of the T. strengthened the Šäwan kingdom which led a long series of raids and expeditions against the various T. groups. It is related that in one specific raid Šäwan forces killed ca. 4,500 people, stole about 43,000 animals and took more than 1,000 Oromo slaves. However, the resistance of the T. against the establishment of new Šäwan settlements was fierce (Asafa Jalata 1993: 48). Moreover, *aṣe* Mənilək II continued the devastating raids against the T. particularly after having brought the Wällo region under control. Thus, by the 19th cent. the T. had lost their independence and become subjects of the Šäwan kingdom.

Src.: BassÉt; BeckHuntAlm, passim; BTafA 139; CecZeila 2, 30ff.; Alessandro Triulzi – Tesema Ta'a (eds.), *Documents for Wallagga History*, (*1880s–1920s*), vol. 1: *Amharic Text*, Addis Ababa 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.].

Lit.: Abbas Haji, "Arsii Oromo Political and Military Resistance against the Shoan Colonial Conquest (1881–86)", *Journal of Oromo Studies* 2, 1, 1995, 1–21; Odd Eirik Arnesen, "The Becoming of Place: a Tulama-Oromo Region in Northern Shoa", in: *BHTOrom* 210–38; Asafa Jalata, *Oromia & Ethiopia*: *State Formation and Ethnonational Conflict, 1868–1992*, London 1993; Hector Blackhurst, "Continuing and Change in the Shoa Gala Gada System", in: Paul Trevor William Baxter – Uri Almagor (eds.), *Age, Generation and Time*: *Some Features of East African Age Organizations*, London 1978, 245–67; Kofi Darkwah, "Emperor Theodore II and the Kingdom of Shoa 1855–1865", *JAH* 10, 1, 1969, 105–15, here 110; Id., *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire*, 1813–1889, London 1975, 13, 26 et passim; Lemmu Baissa, "The Gada System of Government: an Indigenous African Democracy" in: Asafa Jalata (ed.), *State Crisis, Globalization and National Movements in North-east Africa*, New York 2004, 101–21; Donald Levine, *Greater Ethiopia*: *the Evolution of Multiethnic Society*, Chicago, IL 2000; MHasOr s. index; Andrea Nicolas, "Governance, Ritual and Law: Tulama Oromo Gadaa Assemblies" in: *PICES* 15, 168–76; VSAe II, 522–53.

Tsega Endalew Etefa

Ṭwampa

Ṭ. (*Ṭwa-m-pa*, lit. 'mouth of home') is a Nilo-Saharan language of the ↗Koman family, closest to ↗Komo, with which it shares about 77 % basic lexicon (Bender 1983). Until recently, Ṭ. was a language of eastern Sudan at the latitude of ca. 10° N near the Ethiopian border, with the main centre being Šali town (Arab.: Šālī al-Fīl). In the 1980s, the majority of Ṭ. speakers relocated to an area near ↗Bonga in the ↗Gambela district in western Ethiopia (for location s. map for Uduk). The people number about 20,000 total and are often referred to as ↗Uduk, a term of unknown origin, disliked by the people. Thelwall (1983: 323) reported two northern dialects Bellila and Šali, which were very close, and a more divergent southern one, Belatoma.

There is no known indigenous written literature, but *Ethnologue* reports the usual partial Bible translations.

Ṭ. is notable for its multiplicity of phonemic consonants (Bender 1983: 262): labials: *p*^{h}, *p*, *b*, *p'*, *ɓ*, *m*, *w*; dentals: *t̪*^{h}, *t̪*, *d̪*, *t̪'*, *ɗ̪*; alveolars: *t*^{h}, *t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *s*, *n*, *l*, *r*; palatals: *č*^{h}, *č*, *ǧ*, *č̣*, *š*, *ñ*, *y*; velars: *k*^{h}, *k*, *g*, *q*, *ŋ*; post-velar: *h*; glottal: ᵓ. Vowels are: *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, *a*. There is a diphtong *ai*. Stevenson (1966) reports several centralized vowels, but these are the result of under-analysis.

Implosive *ʄ* and *ɠ* are problematical. Sonorants *r* and *l* occur only after *a*. *h* is rare and non-final, whereas *w* is rare and initial only. ᵓ, *p*, *h*, *s*, *n*, *ŋ*, *ñ*, are very rare initially. Voiceless stops and implosives tend to merge. Voiceless stops and aspirates tend to merge finally. Labialized *b*^{w}, *t*^{w}, *č*^{w}, *ǧ*^{w}, *š*^{w}, *k*^{w}, *g*^{w}, *ŋ*^{w} occur initially and are not phonemic.

Thelwall reports three tone levels, but gives only one example. Two are recorded sporadically herein: high (´) and low (unmarked).

Grammar is summarized in Bender 1994. The independent pronouns of Ṭ. are: 1st pers. sg. *ahaʾ*; 2nd pers. sg. *ʾe*; 3rd pers. sg. *aɗi*; 1st pers. pl. inclusive *ana*, 1st pers. pl. exclusive *am*; 2nd pers. pl. *um*; 3rd pers. pl. *uni*. Unlike all other Koman languages, Ṭ. has no gender distinction in 3rd pers. sg. Demonstratives are near ('this/these'): *-yan* (sg.)/*-yansan* (pl.), *gwansan*; far ('that/those'): *ǧan*(*dan*) (sg.)/*gwaɗan* (pl.), *kwaɗan*; distant ('very far'): *-čʰaan*, *ǧattʰaan* (sg.)/*-gwattʰaan* (pl.). Principal interrogatives are 'what?' *ata*, *atinda* ~ *atinda*; 'who?' *aǧa* (sg.)/*iǧa* (pl.); 'where?' *man-a* ~ *man-e*; 'when?' *kakasǧa*; others not recorded. There is a sentential question-marker: preposed *aʾ-*.

Copulas include: exist ('there is') *diɗi*, (ʾ)*e*, *tana*, *tada*, *-ba* ~ *-be*; identity ('equals') *-ta*, *ʾe*, *a-* + person marker; attribution ('is' as in 'water is liquid') *-ta*, adjectival verbs, optional final suffix *-ba*; place ('be in or at') *di* (sg.)/*ko* (pl.); possession ('have') *da-* (+ *gi*). Connectives are 'and' *-a*, *ḓaali*, *daala*, negative *deelua* (?); 'or' *kom*. Negatives include: imperative negative *ḓalkul ki-*, *ñakʰan ṭe*, other verbal negative *di* (sg.)/ *qo* (*ki*) (pl.); sentential negative *š* + *yisa*, *wa* ~ *ya*; there are also negative verbs.

Verbal derivation includes verbal noun (prefixes *mmo-*, *i-*, *a-*); causative (*rak-i*, *kar*); directional 'to/away' (*-yuʾ*, -(*y*)*i*/*-kuʾ*; -(*y*)*u*).

As other Koman languages, Ṭ. has Subject-Verb-Object basic word order.

The standards ten word for Ṭ. are: 'one' *deʾ*; 'two' *sùʾ*, 'three' *kwárá*, 'fire' *óɗ*, 'water' *yiɗeʾ*, *yìʾí*, 'moon' *àppé*, 'sun' *-téndé*, 'blood' *-bás*, 'tongue' *-lèɗ*, 'tooth' *šéʾ*. All are common Koman except for three, which is unique in Ṭ.

Src.: MARY S. BEAM – A. ELIZABETH CRIDLAND, *Uduk–English Dictionary*, Khartoum 1956 (Linguistic Monograph Series no. 4, Sudan Research Unit) [repr. 1970]; BARBARA F. GRIMES (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{13}1996.

Lit.: M. LIONEL BENDER, "Proto-Koman Phonology and Lexicon", *AuÜ* 66, 2, 1983, 259–97; ID., "Comparative Komuz Grammar", *ibid.* 77, 1, 1994, 31–54; ID., *The Nilo-Saharan Languages*: *a Comparative Essay*, München 1996 (LINCOM Handbooks in Linguistics 06); ROLAND C. STEVENSON, "The Koma Group" [from 1944 notes of MALCOLM I. FORSBERG], in: ARCHIBALD NORMAN TUCKER – MARGARET A. BRYAN (eds.), *Linguistic Analyses*: *the Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa. With a Supplement on the Ethiopic Languages by Wolf Leslau*, London – New York – Cape Town 1966 (Handbook of African Languages 3), 356–69; ROBIN THELWALL, "Twampa Phonology", in: M. LIONEL BENDER (ed.), *Nilo-Saharan Language Studies*, East Lansing, NJ 1983 (Monograph/ Committee on Northeast African Studies 13), 323–35.

M. Lionel Bender

U

Ubamär

The U. (local term: Woba) are a little known subgroup of the ↗Aari-speaking people (↗Omotic) in southern Ethiopia and do not figure in the population statistics. No written sources exist on the group, except a brief chapter by Haberland (VSAe I, 167–87). They are sedentary farmers and live in a medium highland zone (1,600 m to 2,000 m A.S.L.), bordered by the Sido, Argenne, ↗Šangama and Bargädda subgroups of Aari. Formerly U. was also a chiefdom.

The U. area is about 400 km^2 and is very rainy and foggy except in the stretch of lowland along the Usnu River in the west. The U. are largely subsistence cultivators using simple technology, and produce ↗*ənsät*, taro, yam, millet, ↗maize, beans, ↗*ṭef*, cabbage, wheat and cotton, and keep livestock (mostly sheep, some cattle) in the medium altitude zone. Harvest rituals are done for cereal crops, not for root crops.

Like other Aari groups, the U. had a hereditary chief (*bábi*), with a sacred character ascribed to him, and who always had to belong to the Gada clan. He could never leave U. land and had religious–ritual functions for the community, being the mediator between supernatural forces and his people. He was seen as the living embodiment of social and cosmic order and had to be unblemished in physical and mental health. He was assisted by 'priests' (*gódimi*), who carried out the rituals and sacrifices during public events and in their ceremonial places (*kaši*). The priests were active across the country. The political layer below the chief were the *gana* or *zis*: local (village) chiefs. As districts of U. Haberland mentions: Kosamer, Aidamer, Garagir, Lulamer, and Šama (VSAe I, 175).

After the imperial conquest of the South at the end of the 19th cent., Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity entered U. country, with a church built in U. town. In recent years, Evangelical Christian denominations have gained followers in U. as well.

The U. recognize several dozen patrilineal clans (*mata*), like other Aari groups, seen as descent groups within which one cannot marry. Clan members live dispersed across U. country and outside of it. Most of the clan names are found among other Aari subgroups as well. The clan of Damanna are potters and traditionally had low status, but according to Haberland (VSAe I, 177) there were no other autochthonous craftsmen castes such as tanners or blacksmiths among the U.

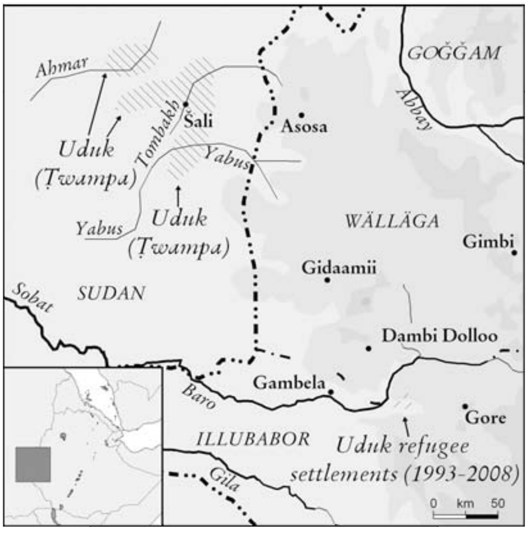
The picture of religious and socio-cultural life of the U. is sketchy and unclear on the basis of the few existing references, but can be assumed to be strongly similar to that of other Aari groups.

Lit.: Eike Haberland – Helmut Straube, "Nordost Afrika", in: Hermann Baumann (ed.), *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen*, Teil 2: *Ost-, West- und Nordafrika*, Wiesbaden 1979 (SKK 35), 125–29; VSAe I, 167–87.

Jon G. Abbink

Uduk

U. is the most commonly used term for the people who call themselves *qwani-m-pa* ('people of the home') and speak the language they call ↗Ṭwampa. The term is widely recognized today in the scholarly literature on the ↗Sudan, in the archives of that country, and in mission circles. It has recently become well known in the context of



Uduk refugee family in Bonga; photo 2006, courtesy of Alexander Meckelburg

aid and humanitarian activities, especially since 1987, when the U. were displaced by war in the Sudan and became refugees in Ethiopia (returning home during 2006–08). A reasonable guess at the current numbers of U. speakers, including those in urban centres, might be 20–25,000.

The ethnography and history of the U. people is better documented than for any other of the ↗Koman groups, with whom they share many cultural features. Among these are a love for the open landscape of forest and hills on which they depend; a distrust of commerce, partly because of historical memories of raiding and ↗slavery; and a strongly egalitarian attitude to social and gender relations within their own communities. While all Koman groups place a high value on matrifocal family links, some combining this with variants on "sister-exchange" ↗marriage, the U. are notable for the way they uphold matrilineal theory and associated practices in a systematic way. Even in the context of displacement and life in the refugee camps, the matrilineality continues – indeed it is possible to say that people find distinct advantages in collaborating with matrilineal kin in these circumstances. The multiple displacements of the U. over recent decades not only echo historical memories which they share with neighbouring groups, but these very movements have brought them into fresh contact with some of these neighbours. Such encounters have helped stimulate a cultural revival, especially in the fields of music, song, and even dance. In the refugee scheme at ↗Bonga, upstream from ↗Gambela, for example, 'traditional' U. styles were being revived and recreated in the space that this new setting allowed, often with instruments improvised from plastic cans and other "modern" bric-a-brac (s. website below). Alongside this cultural renaissance, people came to identify themselves strongly with protestant Christianity in the refugee camps, though many still had recourse to the older ritual-medical practices when faced with problems of life and death. Far from the Ethiopian refugee settlements, other U. speakers fled northwards from their homes in the course of the Sudanese civil war, finding security in the capital city and other towns. A few Muslim families were established in the homeland some generations ago, and their numbers have no doubt increased.

In the mid-20th cent., U. speakers were to be found in a network of small hamlets scattered over three wide valleys opening out from the Ethiopian foothills: the Ahmar, Tombakh and Yabus (Yal) valleys. The largest centre was the market village of Šali (Šālī l-Fīl), where the ↗Sudan Interior Mission was established in 1938. The U. district, together with the Yabus district to its south, were then administered as part of the Upper Nile Province. However, mainly because of the extension of communications from the north which led to the growth of Kurmuk town, it was decided by the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium government in 1953 to transfer these two districts to the administration of the Blue Nile Province. Thus, all the U. villages, as well as some ↗Komo and Ganza, were transferred from the southern to the northern Sudan, just before independence in 1956. There have been lasting difficulties for the people up to the present as a result of this transfer. If the referendum for the southern Sudan in 2011 results in secession, the U. will find themselves up against not one, but two international frontiers.

Src.: internet source, www.voicesfromthebluenile.org [last visit: 25 June 2010].

Lit.: WENDY JAMES, *'Kwanim Pa, The Making of the Uduk People: an Ethnographic Study of Survival in the Sudan-Ethiopian Borderlands*, Oxford 1979; EAD., *The Listening Ebony: Moral Knowledge, Religion, and Power among the Uduk of Sudan*, Oxford 1988; EAD., "Civil War and Ethnic Visibility: the Uduk on the Sudan-Ethiopia Border", in: KATSUYOSHI FUKUI – JOHN MARKAKIS (eds.), *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, London – Athens

1994, 140–64; EAD., "Uduk Resettlement: Dreams and Realities", in: EAD. (ed.), *In Search of Cool Ground*: *War, Flight and Homecoming in Northeast Africa*, London – Trenton, NJ 1996, 182–202; EAD., *War and Survival in Sudan's Frontierlands*: *Voices from the Blue Nile*, Oxford 2007, passim.

Wendy James

Ugaas

U. (Pl.: *ugaasyo*) is a traditional title among the ↗^{c}Issa and ↗Gadabuursi in northern ↗Somalia (s. also ↗Somali). Among the ↗^{c}Issa (^{c}Iise) the U. is elected from among the Wardiiq clan (subclan Waqtiššiile, *reer* Golowwaaq). His power is mainly symbolic (the U. is described as a *rooble*, i.e. a 'rain-maker'; ↗Rainmaking). Elected by consensus, the U. is supposed to be a man with a sense of equilibrium and political wisdom. In colonial times he was in charge of the relations between lineages and external powers, such as the Ethiopian and British government. Various northern Somali clans also have an U., including the Ogadeen and Dhulbahante.

He has a quasi religious status and is responsible for the physical and spiritual wellbeing of his people. This explains why his wife, considered as the "mother of all the ^{c}Issa", cannot marry again after the U.'s death. Historical data about the ^{c}Issa are scarce. Genealogical lists (Bertin 1968; Ali Moussa Iye n.d.), are recalled along with anecdotes which are part of an "ethnic novel". Roughly speaking, on the basis of 25 years per generation, the creation of the U. lineage with a total of 16 generations (Bertin 1968) or 18 (Ali Moussa Iye n.d.) can be traced back to the 17th cent. Discordances exist between the two lists mainly due to the inclusion in Ali Moussa Iye's list of a first U. called Guuleed Ugaaḍ Maal, which looks like a nickname (*ugaaḍ*, 'game'; *maal*, 'to milk') when Bertin makes Ugaas the son of Makkahiil (lit.: 'the one who took side for Makka') as the first on the list. According to Ali Moussa Iye, the etymology of U. could be *ul-gaas*, i.e. 'the stick of the warrior's chief'. Both lists exclude 'dismissed or denied U.' (Ali Moussa Iye n.d.: 256). The genealogy lists six generations prior to the first U.: Wardiiq, Waqtiššiile, Golowwaaq, ^{c}Abdalle, Ḥasan and Makkahiil [Iye's list: Guuleed Ugaaḍ Mal], father of first U. The list of U. starts with (1) Ugaas b. Makkahiil; (2) Guuleed b. Ugaas; (3) ^{c}Aafi b. Guuleed; (4) ^{c}Abdillāhi [^{c}Abdalle] b. ^{c}Aafi; (5) ^{c}Ali b. Ḥuseen; (6) ^{c}Umar b. ^{c}Ali; (7) Guuleed b. Booḥ [Iye's list: Geelle b. Ḥooš]; (8) Rooble b. Guuleed; (9) Ḥuseen b. Rooble; (10) Faaraḥ "Guntiweyné" b. Geelle; (11) Rooble b. ^{c}Ali; (12) Rooble b. Faaraḥ; (13) ^{c}Abdi b. Rooble; (14) Guuleed b. Rooble; (15) Wa^{c}ays b. Rooble; (16) Ḥasan b. Ḥirsi.

According to Bertin (1968), the U. (nos. 1 to 6) were chosen from inside the Golowwaaq lineage, then among the *reer* Guntiweyne or the *reer* ^{c}Abdalle, sub-clans of the Wardiiq/Waqtiššiile/Golowwaaq. Oral sources comment on the dismissal of some of them due to internal rivalries.

In June 1840 or 1841, Harris (HarAeth 158) mentions three U.: (1) One, with the Gadabuursi (the most important). (2) "Ḥuseen Faaraḥ" (most probably, Faaraḥ "Guntiweyné" b. Geelle) on the coast with the ^{c}Issa *reer* Muuse (whose power encompassed the area from Ġubbat al-Ḫarāb to Kulangariit), on good terms with the ^{c}Afar Debne (whom he married a girl). (3) A third U. whose name is lost.

Rooble b. Faaraḥ "Guntiweyne" (not an alleged *ugaa*s Nūr according to other colonial sources) must be the one who came aboard the ship *Somme* (8 June 1861) when Fleuriot de Langle came to Zayla^{c} to investigate French consul Henri Lambert's assassination. This Rooble b. Faaraḥ "Guntiweyne" showed the way to Harär to the Egyptians, in 1875. He died in battle with the Gadabuursi at Weerar, 35 km north of Boorama where he was buried. Guuleed b. Rooble (no. 14 in Bertin's list; 16 in Ali Moussa Iye's list) was in power when Lagarde became the governor of ↗Obock. Buried in Kulankii Arǧa^{ɔ}a, between Mille and Harraawe, he is said to have been dismissed because there was too much rain. Another U. named Guuleed "Inǧirre", or "Ḥašišle" (covered with lice), was dismissed after 40 days, because after days of rain the cattle ate two much and died of vermin. At the time of Wa^{c}ays b. Rooble [b. ^{c}Umar b. Faaraḥ, from *reer* Guntiweyne lineage], there seems to be an interregnum during which (Poncins 1898: 438) Faaraḥ Afboyne (Afweyne) was "the chief of the ^{c}Issa". His residence was in "Ouarouf" (Waruf). The council for his election was held near "Abdi Souene" (Ḥabaš Weyn). According to *Le Djibouti* (4 January 1902) he was then 25, thus born in 1876/77. He is buried in Harär, at Aw-Zīn cemetery, near Bab Zayla^{c}, after having died in jail because he refused to pay the tax to the Ethiopians. The next U., "the French U.", elected in 1913 by the "French" ^{c}Issa groups in 1913, Ḥuseen Rooble Faaraḥ (according to Bertin 1968) is not recognized by all the ^{c}Issas.

He signed the 1917 agreement with France and died in 1942. During the imperial period until the fall of communism, the "true" U., was Ḥasan b. Ḥirsi, *reer* Booḥ (b. 1912; d. 1994), who lived in Dire Dawa. He was elected in Ḥabaqo (ca. 1933), near Haḍḍagaala. This U. supported resistance against the Italians. Many of his ᶜIssa followers joined *ras* ↗ Abbäbä Arägay's resistance contrary to other northern Somalis who were enrolled in Italian *banda* (Lamy 1959: 186).

Src.: ALI MUSA IYE, *Le verdict de l'arbre, le xeer issa. Étude d'une "démocratie pastorale"*, Dubai n.d.; FRANCINE [PIERRE] BERTIN, "L'ougas des Issas", *Pount. Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes de l'Afrique orientale* 5, 1968, 3–10; HarAeth vol. 1, 158; ROBERT LAMY [FERRY], "Le Destin des Somalis", *Mer Rouge-Afrique Orientale V, Cahiers de l'Afrique et de l'Asie,* Paris 1959, 163–212; EDMOND DE PONCINS, "Voyage au Choa, Exploration au Somal et chez les Danakil", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 19, 1898, 432–88.

Didier Morin

ᶜUmardīn b. Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn

ᶜU. (عمردين) was a *sulṭān* of the ↗ Walašmaᶜ dynasty from 1525, when he succeeded his maternal half-brother ↗ Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Āzar, until ca. 1550.

In 1525 ↗ Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") killed his adversary, Abū Bakr, and replaced him with ᶜU., as a puppet *sulṭān* (BassHist I, 15f. [text] = II, 33 [tr.]). This made Aḥmad de facto ruler of ↗ Harär and gave him the opportunity to conquer Ethiopia.

ᶜU., on his part, did not relinquish power completely. In 1530, when Grañ returned from his campaign against ↗ Däwaro with much booty, he told the *sulṭān* that the booty would be enough for him and the nobility to have a life of luxury, and thus, from now on, the revenues should be distributed to the poor, the members of the prophet's family, the orphans etc., in accordance with the ↗ Qurᵓān. This was against the custom in Harär, where the *sulṭān* and his *amīrs* simply divided the revenues among themselves. When Grañ left for Zerba to settle a quarrel among the Somali there, and to gather a new army, ᶜU. and several *amīrs* and jurisconsults came together and decided to divide the revenues in the usual manner. They further decided to ban Aḥmad Grañ from returning to Harär and have him go to Mecca or somewhere in Arabia. In the night they captured Grañ's servants and soldiers, who had remained behind in Harär, and took possession of their horses and weapons. When Grañ's jurisconsult Abū Bakr b. Naṣraddīn b. Muḥammad Aršūna realized what had happened, he complained to the *sulṭān* of treason. ᶜU., however, sent him to Grañ with a letter, ordering the latter to leave the country, or else he would be killed. Grañ initially considered complying but his followers asked him to fight the *sulṭān*. When ᶜU. learned that Grañ was approaching with many followers, he asked the religious men to negotiate a peace treaty between them. They were successful in doing so, and Aḥmad Grañ entered Harär as a victor (BassHist I, 77–80 [text] = II 148–51 [tr.]).

Just after this quarrel, Grañ helped ᶜU. to get blood money from the Somali leader Ḥirābū b. *goyta* Tadrūs, who had murdered a page of the *sulṭān* (BassHist I, 80f. [text] = II 151f. [tr.]). This incident shows that Aḥmad Grañ was – at least officially – again on good terms with ᶜU. Nevertheless, Grañ left his brother Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm in Harär with the *sulṭān*, evidently to keep an eye on him (BassHist I, 129 [text] = II 206 [tr.]).

We do not know how long ᶜU. was the nominal ruler of Harär. When *aṣe* ↗ Gälawdewos led a campaign against Barr Saᶜdaddīn (i.e. against Harär and its dependencies) in ca. 1550, he deposed a nameless *sulṭān* (ConzGal 42f. [text] = 146f. [tr.]), very probably ᶜU.

The sources do not say whether or not Gälawdewos installed a new *sulṭān*. According to the legendary *History of ↗ Nūr b. Muǧāhid,* Nūr killed a *sulṭān* when he became ruler of Harär in 1551/2 (Wendt 1935: 493 [text] = 498 [tr.]; Getatchew – Wagner 1989: 47f. [Arab. text] = 57f. [tr.], 72f. [Amh. text] = 85f. [tr.]). It seems possible that this *sulṭān* was the puppet of his Christian enemy Gälawdewos. He could be tentatively identified with Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, the son of Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Āzar, killed by Aḥmad Grañ, mentioned in the *↗ Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist I 5 [text] = II 8f. [tr.]). ᶜArabfaqīh does not fix Muḥammad's place in the sequence of the Walašmaᵓ dynasty, but it is possible that he should be inserted there (Wagner 1991: 383).

When ↗ Nūr b. Muǧāhid needed a new puppet *sulṭān*, he chose a son of ᶜU., ᶜAlī b. ᶜUmardīn, falling back to that line of the Walašmaᵓ dynasty, which his mentor Aḥmad Grañ had already favoured. After ᶜAlī b. ᶜUmardīn, two other sons of ᶜU., Barakāt and Ḥabīb, became *sulṭāns* of Harär. The latter died 1559 in battle against *ras* ↗ Ḥamälmal (Paulitschke 1888: 513, 515; BTafA 144f., 850f.; Cerulli 1931: 51f. [repr. CerIslam 149ff.]).

Src.: BassHist I 5, 15f., 77–81, 129 (text) = II 8f., 33, 148–51, 206 (tr.); BTafA 144f., 850f.; ConzGal 42f. (text) = 146f. (tr.); ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6^{a}, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 51f. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 149ff.]; GETATCHEW HAILE – EWALD WAGNER, "Die Geschichte Nūr b. Muǧāhid's von Harar oder The History of Aẓe Zärᵓa Yaᶜeqob", *ZDMG* 139, 1989, 43–92, here 47f. (Arab.) = 57f. (tr.), 72f. (Amh.) = 85f. (tr.); PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar. Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 513, 515; KURT WENDT, "Amharische Geschichte eines Emirs von Harar im XVI. Jahrhundert", *Orientalia* nova ser. 4, 1935, 485–501, here 493 (text) = 498 (tr.).

Lit.: TrIslam 86; EWALD WAGNER, "The Genealogy of the Later Walashmaᶜ Sultans of Adal and Harar", *ZDMG* 141, 1991, 376–86.

Ewald Wagner

ᶜUmarī, al-

ᶜU. (العمري, full name Šihābaddīn Aḥmad b. Faḍlallāh al-ᶜUmarī; b. 1301, Damascus, d. 1349, Damascus) was a famous Arabic author and administrator in the Mamlūk chanceries in Cairo and Damascus. He was born into the Banū Faḍlallāh, a distinguished family of high-ranking officials and Šāfiᶜīte jurists, whose descent could be traced back to the second caliph ᶜUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb (hence the *nisba* al-ᶜUmarī).

ᶜU. started his career assisting his father Muḥyīddīn Yaḥyā, who was head of chancery (*kātib al-sirr*) first in Damascus and, after 1329, in Cairo. When ᶜU. displeased the *sulṭān* an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, he was dismissed and eventually imprisoned. He was released in 1339 and soon appointed head of chancery in Damascus. In 1342 he was dismissed again and replaced by his brother Badraddīn Muḥammad. In his remaining years he devoted himself to writing.

ᶜU.'s two main works contain useful and interesting information about Ethiopia. In the *Taᶜrīf bil-muṣṭalaḥ aš-šarīf* (publ. in Beirut 1988 by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Šamsaddīn and in Kerak 1992 by Samīr Maḥmūd ad-Durūbī; partial French translation in UmMasGaud 31f., English translation Kerak 1992; s. also Gori 2002), a handbook for administrative chancellors and secretaries, ᶜU. devoted a short chapter to the "ruler [*ṣāḥib*] of Amḥarā, the king of kings of al-Ḥabaša" (al-ᶜUmarī 1988: 48ff.). There he offered some general data about Ethiopia and its Christian monarch: e.g., it is said that the then ruler had secretly converted to Islam but was still pretending to be a Christian to keep power in his hands. Furthermore, ᶜU. explains how the text of a letter to the *nəguś* should be opened and closed: the draft is basically meant to enable the *kātib* of the chancery in charge of foreign correspondence to insert the official titles and the extolling epithets which were considered appropriate for the king of Ethiopia so that due respect and somewhat flattering appreciation could be conveyed to the royal addressee (Gori 2002).

In the much more extensive *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* ('Routes toward Insight into the Capital Empires'), a detailed and comprehensive encyclopaedia for the ideal officer of chancery, an entire section (*qism* 1, *nawᶜ* 2 [*ḏikr al-mamālik*], *bāb* 8–14) deals with Ethiopia. The text was translated into French by Gaudefroy-Demombynes (UmMasGaud). A recent facsimile edition reproduces the Arabic original contained in a manuscript kept in Istanbul (Topkapı sarayı, Sultan Ahmet III, 3/2898; UmMasSezg). It is made up of two parts: in the first part (UmMasGaud 1–21; UmMasSezg 16–25), ᶜU. presents detailed data on the Muslim states in Ethiopia; in the second part (UmMasGaud 21–31; UmMasSezg 25–30), ᶜU. gives some general information about the geography, politics and economy of the country as a whole.

ᶜU. collected the material for his section on Ethiopia while he was in Cairo from several informants: the learned man Ǧamāladdīn ↗ᶜAbdallāh az-Zaylaᶜī, the merchants *al-ḥāǧǧ* Faraǧ al-Fawī or al-Fūnī and *sayyid* ᶜIzzaddīn and, finally, from a written note which he was given by the Coptic patriarch Benyamin.

This long text became the basic reference on Ethiopia for later authors of the Mamlūk era who quoted it and extended it (e.g., al-↗Qalqašandī in his *Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā* and al-↗Maqrīzī in his *Ilmām*; on this point s. also Muth 2005).

In the scholarly literature of Ethiopian studies, ᶜU. was and remains undisputedly the main irreplaceable source for shedding light on the history and culture of Islamic Ethiopia.

↗Islam: History of Islam in Ethiopia;
↗Historiography: Arabic

Src.: SAMIR AL-DROUBI, *A Critical Edition of and Study on Ibn Faḍl Allāh's Manual of Secretaryship*: "*Al-taᶜrīf bi-al-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*", Kerak 1992; AL-ᶜUMARĪ, *Taᶜrīf bil-muṣṭalaḥ aš-šarīf* ('The Instruction in the Noble Technique'), Beirut 1988, Kerak 1992; UmMasGaud; UmMasSezg.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO GORI, "Brevi osservazioni sugli incipit delle missive inviate dalla cancelleria mamelucca ai sovrani d'Etiopia nel XIV e XV secolo", *RSE* nova ser. 1, 1, 2002, 29–44; FRANZ-CHRISTOPH MUTH, "A Globe-trotter from Maghrib in al-Maqrīzī's Booklet on Ethiopia: a Footnote from Some Arabic Sources", *Afrique et histoire* 4, 2005, 121–31; KAMAL S. SALIBI, "Faḍl Allāh", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, 732; ID., "Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-^{c}Umarī", *ibid*. vol. 3, 758.

Alessandro Gori

Umberto I

U. (b. 14 March 1844, Turin, d. 29 July 1900, Monza) was king of Italy. The son of Vittorio Emanuele II and Archduchess Maria Adelaide of Habsburg Lorena, he received an essentially military education and at 14 was made captain of the army. U. displayed strong military leadership and fought with distinction at Custoza in 1866. In 1868 U. married his cousin, Margherita who bore him only one son, Vittorio Emanuele (later ↗Vittorio Emanuele III of Italy).

U. was crowned king of Italy on 9 January 1878 and maintained strict control over the army, of which he was commander in chief, and over foreign affairs. He pushed for a strong foreign policy and for motives of national prestige strongly encouraged colonial expansion. Most of the Italian expansion in Africa took place under his reign: in 1882 the Italian government took officially control of ↗^{c}Asäb (↗Colonia di Assab) and three years later occupied ↗Massawa. With Francesco Crispi as Prime Minister (1887–91 and 1893–96) colonial expansion became even more marked: a protectorate was established over the Somali sultanates of ↗Hobyo and ↗Mağeerteen (1889) and in ↗Eritrea further expansion took place with the conquest of Asmära and ↗Kärän (1889) and the signing of the treaty of Wəč̣ale (1889; ↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce).

The victory over ↗Mahdist forces in ↗Aqordat in 1893 was enthusiastically celebrated by U. and the expansionist policy of Crispi in Ethiopia was seen with favour at court. A year later ↗Kassala was occupied and further expansion targeted Təgray. These successes momentarily concealed the intimate weaknesses of Italian expansionism in the region. The news of the disaster in the battle of ↗^{c}Adwa shocked the country and widespread demonstrations took place in many towns. At first, U. contemplated abdication and the destiny of the House of Savoy itself seemed at risk, but he then opted for the sacrifice of Crispi who was induced to offer his resignation and retired from active political life. Furthermore, U. strongly opposed the plan to quit Eritrea and in the aftermath of ^{c}Adwa opposed the appointment of Romualdo Bonfadini, a renowned opponent of colonization, as Governor of Eritrea. The preference of U. went to Ferdinando ↗Martini, who was personally advised by the king not to retreat from the Eritrean highlands.

Due to his embracement of his government's authoritarian measures and conservative policies, U. became a highly unpopular figure. He suffered three attempts on his life. In the last one, he was murdered by an Italo-American anarchist.

Src.: FERDINANDO MARTINI, *Il diario eritreo*, 4 vols., Firenze 1942–43.

Lit.: ALBERTO ACQUARONE, *Dopo Adua: politica e amministrazione coloniale*, Roma 1989, 119–23; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale*, vol. 1: *Dall'Unità alla marcia su Roma*, Roma – Bari 1976; NICOLA LABANCA, *In marcia verso Adua*, Torino 1993, 79–83, 365ff.

Massimo Zaccaria

Umm Ḥabība

U.Ḥ. (أم حبيبة, full name Ramla bint Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb; b. ca. 603, d. ca. 664/65) was one of the wives of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad who married her by proxy while she was staying in Ethiopia with the Muslim immigrants of the so-called first ↗*hiğra*.

According to some Islamic traditions, U.Ḥ. was born seven years before Muḥammad received the prophetic call (Ibn Ḥağar n.d.: 405). She was the daughter of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb (one of the toughest enemies of Muḥammad in ↗Mecca, head of the Banū Umayya b. ^{c}Abdaššams, powerful clan of the Prophet's ↗Qurayš tribe; s. Watt in EI^{2}) and Ṣafīya bint Abī l-^{c}Āṣ b. Umayya b. ^{c}Abdaššams (also an Umayad, thence U.Ḥ.'s *nisba* al-Umawīya).

U.Ḥ. was originally married to ^{c}Ubaydallāh b. Ǧaḥš b. Riyāb. They both embraced Islam and were among the first *hiğra* participants. In Ethiopia (or already earlier, in Mecca), U.Ḥ. gave birth to Ḥabība (thence her *kunya* U.Ḥ.). While in Ethiopia, her husband abandoned Islam and converted to Christianity. U.Ḥ. divorced her husband (who soon died of alcoholism). Just after the end of her legal "waiting period" (*^{c}idda*), a female servant of the ↗*Nağāšī* (called Abraha in Arabic sources, with final *tāʾ marbūṭa*, probably to be read Abrahat as in Ahmäd Ahmädin n.d.: 13ff.) informed her that Muḥammad wanted to marry her. U.Ḥ. was also sent a prophetic dream. The *Nağāšī* summoned ↗Ǧa^{c}far b. Abī Ṭālib and all the Muslims who were in al-Ḥabaš and celebrated the marriage in front of them (Ḫālid b. Sa^{c}īd b. al-^{c}Āṣ, s. Loucel in EI^{2}, acting as U.Ḥ.'s tutor), granting the bride 400 dinars as dowry (*ṣadāq*) on behalf of the Prophet. U.Ḥ. offered Abrahat 50 dinars from her dowry but the servant, who had also embraced Islam, refused and even returned the jewellery she had previously received from U.Ḥ. The *Nağāšī* sent U.Ḥ. back to the Prophet in Medina together with a letter and some gifts. Šarḥabīl b. Ḥasana, another member of the first *hiğra*, accompanied her in ↗Arabia. Arabic sources date U.Ḥ.'s marriage in the year 7 H. (628/29 A.D.), others affirm she was over 30 when Muḥammad married her (Ibn Sa^{c}d n.d.: 99).

The Prophet married U.Ḥ. to confirm her faith after the apostasy of her husband and thus to strengthen the Islamic consciousness of the Muslim refugees in Ethiopia, and also to open a negotiation with her father Abū Sufyān (*Sura* 60:7 is considered to refer to this marriage; s. Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq 2001: 135).

U.Ḥ. survived Muḥammad. The assassination of caliph ^{c}Uṯmān b. ^{c}Affān in 644 resulted in a bitter enmity between her and ^{c}Ā^{ɔ}iša, another widow of the Prophet, which was only resolved when U.Ḥ., on her deathbed, called for ^{c}Ā^{ɔ}iša and prayed for her. U.Ḥ. died during the caliphate of her brother Mu^{c}āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (s. Hinds in EI^{2}).

Src.: Ibn Ḥağar al-^{c}Asqalānī, *Al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz aṣ-ṣaḥāba* ('The Precision in the Identification of the [Prophet's] Companions'), Cairo n.d., vol. 4, 405ff.; Ibn Sa^{c}d, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* ('The [Book of the] Major Classes [of the Companions]'), Beirut n.d., vol. 8, 96–100. **Lit.**: *ḥağğ* Ahmäd Ahmädin, *Däggu nəguś Ahmäd Alnäğaši – Al-malik aṣ-ṣāliḥ Aḥmad an-Nağāši* ('The Kind King Ahmäd Näğaši [Amh., Arab.]'), Addis Abäba [n.d.], 13ff.; Martin Hinds, "Mu^{c}āwiya b. Abī Sufyān", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 7, 263–64; Henri Loucel, "Khālid b. Sa^{c}īd b. al-Āṣ", *ibid.* vol. 4, 927; Sayyid b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq, *Manhal al-^{c}aṭšān fī ta^{ɔ}rīḫ al-Ḥubšān* ('The Spring of the Thirsty in the History of the Abyssinians'), [n.p.] 1422 H. [2001 A.D.], 123ff.; William Montgomery Watt, "Abū Sufyān", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 1, 151.

Alessandro Gori

Umma Koda

U.K. is the name under which the mother of the Muslim ↗holy man ^{c}Abd al-Qādir al-Ğīlānī, the founder of the Qādirīya ↗Islamic brotherhood is commonly known in ↗Harär and its surroundings. In the town of Harär she is also known under the nickname Ašura Innay (Gibb 1996: 335). The origins of the name U.K. are obscure. In Harär, U.K. is sometimes popularly explained as a deformation of Umma Kude ('grandmother of my liver'; *kud*, 'liver' meaning "the centre of feelings and affection"). In Arabic sources ^{c}Abdalqādir al-Ğīlānī's mother is called Umm al-Ḫayr Fāṭima bint ^{c}Abdallāh aṣ-Ṣawma^{c}ī. She is considered to be a descendent of the Prophet ↗Muḥammad through ^{c}Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's second son, Ḥusayn (she is thus, technically speaking, a *šarīfa*). Many miraculous circumstances surround the marriage of U.K. with *sayyid* Abū Ṣāliḥ Mūsā b. Ğankī Dost (father of ^{c}Abdalqādir) and the birth of his son in Nīf (province of Ğīlān, ↗Iran). The Qādirī hagiographical texts and accounts widely narrate these supernatural events with various details (s. for a list of sources Aini 1938; Braune in EI^{2}).

U.K. is reputed to be a great holy woman and as such she is directly asked for help and blessing. She is expected not to refrain from giving because as a woman she is considered to be intrinsically compassionate and generous. At the same time, as the mother of the great saint ^{c}Abdalqādir, people may seek for her help to obtain the powerful holy support of her son, presuming that ^{c}Abdalqādir was a good son and will not refuse to help those who ask in his mother's name (Gibb 1996: 114).

The fame of U.K. spread in Ethiopia together with that of her son and with the rooting of the Qādirīya brotherhood. In particular, in Harär where the Qādirīya is the most ancient and widespread *ṭarīqa*, two renowned shrines are devoted to ^{c}Abdalqādir and U.K. The more imposing one is on the way to Koromi (in the ↗Argobba region) about 18 km east of Harär, a few kilometres away from the tomb of *āw* Ṣūfī Yaḥyā. Just on the fringe of the main road, a wide holy area hosts the tomb of ^{c}Abdalqādir together with a *ḥadra* house for the congregational meetings of the brotherhood. Some hundred metres away from this a mosque and the tomb of U.K. are situated. This shrine of U.K. is frequently visited by people in distress to ask for the bestowing of the beneficial power of the holy woman: tied pieces of cloth are left in huge quantities on the gate of the tomb as a token of engagement and are untied as soon as the request is fulfilled.

Another shrine of U.K. and ^{c}Abdalqādir is in the quarter named Qurrabe Limay (Harari, lit.: 'generous in the vicinity'), outside Asma^{ɔ} ad-Dīn Bari ("Choa ber" in Foucher 1988: 279), presently behind the main bus station. It existed already in the time of Paulitschke (1888 [map]; s. also Robecchi Bricchetti 1896: 121 [map]), the legend explaining its foundation is recorded in Leslau (1965: 206f.). It is the main Qādirī centre in Harär town (Wagner 1973: 273f.). A two domed shrine hosts the tombs of ^{c}Abdalqādir and his mother.

In the compound other scattered modern tombs can be found. The *ziyāra* to Qurrabe Limay is, however, considered to be only an alternative ↗pilgrimage site for those who cannot visit the main shrine of U.K. and her son outside the town (Gibb 1996: 113).

According to the Qādirī tradition, U.K. died at an unknown date in Ǧīlān where she remained after her son left for Bagdad; at that time, she was already 76. ^{c}Abdalqādir passed away in 1166 in Bagdad where he is buried in a huge shrine. Local Muslims in the region of Harär are fully aware of these facts and they consider the tombs of U.K. and ^{c}Abdalqādir in their territory to be nothing more than a tribute of respect and veneration to the holy pair. The presence of these cenotaphs is explained in a more mystically appropriate way, by the legend that says that when ^{c}Abdalqādir died, 80 different souls came out of his body; one of them arrived in Harär to settle there (Gibb 1996: 113).

Src.: ÉMILE FOUCHER, "Names of Mussulmans venerated in Harar and its Surroundings: a List", *ZDMG* 138, 1988, 263–82; PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE, *Harar*: *Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, map; LUIGI ROBECCHI BRICCHETTI, *Nell'Harrar*, Milano ^{3}1896, 121 (map); EWALD WAGNER, "Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar", *ZDMG* 123, 1973, 269–92.

Lit.: MEHMED ALI AINI, *Un grand saint de l'Islam, Abd-al-Kadir Guilani, 1077–1166*, Paris 1938, 32–35; WALTER BRAUNE, "^{c}Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 1, 69–70; JACQUELINE CHABBI, "Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani", in: *EI*^{3}, vol. 1, s.v.; CAMILLA GIBB, *In the City of Saints*: *Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1996, 113f.; WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopians Speak*, vol. 1: *Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1965, 206f.

Alessandro Gori

Unction

U. (Amh: **ቅባት**, *qəbat*; Gə^{c}əz: *qəb^{ɔ}at* [*/qəb^{c}at*]) is performed in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church to consecrate a ↗*tabot* and a new *mänbärä tabot* as well as a new paten and a new chalice (cp. ↗*Qəddase*: paraphernalia), or to anoint the newly baptized for Chrismation (↗Baptism), and, formerly, the new monarch at his ↗Coronation (while there is no U. in Ethiopia for ↗ordinations), as well as to anoint with blessed ↗oil the catechumens at Baptism, the spouses at their ↗Matrimony, the sick at the U. of the Sick. Oil is also poured into water to consecrate the "water of the Jordan", both at the feast of Christ's Baptism (↗*Ṭəmqät*) and for any baptism. The ointment used is theoretically **ሜሮን** (↗*meron* [s. EAE vol. 5]; Greek *myron*, 'Holy Chrism'), but in practice **ቅብዐ፡ ቅዱስ** (*qəb^{c}a qəddus*, i.e., olive oil blessed by the priest himself).

Unction of the Sick

The principle of anointing the sick goes back to the N.T. (cf. Ja 5:13–16) and is widespread among Oriental Christians (Taft 1991; Vorgrimler 1990); in Ethiopia, the service used for this sacrament is found in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qändil.*

It is not known since when the sacrament of the U. of the Sick (called **ቀንዲል**, *qändil*, lit. '[sanctuary] lamp') was in use in Ethiopia. The delegates to the Council of ↗Florence (1441) answered negatively to the question whether they performed it; ↗Alvares did not observe it either. It is thus possible that the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*baḥrəy* of ca. 1442, the result of *aṣe* ↗Zär^{ɔ}a Ya^{c}əqob's effort to uproot magical practices, could be the first ritual used in Ethiopia for the U. The exhortation (Chaîne 1914: 218–21, 227ff.) shows that the Emperor was aiming at solving a "canonical" problem met by the clergy when sick persons were not able to perform the "penance" required by the canons (prosternations, fasting, going for a pilgrimage, etc.; cf. *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*anqäṣä nəssəḥa*): some priests wrongly refused to hear their confession (a tradition tells that, if the penitent is absolved without accomplishing the "canonical penance", the latter is incumbent upon the priest either in this world, or in the world to come: obviously, some priests did not want to take that risk). *Aṣe* Zär^{ɔ}a Ya^{c}əqob asserted both the duty of the clergy to receive the penitent's confession, and that of the sick to confess their sins and ask for the U., since the sacrament of penance is done before the U. may be administered. Chaîne's indication that the title of the *Mäṣḥafä baḥrəy* states that this work was translated from Arabic, is a mistake (Wion in preparation). The three oldest known manuscripts of the text belong to the 15th cent., but there is a number of later copies, showing that it was in use more than it was usually believed (Suttner 1975: 379 and n. 43; Wion in preparation). However, during or just after the reign of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos, the *Mäṣḥafä qändil* was translated from Arabic, and has eventually prevailed, at least in theory. In fact, it seems to be extremely rare. However, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church insists that the sacrament should be performed when needed, and that confession and absolution should precede the anointing of the sick.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 109f.; MARIUS CHAÎNE, “Le rituel éthiopien – Rituel de l’extrême-onction”, *Bessarione* 29, 4, 1913, 420–51; *ibid.* 30, 1, 1914, 12–41, 213–31.

Lit.: AYMRO WONDMAGEGNEHU – JOACHIM MOTOVU (eds.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Addis Ababa 1970; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, “Meron et chrismation dans la liturgie éthiopienne moderne”, in: C. BRAGA (ed.), *Chrismation et confirmation. Questions autour d’un rite post-baptismal, LIV^e Semaine d’Études Liturgiques, Paris, 25-28 juin 2007*, Rome 2009 (Bibliotheca “Ephemerides liturgicae”, Subsidia 148), 253-63; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH (ed.), **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እምነት፡ ሥርዓተ፡ አምልኮትና፡ የውጭ፡ ግንኙነት**, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahedo Church Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.], 41 (Amh.), 44 (tr.); ERNST CHRISTOPH SUTTNER, “Die Krankensalbung (das ‘Öl des Gebets’) in den altorientalischen Kirchen”, *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 89, 1975, 371–96; ROBERT F. TAFT, “Unction”, in: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3, New York – Oxford 1991, 2142; HERBERT VORGRIMLER, “Krankensalbung”, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 19, Berlin 1990, 664–69; ANAÏS WION, “Onction des malades, funérailles et commémorations: histoire des textes et des pratiques liturgiques éthiopiennes”, in: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ et al. (eds.), *La mort et les funérailles en Ethiopie*, Paris, in preparation.

Ugo Zanetti

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, relations with ↗Russia

Unionist Party

On 1 January 1947, the U.P. (also known as the Union of Eritrea and Ethiopia, **ማኅበር፡ ፍቅሪ፡ ሃገር፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ምስ፡ ኤርትራ፡ ሓንቲ፡ ኢትዮጵያ**, *Maḫbär fəq̱ri hagär, Ityop̣ya məs Erətra, ḥanti Ityop̣ya* , Tgn. ‘Society for the Love of the Country, Ethiopia with Eritrea, One Ethiopia’), was registered in Asmära, succeeding the ↗Maḫbär fəq̱ri hagär.

Bäyyänä Bäraḵi and ↗Tädla Bayru served as President and Secretary General, respectively. The U.P. Central Committee was based in Asmära and with regional committees located in major highland provincial towns. The U.P., which advocated unconditional union with Ethiopia, claimed to have 729,193 members in Eritrea and some 195,000 members in Ethiopia. However, western officials disputed both figures and maintained that party membership was much lower. Nevertheless, in late 1946, British administrator ↗Trevaskis reported that the U.P. had become “unchallengeable”. In 1946–47, several anti-U.P. organizations emerged, including the ↗Muslim League, ↗National Muslim Party of Massawa, New Eritrean ↗Pro-Italian Party, and the predominantly Christian Eritrean ↗Liberal Progressive Party.

Under the terms of the Italian Peace Treaty of 1947, the so-called ↗Four Power Commission (↗United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union, and the USA) agreed to “dispose” of Eritrea by 15 September 1948. To determine the wishes of the Eritreans, these nations dispatched the so called Four Power Commission of Inquiry to Eritrea. After surveying communities throughout Eritrea from 12 November 1947 to 3 January 1948, the Commission reported that 48.8 % of the voters supported the U.P. annexation agenda. Percentages for the other parties included 30.9 % (Muslim League), 10.7 % (Pro-Italy Party), 9.3 % (Liberal Progressive Party), and 1 % (National Party). These organizations wanted Eritrea to be a ↗United Nations Trusteeship until arrangements had been made for the country’s independence. All, including the U.P., rejected suggestions that Eritrea be partitioned with Ethiopia annexing eastern Eritrea and the Anglo–Egyptian Sudan assuming control of the Western Province. The Four Power Commission failed to agree upon a disposal strategy and, on 15 September 1948, turned the Eritrean question over to the UN. Over the coming years, the U.P. engaged in violence to advance its annexation agenda. On 21–23 February 1950, for example, rioting between U.P. members and Muslims claimed some 20 lives while a “large number” of others sustained injuries. On 2 December 1950, the UN voted to federate Eritrea and Ethiopia (↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation).

In March 1952, the U.P. won 32 of 68 seats in the ↗Eritrean Assembly and further enhanced its control of the legislature by forming an alliance with the Muslim League of the Western Province. The U.P. gained more seats in the 1956 and 1960 elections but these victories failed to secure a majority vote for annexation. However, on 14 November 1962, the Eritrean Assembly announced that Federation was “null and void”. The following day, Ethiopia annexed Eritrea and named ↗Abiy Abbäbä as the province’s Governor General. Shortly thereafter, the U.P. collapsed as Addis Abäba bought off its officials with pensions or sinecures.

Lit.: KilHDic 295f., 417–29; LLOYD ELLINGSON, “The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941–1940”, *Journal of African History* 18, 2, 1977, 261–81; OSCAR RAMPONE, *Il Mareb era un confine*, Asmara 1953, 16; SHUMET SISHAGNE, *Unionists and Separatists: the Vagaries of Ethio-Eritrea Relation 1941–1991*, Hollywood, CA 2007, 51–54; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941*, Uppsala 1987, 160, 181; ID. “The Eritrean Unionist Party and its Strategies of Irredentism, 1941–

1950", in: *PICES* 11, 299–332; ID., *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience*, Uppsala 1999; TESFATSION MEDHANIE, *Eritrea: Dynamics of a National Question,* Amsterdam 1986, 6–26.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

United Kingdom, relations with

Anglo–Ethiopian relations date back, nebulously, to 1400, when King Henry IV of England, who took a keen interest in ↗Jerusalem – and in Christian Ethiopia – dispatched a letter to "the King of ↗Abyssinia, ↗Prester John". Whether it reached its destination is unknown.

Scholarly British interest in Ethiopia developed two centuries or so later. A British linguist, Brian Walton, included ↗Gəʿəz in his *Introductio ad Lectionem Linguarum Orientalium* of 1655, and the German scholar Hiob ↗Ludolf's history of Ethiopia was published in English translation and updated edition as *A New History of Ethiopia* in 1684. Later, in 1758, the British lexicographer Samuel ↗Johnson, who had translated the writings of Jeronimo ↗Lobo, placed his allegorical novel *Rasselas* in Ethiopia.

Ethiopia, the supposed "source of the ↗Nile" subsequently attracted the interest of the Scottish traveller James ↗Bruce. His classic *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile,* of 1790 (BruNile), illustrated by an Italian draftsman, Luigi ↗Balugani, generated international awareness of the distant country described. Several important British travellers followed in the early 19th cent. – notably Henry ↗Salt, Nathaniel ↗Pearce, William ↗Coffin, Charles ↗Beke, and Mansfield ↗Parkyns in the north; William Cornwallis ↗Harris and members of his diplomatic mission, including the German artist Johann Martin ↗Bernatz (s. EAE vol. 5); Charles Johnston in Šäwa; and Richard ↗Burton in Harär.

British interest in Ethiopia manifested itself in the wake of Napoleon's occupation of Egypt when a British nobleman, Lord Valentia (George ↗Annesley), dispatched his secretary, Henry Salt, to investigate the ↗Təgray region of northern Ethiopia, i.e. the country south of Egypt. There he befriended the local ruler, *ras* Wäldä Śəllase Kəflä Iyäsus. The latter's successor, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu, dispatched a mission to Britain in 1827. It was composed of the aforementioned Coffin and ↗Ali Umar, a Muslim Sāho, who however remained in Egypt. Coffin eventually returned to Ethiopia, five years afterwards, with a valuable British gift of 1,850 ↗fire-arms. A decade later *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa also took the initiative in opening contact with Britain. He wrote to the British East India Company, in June 1840, deploring that the "arts and sciences" were not as developed in his country as in theirs, and asking for assistance in terms of "guns, cannons and other things, which are not to be got in my country".

Britain soon afterwards concluded friendship treaties with *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa on 18 November 1841, and *ras* ↗Ali Alula of Bägemdər on 2 November 1849 (↗Treaties and conventions; s. EAE vol. 5). The ↗British and Foreign Bible Society was also active, publishing an Amharic New Testament in 1824, and the entire Amharic Bible in 1840. Missionary activity in Ethiopia was likewise carried out in this period by the British-based ↗Church Missionary Society and the ↗London Society for Propagating Christianity Among the Jews.

Subsequent visitors from Britain included John ↗Bell, a trader, and Walter ↗Plowden, a British consul, both of whom were closely befriended *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. After their deaths relations between the two countries deteriorated – particularly after the British Government failed to respond to a letter which Tewodros sent to Queen Victoria in 1862, proposing an alliance.

The question of the unanswered letter, and the high-handed behaviour of Plowden's successor, Consul Douglas ↗Cameron, much displeased Tewodros (who based his judgment on reports on Cameron by his secretary ↗Samuʾel Giyorgis). Faced with widespread disaffection – and desperate for foreign military assistance – Tewodros detained Cameron and other Europeans as hostages. Long negotiations followed, during which the British dispatched a second envoy, Hormuzd ↗Rassam, and agreed to provide Tewodros with skilled artisans if he would release his captives. Such talks, however, ended in deadlock.

The British responded in 1867 by dispatching an armed expedition from India, under Sir Robert ↗Napier, which travelled right across Ethiopia to Tewodros's citadel at ↗Mäqdäla. There the Ethiopian ruler was decisively defeated, after which he released his British and other European prisoners, before committing suicide on 13 April 1868. British troops then looted his palace, and nearby church of Mädḫane ʿAläm – seizing two crowns, over 400 manuscripts, and the famous icon of the ↗*Kʷərʾatä rəʾəsu*. Mäqdäla was then burnt down by the British Royal Engineers. Tewodros's son ↗ʿAlämayyehu, befriended by

Ethiopian delegation to the coronation of King Edward VII, 1902; from Pankhurst–Gérard 1996: 49

a British officer, Captain Tristram ↗Speedy, was subsequently taken to Britain, where he was educated, but died young and was buried at Windsor Castle on Queen Victoria's orders. Another Ethiopian toddler, wrongly believed an orphan, was taken to India – and subsequently emerged as *hakim* ↗Wärqənäh, his country's first modern-trained physician – and much later Ethiopian envoy to Britain.

Anglo–Ethiopian relations in the aftermath of Tewodros' demise were cordial. The British had established friendly relations with *däggazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu, ruler of Təgray, through whose territory they had to pass to reach Mäqdäla – and the local peasantry supplied them with provisions. Napier showed his gratitude, before leaving the country, by presenting Kaśa with a consignment of firearms which contributed to his accession as *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV in 1872. He subsequently employed an Englishman, John ↗Kirkham, to help train his army; and appointed another Englishman, Henry Samuel King in London, as Ethiopia's first honorary consul in Britain. The British Government, wishing to assist the rise of Egypt, failed to support Ethiopia, when the latter was threatened by Egyptian aggression in 1875–76 (↗Egyptian–Ethiopian War).

Relations between Britain and Ethiopia were nevertheless warm during the early 1880s' ↗Mahdist revolution in ↗Sudan, when Anglo–Egyptian forces in that territory were seriously isolated. The British dispatched a naval officer, Rear-Admiral Sir William Hewett, to seek Ethiopia's help in extricating the endangered garrisons. Yoḥannəs expressed willingness to assist, and a Tripartite Treaty between Ethiopia, Britain, and British-occupied Egypt was duly signed on 3 June 1884 (↗Hewett Treaty), ceding Bogos (↗Bilin) to Ethiopia and promising free transit to Massawa, for Ethiopian trade, including arms and ammunition. Yoḥannəs later that year dispatched a good-will embassy to Britain. Led by ↗Mərč̣a Wärqe and his nephew Yoḥannəs Mäšäša, both of partial Armenian descent, they arrived with an ↗elephant, and earned friendly publicity. Later, in accordance with the Tripartite Treaty, Yoḥannəs' commander *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda rescued most of the besieged garrisons, while Ethiopia officials began taking over Bogos. The situation in relation to Massawa – and indeed all Ethiopia – radically changed, however, on 3 February 1885, when the Italians – with British approval – seized the port, and soon began advancing into the Ethiopian interior. Sir Gerald Portal, a British envoy sent to Ethiopia in an attempt to reconcile the two sides, was signally unsuccessful.

Britain, a leading participant in the Scramble for Africa, and a signatory of the 1885 General Act of Berlin, which provided rules for that "scramble", was sympathetic to Italian colonial ambitions – the more so as they counter-balanced those of ↗France, Britain's principal colonial rival. The British Government recognized Italy's protectorate claim over Ethiopia in 1889, and was not pleased by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's victory at ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896. Recognizing its historical significance, Britain nevertheless dispatched a diplomatic mission to Mənilək in 1897. Led by Sir Rennell Rodd (↗Rodd Mission) it was sent to open diplomatic relations – and also sought to (1) define the frontiers between Ethiopia and the ↗British Somaliland Protectorate, and (2) discourage Mənilək from allying himself with the Mahdists. A friendship treaty between Britain and Ethiopia was signed on 11 May 1897, and a British Legation in Addis Abäba was established, under Captain John Harrington. Mənilək's cousin and governor of ↗Harär, *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən, travelled to England in 1902 to attend the coronation of King Edward VII. Four years later Britain collaborated with France and Italy, however, in the ↗Tripartite Treaty of 1906 which divided Ethiopia, against Mənilək's wish, into three spheres of economic interest – Britain to be dominant in the Blue Nile basin (↗Abbay).

This period witnessed the coming to Ethiopia of a number of interesting British visitors. They included Augustus ↗Wylde, a bitter critic of Britain's volte-face over Massawa in 1884–85; Percy Powell-Cotton, a big-game hunter, who founded an ethnographic museum in Kent; and several British officials attached to the ↗Bank of Abyssinia after 1905. British scholars of Ethiopian culture included Sir Ernest Wallis ↗Budge, who translated a number of Gəᶜəz works. These were financed by a British society hostess Lady Meux, who bequeathed her Ethiopian manuscripts to Mənilək – but whose will was overturned.

Political relations deteriorated after Empress ↗Ṭaytu usurped power in 1909/10, and then with the accession to power in 1910/11 by Mənilək's grandson, the Heir to the Throne *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, and especially with the outbreak of ↗World War I. Iyasu was perceived by the British and their diplomatic representative Wilfred ↗Thesiger as too friendly with the Central Powers, i.e. the German (↗Germany), Austrian (↗Austria) and ↗Ottoman empires with the result that the principal legations of the Allied Powers supported a successful conspiracy against him, culminating in the 1916 ↗coup d'état (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081). The successor government, headed by Mənilək's daughter Empress ↗Zäwditu and *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), the new Heir to the Throne, congratulated the Allies, on their victory. The positive personal relation between Täfäri and Thesiger is illustrated by the fact that the former entrusted his children to the latter for protection before leaving to the Battle of ↗Sägäle.

Täfäri Mäkʷännen, responsible for Ethiopia's foreign relations, obtained his country's entry into the newly established ↗League of Nations in 1923. He was supported in this by Italy, but opposed by the British, who criticized continued ↗slavery in Ethiopia. In the following year he visited Britain and several other European countries, taking with him some important nobles, who were thus introduced to modern technology. In London and elsewhere he appealed – unsuccessfully – for Ethiopia's access to the sea, but the British agreed to give him one of Tewodros's two crowns looted at Mäqdäla. Difficulties with Britain and Italy came to the fore in 1926 when their respective governments sought to pressurize Ethiopia into accepting partition into spheres of economic interest reminiscent of those conceived in the Tripartite Treaty of 1906. Täfäri used the League of Nations machinery to frustrate this essentially colonialist manoeuvre.

Despite this rebuff relations were normalized; and *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I's coronation in 1930 was attended, on behalf of Britain, by Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester, son of King George V, as well as by the aspiring novelist Evelyn ↗Waugh.

Events thereafter were largely overshadowed by the expansionist ambitions of ↗Mussolini. British members of the Ethiopian – British Somaliland boundary commission were present at ↗Wälwäl, on the Ethiopian side of the ↗Italian Somaliland frontier, in December 1934 at the time of the "incident" which Mussolini used as a pretext for war – but they withdrew "to avoid an international incident". As war came closer the British and French governments concluded, as stated in the Maffey Report, a British inter-ministerial report issued on 18 June 1935, that they would have nothing to lose from an Italian occupation of Ethiopia. They therefore decided on a policy of "neutrality", and to deny weapons to either side – though Fascist Italy, the aggressor, had a developed armament industry, while Ethiopia imported all her fire-arms from abroad.

After the opening of hostilities, on 3 October 1935, Britain, as one of the leading members of the League of Nations, was largely responsible for framing League policy. This involved condemning Italy as the aggressor but imposing only mild and ineffective economic sanctions. Early in December the Foreign Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, and the French premier, Pierre Laval, agreed to a "compromise plan" which would have given the Italians all the territory they had thus far occupied (↗Hoare-Laval-Plan). The League later abandoned sanctions, on 4 July 1936, and the U.K. seeking a rapprochement with Italy, in April 1938 recognized the "conquest" of Ethiopia, now merged into the greater colonial territory known as ↗Africa Orientale Italiana.

After travelling to Geneva, Ḫaylä Śəllase went into exile to the U.K. and established himself at Bath; there he formed an exile government, which actively tried to acquire international support. One of the leaders of the women's suffrage, Sylvia ↗Pankhurst, became actively involved in public campaigns in favour of Ethiopia. She founded the newspaper ↗*New Times and Ethiopia News* to give support to Ḫaylä Śəllase. Also other British writers engaged themselves in favour of Ethiopia (e.g., the "Princess ↗Asfa Yilma"), but at first without achieving much attention from the official side.

The situation changed for the U.K. when on 10 June 1940 Mussolini declared war on Britain and France (↗World War II) and occupied British Somaliland in the middle of August. The British, fearing for their position in the Middle East and their sea-route to the East, decided on expelling Italy from East Africa. They made immediate contact with the Ethiopian Patriots (↗Resistance) – and on 23 June they flew Ḫaylä Śəllase to ↗Sudan. Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel ↗Sandford, a British officer with much experience of Ethiopia (where he had resided from 1923 to 1936), was flown into Goǧǧam on 12 August 1941 to investigate the situation – and was joined by another officer, Major (later Major-General) Orde ↗Wingate, on 4 November.

The British campaign for the liberation (↗War of Liberation) of Ethiopia, which owed much to the Ethiopian Patriots, began towards the end of January 1941 with separate attacks on Italian East Africa. These were (1) from Sudan into Eritrea and ↗Təgray, led by General William Platt; (2) from Sudan into Goǧǧam, led by Ḫaylä Śəllase and Wingate; and (3) from Kenya into Italian Somaliland, by General Alan ↗Cunningham. The latter army entered Addis Abäba on 6 April, after which the Emperor entered it triomphally on 5 May. The last Italian soldiers in East Africa surrendered at Gondär on 27 November. Africa Orientale Italiana was dissolved and the pre-war administrative structures largely re-installed (e.g., Təgray and Eritrea were again separated); Italian Eritrea was put under the ↗British Military Administration and administrated as "Occupied Enemy's Territory" by Britain with a four-power mandate until 1952.

Post-war Anglo–Ethiopian relations were complicated, in part because the British had no consistent approach towards the newly liberated country, and different leaders and officials favoured differing policies. The Ethiopian government, for their part, had understandable suspicions of British hegemony, as British colonial or British-administered territories surrounded Ethiopia. De facto the Ethiopian state structures remained under control by the British who set up a ↗British Military Administration of Ethiopia (s. EAE vol. 5). Foreign Secretary Anthony ↗Eden told the House of Commons on 4 February 1941 that his Government would "welcome the re-appearance of an independent Ethiopian State", and recognized the Emperor's claim to the throne. Brigadier Maurice Lush, the British Representative in Ethiopia, on the other hand declared, on 11 May, that the monarch could not appoint officials until a peace treaty with Italy had been effected (legally considering Ethiopia still part of the "Occupied Enemy's Territory"), while Sir Philip Mitchell, the Chief British Political Officer, Middle East, declared that Ḫaylä Śəllase should abide by British advice in "all important matters", including the levying of ↗taxes and expenditure of revenue. Other British officials proposed the partition of Ethiopia, with the annexation of parts of Təgray to British-controlled Eritrea and Ogaden to British Somaliland, Ogaden still being fully under British control. Ḫaylä Śəllase, disturbed by such proposals, and by the absence of any document defining British authority, telegraphed Prime Minister Winston Churchill to demand a formal agreement.

The first post-war Anglo–Ethiopian Treaty, the drafting of which was bitterly contested, was signed on 31 January 1942, i.e. over nine months after the Italian surrender in Addis Abäba. The document provided official British recognition of Ethiopia's independence, but curtailed this by insisting that its Emperor should appoint exclusively British advisors, a British commissioner of police, and British judges etc. An Anglo–Ethiopian military convention, signed the same day, specified that British forces could remain in the ↗Ogaden and in a Reserved Area adjacent to British Somaliland. The British were likewise given control of the radio, telegraph, and railway installations; were permitted to move around the country at will, and were exempt from Ethiopian jurisdiction. In return for these substantial concessions the treaty granted Ethiopia a three or four year annual subsidy of one and a half million pounds Sterling in the first year, declining to half a million in the third year, and a quarter of a million if the treaty ran that far (which it did not). The development of the state administration in Ethiopia, including the juridicial system, was highly marked by British presence. The subsequent restoration of Ḫaylä Śəllase's rule over all of Ethiopia and occasionally met some local resistance; in Təgray this resistance culminated in the ↗*Wäyyanä* movement, which was was brought to an end in 1943 by bombing by the British Air Force.

The second Anglo–Ethiopian Treaty was signed on 19 December 1944. It abandoned British insistence on the appointment of British advisors, and other elements of British extra-territoriality embodied in the earlier agreement. Pressed by the British however to accept the latter's continued occupation of Ogaden, the Ethiopian side included an article stating that they agreed to this "as an Ally" and "without prejudice" to the area's "underlying [Ethiopian] sovereignty". This article was significant in that it recognized Ethiopia's status as an ally, limited the Ogaden agreement to the war period – and reserved Ethiopia's right to possible oil and mineral deposits. At the end of World War II Ethiopia declared war against Germany, a formal act which underlined Ethiopia's status as an ally to Britain.

The British Ogaden policy was clarified in the Spring of 1946 when Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin proposed the province's union with British Somaliland and former Italian Somalia to form a Greater Somalia. This idea was immediately rejected by Ḫaylä Śəllase, denounced as "imperialist" by the Soviet Union's Vyacheslav Molotov – and was soon abandoned. British troops accordingly withdrew from most of Ogaden in 1948, and from the remainder of Ethiopia in 1954–55.

In Eritrea, the British administration, on historical and linguistic grounds, strongly favoured the idea of partition of Eritrea: western Eritrea was to be ceded to British-run Sudan and highland (Christian) Eritrea united with Təgray (as part of Ethiopia). The British–Italian ↗Bevin-Sforza-Plan of 1949 which suggested the disposal of former Italian colonies endorsed this idea, but was rejected by the ↗United Nations (UN) General Assembly. It also suggested an Italian trusteeship for Italian Somaliland, which was finally accepted, linked with the objective to prepare it for independence. The fate of British-administrated Eritrea, however, remained less clear for a long period, the Great Powers having contradicting views; finally, the United Nations agreed to prepare Eritrea for a federation with Ethiopia in collaboration with a UN High Commissioner for Eritrea (↗Anze Matienzo; ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation). Britain established modern state structures in Eritrea, including political parties, trade unions, a reformed judicial system etc.

Britain played a significant role in post-war Ethiopia – symbolized by the establishment of an Addis Abäba branch of the British Council as early as 1942, as well as by Ḫaylä Śəllase's state visit to Buckingham Palace in 1954, and Queen Elizabeth's to Ethiopia's in 1965. Prominent U.K. citizens in Ethiopia included General A.F. Cottam, head of the British Military Mission to Ethiopia, Brigadier Banks, sometime head of the Ethiopian ↗police, and Sir Charles Mathew of the Ethiopian Supreme Court. British involvement – because of the role of English as the principal language of instruction – was particularly evident in education. ↗Addis Ababa University's medical faculty was established by a British dean, Frank Howarth, and other British staff included its University Librarian, Rita Pankhurst; the University Press editor, Innes Marshall; the Associate Dean of Science, Jim Marshall; and the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies director, Richard Pankhurst. One of Addis Abäba's finest government secondary schools, called after General Wingate, was staffed by the British Council, while the city's principal private school was founded by Christine ↗Sandford, wife of the above-mentioned Daniel Sandford. The Ethiopian Ministry of Education's chief adviser was an Englishman, Geoffrey Last; and Shakespeare was widely performed, as well as Amharic translations by ↗Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən of *Hamlet* and *Othello* while the best Addis Abäba hospital, prior to the ↗Revolution, was the British-staffed Tsahai (Ṣäḥay) Hospital, founded largely with funds raised by Sylvia Pankhurst in the U.K. (↗Hospitals).

British scholars of Ethiopia multiplied in this period, with Margery Perham, of Oxford, writing one of the earliest studies of Ethiopian government (PerGov), Edward Ullendorff (subsequently the first Professor of Ethiopian Studies at London University) and Charles ↗Beckingham, convening the first ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies held outside Italy, and Neville Chittick heading archaeological research at ↗Aksum. Many of their students went to Ethiopia, and carried out research at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

Many Ethiopians were sent for study in Britain. Foremost among them were two sometime Prime Ministers, ↗Ǝndalkaččäw Mäkʷännən and Mikaᵓel Ǝmməru, artist Afäwärq Täkle, poet ↗Mängəśtu Lämma, surgeon-cum-politician ↗Aśrat Wäldäyäs and Däbbäbä Habtä Yoḥannəs, founder of Ethiopia's first private bank.

Britain, which imported Ethiopian ↗coffee and hides and skins, was a leading supplier to Ethiopia of vehicles, pharmaceuticals, irrigation equipment, industrial machinery, and textiles. A substantial U.K. investment in Ethiopia was the ↗cotton plantation of the Mitchell Cotts company in the lower ↗Awaš valley. During the 1980's ↗famine U.K. public and private assistance was particularly significant.

The current government has established close working relations with the U.K. Trade between the two countries is steadily expanding; British economic assistance for Ethiopia is increasingly important; and the country continues to host many British Non-Government Organizations.

Src.: EMMANUEL ABRAHAM, *Reminiscences of My Life,* Oslo 1995, 29–58; BruNile; HSLife 104–13, 296f.; RubActa 430, index (Britain); JOHN HATHAWAY SPENCER, *Ethiopia At Bay: a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac, MI 1984, 94–99; WILFRED THESIGER, *The Life of My Choice,* London 1987; AUGUSTUS BLANDY WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia,* London 1901.

Lit.: PERCY ARNOLD, *Prelude to Magdala,* London 1991; BZHist; DUNCAN CUMMING, *The Gentleman Savage: the Life of Mansfield Parkyns 1823–1894,* London 1984; Lord RENNELL OF RODD, *British Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa,* London 1948; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *Ethiopia, Great Britain, and the United States 1941–1974,* Berkeley, MI 1983, 210, index ("Anglo"); PHILIP MITCHELL, *African Afterthoughts*, London 1954, 187–208; KATHLEEN NELSON – ALAN SULLIVAN, *John Melly of Ethiopia,* London 1937; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Britain in Ethiopia,* Addis Ababa 1997; ID., *Britain and Ethiopia,* Addis Ababa 2008; ID., *The Ethiopians: a History*, Oxford 1998; ID., *Sylvia Pankhurst, Counsel for Ethiopia*, Hollywood, CA 2003; PerGov; RubInd; CHRISTINE SANDFORD, *The Lion of Judah Hath Prevailed, being the Biography of H.I.M, Haile Selassie I,* London 1955, 63–104; CHRISTOPHER SYKES, *Orde Wingate,* London 1959; DANIEL WALEY, *British Public Opinion and the Ethiopian War 1935–6,* London 1975.

Richard Pankhurst

British colonialism in the Horn of Africa

The modern political development of the entire ↗Horn of Africa is closely linked with the history of British colonialism. British colonial engagement in the region, however, differed much according to the respective region and time. There were mainly two tendencies: open colonization (e.g., ↗British Somaliland) or a policy of indirect influence, based on colonial interests (in Ethiopia itself). Also a mixture between both tendencies existed, in the form of temporary, quasi-colonial expansion or domination (e.g. the de-facto-protectorate over ↗Gambella in the early 20th cent.; ↗Massawa Governorate as part of the Anglo–Egyptian Sudan, in 1882–85; the British Four-Power-Mandate over Eritrea in 1941–52). These tendencies, however, had to compete also with non-colonial British interests and policies, which at times prevailed (cp. Anthony ↗Eden; s. also the anti-colonial activities of Sylvia ↗Pankhurst). Thus, indirectly or directly British colonial policies encompassed the whole Horn of Africa, strongly shaping the whole region, e.g., through the creation of international boundaries, influencing modern economic, political, legal and military structures (including the creation of modern government institutions, of ↗currencies, modern educational structures, industries etc.), internal and external political and military alliances, decisively changing local balances of power.

Major British colonial engagement in the region started with the annexation of Aden in Yemen, as a protectorate under the Indian government (the "Aden Settlement"), in 1838/39. But already before, the southern ↗Red Sea was a sphere of British-Indian interest, in order to protect the shipping route to and from India. The first treaty was signed on 6 February 1827 with representatives of the Somali clan ↗Habar Awal relating to the usage of the port of ↗Berbera at the Somali coast, more than a decade later followed by a treaty with the sultan of ↗Tağūra on 19 August 1840 and the governor of ↗Zaylaᶜ on 3 September of the same year (Fontrier 2003: 238). Around the same period, Great Britain established a vice-consulate in Ottoman Massawa (↗Habeş), for getting first-hand information and establishing links to the adjacent Ethiopian highlands, in view of its importance as a trading post on the Indian route. In Somali territories and neighbouring regions in today's southern Ethiopia, British involvement in the region led to the widespread use of the British-Indian rupee currency, valid in the Aden Protectorate and later taken over by the administrations of British and ↗Italian Somaliland.

In the same period Britain started to take action against local slave trade (↗Slavery), which was of special importance for the public opinion to justify British presence in the region; locally it was understood as expansionist measures directed against competing local merchants. The

1867–68 intervention led by ↗Napier against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II of Ethiopia was an important indirect colonial undertaking – not aimed at the occupation of any territory, but meant as a mighty demonstration of power to the non-European world and any potentially rebellious colonial subjects (Matthies 2010: 168f.). In the second half of the 19th cent. the massive British naval presence in the Red Sea also helped to establish a virtual weapons embargo against the Ethiopian rulers, making Ethiopian attacks against Egyptian, later Anglo–Egyptian, British and Italian territories difficult.

When Great Britain made Egypt its protectorate in 1882, this new status also encompassed all territories which were claimed by Egypt or/and effectively controlled by it; i.e. in the Horn of Africa: Massawa, the emirate of ↗Harär and Tağūra and ↗Zaylaᶜ (s. the handbook War Office 1884). The then Egyptian ↗Massawa Governorate got an Anglophone governor, Mason Bey, and was shortly put under the governorship of the British Admiral Hewett. The ↗Hewett Treaty (1884), signed by Egypt, Great Britain as the tutoring power, and Ethiopia, provided for free access to Massawa "under British protection" for Ethiopian nationals, and the cession of border territories (↗Kärän with its surroundings and forts in the ↗Barka region) to Ethiopia, as a reward for Ethiopia's military intervention against the anti-colonial Muslim Mahdiyya state at the northern borders of Massawa Governorate and Ethiopia (↗Mahdists). Great Britain, however, allowed her ally Italy to take over Massawa in February 1885, following an analysis (among others by the high Anglo–Egyptian official ↗Gordon) that any power taking it would engage in an interest conflict with Ethiopia, ultimately leading to war. The occupation of the area by Italy assured that Great Britain would not need to risk a conflict with Ethiopia, but also that their communication route to India through the Red Sea would not be challenged by competing colonial powers such as France, or by Ethiopia itself. In an agreement of 1887 Great Britain recognized the Italian possessions along the whole southern Red Sea coast up to the French possession of Obock (s. Spencer 1984: 28–30). In the 1890s the Italians were instrumental in the fight against the Mahdists, who were defeated in 1893 at the second Battle of ↗ᶜAq̱ordät (after the First Battle of ᶜAq̱ordät in June 1890), followed by the 1894 occupation of ↗Kassala by the Italians, which was transferred to the British towards the end of 1897. An Anglo–Egyptian–Italian treaty defined the Sudanese border on 25 June 1895 (d'Avray 1996: 262); later border treaties with British involvement led to further territorial transfers, the ↗Kunama (before claimed by the Anglo–Egyptian Sudan, on weak historical grounds) becoming Italian subjects in 1902, in exchange against the Ḥomran region (s. ↗Boundaries; ↗Treaties [s. EAE vol. 5]). The close Italo–British collaboration also made treaties regulating the water use of the River ↗Gaš possible, important for British ↗cotton plantations.

Also Egyptian Harär was an object of British colonial activities. In early 1884 the British resident of Aden, Major Hunter, visited Harär, where he hoisted the British flag and decided to establish the son of the former *ᶜamir* as governor; in November the Egyptian administrator Radwan *pasha* returned, assisted by British representatives and Indian soldiers and policemen (Fontrier 2003: 219). Soon thereafter Harär was given back its independence, in May 1885 (after the last troops had left it in March), but some of its dependencies got under permanent or temporary British control. For example British-Indian troops occupied ↗Ǧildessa, the former Egyptian fort north-east of Harär on the trade route to Zaylaᶜ, in 1885. However, the troops of the *ᶜamir* of Harär temporarily captured them in 1886 (Wagner 2003: 64). A rebellion by the local ↗ᶜIssa against Harär soon led to the liberation of the British garrison, but following the occupation of Harär and surrounding territories by *nəguś* ↗Mənilək in 1887, the British retreated and afterwards claimed only the hinterlands of Zaylaᶜ and Berbera, effectively taking them over in 1884 as part of the Anglo–Egyptian possessions (Fontrier 2003: 217), and the entire northern Somali coast. This led to the foundation of British Somaliland (British protectorate in 1887), under the authority of British Aden. Harär itself – after its occupation by Mənilək – was the subject of several colonial agreements. An exchange of notes between France and Great Britain of February 1888 stipulated that neither of these powers would annex Harär nor allow other powers to take possession of it (the same notes also defined the boundaries between the French and the British Somali possessions; Schwarz 1937: 9). The Harär Agreement was the basis for later French protests against Britain's acceptation of Italy's claims of protection over entire Ethiopia in 1894 (s. below), and later against her permission to use Zayla^{c} for the transport of Italian soldiers to Ethiopia in 1895/96 (Schwarz 1937:22).

In the late 19th cent. British international colonial politics aimed at the consolidation of their territories and colonial spheres of interest. In relation with Germany, for example, the Zanzibar Treaty of 1 July 1890 assured that Germany would not claim any territories north of the Kilimanjaro, with the effect that the territories purchased in 1885/1886 by the private Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft ('German-Eastafrican Society') at the Somali Benadir coast were not set under German protection (Schwarz 1937:17, 24), but instead were ceased to Britain by Zanzibar and then went under Italian domination, Britain's ally in the Horn of Africa.

The British–Italian protocols of 24 March 1891, 15 April 1891 and 5 May 1894 defined each other's spheres of interest in the Horn (ibid. 15, 18, 20f.; Buonomo 1894), the first one defining those in the south (Juba), the second those further north (up to Ras Kasar), and the last in the Gulf of Aden regions (i.e. the hinterlands of Berbera and Zayla^{c}; the former British border post Ǧildessa was supposed to fall into Italian hands, but stay open for international traffic). Their most important outcome was the British recognition of Italy's claim of protectorate over Ethiopia (based on the 1889 ↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce); in return smaller territories in western and southern Ethiopia were left to British influence. The latter protocol also regulated a protection of the ↗Nile waters for the first time, a future great concern of British colonial activities in the region. Italy assured not to erect dams at the ↗Atbara which may reduce the Nile waters.

These protocols violated the sovereignty of Ethiopia, which was expressed in ↗Mənilək's protest note to the European powers of 10 April 1891. However, this note did not stop the British policy of extending their spheres of influence especially in the Ethiopian border regions and in relation to Italy's interests. Even if after the Battle of ↗^{c}Adwa of 1896 the British established a legation in Addis Abäba, thus recognizing Ethiopia's independence, the ↗Tripartite Treaty of 1906 concluded between Great Britain, France and Italy, reaffirmed the validity of the previous British–Italian protocols and gave Britain free hand to pursue her Nile interests (Schwarz 1937:21).

In the south, the Ethiopian–Kenyan border was created by a border treaty in 1902, then by the establishment of a British border administration starting from 1905 (↗Kenya). This was led until 1909 by the Greek migrant Zaphiro (↗Zaphiropoulos), who was accepted also by Mənilək, as he had resided in Ethiopia for several years. This successfully stopped Ethiopian raids and tribute collections at times reaching Wajir in today's Kenya, and sometimes even Kabarnet. Employing several Ethiopians and ↗Boorana and other local border people, he demarcated the 800 km boundary and founded ↗Moyale town as a border post (some kilometres inside Ethiopian territory, thus moving the British–Ethiopian border considerably further north; Abdullahi Shongollo 2010). After him other British agents (or "consuls") continued to maintain British interests in the Boorana region (Smidt in preparation).

After Mənilək fell ill and the government was taken over by *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, the British legation under Wilfred ↗Thesiger tried to extend its capacity of operation, e.g. by building their own telegraph (↗Telecommunication) lines without any prior consultation of the Ethiopian government, thus breaking the Ethiopian state monopoly (for Ethiopian protests s. Smidt 2009). The final downfall of the government of *ləǧ* Iyasu was directly linked with British colonial interests, as his closeness to the axis powers ↗Germany and Turkey (↗Ottoman Empire) in ↗World War I had started to constitute a serious problem for the stability of British colonial possessions surrounding Ethiopia. For example, the government of *ləǧ* Iyasu had deployed a German weapons engineer to the Somali anti-colonial leader *mullā sayyid* ↗Muḥammad ^{c}Abdallāh Ḥasan, and prepared to support anti-colonial activities in the Sudan.

Supposedly Lawrence "of Arabia" was involved as a secret agent in Ethiopia in the fore-math of the ↗coup d'état of 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82; Berhanou Abebe 2001:323; Greenfield 1965:138), and earlier research has shown a direct involvement of the British Legation in the funding and encouragement of *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) to take a lead in the overthrow of *ləǧ* Iyasu, through the services of the Legation's messenger Hovhannes ↗Semerjibashian (Bairu Tafla 1985). In British Somalia, the colonial regime managed only in 1920 to crush the resistance of Muḥammad ^{c}Abdallāh Ḥasan and his "dervishs", who had managed to form his own theocratic state within the colony. This was followed by a consolidation of British authority (in 1934 the

Ethio–British Somaliland border was delimited by an Ethio–British Commission; Clifford 1936).

In Ethiopia, the following years were marked by the official recognition of the Ḫaylä Śəllase government, culminating in the participation of highest-ranking British personalities at his coronation.

However, British colonial interests were not given up and only partially modified. Shortly after World War I a press campaign in Great Britain started in which the "necessity" that Ethiopia had to fully integrated into the British sphere of influence was discussed, so that border raiding into British territories would be stopped and its rich resources be used. Following an initiative by the Foreign Office, the "Abyssinian Corporation" was founded, with the former Governor General of Nigeria, Sir Frederic Lugard, as its vice-president. He was suggested to become an advisor to the ruler of Ethiopia – in fact controller – to realize the reforms (Schwarz 1937: 42). The idea of a British Protectorate under the leadership of Lugard was, however, abandoned in 1919 (Vestal 2002: 44).

The slavery question was also used in this context: following a demand by Great Britain, the ↗League of Nations decided in September 1922 to carry out an enquiry in Ethiopia (ibid.). When Ethiopia became a candidate for admission at the League in 1923, this was used as an argument in the discussions against her admission, but France, worried about the British initiatives, prevailed in the discussions and Ethiopia was admitted. However, Great Britain and its contracting partners held on to the validity of their agreements of 1891, 1894 and 1906 (Schwarz 1937: 49).

To assure her influence, Great Britain had established several consulates especially in western Ethiopia starting from the early 20th cent. A British consulate was active in ↗Gondär, whose main task was to survey Ethiopian internal affairs in this traditional sphere of British influence in the "hinterland" of the Blue Nile (↗Abbay), and to make sure that the British supposed rights on the Nile waters could not be infringed by any greater dam project (among them an eminent Ethiopianist such as ↗Armbruster, but usually they were rather colonial officers without particular links to Ethiopia).

The trade post Gambella, with its port connected to the Nile via the ↗Baro, was subject of a series of British–Ethiopian agreements (starting from 1904, when the British first established their trade post at Itang at the Baro), making Gambella town a de facto exclave of the British Sudan, under British administration (first a British Customs Inspector, starting from 1919 a District Commissioner). The Sudanese currency was valid in Gambella, and by its infrastructure – and also through ethnic connections – it was better linked to the British Sudan than to Ethiopia. To assure the trade route into Ethiopia, in 1917 additionally a British consulate was established in the nearby Oromo-dominated highlands at ↗Gore.

British colonial politics in the Somali region still focused on strengthening the entente with Italy. As a compensation for Italy entering into World War I on the side of Great Britain and the allies, the Somali-inhabited British Jubaland ("Giuba") – belonging to British East-Africa – was ceded in 1924 to Italy, becoming part of Italian Somaliland. This was followed in 1925 by the Italo–British Agreement on the Lake Ṭana, Great Britain recognizing the Italian sphere of influence in western Ethiopia, in return Italy recognizing Britain's interest in steady supply of water from the Ṭana and Blue Nile to the Sudan and Egypt (Schwarz 1937: 50ff.). However, this agreement was signed without any prior consultation of the Ethiopian government, who protested at the League of Nations, with the effect, that the agreement was legally suspended. Politically it was a sign for tacit British support for ↗Mussolini's plans of expansion into Ethiopia. At the beginning of the Italo–Ethiopian conflict in 1934/35 a secret British report, leaked to Mussolini, made clear that Britain had only interests in the Ṭana and Blue Nile region and on grazing lands south of British Somaliland, with the effect that there were no major British objections against an Italian conquest of Ethiopia (Spencer 1984: 32–35).

The sympathy towards Italian fascism in parts of the British leadership is the background of the plans and secret agreements on the cession of Ethiopian territories to Italy at the beginning of the ↗Italian–Ethiopian War of 1935–36 (↗Hoare-Laval-Plan; cp. ↗Ras Dumērá). Within the League of Nations, Britain's policy towards Italy contributed to the ineffectiveness of measures against Italy. In the meantime, British local presence led to a remarkable colonial episode in western Ethiopia: In 1936 Oromo chiefs – supported by intellectuals and politicians of Oromo background from the Ethiopian court itself – founded a "↗Western Galla Confederation" (this being its English denomination). They invited the British – via the British administration of Gambella and the British consul at Gore, captain Esme Erskine – to establish a protectorate over them, in the face of Italian aggression and occupation (MockWar 163f.). Erskine was dreaming of a British protectorate over southwestern Ethiopia, which – economically – already was under strong British influence, but his government did not endorse his ideas (cp. Collins 1983). Provisionally, the Ethiopian government established itself in Gore under *bitwäddäd* ↗Wäldä Ṣadəq Goššu, supported by Erskine (MockWar 164), until the advance of Italian forces made its position impossible. The British consulate in Gore was closed in September 1936, but the British consul in Gambella, Major Jack Maurice, stayed (the Italians accepted local British presence, but starting from mid-1937 tried to monopolize the trade, until by end 1939 Gambella town had been reduced to a mere Italian transit station for import and export – until given up by Maurice in June 1940; Collins 1983).

Italian occupation of Ethiopia and the formation of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (A.O.I.) was followed by British recognition (16 April 1938; Pankhurst 1996: 35). In the light of previous agreements, Italy assured the respect of specific British colonial interests; for example, in 1938 an agreement was signed with Italy (with ↗Cerulli acting as the deputy governor of A.O.I.) to provide the British Somalis (Isaaq) access to their Haud pastures (Markakis 1989). British recognition of A.O.I. was only reversed in June 1940 when Italy joined World War II on the side of Germany (Vestal 2002: 45). Until then *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I had led his exile government in the British provincial town of Bath, being tolerated, but not supported by the British government. From then onwards he was to play a decisive role in the quick war against Italy in North-east Africa, even if the British government did not immediately fully commit itself to a future recognition of Ethiopia as a sovereign state. This changed in February 1941 (s. the main article above), even if "outside […] guidance" was still needed in Ethiopia according to Eden (Pankhurst 1996: 36f.).

British Somaliland, occupied by Italy in August 1940, was freed by Punjabi troops returning from Aden in March 1941 during the East African Campaign. Africa Orientale Italiana itself was taken over by the British forces after the March 1941 Battle of ↗Kärän, it was first treated as "Occupied Enemy's Territory", under commander-in-chief of the Middle East Command General ↗Wavell of Keren and Eritrea. When after a few weeks, in May, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase was reinstalled on his throne, Ethiopia was formally reinstated into its old borders (even if not by fact, as several territories stayed under exclusive British control, such as the whole ↗Ogaden). Eritrea was put under the ↗British Military Administration (BMA) of Eritrea, as part of the "Occupied Enemy's Territory Administration" (OETA) until the 1947 peace treaty with Italy. The British military set up separate BMAs for Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia (↗British Military Administration of Ethiopia, s. EAE vol. 5).

Ethiopia became a military protectorate under the British War Office, with Sir Philipp Mitchell being the chief political officer Middle East and his deputy Lush being responsible for Ethiopia, who controlled all administrative and political acts of the Emperor. In April 1941 the Chief of the British Imperial General Staff had declared that the "British control over all aspects of Ethiopian affairs must be complete […] as long as the military situation demands. There can be no question of the establishment of an Abyssinian administration" (Pankhurst 1996: 39). This special status of Ethiopia was defined through a treaty in 1942 (the Anglo–Ethiopian Agreement and Military Convention of 31 January 1942; Spencer 1984: 97ff.; for details s. the main article above).

The British personnel employed in Ethiopia in all spheres of civil and political life was strongly linked, especially at the beginning, with the British colonial empire and usually hardly accepted the sovereignty of the Ethiopian ruler. However, as from the beginning British individuals with strong personal links to Ethiopia played an increasingly important role in Ethiopia's administration (e.g., John ↗Spencer as the Emperors advisor; the army officers Orde ↗Wingate and Brigadier Maurice Lush and the ↗Sandford family), they strengthened an anti-colonial tendency in the BMA of Ethiopia with the effect that Ethiopia was subsequently recognized as an independent country in 1944 (Rennell of Rodd 1948).

The British alliance with the Emperor also led to a strong military support of the Emperor's politics of centralization, especially when he faced armed resistance by great parts of the Təgrayan peasantry and local lords in 1943, against his policy of destruction of their traditional rights and autonomy (↗Wäyyanä). In October the British RAF heavily bombarded Mäq̱älä, Ḥənṭalo and other areas controlled by the rebels (Aregawi Berhe 2004: 572).

Ethiopia was by then strongly integrated into the wider colonial networks of British East Africa. Until the mid-1940s its dominating ↗currency was the Shilling of the East African Currency Board (issued in Nairobi in 1941, with Hindi and Arabic denominations).

A number of British administrators and military had previous carriers in the Sudanese, Kenyan and Indian colonies. The especially strong colonial interests of the British at the Somali coast, linked with the idea of a unification of all ethnic Somali in one country, led to the long-lasting special status of the Ogaden under British administration (and, after subsequent retreat from parts of this territory, then of the Haud and Reserved Area). The last Somali territory within the international borders of Ethiopia was given up by the British only in 1955, in a period, when Ḥaylä Śəllase had reached the peak of his power and proved to be a reliable ally of the west.

In Eritrea, British domination lasted from 1941 until 1952 and had long-lasting effects. For example, in the framework of British colonial and war interests, numerous industrial and port facilities of Eritrea (considered enemy's property) were dismantled and transferred to the British colony of India (which also happened in Ethiopia itself; Pankhurst 1996). Britain further strengthened the colonial system of indirect rule already established by Italians (e.g., furthering the already started codification of customary laws in the form of ↗Law Books, such as the one of ↗Akkälä Guzay), and, in view of a future independence or autonomy, founded civilian and political institutions, such as trade unions and political parties (cp. also the typically colonial endeavour of a ↗Tigrinnya Language Council, which tried to centralize and control the development of the local language, initiated by the colonial officer Edward Ullendorff). British administrators over longer time cherished the idea of partition of Eritrea, ceding its lowlands, economically and historically strongly linked with the northern Sudanese populations, to the British Sudan, and its highlands to Christian Ethiopia (furthering Təgrayan–Təgrəñña nationalism; cp. ↗Longrigg). However, Ethiopia, was finally given de-facto free hand over Eritrea, with which it was federated in 1952 (fully annexing it as Ethiopian territory in 1962; ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation). British colonial inference into Ethiopia's affairs stopped in the 1950s with the retreat of the last British troops from Somali territories adjacent to British Somaliland in 1955. In the subsequent years British Somaliland attained some internal autonomy, in 1957 getting its first legislative council, and on 26 June 1960 attaining her independence under Prime Minister Muḥammad *ḥaǧi* Ibrahim ʿEgal (unified with Italian Somaliland only a few days later, to form the state ↗Somalia).

Src.: ANTHONY D'AVRAY, *Lords of the Red Sea: the History of a Red Sea Society from the Sixtheenth to the Ninetheenth Century*, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 45); GIACOMO BUONOMO, "Protocollo anglo–italiano de 5 Maggio 1894 relativo alla delimitazione delle sfere d'influenza fra l'Italia e l'Inghilterra nel Golfo di Aden", *Bolletino della Societa Africana d'Italia* 13, 1894, 61–64; E.H.M. CLIFFORD, "British Somaliland–Ethiopia Boundary", *Geographical Journal* 87, 4, 1936, 283–317; DAVID HAMILTON, "Schedule of International Agreements Relating to the Boundaries of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 58–69; EDWARD HERTSLETT, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, rev. by RICHARD WILLIAM BRYANT – HENRY LESLIE SHERWOOD, vol. 2: *Abyssinia and Great Britain and France*, London 1967; MERS'É HAZEN WOLDE QIRQOS, *Of What I Saw and Heard*: *the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II & the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, Addis Abeba 2004; RubActa; RubInd; JOHN HATHAWAY SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay*: *a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac, MI 1984; EWALD WAGNER, *Harar. Annotierte Bibliographie zum Schrifttum über die Stadt und den Islam in Südostäthiopien*, Wiesbaden 2003 (AeF 61); WAR OFFICE, *Report on the Egyptian Provinces of the Sûdan, Red Sea, and Equator*: *Compiled in the Intelligence Branch Quartermaster-General's Department, Horse Guards, War Office*, London 1884; ZÄWDE RÄTTA, **ተፈሪ፡ መኰንን፡ ረዥሙ፡ የሥልጣን፡ ጉዞ፡ በምኒልክ፡ በኢያሱና፡ በዘወዲቱ፡ ዘመን** 1884–1922 (*Täfäri Mäkʷännən räžžəmu yäśəlṭan guzo bämənilək bäʾiyasunna bäzäwditu zämän 1884–1922*, 'Täfäri Mäkʷännən, the Long Journey to Power, from the Periods of Mənilək, Iyasu to Zäwditu, 1884–1922'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004/05 A.D.].

Lit.: ABDI ISMAIL SAMATAR, *The State and Rural Transformation in Northern Somalia 1884–1986*, Madison, WI 1989; ABDULLAHI SHONGOLLO, "Border as Power Resource, from Frontiers of Ethnic Territory to Borders of Nation-State", in: MARKUS HÖHNE – DEREJE FEYISSA (eds.), *State Borders and Borderlands in the Horn of Africa*, London 2010; AREGAWI BERHE, "The Origins of the Tigray People's Liberation Front", *African Affairs* 103/413, 2004, 569–92; BAIRU TAFLA, "The Forgotten Patriot: the Life and Career of Johannes Semerjibashian in Ethiopia", *Armenian Review* 38, 2, 1985, 13–39; BERHANOU ABEBE, "Le Coup d'État du 2 septembre 1916", *AE* 17, 2001, 309–59; BZHist; ROBERT O. COLLINS, *Shadows in the Grass*: *Britain in the Southern Sudan, 1918–1956*, New Haven, CT 1983, 365–405; MARC FONTRIER, *Abou-Bakr Ibrahim – Pacha de Zeyla, Marchand d'esclaves Commerce et diplomatie dans le Golfe de Tadjoura 1840–1885*, Paris 2003; MICHAEL GLOVER, *An Improvised War, the Ethiopian Campaign, 1940–41*, London –

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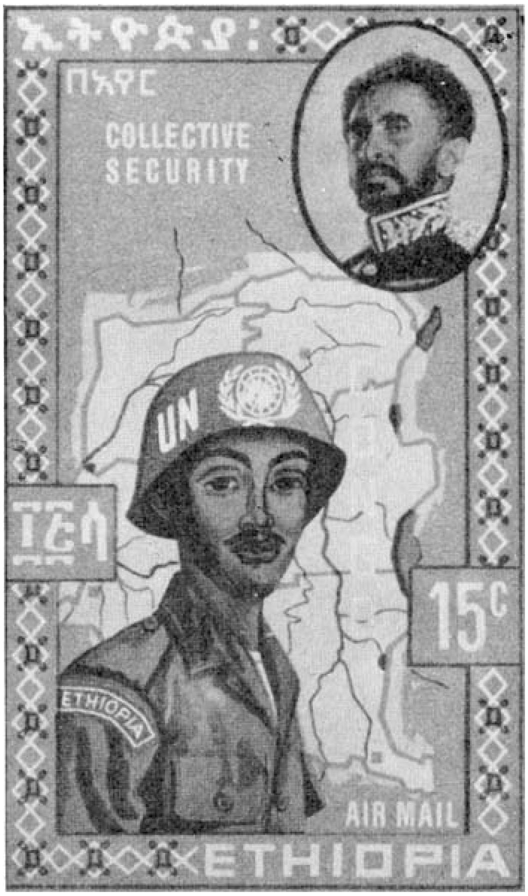
Wolbert Smidt

United Nations

The U.N. was founded in 1945 in the wake of the failed ↗League of Nations (1919–46). With the full support of the ↗United States, Ethiopia, represented by Prime Minister ↗Mäkʷännǝn Ǝndalkaččäw, was one of the 51 nations attending the San Francisco negotiations that created the U.N. from 26 April through 14 June 1945. The new U.N. Charter was ratified on 24 October 1945, the date the U.N. formally became operational. Ethiopia ratified the U.N. Charter and officially became an "Original Member" of the U.N. on 13 November 1945.

Since becoming a member, Ethiopia has contributed in many ways to the fulfillment of the objectives of the U.N. It took its place in the General Assembly and has also played a significant role in the Economic and Social Council. The U.N. Economic Commission for Africa was established in 1958 in ↗Addis Abäba, which was also the home of the ↗Organisation of African Unity.

In 1949, the U.N. assumed the task of determining the future status of the former Italian colonies of ↗Eritrea (↗United Nations Commissions for Eritrea) and ↗Somalia. In 1950 the U.N. called for negotiations between Italy and Ethiopia to delimit the boundaries of a prospective Somalian state. The negotiations were inconclusive and other factors were more significant in establishing of the new nation, the Somali Republic, in 1960.



Stamp commemorating Ethiopia's engagement during the "Organisation des Nations Unies au Congo" (ONUC); from *EthObs* 4, 1962: 240

In 1950, a contingent of Ethiopian troops known as the Qaññäw Battalion joined the armed forces of other members of the U.N. under the Unified Command in Korea. The Battalion fought in 253 battles in which not one of the Ethiopian troops was captured. Before the war ended in 1953, three Ethiopian battalions, totaling 5,000 men, had rotated in Korea, where they fought with distinction.

From 1960 to 1963, some 5,000 ↗Imperial Bodyguard personnel and a part of an ↗air force squadron served with the largest U.N. peacekeeping force that sought to support the central authorities in the newly independent Congo against secessionist and other threats. On 20 November 1963 Ethiopia withdrew its armed forces from the Congo in the face of a threat of a build-up of the Somali military. Later, in 1967, Ethiopia again assisted the U.N. by sending four air force F-86 fighter-bombers to Zaire to help dislodge a concentration of European mercenaries fighting there on behalf of secessionists in Katanga Province.

In 1954 *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I paid his first visit to the U.N. headquarters in New York and, in 1963, was the first African leader to address the U.N. as one of the world's elder statesmen. Ḫaylä Śəllase was the only head of state to have addressed both the League of Nations and the U.N.

Ethiopia directly benefited from cooperative activities with U.N. organizations, especially the World Health Organization (WHO), U.N. Emergency Children's Relief Fund (UNICEF), the International Civil Aviation Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization. Under a WHO agreement Ethiopians were sent abroad for education as physicians, nurses and other health specialists. The Gondär College of Public Health was established by U.N. agencies (UNICEF and WHO) and the United States Operations Mission in Ethiopia and became operational in October 1954. UNICEF provided technical and financial assistance to eliminate sources of health problems – especially acute and endemic ↗diseases that debilitated large segments of the population (cp ↗Famines). Under agreements with the U.N., technicians trained Ethiopians in the fields of telecommunications, forestry, soil analysis, veterinary service, agriculture and civil aviation. The Wälamo Agricultural Development Unit, financed by the World Bank, helped ease land congestion through its settlement scheme. In 1972 the U.N. Development Program conducted preliminary explorations in the Great Rift Valley and detected what appeared to be one of the world's largest potential sources of geothermal power.

Dedicated to international cooperation and principles of collective security, the cornerstones of Ethiopian foreign policy, the U.N. remains central to the survival and advancement of the idea, strongly endorsed by Ethiopia, that states exist as part of a universal international society.

Src.: *Guide Book of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1954; HSLife; Stephen C. Schlesinger, *Act of Creation: the Founding of the United Nations. A Story of Superpowers, Secret Agents, Wartime Allies and Enemies, and their Quest for a Peaceful World*, Boulder, CO [ca. 2003]; United Nations, *Yearbook of the United Nations*, New York, annually.

Lit.: ClapHS 67, 136, 141; Negussay Ayele, *Ethiopia and the United States*, Santa Clara, CA 2003, 169, 174–77; David H. Shinn, *One Hundred Years of American-Ethiopian Relations*, ms., n.d.

Theodore M. Vestal

United Nations Commission for Eritrea

As the ↗World War II Allied Powers (United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom and France) proved unable to come to an agreement concerning the future status of Eritrea (cp. ↗Four Power Commission), the question was submitted to the international forum of the ↗United Nations (UN) in 1948.

A Commission – composed of delegations from Burma, Guatemala, Norway, Pakistan and South Africa – was created with the triple task of acquainting itself "more fully [with] the wishes and the best means of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of Eritrea", as well as with "the interests of peace and security in East Africa", and taking into account Ethiopia's rights and claims. Starting in January 1950, this fact-finding Commission of Enquiry held 45 private and 40 public meetings at Lake Success; political parties, organizations and religious leaders were consulted, as well as the administrative authorities and representatives of the interested States (Ethiopia, ↗Egypt, the ↗United Kingdom as administering authority, ↗Italy and ↗France). Eritrea was passing through a period of political turmoil and the UN Commission's hearings – some 70 public and private meetings with party representatives and community leaders - and investigations were not able to shed much light on the Eritreans' political consciousness. Both the uneven system of enquiry and the clash of personalities among the delegates hampered the work of the Commission that toured Eritrea from 24 February to 5 April 1950.

The Economic Sub-Commission's report stated that Eritrea was economically unviable. Due to this, as well as to the socially fragmented pattern of the country, the high illiteracy rate, and the political divisions, the delegations from Burma, Norway, and South Africa declared Eritrea not ready for self-government and called for a closer association with Ethiopia; the South Africa and Burma members recommended the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, while the Norwegian delegate opted for annexation by Ethiopia. On the contrary, the Guatemala and Pakistan delegations dismissed the Economic Sub-Commission's report and, arguing that the majority of Eritreans declared themselves pro-independence, suggested a UN ten-year trusteeship to pave the way for Eritrea's future independence. After lengthy and difficult discussions in December 1950 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution whereby Eritrea was officially federated with Ethiopia and became an autonomous unit under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown (↗Imperial Federal Council); the administering power had to accept a UN presence during the transitional period, which was to leave the country no later than 15 September 1952.

↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation

Lit.: ANDARGACHEW TIRUNEH, "Eritrea, Ethiopia and Federation 1941–1952", *NEASt* 3, 1, 1980–81, 99–119; BEREKET HABTE SELASSIE, *Eritrea and the United Nations and other Essays,* Trenton, NJ 1989; EYASSU GAYIM, *The Eritrean Question: the Conflict between the Right of Self-determination and the Interests of the States,* Uppsala 1993, 124–41; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, Resistance, Nationalism, 1941–1993,* Cambridge 1995, 78–81; TESFATZION MEDHANIE, *Eritrea: the Dynamic of a National Question,* Amsterdam 1986; REDIE BEREKETEAB, *Eritrea: the Making of a Nation, 1890–1991,* Uppsala 1999; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia: the Federal Experience,* Uppsala 1997; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea: a Colony in Transition 1941–52,* London 1960, 95–102.

Federica Guazzini

United Printers

U.P. Plc. (**የተባበሩት፡ አሳታሚዎች፡ ኃላፊነቱ፡ የተመሰነ፡ የግል፡ ማኅበር**, *yätäbabbärut asattamiwočč, ḫalafinnätu yätämässänä yägəl maḫbär*, 'Private Association of the associated leading printers') is an Ethiopian printing company which was established in Addis Abäba in 1966 by five school friends born in the late 1930s from Italian fathers and Ethiopian or Eritrean mothers, i.e. Giovanni Honorati, Giuseppe Grimaldi, Renato Muciano, Giustino T. Vianelli and Carlo Ferraresi. Since 1966 it has been located in Däğğazmač Ğootee Street, Arada district.

They started working with one Heidelberg 46 offset printing machine, with mobile characters, paper cutting and stitching machines, furniture, etc. In 1974, when the ↗Revolution broke out, U.P. had already acquired four additional Heidelberg 46, two Heidelberg Cylinders, and three Heidelberg Offset machines. During the *Därg* regime U.P. almost stopped operating because all companies, except very small ones, were nationalized by the government. Over the years three shareholders left, but in 1994 a new one joined the Company. After the overthrow of the regime in 1991, it took several years for U.P. to restart and reorganize itself. U.P. has now Heidelberg large and medium size four and two colour machines, digital paper cutting and bookbinding machines, etc. They were the first in the private sector to introduce four-colour-printing and Dainippon-Screen Computer-to-Plate making machines, thus eliminating the film processing system. They were also the first to set-up a modern graphic design department.

Besides the dynamic private sector, U.P. is now serving various ↗United Nations organizations, embassies, governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, insurance companies, banks, etc. At present, the two shareholders are Giovanni Honorati as the Managing Director and Adele Roveglia Honorati as the Manager in charge of Administration and Finance. Their daughter, who had graduated in International Relations and Diplomacy and studied for one year pre-press and printing in Germany, is in charge of the technical part of the Company.

A number of works relevant for ↗Ethiopian studies were published by U.P.

Src.: interviews with Giovanni Honorati, 15 September 2009, Adele Roveglia Honorati, 3 November 2009.

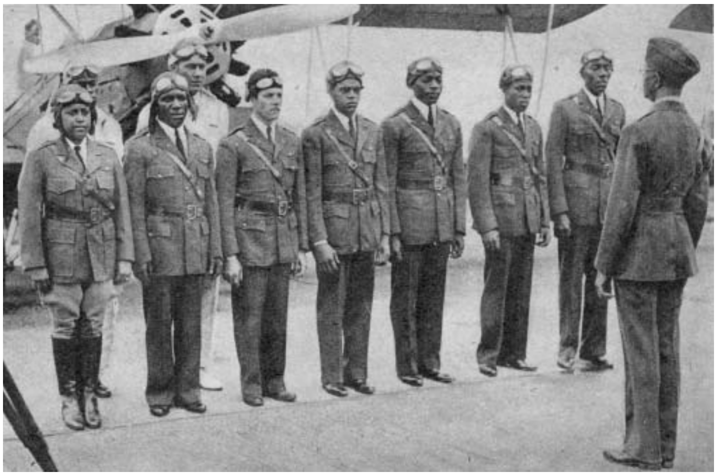
Lit.: ØYVIND AADLAND – MARK FACKLER, "Ethiopia", in: AMANDA QUICK, *World Press Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, USA 2003, 297–302; ENRICO MANIA, *Storia del giornalismo nel Corno d'Africa*, Roma 2009; SHIMELIS BONSA, *Survey of the Private Press in Ethiopia: 1991–1999,* Addis Ababa 2000.

Dawit Kassaye Woldeyohannes

United States of America, relations with

Official contact between Ethiopia and the U.S. began in 1903 when Robert ↗Skinner, the U.S. consul general in Marseilles, was commissioned by President Theodore Roosevelt to lead a mission to the court of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. Mənilək and Skinner signed a commercial treaty between their governments, and trade and commerce were to continue to be the focus of diplomacy between the two nations until the mid-1930s.

Initially there was no permanent American representation in Addis Abäba. The first resident American consul general arrived in Addis Abäba at the end of 1906. Great Britain (↗United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland) frequently handled U.S. affairs in Ethiopia, and as a result, diplomatic representatives of the U.S. paid only periodic visits to Ethiopia until the 1920s.



Afro-American volunteers for the Ethiopian airforce preparing for war, 1935; from Rikli 1935:75

In 1919 the first official delegation of Ethiopians, led by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Nadäw Abba Wällo, visited Washington, D.C., and met with President Woodrow Wilson. The U.S. Department of State paid minimal attention to Ethiopia until 1928, when in response to *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən's correspondence with Presidents Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge requesting a resident mission, the U.S. State Department sent its consul from the embassy in Aden to Addis Abäba as minister resident. A large American delegation headed by H. Murray Jacoby, the personal representative of President Herbert Hoover, with the rank of special ambassador, attended the 1930 coronation of *ras* Täfäri as ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. In 1934 the Ethiopian Research Council was established at Howard University in Washington, D.C., by Ralph Bunche and other distinguished academics.

Before and during the ↗Italian war 1935–36, the U.S. took a neutral stance on the grounds of "non-interference in European conflicts" and because the matter had been given to the ↗League of Nations. In the summer of 1935, 20,000 African Americans demonstrated in New York in support of the Ethiopian cause, Ḫaylä Śəllase, however, was denied an entry visa to the U.S. so that he could not take his case directly to the American public. Shortly after Italian forces occupied Addis Abäba in 1936, the U.S., which did not recognize Rome's annexation of Ethiopia, shut down its legation. The U.S. also became an important focus of ↗resistance to the Italian invasion, with such organizations as the Ethiopian World Federation and the ↗*Voice of Ethiopia* started by ↗Mälaku Amanuᵓel Bäyyan. Following the liberation of Ethiopia and America's declaration of war on the Axis powers in 1941 (↗World War II, ↗War of Liberation), the two nations became allies.

The U.S. sent military assistance under a Lend Lease agreement and Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase sought additional American aid to replace British influence in his country. In 1943 the U.S. opened a new legation along Ǝnṭoṭṭo Road and Ethiopia sent its first resident minister to Washington. In 1949, diplomatic relations were raised to the ambassadorial level. In 1945 President Franklin Roosevelt met with Ḫaylä Śəllase in Egypt. The Emperor sought American support for Ethiopian access to the Red Sea and the return of ↗Eritrea – aspirations which eventually were realized with help from the U.S. The U.S. Air Force subsequently flew an Ethiopian delegation to San Francisco to attend the founding conference of the ↗United Nations in 1945.

In the immediate post-World War II era, diplomatic relationships were shaped by the developing Cold War. Containment of the Soviet Union (↗Russia, relations with) and its allies became America's primary foreign policy after 1947. During the Korean conflict in 1950–53, Ethiopia sent an armed battalion, baptized ↗Qaññäw battalion. In 1951, the U.S. and Ethiopia signed a treaty of amity and economic relations and a Point Four technical assistance agreement the following year.

The most significant American private sector undertaking in Ethiopia was the establishment and managing of ↗Ethiopian Airlines by Transcontinental and Western Airlines (TWA) starting in 1945 and continuing through the mid-1970s. Later, also with American aid, Ethiopia became the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to have supersonic jet fighters.

In the 1950s U.S. diplomacy focused on acquiring military access and communications facilities in Ethiopia, keeping communist influence out of the country, and maintaining a government that reflected pro-Western positions in international and regional arenas. Ethiopia wanted American assistance in expanding and modernizing its military, help with modernization of the economy, and political support for the incorporation of Eritrea, control over the ↗Ogaden, and U.S. aid should there be any threats to its sovereignty.

In 1953 Ethiopia and the U.S. signed an agreement granting the U.S. access for 25 years to Qaññäw station. Under another treaty the U.S. agreed to annually supply Ethiopia with $5 million of military assistance and to provide training for three army divisions.

In 1954, Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase made the first of his seven state visits to Washington. During these visits the Emperor would attempt to encourage more largesse on the part of the Americans by improving relations with the Eastern bloc and non-aligned nations (↗Non-Aligned movement). The U.S. frequently responded with increased assistance across the board, including support for the Ethiopian ↗air force.

In the mid-1950s food shortages (↗Famines) in Ethiopia were met with a significant food aid partnership between the two governments that continues to the present. During the ↗Coup d'état 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82), the U.S. facilitated the Emperor's return to Ethiopia, but U.S. policy thereafter focused on the need for reform and modernization. Also in 1960, the U.S. and Ethiopia signed a secret executive agreement to equip and train the 40,000 man Ethiopian army, and the U.S. reaffirmed its opposition to any activities threatening Ethiopia's territorial integrity.

The U.S. provided multi-million dollar economic assistance through the Point Four program and its successor organizations, the International Cooperation Agency and USAID, which emphasized increased agricultural production, the training of Ethiopians, and improving the health care system. American aid also played a significant role in the development of Ethiopian higher ↗education, especially Haile Selassie I University (↗Addis Ababa University) and ↗Alämayya Agricultural College. Additional aid came from the American Export-Import Bank, which granted credits for expanding airfields and facilities. In the military sphere, the U.S. maintained a large Military Assistance Advisory Group, a mapping mission and U.S. Navy medical research stations.

In 1962, the first group of ↗Peace Corps Volunteers came to Ethiopia. In 1963 following the creation of the ↗Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Abäba, Ethiopia became even more important to U.S. diplomacy. The U.S. hoped Ḫaylä Śəllase would serve as a moderating influence within the OAU and in contacts with African leaders. In October 1963, the Emperor visited President John F. Kennedy in Washington.

Fighting between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1964 had Cold War implications with the U.S. supporting Ethiopia and the Soviet Union aiding Somalia. By that time, the war in Vietnam was putting strains on U.S. military commitments elsewhere, and Washington informed the Ethiopian government that it should not anticipate long-term American military assistance.

In 1967 Ḫaylä Śəllase met with President Lyndon B. Johnson in Washington to press his demand for increased funding of military arms and training needs for the next five years to combat the increasing Soviet presence in the region and armed dissidents in Ethiopia. The U.S. could not make a five year commitment for military assistance, but it continued to maintain a high level of economic assistance.

The Emperor again traveled to Washington in 1969 to request President Richard Nixon to provide more military assistance, a position unacceptable to the U.S. The Emperor returned to Washington in 1970 to attend a White House celebration of the 25th anniversary of the United Nations and to continue pressing the U.S. for more aid. The outbreak of hostilities on the Ethiopian–Somali border in 1972 was the stimulus for the Emperor's final visit to Washington in May of 1973 requesting, unsuccesfully though, more military assistance. In August 1973, the U.S. immersed in the Vietnam war, announced plans to withdraw from Qaññäw station by the end of the 1974 fiscal year.

From the 1950s until the end of Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign, Ethiopia received about 80 percent of all U.S. military aid for Africa and one-fifth of American economic assistance. This financial support probably had extended the longevity of the Emperor's rule.

During the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), the bilateral relationship cooled down. In July 1980, the U.S. Ambassador to Ethiopia was recalled at the request of the Ethiopian Government, and the U.S. Embassy in Ethiopia and the Ethiopian Embassy in the U.S. were headed by Chargés d'Affaires. With the downfall of the *Därg*, U.S.-Ethiopian relations improved. Legislative restrictions on assistance to Ethiopia other than humanitarian assistance were lifted. Diplomatic relations were upgraded to the ambassadorial level in 1992. Between 1991 and 2003, total U.S. Government assistance, including food aid, was US-$2.3 billion. In 2008, the U.S. Government provided US-$455 million in assistance and donated more than US-$ 550 million in food assistance to help the government cope with a severe drought.

Lit.: Baffour Agyeman-Duah, *The United States and Ethiopia*: *Military Assistance and the Quest for Security, 1953–1993*, Lanham, MD 1994 (Lit.); Getachew Metaferia, *Ethiopia and the United States*: *History, Diplomacy, and Analysis*, New York 2009 (Lit.); Girma Ghebresillasie, *Kalter Krieg am Horn von Afrika*: *Regional-Konflikte: Äthiopien und Somalia im Spannungsfeld der Supermächte 1945–1991*, Baden-Baden 1999; Jeffrey A. Lefebvre, *Arms for the Horn*: *U.S. Security Policy in Ethiopia and Somalia, 1953–1991*, Pittsburg, PA 1992; Harold G. Marcus, *The Politics of Empire*: *Ethiopia, Great Britain, and the United States, 1941–1974*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995; John R. Rasmuson, *History of Kagnew Station and American Farces in Eritrea*, Asmara 1973; Martin Rikli, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935, 75 (ill.); David H. Shinn, "Introduction: One Hundred Years of American–Ethiopian Relations", in: Robert P. Skinner et al. (eds.), *The 1903 Skinner Mission to Ethiopia & a Century of Ethiopian–American Relations*, Hollywood, CA 2004, 3–78; John H. Spencer, *Ethiopia, the Horn of Africa, and U.S. policy*, Cambridge 1977; Negussay Ayele, *Ethiopia and the United States*, Santa Clara, CA 2003.

Theodore M. Vestal

Urbanization

Urbanization in Ethiopia

U. is the expansion of urban centres and life into rural areas. As a sociological concept it connects processes of ↗migration, industrialization and population growth. Ethiopia is one of the nations with the lowest urban population rate (16 %) in Africa. According to the criteria of the Central Statistical Authority of Ethiopia a town has a minimum of 2,000 inhabitants in concentrated settlement who live from non-rural activities (Bezunesh Tamru 2006:310).

As in the whole continent, the urban upsurge has been strong but tardy: in the 1950s urban population made up 5 % of the total population and 9 % in 1970. This recent growth has affected local and middle towns and regional capitals but it has especially given an advantage to the macrocephaleous national capital. Established in 1887, ↗Addis Abäba has now ca. three million inhabitants; its population has increased more than three times since the 1970 census and has doubled since the 1984 census. With 270,328 inhabitants, ↗Dərre Dawa is the second most populous city in Ethiopia.

A few historical towns, such as ↗Aksum, ↗Gondär and ↗Harär stagnated till the present urban upsurge. Apart from these three mentioned cities, rather clusters of ↗houses than towns were concentrated close to temporary military camps (↗*kätäma*) where emperors sheltered as "political nomads" (Rouaud) around sanctuaries and markets, erecting "wandering capitals" (Horvarth 1969). Since ca. 1855 a few cities have arisen either on the regional or the national scale: ↗Mäq̣älä in Təgray, ↗Däse in Wällo, ↗Däbrä Marqos (Monkorär) in Goǧǧam and ↗Ankobär in Šäwa, close to ↗Aləyyu Amba market (Gascon 2006).

The U. process in Ethiopia was hampered by the lack of agricultural surplus for the provision of food for city dwellers (Alula Abaté 1985). When ↗Mənilək II decided to settle his capital, to conquer the South, and to build the ↗railway, he gave a main impetus to urban growth. In the annexed provinces strongholds connected by "royal" ↗roads were constructed to shelter garrisons, markets and ↗*gəbbi*. In this way ↗Ǧirän, as the capital of the kingdom of ↗Ǧimma Abba Ǧiffaar grew, along with ↗Hirmaata, as its market.

Along the railway to Dərre Dawa, where the railway workshops were established and the production of the Harär region was traded, water places gave rise to small stations which were animated by the train service (Awaš station, ↗Adaama, ↗Afdäm, Erer).

During the Italian occupation (1936–41; ↗Africa Orientale Italiana) the population of towns increased vigorously because Italian civil servants, soldiers and traders arrived in numbers thanks to the completion of a road network with Addis Abäba as its centre (Guida; MesfGeogr). Colonial style buildings, in imitation of Eritrean towns (↗Asmära, ↗Däqämḥare, ↗Kärän) gave Addis Abäba, ↗Gondär, Däse, Harär and numerous middle-sized towns (↗Ambo, ↗Wäliso) an indisputable urban landscape (Gascon 1989).

After the liberation, along the roads mushrooming urban centres arose, attracting shop-keepers, civil servants and, with some reservation, poorer farmers (Bjerén 1985). In this way an urban network has been formed; it is strongly centralized, dominated by the capital and shaped by the road network. During the *Därg* period (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) the capital gained importance despite the fact that the government banned rural out-migration. Towns also sheltered refugees from conflicts and famine.

The *Därg*-administration was too short, though to promote the capitals of the new regions.

The proclamation of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in 1994 has induced the partition of the national territory into nine state-regions along with three federal towns endowed with a very large degree of autonomy (↗Administrative division). Neither the Eritrean secession nor the ethno-federal division have affected urban networks. Urban axes start along the railway to Dərre Dawa and Harär to the east, and along the roads to the Rift Valley and Sidamo in the south, to Wällägga and Ǧimma to the south-west, to Goǧǧam and Gondär to the north-west, and then to Däse (Wällo), to Mäq̣älä (Təgray) and Eritrea to the north. Even today towns are distributed within two circles: one day by car from Addis Abäba 300–500 km, the historical and regional capitals (Däse, Mäq̣älä, Gondär, Harär, Ǧimma) are found and are now above 100,000 inhabitants. Half a day (100–200 km) from Addis Abäba middle-sized towns (Ambo, Wäliso, Däbrä Bərhan) with up to 50,000 inhabitants are situated; they form a kind of urban belt around the capital and are attracted by its dynamism. Addis Abäba forms with Aqaqi, Qalliti, ↗Däbrä Zäyt, Moǧǧo and Adaama, a conurbation which very soon will reach 4 million inhabitants where people work in the service sector and the industry.

Thousands of migrants are now living in towns in spontaneous and precarious districts in search of employment and means of existence. In Addis Abäba, today, water streams and the air are seriously polluted and waste collection and water treatment are largely insufficient.

Population growth of the towns above 100,000 inhabitants in 2004 (MesfGeogr; CSO 1975, 1984; CSA, 1998, 2004):

	2004	1998*	1984*	1970*	1938
Mäq̣älä	161,738	96,938	61,583	27,895	12,000
Gondär	186,077	112,249	68,952	35,331	14,000
Däse	161,554	97,314	68,848	45,731	36,000
Baḥər Dar	159,793	96,140	54,800	22,192	500
Ǧimma	151,697	88,667	60,992	41,848	15,000
Däbrä Zäyt	125,128	73,372	51,143	27,627	1,500
Nazret	218,110	127,847	79,254	39,359	1,500
Awasa	119,623	69,169	36,169	?	?
Harär	118,000	76,378	62,320	45,033	45,000
Dərre Dawa	270,328	164,851	99,109	60,925	20,000
Addis Abäba	2,887,000	2,112,737	1,412,575	795,900	90,000

* dates of censuses

However, the rapid growth of towns which have been promoted as zone or region capitals (↗Awasa, ↗Arba Mənč̣, ↗Baḥər Dar, ↗Naqamtee, ↗Soddo, ↗Ǧiǧiga) has to be mentioned: they have been endowed with administrative equipment, schools, universities and shops. Because of its industry Dərre Dawa, a federal city since 1998, has outmatched Harär, a religious city which has become federal, too. Coffee plantations have given an impetus to the southern and south-western towns (Ǧimma, Awasa, Šašämänne, Naqamtee), as ↗*č̣at* cultivation for the expansion of Harär and Ǧiǧiga.

As a research topic in ↗Ethiopian Studies, U. had been long neglected. Since the 1980's, however, a considerable number of under-graduate and graduate theses from ↗Addis Ababa University have been devoted to this field of study (Getahun Benti 2007: 11; Crummey 1990: 109 n. 28).

Src.: CSA 1975; CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2000; CSA 2004; EMAtlas; Élisée Reclus, *L'Afrique septentrionale, première partie, bassin du Nil, Soudan égyptien, Éthiopie, Nubie, Égypte*, Paris 1885 (Nouvelle Géographie Universelle. La Terre et les Hommes 10), 192–351.

Lit.: Alula Abaté, "Urbanization and Regional Development in Ethiopia", in: Franz-Josef Kemper – Hans-Dieter Laux – Günter Thieme (eds.), *Geographie als Sozialwissenschaft. Beiträge zu ausgewählten Problemen kulturgeographischer Forschung, Wolfgang Kuls zum 65. Geburtstag*, Bonn 1985 (Colloquium Geographicum vol. 18), 242–71; Bezunesh Tamru, "Les villes dans l'espace éthiopien", in: Gérard Prunier (ed.), *L'Éthiopie contemporaine*, Addis Ababa – Paris 2007, 309–28; Gunilla Bjerén, *Migration to Shashemene*: *Ethnicity, Gender and Occupation in Urban Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1985; Donald Crummey, "Society, State and Nationality in the Recent Historiography of Ethiopia", *JAH* 31, 1990, 103–19; Jean Gallais, *Une géographie politique de l'Éthiopie.* Paris 1989; Alain Gascon, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: Benoit Anttheaume et al. (eds.), *Tropiques. Lieux et liens*, Paris 1989, 435–44; Id., "Addis Abeba, la plus haute capitale d'Afrique", in: Anne-Marie Frérot (ed.), *Les grandes villes d'Afrique*, Paris 1999, 165–76; Id., "Éthiopie, Érythrée: la ville, expression d'un destin messianique en hautes terres rurales", in: Jean-Louis Chaléard – Alain Dubresson (eds.), *Villes et campagnes dans les pays du Sud. Géographie des relations*, Paris 1999, 151–68; Id., "Addis Abäba–Djibouti: le chemin de fer qui a fait la Grande Éthiopie – Fin du chemin de fer, fin de la Grande Éthiopie?", in: Jean-Louis Chaléard – Chantal Chanson-Jabeur (eds.), *Le chemin de fer en Afrique*, Paris 2006, 35–54; Id., *Sur les hautes terres comme au ciel. Identités et territoires en Éthiopie*, Paris 2006; Id., "Shäwa, Ethiopia's Prussia: its Expansion, Disappearance and Partition", in: *PICES* 16 [online], vol. 1, 85–98; GasEth; Getahun Benti, *Addis Ababa*: *Migration and the Making of a Multi-ethnic Metropolis, 1941–1972*, Asmara 2007, 11; *Guida*; Ronald J. Hovarth, "Towns in Ethiopia", *Erdkunde. Archiv für wissenschaftlische Geographie* 12, 1, 1968, 42–51; Id., "The Wandering Capitals of Ethiopia", *JAH* 10, 2, 1969, 205–19; Mesfin Wolde Mariam, "The Relative Distribution of the Major Linguistic and

Religious Groups in Urban Areas", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 2, 193–201; MesfGeogr; PankHist I, II; PHILIPPE REVAULT – SERGE SANTELLI (eds.), *Harar. Une cité musulmane d'Éthiopie/A Muslim City of Ethiopia*, Paris 2004.

Alain Gascon

Urbanization in Addis Abäba

↗Addis Abäba is a unique example of an African capital not characterized by the architectural influence of European colonial powers. It is the outcome of the design and efforts of ↗Mənilək II. Initially, Addis Abäba had the features of a military camp, the heart being the ↗*gəbbi*. In the years following its foundation the Emperor gathered all major institutional structures around him and ordered the cabinet of ministers to be built there. Seven main roads departed from it, dividing the urban territory into districts with different characters and functions.

The commercial district – known as Arada – developed later following the political and military crystallization of Mənilək's power. An urban land market was officially introduced in 1907 and landowners began receiving formally registered titles.

Between 1886 and 1889, the town occupied a large portion of territory, progressively filled by overlapping areas of infill construction, often erasing the urban fabric as well as pre-existing buildings. This gave the town 'the appearance of a gigantic camp', which, largely, it still has today (Gleichen 1898: 157).

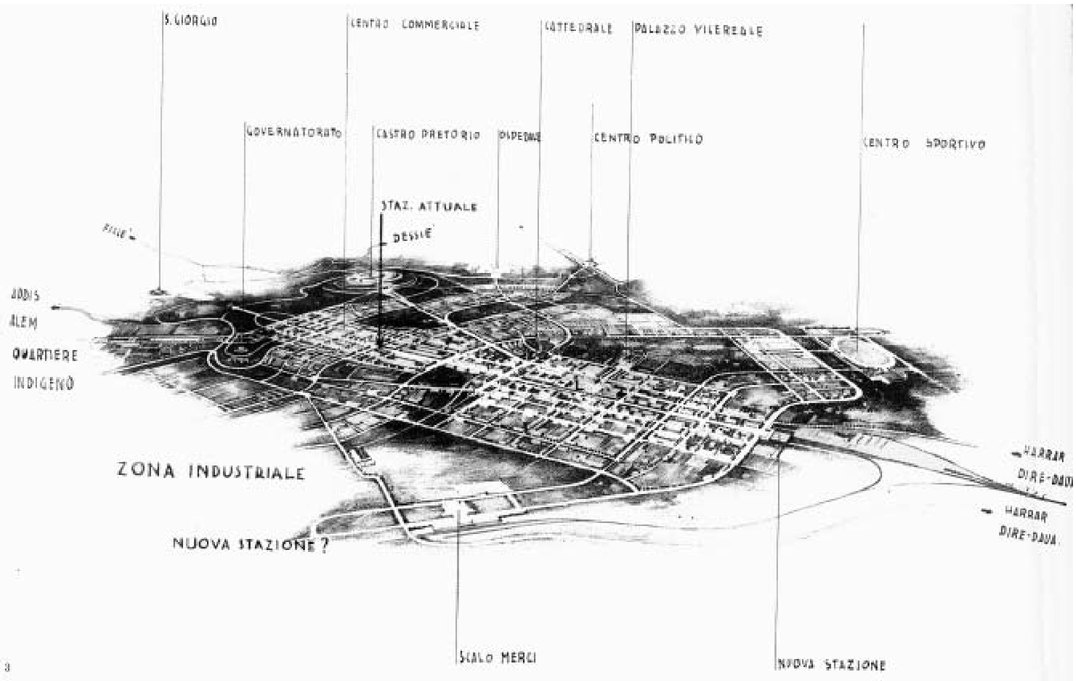
In addition to the first urban units formed by the Emperor's offices and the commercial area, the *rases*' residential buildings, surrounded by their respective *gəbbi* were the starting-point for the development of the urban fabric. Mənilək had granted land to the noblemen of his court for residential purposes (Gleichen 1898: 157) or, as claimed by malicious observers, in order to control his most powerful *rases*.

The establishment of ሰፈር *säfär* (i.e. 'camp, base', here areas individually allotted to lords) continued to represent the model according to which the different city zones were subdivided and named. In addition, the *säfär* were districts inhabited by people sharing the same profession or ethnic origin. The first popular districts were those around the *gəbbi*, which were reserved for the large number of workers employed at the governmental palaces and for the services connected with them.

Mənilək also allowed foreign legations to be established in the town giving the newborn empire international recognition. He favoured the arrival of foreign skilled manpower and traders. The buildings from this first stage reflect the presence of a large variety of foreign influences in a town that was largely cosmopolitan. In addition to the various Ethiopian peoples, Armenian, European, Indian and Indo-Muslim influences concurred to form an architectural syncretic complexity. The character and development pattern of Addis Abäba had already crystallized when Mənilək died in 1913, and, without many alterations, remained until the Italian invasion. The main traits of early Addis Abäba can be summarized as follows:

1. A "polycentric" structure made by a number of autonomous unities – the *säfär* allotted to noblemen – whose model of production and exchange reflects the countryside model, but constitutes a urban context.
2. A large territory, with great distances between the *säfär* and populated areas of low density in between.
3. A circular and elliptical shape of the buildings, gradually changing into quadrangular shape due to foreign influences. Progressively, traditional building materials – straw, stone and mainly the mixture of mud, dung and straw known in Amharic as ጭቃ (*čəqa)* – were substituted by modern materials such as bricks, cement and corrugated iron.
4. The presence of the *gəbbi* as an administrative and political core from which all roads departed.
5. The presence of a commercial heart at Arada, directly connected with the *gəbbi*.

During the first 20 years of the 1900s numerous public buildings such as the Bank of Abyssinia, the *ətege* Ṭaytu Hotel (cp. ↗Hotels), the Post Office, the ↗Mənilək II Secondary School, ↗hospitals and churches were built (cp. ↗Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis). Other relevant constructions were the British, Italian, French and Russian foreign legations, the first masonry buildings in the Emperor's *gəbbi* and beautiful residences belonging to high-rank personalities such as *näggadras* ↗Ḫaylä Giyorgis Wäldä Mikaᵓel, *afä nəguś* ↗Näsibu and *abunä* ↗Mattewos. The construction of the railroad (↗Railways) station, known as "La Gare", prolonged the commercial exchanges toward the southern urban areas, since then dominated by the great *gəbbi* of *ras* ↗Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel (currently Addis Ababa Museum). All the above-mentioned buildings are still extant (Batistoni – Chiari 2004).



Plan for Addis Abäba as suggested by Ignazio Guidi and Cesare Valle, approved by the viceroy Graziani, 1938; from Gresleri 1992: 38

The process of transferring the administrative functions outside the *gəbbi* started before the Italian occupation. Major governmental buildings were relocated along the city's northern axis between the *gəbbi* and ↗ Ǝnṭoṭṭo. The Arada area consolidated its character as a commercial centre and a residential area for rich traders, while the north-eastern part of the town continued to host foreign legations in broad wooded compounds.

The Italian military occupation of Addis Abäba engendered great colonial interest in the urban planning of the capital. In 1936 different master plans were presented, among them those by the Italian architects Gio Ponti, Giuseppe Vaccaro and Enrico del Debbio and by the French architect Le Corbusier. In 1938, the final master plan chosen was the project of Ignazio Guidi and Cesare Valle. The plan took into account functionalist aspects, but also the fascist regime's racist ideology, with the division between a "European city" (to the sides and the south of the former Churchill Road) and a "native city", around the current Merkato (↗ Addis Kätäma) area. Subsequently modified and officially approved in January 1939, the plan was only partially implemented due to the outbreak of World War II.

After the liberation, *aṣe* ↗ Ḫaylä Śəllase invited the renowned British architect Patrick ↗ Abercrombie to draft an Addis Abäba Master Plan. The plan was approved in 1954 but was never fully implemented. It opened the way, however, for the arrival of other town planners and foreign companies that from the mid-1950s onwards modernized the infrastructure and facilities of the capital (cf. *EthObs* 4, 5, 1960). After the 1960s the southern part in the direction of ↗ Däbrä Zäyt was promoted as the industrial area while the south eastern side, where the new international airport was built, was allotted for residential purposes.

Since the 2000s, the process of densification and vertical growth has increased dramatically, transforming the urban landscape and raising a conflict between modernization on one side and conservation of the historical patrimony and respect of the traditional way of life on the other. The town has thus responded to the need for modern architecture for business and trading centres, high demographic growth, and the need for low cost housing inside the town, and rapid development of the tertiary sector.

Src.: EDWARD GLEICHEN, *With the Mission to Menelik, 1897*, London 1898, 157; GueCopMen 162f.

Lit.: AMARE DAWIT – FASSIL GIORGHIS, "Early Architectural Development in Addis Ababa", in: *CentAddis* 173–98; BZHist^2 154; MILENA BATISTONI – GIAN PAOLO

Chiari, *Old Tracks in the New Flower – A Historical Guide to Addis Ababa*, Addis Ababa 2004; Edouard Berlan, *Addis Abeba – La plus haute ville d'Afrique*, Grenoble 1963, 68; Lincoln De Castro, "La città e il clima di Addis Abeba", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 4, 6, 1909, 409–42; Solène De Poix, "Heurs et malheurs du grand marché d'Addis Abeba face à l'ouverture éthiopienne", *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer* 237, 2007, 46–61; Endalew Djirata, "A History of Tabanja Yazh Safar from its Foundation to 1974", Senior Paper, Addis Ababa University, 1987, 31; *Guida* 492; *EthObs* 4, 5, 1960; Fasil Giorgis – Denis Gerard, Addis Ababa, *The City and its Architectural Heritage, Addis Ababa 1886-1941. La ville et son patrimoine architectural*, Addis Ababa 2007; Peter Phillips Garretson, *A History of Addis Ababa from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1974, 119; Giuliano Gresleri, "Architecture for the Towns of the Empire", *Rassegna, Quarterly* (*Architecture in the Italian Colonies in Africa*) 14, 51/3, 1992, 38 (ill.); Haile Sillasse G. Egziabher, *A Historical Development of Case Incis* (*Cazanchis*) *Safar up to 1974*, Senior Paper, Addis Ababa University 1984, 7; Martin E. Johnson, *The Evolution of the Morphology of Addis Ababa*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 1974; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Lifes and Times of Menelik II of Ethiopia 1855–1913*, Oxford 1975; Meskerem Shawul, *La place accordée à l'existant dans la mise en pratique de modèles d'urbanisme: le cas d'Addis-Abeba* (*Ethiopie*), Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris I 2008; Richard Pankhurst, 'The Foundation and Growth of Addis Ababa to 1935", *EthObs* 6, 1, 1962, 40; Domenico Patassini – Corrado Diamantini, *Addis Abeba villaggio e capitale di un continente*, Milano 1993; Iid. (eds.), *Urban Ethiopia: the Evidences of the 1980s*, Venezia 1996.

Milena Batistoni – Gian Paolo Chiari

Urbanization in Eritrea

Archaeological evidence shows that the existence of organised human settlements in pre-colonial Eritrea and surrounding regions dates back to the 8th cent. B.C. However, due to warfare, ecological and geopolitical factors, this network of settlements experienced decline and discontinuity, starting from the 7th cent. until the advent of colonialism and modern U.

Modern U. in Eritrea was initiated after the establishment of the Colonia ↗Eritrea (↗Colonialism) in 1890 and was determined by the establishment of planned settlements and the construction of vehicular infrastructure (↗Roads) effectively connecting the coastal areas with the highlands and the western lowlands.

Town planning started with the first partial plan for ↗Asmära in 1902, followed by plans for ↗Kärän, ↗Aq̱ordät, ↗ᶜAddi Q̱äyyəḥ and ↗Mändäfära (ᶜAddi Wägri) in 1903–04. In 1908, with the subdivision of the colony into eight regions and the establishment of new regional administrative seats, various plans were drafted for Kärän, ↗Massawa, ↗Näfasit, Aq̱ordät, Mändäfära, ᶜAddi Q̱äyyəḥ and Sägänäyti between 1914 and 1918. Additional plans were prepared in 1922 for Massawa after a major earthquake, and for Agordat in 1929 with the arrival of the ↗railway. Between 1908 and 1916 various plans were prepared for Asmära, all of which were based on racial segregation resulting in land expropriation and destitution of Eritrean inhabitants.

U. in Eritrea initiated a process of transition to modernity and was marked by a deep societal transformation. Nevertheless, with limited capital investment, urban development remained modest until the early 1930s, as confirmed also by demographic indicators of 1929 showing population figures for towns like Aq̱ordät, Mändäfära, ᶜAddi Q̱äyyəḥ and Kärän ranging between 3,000 to a maximum of 5,000. Massawa's population in the same year was about 12,000 (Zagnoni 1993: 163), while Asmära's primacy was already evident with a total of over 23,000 residents in 1931 (Barrera 2008: 14).

In the 1930s Asmära became the base for Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia (↗Italian war 1935–36). With huge capital investment and the influx of over 50,000 soldiers and civilians, the city experienced a rapid transformation through a process of simultaneous housing and infrastructure works on an unprecedented scale. Development in this period was guided mainly by Vittorio Cafiero's plan of 1938, continuing the established patterns of racial segregation.

The principal legacy of this period is the dichotomy between a city centre containing a unique ensemble of modernist buildings, high-quality residences, elegant cinemas and other amenities, and the extreme deprivation and unplanned character of the indigenous areas beyond the city's formal boundaries.

From 1941 to 1952, during the ↗British Military Administration, urban growth in Eritrea came to a standstill, followed by years of sporadic development during the period of Ethiopian occupation from 1962 to 1991. In Asmära, there was minor expansion in the May Tämänay and May Čəḥot areas. The period of war from 1974 to 1991 and the nationalization policies by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) that affected property and land resulted in congestion and the deterioration of buildings and infrastructure as well as major destruction in towns such as ↗Naq̱fa and Massawa.

Bird's-eye view of urban Asmära, 1960s; from the collection of the IES (A2-918)

After independence, the situation of Eritrea's towns faced various challenges, including reconstruction of war damaged buildings, the rehabilitation of a deteriorated infrastructure, the need to accommodate future growth and, particularly in Asmära, the issue of the conservation of its unique architectural heritage.

Properties previously nationalized by the *Därg* were returned to legitimate owners. A Land Law (Proclamation 58/94) declared all land to be the property of the state, while Proclamation 86/1996 divided the country into six regions or *zobas* (↗Administrative division); Legal Notice 31/1997 established Procedures for the Allocation and Administration of Land while Proclamation 95/1997 established the Cadastre Office. Where title registration had been voluntary during Italian colonialism and nonexistent under the *Därg*, it became mandatory after independence.

The resulting new institutional and legal framework enabled municipal authorities to define new areas for urban growth. In a relatively brief period major urban plans were prepared for all secondary towns, which have since been significantly expanding. Contemporary urban indicators show that in 2008, Eritrea's urban population growth stands at 5.3 %, with Asmära retaining its primacy as it contains over 50 % of the country's urban population.

13 neighbouring villages have been absorbed into Asmära's metropolitan administration since independence. In the absence of a plan covering these new areas, new low-density sites were developed on the basis of local partial plans. By 2005, Asmära had sprawled, causing it to double in size since 1991. Only since then has a strategic plan been prepared in an attempt to comprehensively and systematically address urban development issues.

Since 1997 measures have been taken to protect Asmära's unique ↗architecture, including the cataloguing of approximately 400 significant buildings within a Historic Perimeter, which has been proposed and accepted for registration into UNESCO's Tentative List, in preparation for a formal application onto the World Heritage List.

Src.: AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, *Interim Country Strategy Paper for Eritrea, 2009–2011*, [n.p.] 2009.

Lit.: GUILIA BARRERA – ALESSANDRO TRIULZI – GABRIEL TZEGGAI (eds.), *Asmara: architettura e pianificazione urbana nei fondi dell'IsIAO*, Roma 2008, 14–27; EDWARD DENISON – GUANG YU REN – NAIGZY GEBREMEDHIN, *Asmara, Africa's Secret Modernist City*, London – New York 2003, 24–67; UOLDELUL CHELATI DIRAR, "From Warriors to Urban Dwellers. Ascari and the Military Factor in the Urban Development of Colonia Eritrea", *Cahiers d'études africaines* 175, 2004, 533–74; STEFANO ZAGNONI, "L'Eritrea delle piccole città", in: GIULIANO GRESLERI – PIER GIORGIO MASSARETTI – STEFANO ZAGNONI (eds.), *Architettura italiana d'oltremare 1870–1940*, Venezia – Marsilio 1993, 145–63.

Gabriel Tzeggai

Urbino, Giusto da

U. (birth name Jacopo Curtopassi; b. 30 August 1814, Matraia, Lucca, d. 22 November, 1856, Khartoum) was an Italian missionary and scholar. In 1831 he joined the ↗Capuchins and in 1845 moved to Rome, where he studied the Arabic and French languages. Shortly after the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide chose him to accompany Guglielmo ↗Massaja on his mission to Ethiopia. He lived for a few months in ʿAgamä and then settled in Bägemdər. He was determined to remain in the northern highlands and to deepen his profound knowledge of traditional "Abyssinian" culture, also refusing Massaja's call to join the mission to the Galla (↗Oromo; MasMis^2 vol. 2, 103) as well as elevation to the rank of bishop. In May 1855, he was expelled by *abunä* ↗Sälama III and died in Khartoum whilst trying to reach Cairo.

During his stay in Ethiopia U. acquired a remarkable competence in ↗Amharic, ↗Oromiffa and especially in ↗Gəʿəz, and worked extensively on Ethiopic lexicography and grammar. His remarkable handwritten Latin- and French-Gəʿəz dictionaries (*Propositio grammaticae Linguae Aethiopicae scripta in Aethiopia*, and *Dictionnaire Éthiopique – français – amharique*, only the preface) and grammar, both compiled in 1850–54, are at present bound in one ms. in Rome (Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, ms. Orientale 134, fols. 1–147; the ms. belonged to ↗Sapeto's mss. collection, cp. ZanBibl 86, no. 164, § 2). Still in Rome, a Gəʿəz–Latin dictionary compiled by U. in 1849 is preserved in the Biblioteca della Società Geografica Italiana (cp. ZanBibl 90, no. 167, § 8). Ms. Paris BN d'Abbadie 217, also perused by Antoine d'↗Abbadie for the compilation of his *Vocabulaire de la langue amhariñña*, contains a third handwritten dictionary probably depending upon ms. Or. 134 of Rome (the dictionaries in mss. Or. 134 and d'Abbadie were published by Schneider 1952). Remarkable notes on Gəʿəz poetry and prosody from another grammar in ms. BN d'Abbadie 216 have been published by CRAbb 236–46 (cp. also Grébaut 1934b, 1935).

In 1852 U. translated the French treatise by abbot François Bourgade *Les soirées de Carthage ou dialogues entre un prêtre catholique, un muphti et un cadi* (Paris 1847) into Gəʿəz (**ተዋቅሶ፡ በሃይማኖት**, *Täwaqəso bähaymanot*, 'Disputation on the faith', unpublished ms. VatLib Aethiop. 165), and subsequently into Amharic as *Mäṣḥafä täkahədo bähaymanot*, 'Book of disputation on the faith' (in Ethiopia also known as *Zämufti*, '[Book] of the mufti', ed. and tr. by Mittwoch 1934 on the basis of a manuscript then owned by *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam). Moreover, the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana preserves a manuscript that belonged to U. (Borg. Aethiop. 8, 19th cent.).

U. is especially associated with the discussion concerning the authorship of the rationalistic treatises of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob and his disciple Wäldä Ḫəywät, the ↗*Ḥatäta Zärʾa Yaʿəqob* (cp. Littmann 1904, 1907, 1916). ↗Conti Rossini (1920) and ↗Mittwoch (1933, 1934) put forward arguments, based on philology, linguistics and contents, and were able to identify U. as the real author of these treatises (a hypothesis on which also ↗Turaev and ↗Littmann, first editors of the treatises, agreed, cp. Mittwoch 1934: 3, n. 1). Conti Rossini argued that U. could be the real author on the basis of solid evidence: 1) the name *Yaʿəqob* would hint at U.'s baptismal name; 2) a reference by *abba* ↗Täklä Haymanot (cp. Conti Rossini 1916: 497) attributing to U. a treatise called *Wärqe*, i.e. an alternative title of the *Ḥatäta* (or of its purported author Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, cp. Mittwoch 1934: 2, n. 4, but also Ricci 1964: 241); 3) the numerous parallelisms between the *Ḥatäta* and *Les Soirées de Carthage*, a work that U. knew well having translated it into Gəʿəz and Amharic; 4) moreover, additional evidence was provided by Mittwoch (1934: 6), who remarked the exact correspondence of the birthday of U. and Zärʾa Yaʿəqob himself. On the contrary, ↗Kračkowskij (1924), Sumner (1976) and above all Ethiopian scholars (cp. Ricci 1964) have argued for an Ethiopian origin of the work.

Src.: BN d'Abbadie 216, 217; CRAbb 236-46 (Giusto da Urbino, "Abrégé de la prosodie éthiopienne, ou quelques notions de versifications et de poésie"), and nos. 143, 144; Sylvain Grébaut, "Édition de la seconde copie du Dictionnaire éthiopien laissé inachevée par le P. Juste d'Urbin", *Aethiops* 4, 1931, 36–43, 49–58; *Aethiopica* 2, 1934a, 1–9; Id., "Éditions des spécimens poétiques recueillis par Juste d'Urbin et ajoutés à sa grammaire éthiopienne", *Aethiopica* 2, 1934b, 33–36; *ibid.* 3, 1935, 41–44, 118–24, 175–81; GréTisVat I, xix, 613ff., 798 (VatLib mss. Aethiop. 165, Borg. Aethiop. 8); Enno Littmann, *Philosophi Abessini*, Parisiis 1904 ([repr. 1962] CSCO 18, 19 [SAe 1, 2]); MasMis^2 vol. 2, 103ff.; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, ms. Orientale 134; Roger Schneider, "Complément du lexique de Juste d'Urbin", in: Sylvain Grébaut, *Supplément au* Lexicon linguae Aethiopicae *de Auguste Dillmann* (*1865*) *et édition du lexique de Juste d'Urbin* (*1850–1855*), Paris 1952, 399–443; ZanBibl 86, no. 164, and 90, no. 167.

Lit.: Enrico Cerulli, "Giusto da Urbino", in: *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 17, Roma 1933, 399; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Vicende dell'Etiopia e delle missioni cattoliche ai tempi di Ras Ali, Deggiac Ubié e Re Teodoro secondo un documento abissino", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 425–50, here 497; Id., "Lo Ḥatatā Zarʾa Yāʿqob ed il P. Giusto da Urbino", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 29, 1920, 213–23; Ignatij Julianovič Kračkovskij, "Zara-Jakob ili Džusto da Urbino", *Izvestija Rossiskoj Akademii Nauk*, January-July 1924, 195–206; Enno Littmann, "Geschichte der äthiopischen Literarur", in: CARL BROCKELMANN (ed.), *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients*, Leipzig 1907, 185–270, here 281 (index *s.v.*); ID., *Zar'a Jacob, ein einsamer Denker in Abessinien. Mit einer Einleitung von Dr. Benno Erdmann*, Berlin 1916; EUGEN MITTWOCH, *Die amharische Version der Soirées de Carthage. Mit einer Einleitung*: *Die angeblichen abessinischen Philosophen des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1934 (Abessinische Studien 2; previously ed. in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* 32, 2, 1929, 99–192; *ibid*. 35, 2, 1932, 17–99; *ibid*. 36, 2, 1933, 1–18); LANFRANCO RICCI, "Le ultime fortune di Giusto da Urbino", in: *A Francesco Gabrieli. Studi orientalistici offerti nel sessantesimo compleanno dai suoi colleghi e discepoli*, Roma 1964 (Università di Roma. Studi Orientali pubblicati a cura della Scuola Orientale 5), 225–41; CLAUDE SUMNER, *The Treatise of Zarʾa Yāʿqob and of Wäldä Ḫeywat. Text and Authorship*, Addis Ababa 1976 (Ethiopian Philosophy 2).

Ute Pietruschka – Alessandro Bausi

Urreta, Luis de

U. (fl. late 16th-early 17th cent.) was a Spanish Dominican writer. Little is known about his early life, although his family name seems to indicate Basque origins. He became an important figure in the background of the Jesuit mission to Ethiopia (↗Jesuits).

U. appears first in Valencia, where towards the last decades of the 16th cent. he met an Ethiopian named "João Baltasar" from ↗Fäṭägar. The two had long dialogues through which U. came to know of stories purporting a Dominican presence in Ethiopia (cp. ↗Dominicans). Inspired by these meetings, he produced two, largely fictitious, accounts of the history of the Dominican order in Ethiopia. Baltasar, who towards the end of the 1570s was in Italy, was also the main informant in an unpublished "Relatione" on Ethiopia written by the Venetian patrician Pietro Duodo (Venice, Archivio di Stato, Archivio privato Gradenigo, Rio Marin, b. 124, fasc. 1; other copies in: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, r. 101 [16th cent.], cc. 139–176; Vatican Library, Vat. Urb. Lat. 837 [a. 1613], cc. 4–148v; Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, cc. 1–43, cod. It vi 23v 332 = 6158; s. Fiaccadori 2009: 47f.).

Before the century was over, U. also participated in a polemic with the Jesuits by harshly criticicizing Juan de Mariana's masterwork, the *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae* (Mariana 1964: 124). This occurred in a moment of strong rivalry between the Jesuit and Dominican orders (cf. Cereceda 1945: 369–417).

U.'s treatises were published in Valencia in 1610 and 1611, and enjoyed the support of important figures, such as the local archbishop Juan de Ribera (s. Urreta 1611: fol. 2). They were largely fictitious descriptions of the geography, history and religion of the Christian land. There, U. also went back to mediaeval traditions on Dominican contacts with Ethiopia and provided a sympathetic and benevolent picture of Ethiopian Christianity (e.g., Urreta 1610: 421ff.). According to U. the Ethiopians were true Catholic Christians and had always defended the decrees of the Council of ↗Chalcedon (Urreta 1610: 424), opposing herewith what the Jesuits and the Holy See were maintaining that time. U.'s treatises might have reached Rome and Ethiopia around 1615 and henceforth, in order to restrain the negative effects on public opinion, the Jesuits began to produce counter-narratives. The most important of these were Nicolão ↗Godinho's *De Abassinorum rebus* and Pedro ↗Páez's *História da Ethiópia* (cf. BecRASO II, 3f., 6–11).

Src.: BecRASO II, 3f., 6–11; JUAN DE MARIANA, *Historia de España* [antología], ed. by MANUEL BALLESTEROS, Zaragoza 1964, 124; LUYS DE URRETA, *Historia eclesiastica politica, natural, y moral, de los grandes y remotos reynos de la etiopia* …, Valencia 1610; ID., *Historia de la sagrada orden de predicadores, En los remotos Reynos de la Et.*[*iopia*] …, Valencia 1611.

Lit.: FELICIANO CERECEDA, *Diego Lainez en la Europa religiosa de su tiempo, 1512–1565*, vol. 1, Madrid 1945, 369–417; CRStor 13; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "L'Etiopia, Venezia e l'Europa", in: GIUSEPPE BARBIERI - GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI (eds.), *Nigra sum sed formosa. Sacro e bellezza dell'Etiopia christiana*, Vicenza 2009, 27–48, here 47f.; PAOLO REVELLI, "Una relazione sull''Abissinia' del 1578 (con due cartine e due fac-simile)", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 4a, 11 [47], 1910, 607–24.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Uspenskij, Porfirij

U. (lay name Konstantin Aleksandrovič U.; b. 1804, Kostroma, d. 19 April 1885, Moscow) was a Russian ecclesiastic, Orientalist and prolific writer.

U. attended Kostroma Theological Seminary and then St. Petersburg Theological Academy. After graduation, he took monastic vows and received the monastic name Porfirij.

After he had been appointed head of the Russian Embassy church in Vienna, U. made his first voyage for scholarly purposes along the coast of Dalmatia. In 1848 he was dispatched to the Near East (esp. Palestine, Syria) to investigate the needs of local Orthodox Churches. In 1851–53 U. was the head of the Russian Orthodox Mission in ↗Jerusalem, where he made close acquaintance with Ethiopian monks. In 1858 U.

was dispatched to the Near East again to continue his investigation of the religious situation; in his memoirs (1894–1902) he called himself "spy of the Orient". He returned to ↗Russia in 1861, bringing a rich collection of old books and manuscripts in Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Georgian and other Oriental languages. He donated the Syriac and Ethiopic ↗manuscripts to the Imperial Public Library (today National Library) in St. Petersburg (s. Kokovtsov 1885, 1889).

In 1865 U. was ordained Bishop of Chigirin and made vicar of the Kiev diocese. There, he penned a number of articles devoted to the history and culture of the Christian orient and Ethiopian ↗Christianity, still the object of his constant interest, publishing them in the *Trudy Kievskoj duhovnoj akademii* ('Transactions of the Kiev Theological Academy').

U. always wanted to visit Ethiopia, but his responsibilities and the political situation in Ethiopia prevented him from doing so. In the context of Russia's victories over the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the 19th-cent. (and despite a setback in the Crimean war 1853–56), U. developed a vision of the unification of Oriental non-Chalcedon churches under the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church. Also he cherished a dream of a religious alliance between the Russian and Ethiopian Orthodox Churches, and of a political union between the respective states. He promoted these ideas in his numerous writings.

U.'s book *Christian Orient. Abyssinia. Ecclesiastical and Political State of Abyssinia since Antiquity to the Present* (1866) was appreciated in Russia not so much in ecclesiastical as in military circles. In the same year U. published two other works in the *Transactions*: *The Russian Participation in Abyssinia's Destiny,* and *Successes and Failures of German Missionaries in Interior Africa*, and in 1869 his important work devoted to Ethiopian liturgy.

In 1878 U. was appointed a member of the Synodal Office in Moscow. There he conceived and co-founded (1882) the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society, the work to which he devoted most of his time; he no longer dealt with Ethiopian topics. Neither the Russian government nor the official Church considered U.'s ideas concerning Ethiopia realistic; however, his activities did influence the development of Russian-Ethiopian relations, and increased Russian interest in Ethiopia during the 1880s–90s.

In 1869 U. was awarded a Doctorate Degree in Greek philosophy from Moscow University. He was also a member of the Historical Society of Odessa and an honorary member of Novorossijsk University.

Src.: Andrej Hrenkov, *Rossijsko–efiopskije otnošenija v XIX–načale XX v.* ('Russian–Ethiopian Relations in the 19th–Beginning of the 20th Cent.'), Moscow 1998, 4–7, 52–62 [no. 4]; Porfirij Uspenskij, *Vostok Hristianskij*: *Egipet i Sinai* ('Christian Orient: Egypt and Sinai'), St. Petersburg 1857; Id., "Vostok Hristianskij: Abissinia …" ('Christian Orient: Abyssinia …'), *Trudy Kievskoj duhovnoj akademii* 1866, no. 3, 305–44; no. 4, 446–604; no. 5, 3–32; no. 6, 142–67; Id., "Uspehi i neudači nemetskih missionerov vo vnutrennej Afrike" ('Successes and Failures of German Missionaries in Interior Africa'), *ibid.* 1866, no. 3, 288–304; Id., "Vostok Hristianskij: učastie Rossii v sud'be Abissinii" ('Christian Orient: The Russian Participation in Abyssinia's Destiny'), *ibid.* 1866, no. 2, 415–40; Id., "Vostok Hristianskij: Bogosluženie abissinov" ('Christian Orient: the Liturgy of Abyssinians'), *ibid.* 1869, no. 3, 334–72; no. 4, 14–51; Id., *Vostok Hristianskij: Afon* ('Christian Orient: Athos'), 2 vols., Kiev 1877–81; Id., *Kniga bytija moego* ('The Book of My Life'), ed. by P.A. Syrku, 8 vols., St. Petersburg 1894–1902; Pjotr Kokovtsov, "Sirijskie rukopisi sobranija episkopa Porfirija Uspenskogo" ('Syriac Manuscripts, Collection of Bishop Porfirij Uspenskij'), in: *Otčet publičnoj biblioteki za 1883 god*, St. Petersburg 1885, 181–85; Id., "Zametka ob efiopskih rukopisjah Imperatorskoj Sankt-Peterburgskoj Publičnoj Biblioteki" ('A Notice on Ethiopic Manuscripts of the Russian Imperial Sankt-Petersburg Public Library'), *Zapiski Vostočnago otdelenija Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologičeskago Obščestva* [ZVORAO] 4, 1889, 106–111.

Lit.: Aleksej Dmitrievskij, *Porfirij (Uspenskij) po povodu 100-letija so dnja ego roždenija* ('Porfirij [Uspenskij], on the Occasion of the 100th Anniversary of his Birth'), St. Petersburg 1906; Ignatij Kračkovskij, *Vvedenie v efiopskuju filologiju* ('Introduction into Ethiopian Philology'), Leningrad 1955, 88–91; A.P. Lebedev, *Preosvjaščennyj Porfirij Uspenskij* ('The Most Reverend Porfirij Uspenskij'), Sergiev Posad 1904.

Sevir Chernetsov

ᶜUṯmān b. Abī Bakr Diqna

ᶜU. (Arab.: عثمان بن ابى بكر دقنة, also ᶜUṯmān Dinqa; b. ca. 1840, Sawakin, d. 1926) was a descendent of a 16th-cent. Kurdish Ottoman soldier and a local Beǧa woman. His family had long been engaged in ↗Red Sea trade. Exposed by the British as a slaver (↗Slavery), he was arrested in 1877 and spent time in an Egyptian prison. His resentment led him to follow the call of the ↗Mahdists whose ranks he joined in 1883.

Appointed as an ↗*amīr* and commander of the Red Sea area, ᶜU. led the Mahdīya forces in their conflict with the Egyptians and the British and scored some victories between 1883 and 1885. His successes contributed to the Mahdīya's momentum and strengthened the siege of the Egyptian garrisons in eastern Sudan, which was the background to the ↗Hewett Treaty and the ensuing Ethiopian-Mahdist conflict. Once *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV undertook to save the besieged Egyptians, ᶜU.'s relevance to Ethiopia's history became more direct. His main concern was capturing ↗Kassala, the headquarters of the ↗Islamic brotherhood of the Mirġanīya, which spread Islam among the tribes of the Kassala–Massawa area. From his centre near ↗Sawākin, he sent envoys to spread Mahdist messianic militancy among tribes like the ↗Ḥabab and ↗ᶜAd Təmaryam, which had also already come under the indirect government of *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda in the ↗Märäb Məllaš.

As Alula was tasked by Yoḥannəs to save the Egyptians in Kassala, in mid-1885 a conflict began between Alula and ᶜU. The Mahdist *amir* reached the Kassala area more quickly and his men captured the town in June. Alula was more successful in building his power around ↗Kärän and asserting his authority over the disputed local ethnic groups. Though the *ḫalīfa* instructed ᶜU. to "leave the Ethiopians alone" and return to fight the British in Sawākin area, his letter came too late. On 22 September 1885, the armies of Alula and ᶜU. clashed at ↗Kufit, midway between Kärän and Kassala. The Mahdist force was defeated, sustained over five thousand casualties, and ᶜU. barely escaped. Alula, worried about simultaneous Italian encroachment from Massawa, had to return eastward and ᶜU. was able to rebuild his force in Kassala. However, he lost his influence over the Muslims of the Kärän–Massawa area, who soon came under the Italians, the real victors of Kufit. Alula's attempt in November–December 1886 to march on Kassala and capture it from ᶜU. failed, and the frustrated *Ras* destroyed many ↗Nara and ↗Kunama tribesmen before returning to ambush the Italians in ↗Dogᶜali. ᶜU. remained an *amīr* of the Mahdīya but, after Kufit, lost much of his prestige. Following the British conquest of the Mahdist state, he fled back to the Red Sea hills where he was captured in 1900. He died in prison.

ᶜU.'s clashes with the British drew much attention in Europe of the time and his first biography was published in the year he died. His significance in Ethiopian–Eritrean history lay mostly in the fact that he failed in asserting Mahdist influence among western Eritrea's Muslims, who in the long run remained oriented toward Kassala, and as a Mirġanīya centre of popular Islam were connected to Egypt.

Lit.: ErlAlula²; RICHARD L. HILL, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, London 1967; PETER M. HOLT, *The Mahdist State of the Sudan*, Oxford 1970; HENRY CECIL JACKSON, *Osman Digna*, London 1926; ANDREW PAUL, *A History of the Beja Tribes of the Sudan*, Cambridge 1954; NAᶜŪM ŠUQAYR, *Taʾrīḫ al-sūdān al-qadīm wal-ḥadīṯ* ('The History of Ancient and Modern Sudan'), Cairo 1903; FRANCIS REGINALD WINGATE, *Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan*, London 1901.

Haggai Erlich

ᶜUṯmān b. Badlāy

ᶜU. (عثمان بن بدلاى, r. 1567–69) was an Ethiopian slave of ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid who during his service attained a high rank, which enabled him to take power in ↗Harär after Nūr's death. His rule however, did not follow the strict Islamic way of his master. He allowed alcoholic beverages and other forbidden things. He did not use revenues for the purposes intended, and appropriated for himself the money (1,500 pieces, corresponding to 75 pieces of pure gold) which Nūr b. Muǧāhid had deposited with the *qāḍī* Ǧamāladdīn for the orphans.

The religious party in Harär, which had supported ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) and Nūr b. Muǧāhid, could not tolerate ᶜU.'s conduct. An opposition formed itself under the leadership of ᶜU.'s treasurer (*qufl gota*) *garād* ↗Ǧibrīl, a brother-in-law of Nūr b. Muǧāhid. The opposition grew stronger when ᶜU. concluded a peace treaty with the pagan Oromo, an event which had never happened before. The treaty allowed the Oromo to hold market in the Harari territory on condition that they paid tax and bought their clothes from Harär. Another provision of the treaty stated that the Harari should send back every Oromo who came over to the Muslim side.

When ᶜU. appointed Ǧibrīl to inspect the Oromo market in 1569, the latter took his chance. Instead of returning to Harär, on 17 April Ǧibrīl went to ↗Awsa and launched anti-ᶜU. propaganda. The situation escalated when ᶜU., in keeping with the treaty, forbade Ǧibrīl to grant asylum to an Oromo woman who had converted to Islam.

ᶜU. sent the *sīm garād* Bäläw Muḥammad against Ǧibrīl, while ᶜU. himself turned against Awsa. Owing to the support of the whole Muslim population, the rebels defeated Bäläw's army on 21 May 1569.

According to the *Storia dei re* published by Cerulli (1931), Ǧibrīl died in battle, and the leadership was taken over by ↗Ṭalḥa b. ᶜAbbās, who subsequently defeated *gärad* Muḥammad Hargāy, whom ᶜU. had left in Harär to protect the town. When on 16 June 1569 Ṭalḥa was proclaimed ruler of Harär, ᶜU. gave up fighting.

According to the extremely legendary *History of Nūr b. Muǧāhid* (Getatchew Haile – Wagner 1989), Ǧibrīl did not die in battle. After his victory, ᶜU. resigned, and Ǧibrīl (not Ṭalḥa) became the ruler of Harär, later killing ᶜU. and Bäläw Muḥammad.

ᶜU.'s descendants came back to rule in 1571 with his son ↗Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān b. Badlāy and his grandson, ↗Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān.

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 53f., 63f. (text) = 58f., 66f. (tr.) [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 153f., 165ff. (text) = 159ff., 169f. (tr.)]; KURT WENDT, "Amharische Geschichte eines Emirs von Harar im XVI. Jahrhundert", *Orientalia* nova ser. 4, 1935, 484–501, here 492, 494f. (Amh. text), 498, 500 (tr.); GETATCHEW HAILE – EWALD WAGNER, "Die Geschichte Nūr b. Muǧāhid's von Harar oder The History of Aẓe Zärʾa Yaᶜeqob", *ZMDG* 139, 1989, 43–92, here 46, 49f. (Arabic text) = 55, 60, 62 (tr.), 71, 77, 80 (Amh. text) = 85, 87, 90 (tr.).
Lit.: TrIslam 96.

Ewald Wagner

ᶜUṯmān b. Sulaymān

ᶜU. (Arab. عثمان بن سليمان, b. 1475–90, d. 25 November 1531) was a great lord from the ruling ↗Walašmaᶜ dynasty of ↗ᶜAdal who during his lifetime out of practical considerations twice changed his religio-politicial alliance.

Initially, after falling into Christian captivity during the rule of *sulṭān* ↗Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn (1488–1518; BassHist 34 [text]), probably late in that period, ᶜU. converted to Christianity. In his new Christian sphere he eventually rose to the position of governor of ↗Ifat and by the late 1520s had even become one of the regional lords most trusted and relied upon by *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl.

However, as the ↗*ǧihād* launched against the Christian Kingdom by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) in 1529 initially went from success to success, ᶜU., like quite a few others, gradually came to regard the Christian cause as a lost one. Thus in mid-1531, he returned to the Muslim side and faith, bringing with him a valuable body of troops loyal to him personally. Grañ received the high-born returnee with all honours. Nonetheless ᶜU. subsequently felt it necessary to demonstrate the sincerity of his religious and political reconversion through vigorous participation in the *ǧihād*. He thus took part in the first, spontaneous Muslim assault on ↗Amba Gəšän in November 1531. The Christian side however succeeded in repelling this attack and in the process killed many *muǧāhidūn*, with ᶜU. figuring prominently among them. He thus met his death only about three months after his return to the Muslim side.

ᶜU. in the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* is regularly referred to with the title of اورعي/*ʾwrᶜy*, conventionally vocalized as *awraᶜī* (e.g. TrIslam). This vocalization however, even if perhaps likely, is ultimately only conjectural. The *Futūḥ*'s explanation of *ʾwrᶜy* as the male counterpart to female بعتيه/*bᶜtyh* (BassHist 163 [text]), the title worn by ↗Bati Dəl Wämbära, shows that it designated a rank of considerable distinction in the ᶜAdalite sphere. That it was held by ᶜU. comes as little surprise though given that the *Futūḥ*, at one instance only (BassHist 45 [text]), gives his name in full as ᶜU. b. Muḥammad b. Badlāy b. Saᶜdaddīn. ᶜU. was thus a direct descendant of the famous ᶜAdalite *sulṭān* ↗Saᶜdaddīn Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad. ᶜU.'s grandfather Muḥammad had still been the ruling *sulṭān* (1445–71). His father Sulaymān however did not hold this office anymore, but had to cede it to his two brothers Ibrāhīm (1471–72) and Šamsaddīn (1472–87; BassHist xvii [text] = table IV, and Wagner 1991: 386).

On several occasions the ↗*Futūḥ* also designates ᶜU. as ᶜUṯmān b. Dār ᶜAlī (BassHist 34, 43, 150 [text]). Initially enigmatic Dār ᶜAlī (Arab. 'The house of ᶜAlī') of this appellation is probably best understood not as a by-name of ᶜU.'s father Sulaymān, since this would be semantically problematic, but as the result of an erroneous interpretation of an underlying ↗ᶜAfar term *Adᶜáli*, the name of an important ᶜAfar tribe in ᶜAdal (MorDicAfar 31, 35). The ᶜAfar ethnonym *Adᶜáli* was, however, likely understood by the *Futūḥ*'s author along Təgray linguistic lines as (ᶜ)*Ad ᶜAli*, 'The house/tribe of ᶜAlī', and he translated accordingly. Yet Arabic "ᶜUṯmān b. Dār ᶜAlī' makes little sense. The original phrase of which is a reflex likely only meant to say "ᶜUṯmān from the (ᶜAfar) Adᶜáli tribe'.

Src.: BassHist 34f., 43, 45, 136, 146f., 150, 153, 160, 165, 167f., 181–88, 198, 200f., 205, 209f., 220, 224-28, 311, 313 [text] = 76, 82, 97f., 103, 213, 229f., 237f., 240, 252, 258ff., 273–81, 293, 295f., 300, 303f., 317, 320, 322–25, 406, 408 [tr.]; ŠIHĀB AD-DĪN AḤMAD BIN ᶜABD AL-QĀDER BIN SĀLEM BIN ᶜUṮMĀN, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša. The Conquest of Abyssinia* [*16th Century*], tr. by PAUL LESTER STENHOUSE, Hollywood, CA 2003 [s. index under Uraᶜī ᶜUṯmān and Uraᶜī ᶜUṯmān bin Dār ᶜAlī; s. also index].

Lit.: Joseph Cuoq, *L'islam en Éthiopie des origines au XVIᵉ siècle*, Paris 1981, 236ff.; MorDicAfar 31, 35; TrIslam; Ewald Wagner, "The Genealogy of the later Walashmaᶜ Sultans of Adal and Harar", *ZDMG* 141, 2, 1991, 376–86.

Michael Kleiner

ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī

ᶜU. (also Sabbe; Arab.: عثمان صالح سبي; Tgn.: **ዑስማን፡ ሳሊሕ፡ ሳበ**; b. 1934, Ḥərgigo, Sämhar, d. 4 April 1987, Cairo) was an Eritrean educator, writer, and politician. From the early 1960s till his death he was one of the most influential leaders of the Eritrean liberation movement.

ᶜU. was the fifth child of a family allegedly of ↗Sāho origin, which had intermarried with local families after having settled in Ḥərgigo. ᶜU.'s father was an ↗*askari* in the Italian forces and later worked as a sailor and trader. ᶜU. first attended a Qurʾānic School but in 1944 changed to Ḥərgigo Charity School, and continued his secular education at the Mädḫane ᶜAläm School in Addis Abäba. In 1954 he joined Ḥərgigo School as a teacher and one year later became its director. In 1956 he acquired the General Certificate of Education from the University of London and in 1959 a B.A. in History and Political Science.

ᶜU. was an ardent nationalist who supported Eritrean independence and joined the ↗Muslim League. ᶜU. strongly opposed the introduction of the Ethiopian school curriculum with Amharic replacing Arabic as medium of instruction. He created the clandestine group *al-urwā al-wuṯqa* ('the firm bond'), allegedly for the betterment of Eritrean and Ethiopian Muslims but in reality for raising funds to send students for education in Arabic to ↗Egypt. The first group went in May 1958, among them Muḥammad ᶜAlī ᶜUmaro, one of the later founders of the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF).

In 1959 ᶜU. decided to travel abroad to raise funds for his association but also to contact other Eritrean nationalists. Towards the beginning of 1960 he met ↗Idrīs Muḥammad Ādam, chairman of the ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in Jeddah, who persuaded him to join. ᶜU., who strongly identified with the Muslim community of Sämhar, brought many fellow Sämharites into the ELF which was until then dominated by ↗Təgre from western and northern Eritrea and by Sāho.

From Jeddah, Idrīs and ᶜU. travelled in October 1960 to ↗Somalia. The Somalian government allowed them to open an office under the name Eritrean-Somali Friendship Society and provided them with diplomatic passports. ᶜU. ran the office in Somalia for one year but frequently travelled around with Idrīs to make the Eritrean case internationally known and to solicit support. In June 1962 a High Council composed of Idrīs (Chairman), Idrīs ᶜUtmān Gälawdewos (Military) and ᶜU. (Foreign Relations) replaced the ineffective Executive Committee of the ELF. With conservative Arab governments ᶜU. stressed the Arab-Muslim identity of Eritrea and the Eritrean Revolution, with Arab progressive governments, the Palestine Liberation Organization, Cuba and ↗China he underlined its anti-imperialist aspect. What his opponents derided as "commercial diplomacy" firmly established the international presence of the ELF, secured professional military training for hundreds of Eritrean fighters, including in China, and solicited huge amounts of financial aid, arms and military equipment.

With the growth of the ELF its unity was threatened by mounting ethnic and regional rivalries over positions and supplies as well as conflicts between conservative nationalists and younger Bāᶜṯists and Communists over ideological orientation and military strategy. ᶜU. and some of his followers split from the ELF and established in November 1969 in Amman a General Secretariat of the ELF. ᶜU. then helped Christian and Muslim dissidents from the ELF to form in 1970 in Sudoḥa ᶜEla the Eritrean Liberation Front-People's Liberation Forces (ELF-PLF), while in the Highlands a dissident group of mostly Christian fighters led by Isayas Afäwärqi called ELF-PLF II took shape. Dissidents from Western Eritrea, many of them Bāᶜṯist-oriented, formed a third group, the Eritrean Liberation Forces popularly called Obel.

When in early 1972 the ELF initiated a war of annihilation against the dissidents, ᶜU. used the difficult situation to force the three groups to sign in February 1972 in Beirut an agreement to co-operate and to operate abroad as the ELF-PLF with ᶜU. running his former General Secretariat as its Foreign Office.

Gradually Marxist forces within the three factions took power and marginalized the more conservative elements and finally united them in 1974 into the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), which operated within Eritrea totally independent from ᶜU.'s Foreign Office.

By 1975 ᶜU. had realized that his strategy to contain the ascendancy of the Marxists in the ELF and EPLF had failed. He attempted to merge the ELF and ELF-PLF in the hope that this would regain him a dominant influence in the Eritrean liberation struggle and contain the Marxists of both ELF and ELF-PLF/EPLF. The EPLF rejected the merger agreement and separated in March 1976 from the ELF-PLF Foreign Office and ᶜU.'s remaining supporters within the EPLF left the Eritrean field.

In March 1977 ᶜU. formally re-established the ELF-PLF as the third liberation front, depending on funds from conservative Arab countries against the Marxist tendencies. The EPLF, which at its first Congress held in early 1977 changed into the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF), categorically refused to recognize the ELF-PLF and portrayed ᶜU. as an arch-reactionary and enemy of the Eritrean Revolution. The ELF maintained an uneasy relationship with the ELF-PLF and allowed it in late 1977 to control parts of western Eritrea including ↗Aqordät but in a Civil War in October 1978 drove it out of Eritrea into Sudan. In 1979, the Baathist elements in the ELF-PLF split and established the ELF-PLF-Revolutionary Committee (ELF-PLF-RC).

In December 1982 ᶜU. signed a unity agreement with the conservative nationalists of the "ELF-ᶜAbdalla Idrīs" and the ELF-PLF-RC to establish an "ELF–United Organisation" (ELF–UO) but it took till January 1985 to officially establish it with ᶜU. as Chairman. However, due to the persisting personal, regional, tribal and ideological differences within the ELF–UO, ᶜU. utterly failed to establish full control over it, and by autumn 1986 it had split again into four organizations. Only shortly afterwards he died in hospital in Cairo undergoing a routine operation.

ᶜU. wrote many articles and several books on ↗Eritrea and the ↗Revolution and by the early 1970s he was "the face" of the Eritrean liberation struggle abroad and even detractors jokingly referred to him as "Mr. Eritrea". At the same time he was a highly controversial figure, accused by Eritrean radicals of being power-hungry and opportunistic, an arch-reactionary and enemy of the Eritrean Revolution. In the national historiography of the victorious EPLF ruling Eritrea since May 1991 ᶜU. is barely mentioned. It was only after the emergence of a wider opposition to EPLF-rule after 2001 that the Eritrean ↗diaspora began to rediscover the nationalist ᶜU. However, a balanced in-depth assessment of his outstanding contribution to the Eritrean liberation struggle has yet to be made.

Src.: interviews with ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī, Khartoum, 1980, 1983, 1985; with Idrīs Muḥammad Ādäm, 1988; with Idrīs ᶜUṯmān Gälawdewos, 1988; ᶜUṮMĀN ṢĀLIḤ SABĪ, (*Tāʾriḫ Irtrīya*, 'The History of Eritrea'), Bayrūt 1974 [tr. by MUḤAMMAD ᶜAZAM, Beirut 1974]; *Ossman Saleh Sabbe, Ethiopian Rebel Leader; At 55* (Orbituary), Boston Globe, April 5 1987 [http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1P2-8005473.html, last access: 24 June 2010].

Lit.: ALAMĪN MUḤAMMAD SAᶜĪD, ሰውራ፡ ኤርትራ (*Säwra Ertra*, 'The Eritrean Revolution'), Asmära 1994; CORRENTI, "Osman Saleh Sabbe (OSS) The Unknown", 27 March 2002 [http://www.awate.com/portal/content/view/606/13/, last access: 11 July 2010]; HAGGAI ERLICH, *The Struggle Over Eritrea, 1962–1978*, Stanford, CA 1983; *Ḥiwār maᶜa as-sayyid ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī* ('Interview with ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī'), *Rabītat al-ᶜAlam al-Islamī* [Makka], December 1983; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence*, Cambridge 1995, 54, 114f., 127f.; JOHN MARKAKIS, *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, Cambridge 1987, ch. 5; MUḤAMMAD ᶜUTHMĀN ABŪ BAKR, *ᶜUthmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī wa-al-thawra al-iritriyya* ['ᶜUthmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī and the Eritrean Revolution'] Cairo 1998.

Günter Schröder

V

Varghese, Paul

V. (b. 9 August 1922, Tripunithura, Kerala, d. 24 November 1996, Delhi; as a metropolitan: Paulos[e] Mar Gregorios) was an Indian teacher in Ethiopia and advisor to ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I; he was later metropolitan of Delhi Diocese of the Malankara Orthodox Church of ↗India.

In 1947, V. became a school teacher in Addis Abäba (until 1950). During an Amharic theatre play he directed, he attracted the attention of Ḫaylä Śəllase, who reportedly was impressed by his Amharic. V. was then appointed teacher of Amharic by the Emperor and authored an Amharic grammar.

After this first stay in Ethiopia, V. went to America, receiving his B.A. from Goshen College in Indiana and two Masters from Princeton and Yale, followed by studies in Oxford and Münster, finally writing a Ph.D. thesis on Mar Gregorios of Nyssa at Serampore University, Calcutta. V. worked as a lecturer in India and became active in the Christian Student Movement.

During his 1956 state visit to India, Ḫaylä Śəllase requested the Nehru government and the Orthodox Church to send V. back to Ethiopia as his private secretary and advisor. The Emperor found in him an integer and well-versed personality with no personal interest in politics. Because of this neutrality, V. was involved in a number of delicate court matters, as his autobiography (1997) relates. V. helped in developing the educational system in Ethiopia, served as a liaison officer for relations with India and lectured at the newly founded ↗Addis Ababa University. V. administered the Ḫaylä Śəllase Charity Fund and held shares in several business companies privately owned by the Emperor.

In 1959 V. returned to India and accepted the priesthood in 1961. However, after the 1960 ↗coup d'état (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82) he returned again shortly at the request of the Emperor as his advisor, preparing measures of democratisation – not, however, followed by the Emperor. V. also acted as the Emperor's envoy to ↗Jamaica, with the aim of convincing Rastafarian rebels to give up their rebellion. V. repeatedly travelled to Ethiopia (e.g., in 1971 for the World Council of Churches). Ḫaylä Śəllase donated important sums to Delhi Diocese in 1966. In 1975 V. was the last foreign visitor of the captive Emperor.

V. quickly rose in the Indian church hierarchy, was delegated to Geneva, and, in 1975, was elevated to the status of bishop with the name Paulos Gregorios; a year later he took over the Delhi Diocese as its metropolitan. He also assumed important scholarly posts in Kottayam, Kerala, and Delhi and authored numerous books, which earned him recognition as a leading theologian of Orthodox Christianity.

Src.: PAUL VARGHESE, "India – Land of Dying Millions – Nature Made at Ethiopia", address delivered at the Imperial College, Ambo, 10 November 1949; PAULOS MAR GREGORIOS, *Love's Freedom, the Grand Mystery: a Spiritual Auto-Biography*, Kottayam 1997.
Lit.: *American Review of Eastern Orthodoxy*, March 1967 [title page]; M.C. KURIAKOSE, *The Concept of the Sacraments in the Writings of Paulos Mar Gregorios and its Relevance*, B.D. thesis, Seramore University, India 2005; JOSEPH E. THOMAS, *Metropolitan Dr. Paulos Mar Gregorios, a Personal Reminiscence*, ms. [1996].

Wolbert Smidt

The metropolitan Paulos(e) Mar Gregorios of Delhi (the former Paul Varghese, middle left) with the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (right) and the Tibetan religious leader, the 14th Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso at an unknown date; courtesy of the Gregory of India Study Centre, Kottayam, Kerala

Varthema, Ludovico de

V. (b. ca. 1470, Bologna, d. 1517) was an Italian traveller and writer. Whilst there is scant information on his early life, details from his travel account would imply that he had been brought up to the profession of arms (Varthema 1865: xxiif.). When he began his travels, he was a married man with several children.

Moved by a desire to become acquainted with foreign countries, V. set sail from Venice in 1502. In 1503, he arrived in Alexandria, Egypt. He went then to Damascus, from where he made the pilgrimage to ↗Mecca and Medina as one of the ↗Mamlūk escort of a *ḥağğ* caravan, being thus one of the first Westerners to visit the Muslim holy sites. Thereafter, V. embarked at Jeddah with the view of reaching India. In Aden, however, he was arrested and imprisoned under the charge of being a Christian spy. Once he gained his liberty, he travelled through south-west ↗Arabia, ↗Zaylaᶜ, ↗Berbera and towards early 1504 reached the Indian port of ↗Diu.

During the next two years V. travelled extensively in Persia, the Indian Peninsula and south-eastern Asia, mostly aboard merchant ships. Ca. 1506, he joined the Portuguese (↗Portugal) and worked in their army and as factor in Cochin. For his role at the battle of Ponnani (1507), he was knighted by the viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida. In 1507, he left for Europe, where he began writing a narrative about his experiences in the east.

V.'s work was first published in Italian in 1510 with the support of Pope Julius II. From the outset, it enjoyed great popularity, and a number of other Italian editions ensued (eight from 1517 to 1589). The work was almost inmediately translated into Latin (by Archangelus Madrignanus, 1511), German (1515), Spanish (1520), French (1556), Dutch (1563) and English (1577) (cf. Varthema 1865: iii–xvi). V. provided there information on the situation of the ↗Red Sea during the last years of the crumbling Mamlūk state and prior to the period of Portuguese incursions. In the few pages he dedicated to the ↗Horn of Africa, he included details on the slave trade (↗slavery) running through Zaylaᶜ and on the port (in his narrative also an "island") of Berbera (Varthema 1928: 157–60). Although the truthfulness of some of his travels has recently been questioned (cf. Rubiés 2000: 126–30), V. was one of the first travellers to provide reliable information on the Orient – bordering on the realm of the less and less fabulous ↗Prester John – when demand for it was indeed growing in Europe (cp. Francisco ↗Alvares; Damião de ↗Góis).

Src.: LUDOVICO DE VARTHEMA, *Itinerario*, Roma ¹1510, Milano 1928 (ed. by PAOLO GIUDICI); ID., *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* ..., tr. by JOHN WINTER JONES, New York 1865, ii–xvi.

Lit.: JOAN-PAU RUBIÉS, "Ludovico da Varthema: the Curious Traveler at the Time of Vasco da Gama", in: ID., *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance*: *South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625*, Cambridge 2000, 125–63; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Ludovico de Varthema nel Corno d'Africa", *Africa* [Roma] 35, 2, 1980, 273–80.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Vatican and Holy See, relations with

Middle ages to 18th century

The first contacts between the Holy See and Ethiopia may have occurred during early mediaeval pilgrimages of Ethiopians to the Holy Land and ↗Jerusalem, although there is no recorded evidence (CerPal vol. 1, 7). The first documented contacts were through epistolary exchanges. In 1177 Alexander III (1159–81) sent a letter to the "king of the Indies" (cp. ↗Prester John), by which term the Ethiopian emperor was meant (Raineri 2005: 13). Later letters that can be mentioned are those of Nicholas IV (1288–92), dated 1289 (Raineri 2005: 18), John XXII (1316–34), dated 1329 (CerPal vol. 1, 207; Raineri 2005: 20) and Eugene IV (1431–47), dated 1439 (Raineri 2005: 22). Furthermore, missionaries from the mendicant orders (↗Dominicans and ↗Franciscans) may have approached Ethiopian rulers and mediated in the policy of the Holy See to incorporate the Eastern Churches (Richard 1998: 57ff., 114, 145; Lefevre 1945: 362ff.).

In 1404, three Ethiopian envoys of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II reached Rome, where they were received by cardinal Antonio Caetani. The scope of Dawit II's envoys might have been to establish diplomatic relations with the papal state (Lefevre 1988). In 1441, Niqodimos, superior of the Ethiopians living in Jerusalem, wrote to Eugene IV (Raineri 2005: 24), after which an intense correspondence ensued. Missives were mainly concerned with the liberation of the Holy Land from the infidel (e.g. Callistus III to ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob, of 1456; Raineri 2005: 35) and the complete communion of the Ethiopian with the Roman Church. As a consequence of these contacts, an Ethiopian delegation from Jerusalem went to the Council of ↗Florence.

Throughout the 16th cent. Roman popes gave full support to ↗Portugal's diplomatic activities in Ethiopia and also made tentative attempts to reach through diplomacy the Ethiopian rulers themselves. In the 1510s, the Medici pope Leo X (1513–21) sent the Florentine Andrea ↗Corsali as his envoy to meet *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (Raineri 2005: 45). On 29 January 1533, the Portuguese Francisco ↗Alvares guided an embassy of ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl to ↗Clement VII (1523–34) to Bologna and delivered to the pope presents and letters from the Ethiopian ruler (Raineri 2005: 57–77). Later, Paul III (1534–49) formally opened in Rome the Ethiopian hospice of ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori and hosted such Ethiopian visitors as ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon. This opened a period of intense contact, which gained momentum with the ↗Jesuit mission (Raineri 2005: 87–203). It was under the influence of the Jesuit missionaries that the cult of the Roman icon known as the Virgin of ↗Santa Maria Maggiore or of St. Luke spread throughout the country.

In 1627, Pope Urban VIII sent a bull with the concession of the Jubilee indulgences for the Christians of Ethiopia (Raineri 2005: 192). Since 1622, with the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, the Holy See had a body which concentrated on its foreign missionary policy. The new organization initially did not interfere with the ongoing Jesuit mission, but when this was terminated it strove to change the proselytizing strategy towards Ethiopia. More modest in its missionary scope, it also tried to be more respectful towards local oriental rites and liturgies (cp. de Vries 1967: 134).

With the accession to the throne of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, Roman-Ethiopian relations cooled but did not end. Noteworthy is *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I's Arabic letter to Clement XI (1700–21), dated 1702, in which he informed the latter that he had received the brief and gifts sent him by Innocent XII (1691–1700; Raineri 2005: 210ff.; s. also BecRASO XIV, 308). During this period, Rome also became a home for the Ethiopian Catholic diaspora, represented by such figures as *abba* ↗Gorgoryos and Ṣägga Krəstos. An important event was in the late-18th cent., the appointment by Pope Pius VI (1775–99) of ↗Ṭobiya Giyorgis Gäbrä Ǝgziabəḥer as titular bishop of ↗Adulis and Apostolic Vicar of Ethiopia.

19th century to the present

In the mid-19th cent., with the resumption of missionary activities by the ↗Lazarists and ↗Capuchins, communication between the V. and Ethiopia resumed. In 1841, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam wrote a letter to Gregory XVI (1831–46) and in 1850 *ras* ↗Ali Alula wrote to Pius IX (1846–78), to whom the Pontiff himself replied with a letter written in Gəʿəz (Raineri 2005: 245ff.). The pope was ambivalent about the oriental churches: assertive on the superiority of the Latin rite but also inclined towards a greater tolerance towards the oriental liturgies (cf. de Vries 1967: 147ff.). In 1862, Pius IX created a section "pro negotiis ritus Orientalis" within the Propaganda Fide, which later became the ↗Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus.

In 1858, ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel sent a missive to Pius IX in which he recalled having always protected the Catholic bishop Giustino De ↗Jacobis and his aides and asked the Pontiff to intercede for his envoy to be introduced to Napoleon III. He also promised to adhere to the Catholic faith as soon as his power was consolidated. In his reply (1859), the pope invited Nəguśe to receive his teachings and offered him a picture of the Immaculate Virgin (Raineri 2005: 266–75).

In 1875 and 1877, Mənilək (*aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) sent two friendly letters with gifts to Pius IX (Raineri 2005: 275–79). Among the presents, there were a cross, some bowls, objects made of bull's horn and finely chiselled and two parchments, which are today kept in the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. Aeth. 72, *Salterio*, and Vat. Aeth. 73, *Arganonä Dəngəl*).

In 1878, Leo XIII (1878–1903) resumed the correspondence of his predecessor with Mənilək as part of his policy to reach the Oriental churches. The pope, as he made clear in such texts as *Orientalium dignitas* (30 November 1894), was a fervent opponent of the Latinization in the lands of the Oriental churches, a practice followed by most contemporary Catholic missionaries (cf. de Vries 1967: 161ff.).

As a consequence of the battle of ↗ʿAdwa, the Vatican also dispatched a proper mission to mediate for the liberation of the Italians captured during the conflict. On 11 May 1896, the pope, through Monsignor Cyrille Macaire (1867–1921), sent to ↗Mənilək II a letter asking for the restitution of the prisoners to their families (Raineri 2005: 280–88). On 1 October, Mənilək replied to the pontiff that, because of the attitude of the Italian government, he was forced to defer to better times his testimony of affection and regard to His Holiness.

During the first decades of the Colonia ↗Eritrea relations between the V. and Ethiopian authorities were cordial. In 1906, Pope Pius X (1903–14) asked Mənilək II to intervene in favour of Ethiopian Catholics of the Harär region who had been imprisoned and had their goods confiscated (cf. Prouty 1986: 297). In 1929, in exchange for the visit paid to the Holy See by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), the V. sent to Ethiopia Mgr. Eugène ↗Tisserant and Mgr. Francesco Marchetti-Selvaggiani. The same year ↗Kidanä Maryam Kaśa was ordained bishop for the Catholics of the Ethiopic rite, thereby being the basis of a Catholic indigenous hierarchy; the initiative also encountered strong opposition from within the fascist government (cf. Giovagnoli 1991: 121f.). In parallel, institutes such as the ↗Missionari della Consolata praised in their publications Ḫaylä Śəllase's efforts of modernization and his fight against ↗slavery (Ceci 2003: 618f.). Relations between the V. and the young Emperor were also strenghtened thanks to the work of such figures as André de ↗Jarosseau. In 1937 Giovanni Maria Castellani was sent as first apostolic envoy to Ethiopia.

With the rise of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana the Italian Church took a more interventionist stand. Catholic leaders thought Italian inmigration would expand their influence in Ethiopia and help hinder the progress of ↗Islam and ↗Protestantism (Sbacchi 1997: 104). In addition, fascist leaders such as Emilio de ↗Bono pressed Italian missionary groups to step up proselytism and to take charge of ↗education activities in Eritrea and Ethiopia (Ceci 2003: 619ff.). Consequently, Italian Catholic publicity and Catholic agents openly supported Italy's war machine during the ↗Italian war 1935–36. On the contrary, the V., which since 1929 had constituted a formal state under Pius XI (1922–39), remained aloof both from the fascist regime and its colonial enterprise – including so-called "religious colonialism". The V. sought chiefly to promote the formation of a local Catholic Church and not to interfere in political affairs (cf. Giovagnoli 1991: 122ff.).

During the early stages of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, Mgr. Luigi Santa, a Consolata missionary with vast experience in the country, served as Apostolic Prefect in Addis Abäba. In this period, the Secretariat of State mediated, without success, before the Italian government trying to revoke Mussolini's order that all non-Italian missionaries leave the country.

With the liberation, it took a few years until diplomatic relations between Ḫaylä Śəllase I's government and the V. could be re-established. From 1946 to 1956, the Jesuit Teodoro Monnens served as special envoy in Ethiopia and in 1957 Mgr. Giuseppe McGeough was appointed first apostolic internuncio. He was replaced in 1960 by Giuseppe Mojoli. In 1969 the Catholic legation became an apostolic nunciature, with Mojoli serving as nuncio in Addis Abäba and *fitawrari* Kidanä Ḫaylä Maryam as first Ethiopian ambassador to the Holy See.

In 1951 two separate exarchates of the Ethiopic rite were created, one in Eritrea and another in Ethiopia. In 1961, an ecclesiastic province was instituted, with Addis Abäba as metropolitan archbishopric and two dioceses in ↗Asmära and ↗Addigrat. The apostolic vicariates of Asmära, Ǧimma and Harär and the apostolic prefectures of ↗Hossaʿəna and Nägälle kept their status. ʿAśratä Maryam Yəmməru was consecrated the new archbishop of Addis Abäba (cf. Mojoli 1973: 79ff.).

The causes proposed for beatification of Catholic priests who were killed or died in Ethiopia have experienced different fates. Causes for the Jesuits that were killed (s. ↗Martyrdom) during the anti-Catholic persecutions in the first decades of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs's rule (cp. Luís ↗Cardeira, Apolinar de ↗Almeida) were opened in the early 20th cent. but have hitherto not been successful. On the contrary, causes for more contemporary figures were favourably received. On 31 October 1926, Pius XI beatified *abba* ↗Gäbrä Mikaʾel. On 25 June 1939, Mgr. Giustino De ↗Jacobis was beatified by Pius XII (1939–58) and, on 26 October 1975, was canonized as a saint by Pope Paul VI (1963–78). On 21 November 1988, John Paul II (1978–2005) beatified three Franciscan missionaries stoned to death in a religious persecution in 1716: Liberato Weiss, Samuele Marzorati and Michele Pio di Zerbo. On 20 October 2002, John Paul II also beatified Liduina Meneguzzi (1901–41), a nun of the Sisters of St. Francis de Sales and missionary in ↗Dərre Dawa.

↗Catholicism

Src.: BecRASO XIV, 308; "Cronaca dell'unione", *Bessarione* 8, 1896–97, 504–06; GIUSEPPE MOJOLI, *La Chiesa in Etiopia: note e ricordi di un nunzio*, Roma 1973, 33ff., 79ff.; OSVALDO RAINERI (ed., tr.), *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici, sec. XII–XX. Versioni e integrazioni*, Città del Vaticano 2005; *Leonis XIII Pontificis Maximi Acta*, vol. 16, Romae 1897, 128f.

Lit.: GIORGIO BARANI – MANLIO BONATI, *Gli Italiani in Africa* ..., Reggio Emilia 2004, 441–46, 448, 453–54;

Lucia Ceci, “Chiesa e questione coloniale. Guerra e missione nell’impresa d’Etiopia”, *Italia contemporanea* 233, 2003, 618–36; CerPal, vol. 1, 7, 207; Cesare Cesari, *Gli Italiani nella conoscenza dell’Africa*, Roma 1938, 220ff.; ClapHS 85; Renzo de Felice, “La Santa Sede e il conflitto italo-etiopico nel diario di Bernardino Nogara”, *Storia contemporanea* 7, 4, 1977, 823–34; Agostino Giovagnoli, “Il Vaticano di fronte al colonialismo fascista”, in: Angelo Del Boca (ed.), *Le guerre coloniali del fascismo*, Roma – Bari 1991, 113–31; Renato Lefevre, “Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento (Seconda Parte)”, *Annali Lateranensi* 9, 1945, 331–444; Id., “Tre ‘ethiopes nigri de India’ a Roma nel 1404”, *Strenna dei Romanisti* 1988, 237–44; Ministero delle Colonie – Ufficio Studi e Propaganda [Cesare Cesari], *Voyageurs Italiens en Afrique*, Rome 1931, 125f.; Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d’Orient au Moyen Âge* (*XIII*^{e}*–XV*^{e} *siècles*), Rome 1998, 57ff., 114, 145; Alberto Sbacchi, *Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935–1941*, Lawrenceville, NJ et.al. 1997, 104; *L’Esploratore*, 1882, 362–63; 1883, 106–07, 156, 169–73, 308–12, 372–79; 1884, 39–45; Wilhelm de Vries, *Orthodoxie et Catholicisme*, tr. by Jean Houel, Paris 1967, 134; Carlo Zaghi, *Le origini della Colonia Eritrea*, Bologna 1934, 98f., 106.

Osvaldo Raineri – Andreu Martínez d’Alòs-Moner

Velat, Bernard

V. (b. 6 November 1903, Paris, d. 12 December 1968, Paris) was a scholar in Ethiopian literature and liturgy. He was ordained priest in 1927 and occupied various offices of ministry in parish and chaplaincy. He had a profound knowledge of French literature and a perfect command of Italian. He followed the Gəᶜəz courses given by Sylvain ↗Grébaut at the École des Langues Orientales Anciennes (ELOA) of the Institut Catholique de Paris and those by Marcel ↗Cohen at the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Section IV, philological and historical sciences), then during ↗World War II, those by Marcel ↗Griaule, who had replaced Cohen at the Ecole Pratique.

After the war, V. continued to follow the teachings of Marcel Cohen after he regained his chair. In 1952, V. replaced Grébaut at ELOA and, in 1953, he joined the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. A scholar with an independent character and a warm attitude to his pupils, V. had a vast knowledge of Ethiopian literature. He was a pioneer in the study of Ethiopian liturgy, especially the monastic office, to which he devoted the last years of his life.

Src.: Bernard Velat, “Fuoco Sacro ed acque prodigiose a Gerusalemme nel Gĕlo Makādā (Tigré)”, *RSE* 7, 1948, 167–75; Id., “Hymnes eucharistiques éthiopiennes”, *Rythmes du monde* 1, 1953, 26–36; Id., “Chantres, Poètes, Professeurs: les Dabtara éthiopiens”, *Les Cahiers Coptes* 5, 1954, 21–29; Id., “Äthiopien VII: Äthiopische Kirchenmusik”, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 2, Freiburg im Breisgau ^{2}1958, 1006–07; Id., “Éthiopie”, in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 4, Paris 1961, cols. 1453–77; VelMaw; VelMe I–II; VelSoDe I–II.

Robert Beylot

Vicariate Apostolic of Abyssinia ↗Catholicism

Vicariate Apostolic of the Galla ↗Catholicism

Vigoni, Giuseppe (Pippo)

V. (b. 9 July 1846, Sesto San Giovanni [Milan], d. 15 February 1914, Milan) was an Italian traveller, explorer, geographer and public administrator. His father, Ignazio, was a nobleman of strong pro-Risorgimento stance; his mother, Luigia Vitali, also from the Lombard aristocracy, was the widow of the famous engineer Giulio Mylius. V. graduated in engineering at Bologna in 1869. From 1892 to 1899, he was the mayor of Milan, and from 1900, a member of the Italian Senate. He also presided, for a long time, over the Società di Esplorazione commerciale in Africa (founded in 1879 by Manfredo Camperio), to the revival of which he greatly contributed. V. was a staunch supporter of Italian ↗Colonialism.

V. travelled to Syria, Palestine and Egypt (where he witnessed the inauguration of the Suez Canal) with the archaeologist Alfonso Garovaglio (1869), and then through South and North America (1872–73), Greece, Tunisia, Tripolitania and Turkey (1885); he visited Russia, Armenia and Persia, whence he travelled to Mesopotamia, India, Himalaya and Ceylon (1886). His main interest, however, was Africa, owing to the possible influence of the stories told by Eduard ↗Rüppel, a frequent guest of V.’s parents, when he was a child.

In 1878–79, after a brief interval as an alpinist, V. followed the expedition led by Pellegrino ↗Matteucci to Ethiopia and visited Asmära, Kärän, ᶜAdwa, Aksum, Gondär, Lake Ṭana and Goǧǧam. His African travel journal (1881) focuses on local fauna, flora, customs and traditions, but also gives information on V.’s encounters with prominent personalities and provides accurate descriptions of places and monuments (e.g., ↗Ǝnda Maryam in Asmära, ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase in ᶜAdwa, ↗Däbrä Ṣ́ähay Śəllase at Gondär). It also details the archaeological and ethnographical materials V. acquired, and, in some cases, their origins. The publication includes a facsimile of a patent in Amharic issued for him by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV.

Giuseppe Vigoni, photo ca. 1875, Villa Vigoni (Loveno di Menaggio, Como), ASVV, Alb. 3; courtesy of Giovanni Meda Riquier

The Ethiopian experience taught V. to consider the country as a complex and living reality, and definitely made him an untiring propagandist for Italian expansion in Africa. His adventures – the imprisonment and death threats by *ras* ↗Arᵓaya Śəllase Dəmṣu of Dämbəya, the meeting with *aṣe* Yoḥannəs at Däbrä Tabor – were of secondary importance compared to the political aspect.

The rich ethnographic collection, originally of ca. 850 items, gathered by V. during his journeys – mainly in Ethiopia – was bequeathed by his widow Catulla Mylius and their son Ignazio to the city of Milan in 1935. The same year V.'s posthumous book of travels appeared, edited by Ignazio for the ↗Società Geografica Italiana. In 1940, part of his collection was moved to Naples, on the occasion of the first "Mostra Triennale delle Terre d'Oltremare". Due to the war and the allies' occupation of the exhibition site, most of the pieces taken to Naples were not returned to Milan in 1947. Only a few items are now in possession of the Museo d'arti applicate at the Castello sforzesco; some pieces (including a bronze processional ↗cross from Asmära) are preserved in the Villa Vigoni at Loveno di Menaggio (Como). Once the family residence, this imposing estate with wide neoclassical gardens is today the seat of an Italian–German study centre, in the archives of which V.'s papers and photographs are kept.

Src.: Archivio Storico Villa Vigoni, Fondo Vigoni, vols. I–VII and Album 3; Pippo Vigoni, *Abissinia. Giornale di un viaggio*, Milano 1881; Id., "Una nuova Carta dell'Africa, edita dallo Stabilimento Geografico di Gotha", *L'esplorazione commerciale e l'esploratore* 3, 1888, 12–15; Id., "Massaua e il Nord dell'Abissinia", *ibid.*, suppl. 1, 1888, 1–18; Id., "Dei rapporti dell'Italia coll'Abissinia. Conferenza tenuta nella sede sociale il 12 maggio 1889", *ibid.* 4, 1889, 185–92; Id., "Il governatore civile dell'Eritrea", *ibid.* 12, 1897, 338–41; Id., "Relazione sulla colonia Eritrea, del R. Comissario civile On. Ferdinando Martini", *ibid.* 17, 1902, 377–81; Id., "Atti del Primo Congresso Coloniale Italiano in Asmara, settembre–ottobre 1905", *ibid.* 21, 1906, 369–74;. Id., "La spedizione in Dankalia", *ibid.* 23, 1908, 65–66; Id., *Viaggi*, Milano 1935, 98–197 [Eritrea and Ethiopia].

Lit.: Serena Bertolucci, "Tra ricordo e oblio: monumenti in onore di Pippo Vigoni", *Villa Vigoni. Comunicazioni/Mitteilungen* 4, 2000, 49–53; ErDizBio 297; Marcello Galbiati, "Pippo Vigoni all'esploratore Gaetano Casati. Riflessioni in margine ad una lapide commemorativa", *ibid.* 3, 1999, 17–20; Carla Ghezzi, "Pippo Vigoni e l'Africa: un colonialismo critico", *Il Politico. Rivista italiana di scienze politiche* 184, 1998, 87–109 (Lit.); Maurizio Punzo, "Pippo Vigoni sindaco di Milano", in: Frank Baasner (ed.), *I Mylius Vigoni. Italiani e tedeschi nel XIX e XX secolo*, Firenze 1994 (Collana di Villa Vigoni. Studi italo-tedeschi 3), 85–113; Id., "Il Comune di Milano dalla giunta di conciliazione (1889) alla grande paura del 1899", in: Rosanna Pavoni – Cesare Mozzarelli (eds.), *Milano 1848–1898. Ascesa e trasformazione della capitale morale*, vol. 2, Venezia 2000, 59–76; Luigi Sansone, "La raccolta Vigoni. Chi l'ha vista?", *Rassegna di studi e di notizie. Raccolta delle stampe Achille Bertarelli, Archivio fotografico, Raccolta d'arte applicata, Museo degli strumenti musicali* 26, 2002, 247–73.

Fabio Betti

Virgin, Eric

V. (b. 18 May 1876, Skövde, Sweden, d. 12 May 1950, Sjögunnarsbo, Sweden) was a military officer. In 1908 he served in the Swedish army as lieutenant and between 1931 and 1933 he was the commander of the young Swedish air force. At the death of ↗Kolmodin and upon recommendation of Knut Hanner, Swedish honorary consul in Ethiopia and a confident of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, Major General V. was appointed adviser for the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

V. arrived in Ethiopia in May 1934. Together with the Swiss Jacques Auberson, in the Ministry of Justice, and the American Everett A. Colson, in that of Finance, he composed what was then known "the Trinity of Advisers". The three strove to get support for Ethiopia from great powers through the ↗League of Nations. V. was also crucial for the establishment of the Gännät cadet school (later ↗Holäta Military Academy). He convinced the Emperor to recruit the staff for the planned Cadet school from ↗Sweden instead of from the Belgian Military Mission and at his initiative the first five Swedish military officers arrived in Ethiopia (Halldin 1977: 131ff.).

V.'s work, however, was not always successful, allegedly due to lack of discretion and to tense relations with certain officials such as ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs. His demeanor also displeased his superiors in Ethiopia, Hanner and Captain Viking Tamm, who tried to terminate his contract before expiration. V., who had suffered of heart problems before and during his Ethiopian stay, finally abandoned his mission in September 1935 to receive medical treatment in Sweden, just a few days before the Italians attacked Ethiopia (ibid. 133f.). At his return to Sweden V. wrote a book on his Ethiopian experience (Virgin 1936). The book sheds light on some poorly-understood aspects of the life of Ḫaylä Śəllase.

Major General Eric Virgin in Addis Abäba; from Rikli 1935: 71

Src.: ERIC VIRGIN, *Abessinska minnen*, Stockholm 1936 (Engl. tr. by NAOMI WALFORD, *The Abyssinia I Knew*, London 1936).

Lit.: VIVECA HALLDIN NORBERG, *Swedes in Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, 1924–1952: a Study in Early Development Co-Operation*, Uppsala 1977, 130–34; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Historical Ties between Ethiopia and Sweden", *Addis Tribune*, 15 October 2004; ID., "Foreign Involvement in Ethiopia's Progress, General Eric Virgin and Ethiopian Military Training", *ibid.*, 6 December 2002; MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935 (ill.); JOHN H. SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay*, Algonac, MI 1984, 6.

Bernhard Lindahl

Vitalien, Paul Gaston Joseph

V. (b. 20 February 1866, Le Moule, Guadeloupe, d. 15 November 1938, Paris) was a French doctor and agent. In 1897 he defended his thesis in medicine at the University of Paris. After having worked for a period in Burgundy, on 23 February 1899 he left for ↗Djibouti as doctor of the ↗Compagnie Impériale des Chemins de Fer Ethiopiens (↗Railways).

In 1900, V. took part in the construction of the hospital of Djibouti (today Peltier hospital) and in 1901 in that of the French hospital in ↗Addis Abäba. He also participated in a mission on behalf of the Ministry for the Colonies to study the medical and climatological conditions of the area. In 1902, V. became the personal doctor of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel in Harär.

In 1904, Mäkʷännən sent V. to treat *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. Thereafter, the doctor became much respected at court, where he also treated *ras* ↗Wäle Bəṭul. Most importantly, V. became France's semi-official agent at the court; France supplemented his salary from Mənilək and the doctor kept the French legation duly informed about the intrigues at the ↗*gəbbi* (Prouty 1986: 283f., 292f., 304f.). V. was also involved in the project to build a railway between Djibouti and Addis Abäba. He first replaced Léon ↗Chefneux as Mənilək II's representative on the railway board and then became holder of the concession of the railway; the concession, known as "Vitalien", consisted of 18 articles and an endorsement and established the new company (Compagnie Franco-Éthiopienne) on firmer grounds than the previous concession held by Alfred ↗Ilg (Loepfe 1974: 149ff.). Since during the succession crisis V. took the part of *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul, he had to leave Ethiopia in 1911.

In 1912, V. tried to pursue without success a political carreer in his native Guadeloupe under the

Socialist Party. From 1915 to 1919, during World War I, he was director of the "Foyer colonial des combattants". He was particularly interested in the fate of black prisoners and contributed to the improvement of orthopaedic protheses. Between 1920 and 1930, he worked as a doctor in Paris. He is buried in the Père Lachaise cemetery.

In 1919, V. wrote a pamphlet for the socialist journal *l'Effort* where he provides an overview on the history and fauna of Ethiopia as well as insights into the army of ↗Mənilək and the situation in 1916 (Vitalien 1919).

Src.: Archives de France (CARAN), Base Léonore, dossier de légion d'Honneur, L2729028; Paul Gaston Joseph Vitalien, *Pour l'indépendance de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1919 (pamphlet ed. by *l'Effort*), 63; *L'Émancipation*, 28–30 December 1911; *ibid*., 15–17 June 1911; *Le Peuple*, 29 Juli 1894; *L'Humanité*, 9 January 1912; *Le Libéral*, 14 December 1911.

Lit.: Willi Loepfe, *Alfred Ilg und die äthiopische Eisenbahn*, Zürich et al. 1974, 149ff.; Lukian Prijac, *Antony Klobukowski et le traité franco-éthiopien de 1908*, Paris 2003, 56; Chris Prouty, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II*: *Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London – Trenton, NJ 1986, 283f., 292f., 304f., 308; Rosanna Van Gelder de Pineda, *Le chemin de fer de Djibouti à Addis-Abeba*, Paris 1995; Alain Rouaud, "Notes pour servir à la biographie du docteur Vitalien", *Bulletin des Études Africaines de l'INALCO* 19–20, 1993, 227–29.

Lukian Prijac

Viterbo, Carlo Alberto

V. (b. 1889, Florence, d. 1974, Rome) was an Italian Jewish lawyer, journalist and linguist.

V. was sent to visit the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel in Ethiopia by the Union of Italian Israelite communities in 1936–37 following the proclamation of the Italian Empire (↗Africa Orientale Italiana). He arrived in Addis Abäba at the beginning of August 1936 via Djibouti. He spent a few months with ↗Täʾammərat Amanuʾel in Addis Abäba. From November 1936 to February 1937 the two travelled around Betä Ǝsraʾel villages. V. brought numerous notes, charts and photographs back to Italy with the aim of writing a study of the group, but his internment as a Jew and Zionist in 1940 prevented him from finishing his project. The material V. gathered remained largely unpublished, with the exception of a few articles. His journal was published in 1993.

Thanks to his liberal Jewish background V. could appreciate significant aspects of Betä Ǝsraʾel life, even when these differed considerably from the practices and customs of European Jews. V. dealt with the problem of the transformation of Betä Ǝsraʾel culture after the changes introduced by ↗Faitlovitch, fearing that Betä Ǝsraʾel would be uprooted and destroyed as a group. One of his main concerns was the Betä Ǝsraʾel school in Addis Abäba, which he wanted to move to Gondär, to bring the students closer to their families. V. also thought that European Jews should not teach the Ethiopians their ways, but help in preserving their own life and traditions. Täʾammərat Amanuʾel remained in correspondence with V. for the rest of his life and represented V.'s more liberal view in his discussions with Faitlovitch about the best education to offer to the young Betä Ǝsraʾel.

Src.: Carlo Alberto Viterbo, "Nuovi manoscritti falascia", *Annuario di studi ebraici* 1935–37, 114–23; Id., *Una via verso l'ebraico*, Roma 1988; Id., "Relazione al Ministero dell'Africa Italiana dell'opera svolta in A.O.I. in rappresentanza dell'Unione delle Comunità israelitiche italiane", in: Francesco Del Canuto (ed.), *Israel*: *un decennio 1974–1984, Saggi sull'ebraismo italiano*, Roma 1984, 47–113; Id. – Aharon Cohen, *Ebrei di Etiopia: Due diari* (*1936 e 1976*), Firenze 1993, 21–94.

Lit.: Emanuela Trevisan Semi, "Il rispetto per i Falascia: l'opera di Carlo Alberto Viterbo", *Studi Etno-Antropologici e Sociologici* 14, 1986, 59–68; Ead., "Le Sriet: un rite d'investitutre sacerdotale chez les Beta Esra'el (Falachas)", *Revue des études juives* 146, 1987, 101–24; Ead., "La rilevazione delle regole del Sanbat tra gli ebrei d'Etiopia negli inediti di C.A. Viterbo", *Oriente Moderno* 6, 1987, 79–97; Ead., "The Dainelli and Viterbo Missions among the Falashas (1933–37)", in: Steven Kaplan – Tudor Parfitt – Emanuela Trevisan Semi (eds.), *Between Africa and Zion*, Jerusalem 1995, 72–79.

Emanuela Trevisan Semi

Vittorio Emanuele III

V.E. di Savoia-Carignano (Vittorio Emanuele Ferdinando Maria Gennaro; b. 11 November 1869, Naples, d. 28 December 1947, Alexandria, Egypt) was king of ↗Italy (1900–46), emperor of Ethiopia (1936–41) and king of Albania (1939–43). The son of King Umberto I, he entered the army and was appointed as commander of the Florence and later of the Naples Army Corps.

Crowned in August 1900, V.E. performed his own duties respecting the constitution until the establishment of the Fascist regime. During the first decade of the century, dominated by the personality of Giovanni Giolitti, a liberal, V.E. did not object to the social reforms that contributed to the modernization of the country. He also sponsored the conquest of Libya in 1911–12. At the outset of ↗World War I, he strongly supported the intervention; at stake was the completion of national unity as well as the gaining of some colonial advantages in Africa. He acquired an enormous popularity spending his time on the war fronts and sharing the life of the soldiers in the trenches.

In 1922, V.E. bequeathed a painting by Carlo Maratta to the cathedral of ↗Asmära on the occasion of the latter's consecration. In 1932, together with his minister Emilio De ↗Bono, he toured the Colonia ↗Eritrea, attending the inauguration of the Aq̣ordät–Bišа railroad (MockWar 27). He visited then the memorial of the Italian victims of the ↗ᶜAdwa battle at Dahro Conat (Del Boca 1979: 168f.). In 1934 he toured Somalia

The most controversial stage of V.E.'s reign was due to his passivity on the night that preceded the so called "march on Rome" organized by the Fascist movement that led to the appointment of Benito ↗Mussolini as prime minister (28 October 1922). According to some sources, V.E. refused to enforce martial law, but other authors maintain that the prime minister, Luigi Facta, did not actually submit the bill for his signature. In Italy, the praxis was that the sovereign had to abide by the Government's decisions.

Under the Fascist regime, the prerogatives of the king were only nominal. Mussolini held power in both political and military affairs. V.E. endorsed the suppression of press freedom and the racial legislation introduced in 1938–39 and approved the entrance of Italy into ↗World War II on the side of the Axis Powers.

Vittorio Emmanuele III "Imperatore d'Etiopia"; from the collection of Wolfgang Hahn

V.E. knew the underway projects of Musso-lini to invade Ethiopia but deceived the Ethiopians ensuring them that Italy did not intend to aggress the Empire. His sole concern was not to undermine the defence of the Alps border of Italy deploying too many troops in Africa (Mack Smith 1990: 351; Del Boca 1979: 230). The King encouraged Mussolini at the very moment of the attack (D'Aroma 1957: 235) and ↗Badoglio himself acknowledged the King's firm support (Badoglio 1936: 217). After the ↗Italian war 1935–36, Mussolini rewarded the King's complicity by granting him the title of emperor of Ethiopia. V.E. praised the Duce as a "military genius" who had won the greatest colonial war of history to "the prestige, life and greatness of the Fascist motherland" (Rumi 1974: 69).

V.E., who never visited Ethiopia, was not favourable to the appointment of his cousin Amedeo di ↗Savoia as governor general of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (MockWar 186; Sbacchi 1980: 51f.).

Following a vote against Mussolini by the Great Council of Fascism on 25 July 1943, V.E. felt authorized to dismiss him, and charged Marshall Pietro ↗Badoglio to form a new government. A few weeks later, Badoglio concluded an armistice with the allies. V.E.'s final error was to flee Rome. The King and the monarchy did not survive the tragedy of the war and Italy's defeat. He officially abdicated in favour of his son Umberto II on the eve of the referendum that established the Republic (1946), and died in exile in Egypt as a guest of King Farouk.

Src.: HSLife II, 49.

Lit.: Pietro Badoglio, *La guerra d'Etiopia*, Milano 1936, 217; Nino D'Aroma, *Vent'anni insieme: Vittorio Emanuele e Mussolini*, Roma 1957, 235; Angelo del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale. La conquista dell'impero*, Roma – Bari 1979, 168f., 229ff.; Denis Mack Smith, *I Savoia re d'Italia*, Milano 1990, 193–441, spec. 347–56; MockWar 12, 21, 27, 147, 186; Giorgio Rumi, *L'imperialismo fascista*, Milano 1974, 69; Alberto Sbacchi, *Il colonialismo italiano in Etiopia: 1936–1940*, Milano 1980, 51f.; Id., *Ethiopia under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience*, London 1985, 15, 33, 233; Denis Mack Smith, *I Savoia re d'Italia*, Milano 1990.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Voice of Ethiopia

V. was a weekly newspaper. It commenced publication in New York on 27 January 1937 and it was founded by ↗Mälaku Amanuʾel Bäyyan. The first editor of the paper was Gilbert Balfour Bovell, Mälaku's student at Howard University. After a few months, he was replaced by Mälaku himself and his wife Dorothy Bäyyan served as business manager. It was published by the Voice of Ethiopia, Inc.

The paper served as the official organ of the Ethiopian World Federation established on 25 August 1937. The paper's logo was "A Paper for the vast Universal Black Commonwealth and Friends of Ethiopia". In an editorial from 3 February 1940, Bäyyan stated that the reason for publishing the V. was to disseminate news released by the Ethiopian government. Moreover, the V. also served as an organ of black people in the ↗United States and other nations, covering news from the Black Commonwealth (Bermuda, St. Thomas, St. Croix, Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, Barbados, India and even London).

News on the ↗Italian war 1935–36 and the ↗Resistance to Italian colonialism were prominently treated. Second in importance was the condition of black people in the United States. The newspaper employed a strategic approach to highlight the bravery of Ethiopian patriots in order to agitate black people in the United States to fight for their civil rights. ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's speech before the ↗League of Nations was also distributed for sale via the paper. The V. was additionally used as an instrument to raise funds by announcing the formation of the Ethiopia Aid Fund for the cause of Ethiopian patriots and to furnish material support for Ethiopian refugees in Kenya. It also publicized books written about Ethiopia and black people in general, such as one by Mälaku himself.

As the war between Ethiopia and Italy approached its final stages, the V. intensified propaganda work on the plight of the black people. When Ethiopia regained its independence, the newspaper continued to provide information on Ethiopia on grounds that the country did not yet have "its own independent means of communication" (*Voice of Ethiopia*, 16 August 1941, 2). The paper published interesting information about other African countries such as Liberia and Nigeria. Its treatment of the black world with brief news continued until it abruptly ceased publication on 6 September 1941, allegedly due to a lack of funds.

The V. may have been the predecessor of the newspaper later established in Addis Abäba with the same Amh. title **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ድምጽ** (*Yäʾityop̣ya dəmṣ*). Popularly known as *Dəmṣ*, it initially appeared as a bilingual paper and later continued to publish in Amharic only.

Src.: ETHIOPIAN WORLD FEDERATION, *Voice of Ethiopia*, New York 1937–41.

Lit.: NIGUSSIE AYELE, "Doktar Malaku Bayen (1900–1940), *Gugsa* 2, 2, 2000, 5–15; JOSEPH E. HARRIS, *African-American Reactions to War in Ethiopia, 1936–1941*, Baton Rouge, LA – London 1994, 123, 130–36, 138f., 155; WILLIAM R. SCOTT, "Malaku E. Bayen: Ethiopian Emissary to Black America, 1936–41", *EthObs* 15, 2, 1972, 132–38.

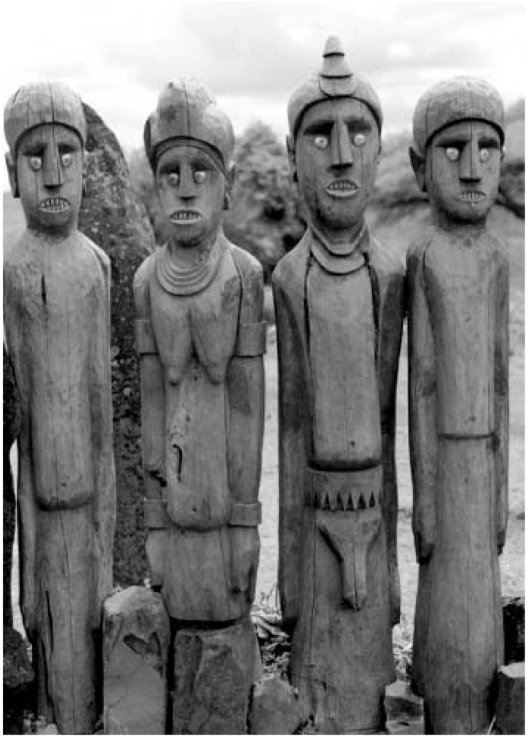
Fentahun Tiruneh

W

Waakaa

The term W. is attributed to wooden anthropomorphic memorial sculptures in ↗Konso (s. article also for ill.) which are generally erected for outstanding people after their death. They have first been mentioned by Darragon (1898), then by many other scholars visiting Konso, mainly Jensen (1936), Haberland (1963 [=VSAe II]), Cowen (1978) and by Amborn (2002); for a new thorough s. Poissonnier (2007).

Best known are the groups of W. erected for men who have killed at least one big game animal (today ↗lion or ↗leopard) or an enemy. Additionally, they must have had legal offspring. These groups of W. consist of at least three figures: in the middle the honored defunct, on his right his wife and on his left the slain enemy. If he had killed an animal, its sculpture is placed in front of the group on the ground. On one side a smaller stone stela is placed. In some areas of Konso, groups of stone stelae or slates are erected in the same manner and said to have preceded the making of wooden sculptures (↗Stelae).



Recently carved wooden funeral sculptures from Debana (Paleeta), Konso; photo 1999, courtesy of Marie Hernandez

W. are erected for every deceased clan-chief as well as for his wife. They may also be erected for extraordinary personalities. In the regions of Tuuro and Paˀayti, they are erected for every deceased adult who had lived in a marriage with legal offspring. These sculptures stand alone or in pairs.

W. made for clan chiefs and killers are carved in the wood of juniper, a ↗tree of the sacred forests of the clan chiefs. They are always painted with red ochre and decorated with a creeper plant on the day of erection. All sculptures are erected during the ceremony held at the end of the period of mourning and may stand directly on the grave of the defunct, along a pathway or road or on a communal place. The choice depends on the practices of the region and the status of the defunct. Depending on the wealth of the family ordering this work, the carving may take up to several weeks, and workers claim to be in contact with the defunct, demanding food and drink in behalf of him. Being quite highly priced on the international art market, many sculptures become objects to theft.

Lit.: Hermann Amborn, "Concepts in Wood and Stone. Socio-religious Monuments of the Konso of Southern Ethiopia", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 127, 2002, 77–101; Léon M. Darragon, "Le Sidama, L'Amhara et le Konso", *Comptes-Rendus des Séances de la société de Géographie de Paris*, 1898, 137–40; Adolf E. Jensen, *Im Lande des Gada*, Stuttgart 1936; Chester R. Cowen, "Wooden Sculpture among the Konso and Gato of Southern Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 5b, 217–32; Nicole Poissonnier, *Das Erbe der "Helden": Grabkultur der Konso und kulturverwandter Ethnien Süd-Äthiopiens*, Göttingen 2009 (Göttinger Beiträge zur Ethnologie 3); VSAe II.

Nicole Poissonnier

Waaqa

W. (Orom.: 'sky'; respectfully referred to as *Ulfin*, 'Honoured', or *Aabaa*, 'Highest') is the name of the Supreme Being in ↗Oromiffaa. Originally, it was the denomination of the celestial deity of Oromo traditional ↗religion.

He formed a divine couple together with the female deity of the 'earth', Lafa or Dače (for this duality cp. also EAE vol. 2, 605). Variants of the name W. serve as a designation of a divinity related to the sky in many folk-religions in Ethiopia, e.g., Waɣa in ↗Konso, Waaʾa in ↗Hadiyya, ↗Waq in ↗Gurage and Wak in the pre-Islamic ʿAfar religion (cp. EAE vol. 2, 179). Today, the name W. or *Waaqaayoo* (a more abstract variant) is used for the Christian god as well.

According to myth in an early "golden age" of peace and morality W. and Lafa were close to each other and W. used to visit Man in human form. W. is thought to be the creator, the source of all life and the guarantor of the social order (↗*Aadaa*; ↗*Safuu*). He is the origin of the forces of the *ayyaana* ↗spirits in which the spiritual quality of certain individuals, clans, places, animals and things is personified. W. is represented by the sky and, particularly, the 'black/blue sky' (Orom.: *waaqaa guračča*), i.e. the heavy clouds that bring the rain which makes life on earth possible. Thus, the preferred colour of the sacrificial animals dedicated to him, or slaughtered to invoke precipitation, is black.

People refer to W. in formulas of everyday life, such as "if it is W.'s will" or "for Heavens's sake" etc. Both deities, W. and Lafa may be addressed in individual or collective prayers and rituals, such as ↗*ḍibaayyuu*, ↗*bunna qallaa* and animal ↗sacrifices. The most important ritual specialists related to W. are the ↗*qaalluu* and the ↗*abbaa muuda*.

The outsider's perception of the belief in W. has been influenced by the missionary interests of Catholic and Protestant scholars. The Catholic ethnographer-theologian Wilhelm Schmidt (1940) tried to substantiate his concept of "original monotheism", by identifying Oromo religion as an example for a once pure form of monotheism which evolved independently from external influences. However, Haberland showed that even before the ↗conversion of most Oromo to Christianity or Islam, the old Oromo religion with its divine dualism, typical for the autochthonous religions of eastern Africa, came under strong influence of monotheistic religion. As a consequence, Lafa's role was weakened in favour of W.'s status. In the form of the female spirit Ayyoo (also ↗*Ateetee*), which among the Šäwa-Oromo was syncretized with Maraam (s. ↗Mary) and among the Arsi was related to Faṭima, the role of the female counterpart of W. continued to play a central part in rituals of Oromo women (VSAe II, 510f., 513, 548f., 555, 563ff.).

The holy grove of *qalluu* Abbaa Magaal, dedicated to *Waaqa*, with votive figurines, Aʾira, Wälläga; photo 1920s, archives of the Hermannsburger Mission, Hermannsburg (no. 593)

Lit.: BartOrom 125–29; CerFolk 23, 27; KARL ERIC KNUTSSON, *Authority and Change: a Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*, Göteborg 1967, s. index; WILHELM SCHMIDT, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee. Eine historisch-kritische und positive Studie*, 12 vols., Münster 1940, vol. 7, 11–162; TilDic 576–77, 586; VSAe II, 561–71 and passim.

Dirk Bustorf

Waata

The term W. is used to refer to hunter-gatherers or specialized occupational groups (especially potters [↗Pottery]) who live among pastoralists or agriculturists, mostly among ↗Oromo. They are more or less associated with, or an integral part of, the respective societies. W. are known by different names (the ↗Amhara, e.g., know a similar group as ↗Wäyṭo). There is no precise census data on the total population of W.; Aneesa Kassam estimates their number considerably below 20,000 (Aneesa Kassam – Ali Balla Bashuna 2004: 197).

W. live in parts of southern, central and western Ethiopia, along the Tana and Galana rivers and in the Taru Desert in eastern Kenya, on the Kenyan coast, in Isiolo and Marsabit districts in northern Kenya, as well as on the shores of Lake Ṭana. They may also extend into Tanzania. W. have always interacted with neighbouring agricultural and pastoral groups and sometimes speak, in addition to the languages of their neighbours, a dialect of Oromo. In early travel literature, all hunter-gatherers, together with the W., were lumped together under the generic term "Dorobo", derived from the Maasai Il-Torobo.

The W. as a group can hardly be captured by classical anthropological concepts like "ethnic group", "social caste/class," etc. The W. regard themselves as a distinctive social entity. In Kenya, a W. movement for political representation has appeared on the scene since the 1990s, which is striving for fostering W. identity and social cohesion, as well as reclaiming their indigenous rights (↗Ethnicity).

Early anthropological theories on hunter-gatherers in East Africa, including the W., were dominated by the concept of race. W. were conceived as a residual Palaeolithic hunting population with special physical characteristics. According to these theories, hunter-gatherers like the W. were long time ago dispersed, marginalized and superseded by (agro-)pastoral invaders, who, in the case of Ethiopia, were identified with the "Semites" or the "Cushites"; besides, the W. were seen as one of the pre-Cushitic substrata of indigenous craftsmen in the South (cf. CerFolk 212). In the 1970s and 1980s, the racist "remnants theory" was replaced by the concept of ecological niche which has become dominant since then. Groups like W. are no longer considered as the Palaeolithic inhabitants of the region, but rather as "broken tribes" exploiting an alternative ecological niche. Van Zwanenberg (1976), for instance, considered hunting and (agro-)pastoralism as two modes of subsistence within a single mode of production. For East Africa it is historically well documented that impoverished pastoralists turned to hunting or joined bands of hunter-gatherers (and vice versa). This neither necessarily excludes the autonomy of hunter-gatherer societies nor does it mean that a temporary change of subsistence by itself implies a change of "ethnic" identity. Both groups can be rather perceived as two social entities the mutual relationship of which is described in terms of "symbiosis" (Aneesa Kassam 1986) or "complementarity" (Bassi 1997: 169).

Within the savannahs of the region, the introduction and diffusion of firearms during the European (Kenya) and North-Ethiopian colonization led to a dramatic decline of wild game, which forced the W. to give up (supplementary) hunting and become pure pastoralists, horticulturalists, or potters; in Kenya, this process was promoted by reinforcement of wildlife laws and the a hunting ban in 1977. Concerning the densely populated regions with agrarian intensification in Southern Ethiopia, the existence of specialised hunting groups is most unlikely even for pre-colonial times; hunters do appear in historizing myths of those groups but serve therein as symbolic antipode in the process of civilisation (cf. Amborn 1990: 180, 311). In ↗Käfa, at the end of the 19th cent. the ruler ↗Gaki Šeročo entrusted the craftsmen, which were called *manna* or W., with the extinction of predators (Bieber 1920: 330), which may indicate that, under certain conditions, craftsmen acted as hunters – and not that crafts were attributed to hunters. In other words, the connection between craftsmen and hunters is rather a mythological or symbolical one, as was already assumed by Jensen (VSAe I, 13).

In the past, W. provided *gabaro* or *boorana* (s. ↗Boorana) with certain types of wild game meat and wild plant food in times of need, ↗honey as well as clay-pots in exchange for pastoral products, an economic reciprocity which has been declining; nowadays, W. make their living from making charcoal, supplying building poles to urban dwellers, serving as watchmen, etc.

Aneesa Kassam (1986; 2004) assumes that the persistence of groups labelled as hunter-gatherers amongst pastoralists can only be explained in symbolical terms: W. serve as figurative yardstick by which pastoralist (or agricultural) groups measure and affirm their values. On the one hand, W. are considered as "contaminated" by their "hunting activities" and ingestion of wild animal meat; on the other hand, W., through their liminal existence on the fringes of society, are endowed with special ritual and magic powers, which allow them to control the untamed forces of the wild, i.e. "nature", for the benefit of society, i.e. "culture". Due to their intermediate cosmological position, W. play an indispensable role in *boorana* and *gabaro* life-cycle ceremonies (birth, death, circumcision, marriage and ↗*gadaa* transition rites). According to tradition, the W. found one of the *boorana* ↗*qaallu* in the wild. Furthermore, they may be entrusted with bringing up the first-born sons of members of the Boorana *raba* class.

Src.: FRIEDRICH J. BIEBER, *Kaffa, Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster – Wien 1920/23.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration, Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Spezialisten und Handwerkern in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990; ANEESA KASSAM, "The Gabbra Pastoralist/Waata Hunter-Gatherer Symbiosis: a Symbolic Interpretation", *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 7, 1, 1986, 189–203; EAD. – ALI BALLA BASHUNA, "Marginalisation of the Waata Oromo Hunter-Gatherers of Kenya: Insider and Outsider Perspectives", *Africa* 74, 2, 2004, 194–216; MARCO BASSI, "Hunters and Pastoralists in East Africa:

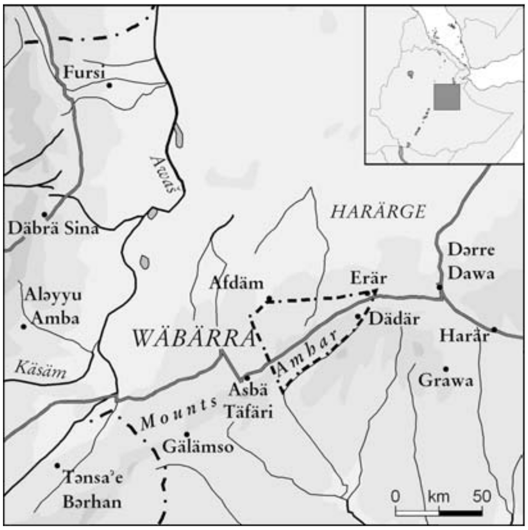
the Case of the Waata and the Oromo-Borana", in: BARBARA E. BARICH – MARIA C. GATTO (eds.), *Dynamics of Populations, Movements and Responses to Climatic Change in Africa*, Rome 1997, 164–76; CerFolk; VSAe I; ROGER M. VAN ZWANENBERG, "Dorobo Hunting and Gathering: a Way of Life or a Mode of Production?", *African Economic History* 16, 4, 1976, 12–21.

Alexander Kellner

Wäbärra

W. (**ወበራ**) was an *awrağğa* of the ↗Harär region from 1942 to 1987 and then of the East Harär region from 1987 to 1991. Its capital was Dädär, now capital of the Dädär *wäräda*, of East Harär zone, Oromiyaa. The area of this former *awrağğa* was 3,900 km² and covered the plateaus and slopes of Mount Amhar.

For the last 30 years the Qottu Oromo of the area, who grew cereals (sorghum) and coffee on terraces, have started to produce more and more ↗*čat* and export it via the Harär–Asbä Täfäri road.



In the 1970 census the *awrağğa* had 128,700 inhabitants (density: 33 inhabitants per km²) while in the 1984 census, it had 453,600 inhabitants (density: 116 inhabitants per km²). The Dädär *awrağğa* (545 km²) which only extends in the highlands in 2004 had 245,000 inhabitants (density: 450 inhabitants per km²). The population of Dädär was 6,758 in the 1994 census and 11,544 inhabitants in 2004. The other towns in W. area range between 5,000 and 2,000 inhabitants.

Src.: CSA 1975; CSA 1998; CSA 2004; EMAtlas.

Lit.: ALULA ABATE, "The Growth and Developement of Small and Medium-sized Ketema Settlements in the Harar Highlands", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 227–44; ALAIN GASCON, "Intégration économique, intégration nationale et irrédentisme: le Harär, la rivalité somalo-éthiopienne et l'emprise de Djibouti", *NEASt* 13, 2, 3, 1991, 51–67; ID., "Addis Abäba–Djibouti: le chemin de fer qui a fait la Grande Éthiopie. Fin du chemin de fer, fin de la Grande Éthiopie?", in: JEAN-LOUIS CHALÉARD – CHANTAL CHANSON-JABEUR – CHANTAL BÉRANGER (eds.), *Le chemin de fer en Afrique*, Paris 2006, 35–54; GasEth; *Guida* 455; TESFAYE GEBRE SELLASIE, "Harer Awraja", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 5, 1, 1967, 37–56.

Alain Gascon

Wäbe ↗Ginnir

Wabi Šäbälle

The W.Š. (**ዋቢ፡ ሸበሌ**, Somali sp.: Wabi Shabeelle, 'leopard river') is one of the major rivers of the Horn of Africa. The total length of its course is about 2,000 km; 1,340 km in Ethiopia and 660 km in Somalia. The W. Š. basin, which is limited by the mountainous arch of the south-eastern highlands, extends over 205,407 km² (EMAtlas) in eastern Ethiopia (Oromiyaa and Somali *kəlləl*) and in central Somalia (Hiraan and Benaadir).

The W.Š. springs up north from Mount Garumba (2,680 m A.S.L.) near the border triangle of Sidaama, Arsi and Bale zones. The first 100 km it runs towards the north-east through the ↗Gädäb depression (a former lake ca. 2,400–2,300 m A.S.L.). After the Mälka Wäkana falls (140 m and then 70 m high) and several rapids, it carves a grand canyon. It flows down (from 1,200 m on 120 km) and is joined by the tributaries Rämis and Galeti which come from Mount Amhar. North from Mälka Məlki (584 m A.S.L.), the W.Š. valley becomes wider and turns to the south-east. At the confluence of the Erär River and, later, of the Daketa River, which both spring up from the Harär mountains, the W.Š. runs southwards. Just before Ǝmi (365 m A.S.L.) it bends towards the south-west and the Indian Ocean.

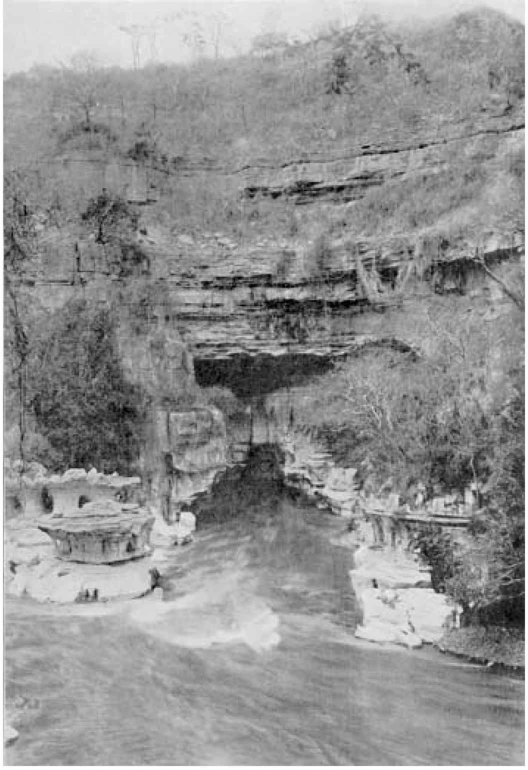
The W.Š. River runs meandering in a wide valley between Gode (265 m A.S.L.), ↗Qällaffo (where, during floods, it is joined by the Fafän River from the Harär region) and Mustahil (195 m A.S.L.) and then enters Somalia at Ferfer/Feerfeer. The river course runs southwards after Beled Weyne (172 m A.S.L.) up to Balᶜad (106 m A.S.L.) where it bends towards the south-west. A high sand bar produced by a coastal current prevents the river to reach the Indian Ocean. Then, after Afgooye (80 m A.S.L.) the river runs parallel to the coast for more than 400 km loosing a considerable amount of water to ox-bow lakes, salted pools, marshes and irrigated schemes. During exceptional floods it flows up to Kamsuuma (14 m A.S.L.) into the Juba (s. ↗Ganaalee) mouth, extends up to the lenght of 2,488 km (Guida 463).

The W. discharge (3,16 billion m³ per annum) depends on the *kərämt* rainy season in the highlands. Upstream in Dodola its water level increases from April to September while in Gode downstream it starts to rise up from May onward and reaches its maximum in August and September. The W.Š. regularly floods its lower valley downstream from Qällaffo.

The upper valley of the W.Š. is deeply carved in scarcely populated plateaus where ↗Arsi Oromo are engaged in rain fed cereal cultivation. South of Qällaffo the ↗Raḥanween and Digil Somali used to practice irrigated agriculture (cereals, pulses, oil seeds; ↗Irrigation) on the river loam. Southwards in the Benaadir and the Lower Juba regions the Bantu-speaking Waboni and Wagoša cleared the riverine forests and live on fishing and hunting.

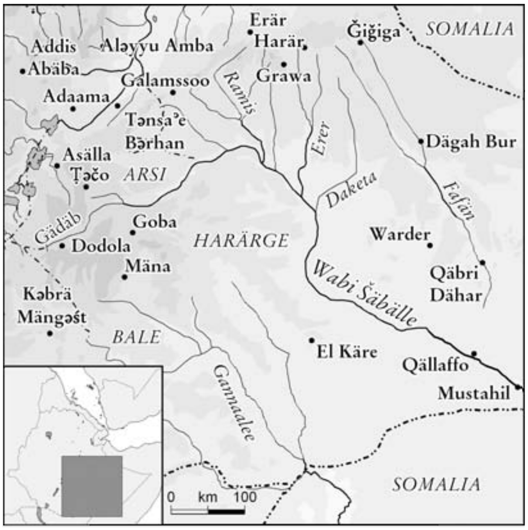
During the 1960s, in spite of the threat of tropical water ↗diseases, the Ethiopian government launched the W.Š. Valley Irrigation Programme (based in Gode) following the example of the Awash Valley Authority. Somalia who claimed ↗Ogaden protested against the settlement of sedentary farmers originating from Ethiopia. It supported the Western Somalia Liberation Front guerrilla movement which particularly attacked the French hydrologists of the Office de recherche scientifique et technique d'Outre-Mer. The 1977–78 Ethiopian–Somalian war provoked the destruction of the plantation. In 1989 the Ethiopian government inaugurated in the Arsi region the Mälka Wakäna Power Plant (630 GWH, 2nd in Ethiopia) which was built by a Czekoslovakian firm. The town of Gode (71,399 inhabitants; CSA 2006), whose plantations have expanded in the valley, has started again to grow.

Already in the 1920s the Italian colonizers in Somalia in order to launch their large irrigation schemes in the W.Š. valley had seized the irrigated fields of the Bantu-speaking riverine people and by force made them wage workers on their large commercial farms. The two pioneer projects were, probably inspired by the model of the Sudanese Gazirah, north from Mogadishu, the more than 4,000 ha Villaggio Duca degli Abruzzi (today's Jowhar) farm (Guida 602; Palma 1999: 36f., 126f.) and west from the capital the 477 ha Azienda Agraria Sperimentale de Merca-Genale (Merka-Golweyn) farm (Guida 576f.). When ↗Mussolini in the 1930s forced his programme of *autarchia* new irrigated schemes were implemented to supply Italy with agricultural tropical products (banana, cotton, citrus) sometimes manufactured in Somalia (textile factory in Balᶜad). During the rule of the Amministrazione Fiduciara Italiana della Somalia between 1950 and 1960 and until Siyaad Barre's nationalization of foreign farms and factories, Italy was the main outlet of the Somalian production, particularly banana. Arab investments and markets have never replaced the former colonialist administration in this.



Mume Ilka, Arsi, at the source of the Wabi Šäbälle River, protected by wall and fence, regarded as a sacred place; photo 1972/74 by Ulrich Braukämper, courtesy of Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (37–Br017–06)

In 1975, 2005 and especially in August 2006, in th lower W.Š. valley violent floods destroyed harvests, irrigation systems and 190 villages; many people died and 23,000 people were displaced (UNICEF). In spite of such floods and the destructions and troubles of the various military conflicts in the region satellite pictures show that irrigated schemes have still expanded in the W.Š. lower valley either in Ethiopia (Qällaffo-Gode) or in Soma-



lia, in the provinces of Hiraan (Jowhar-Balᶜad) and Benaadir (between Afgooye, Merka and Baraawe) and even towards the lower Juba valley.

Src.: CSA 2006; CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana, scala 1 : 1 000 000*, carta n° 4, carta n° 6, Milano n.d.; EMAtlas; MICHELIN, *National, 745 Afrique Nord-Est. Arabie, 1 : 4 000 000*, Clermont-Ferrand 2007; PIERRE MARIE ROBERT DU BOURG DE BOZAS, *Mission scientifique du Bourg de Bozas, de la mer Rouge à l'Atlantique à travers l'Afrique tropicale (octobre 1900–mai 1903). Carnets de route*, 2 vols., Paris 1906, 76–121.

Lit.: DANIEL BAUDUIN – PIERRE DUBREUIL, "L'inventaire des ressources en eau pour l'aménagement intégré du bassin du Wabi Shabelle", *Cahiers ORSTOM: Hydrologie* 10, 4, 1973, 307–24; MARGARET CASTAGNO, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, Metuchen, NJ 1975, 90; ALAIN GASCON, "La Corne de l'Afrique: une nation sans État", in: ALAIN DUBRESSON – JEAN-YVES MARCHAL – JEAN-PIERRE RAISON (ed.), *Les Afriques au sud du Sahara*, Paris – Montpellier 1994, 286–94; *Guida* 463f., 574–80, 599–607; JÖRG JANZEN, "Ländliche Entwicklung in Somalia: Strukturen, Probleme, Tendenzen", *Geographische Rundschau* 38, 11, 1986, 557–64; DAVID D. LAITIN – SAID S. SAMATAR, *Somalia, Nation in Search of State*, London 1987, 27, 59, 104–06, 110, 112, 115–17, 122; MesfGeogr 53; SILVANA PALMA, *L'Italia coloniale*, Roma 1999, 36–37, 126–27; G. DE SOLE – A. LEMMA – BALITA MAZENGIA, "*Schistosoma haematobium* in the Wabi Shebelle Valley of Ethiopia", *The American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* 27, 5, 1978, 928–30; UNICEF, *Immediate Needs. Horn of Africa Floods. Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia. Immediate Needs for Children and Women Affected by the Floods in the Horn of Africa*, November 2006–February 2007.

Alain Gascon

Wädaǧǧo Gobäna

Däǧǧazmač W.G. (**ወዳጆ፡ ጎበና**; horse name Abba Tämtəm; d. 1905, Addis Abäba) was the son of *ras* ↗Gobäna Dač̣i, one of the most renowned generals of ↗Mənilək II. Despite W.G.'s noble descent and intermarriage into the royal family, information about his life is scarce.

W.G. was married to Mənilək's daughter *wäyzäro* ↗Šäwarägga (s. EAE vol. 5), future mother of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu. In 1885 Šäwarägga bore W.G. a son, Wäsän Sägäd Wädaǧǧo. Mənilək saw his successor in Wäsän Sägäd, and had him raised at the court as if heir to the throne. W.G. opposed the court education of his son and this dispute over child custody led to the divorce of W.G. and Šäwarägga. As a punishment W.G. was imprisoned for 15 days but was later released (Rosenfeld 1976: 157). Wäsän Sägäd suffered from dwarfism and died of tuberculosis in 1908. W.G. later married Mädämdämiya, the daughter of the renowned *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gärmame Wäldä Ḫawaryat (Fusella 1987:31, 45).

Little is known about W.G.'s political or military career. He seems to have followed in his father's footsteps, but never achieved the military renown of the latter. He administered ↗Wällägga as his father's representative, after the latter had revoked the autonomy of the ruler of ↗Naqamtee Kumsaa Moroda (↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Moroda; Triulzi 2002: 55).

During the 1890s he was "governor of ↗Gurage" (BTafA 980). This was after the death of his father, who had subdued various ethnic groups in southern Ethiopia, incorporating their lands into the realm of Mənilək II. W.G. went on campaign against the Šäšoogoo (↗Hadiyya) whom his father had left as semi-autonomous vassals (BrHad 276). From 1891 to 1894 W.G. was the second governor of Hadiyya. He built his ↗*kätäma* in the Leemo area. By 1892 the whole region between "Gurage and Wolayta, Omo und Bilate", under the command of W.G. (BrHad 277), came under strict rule of Mənilək's government.

W.G.'s life found an inglorious end. He was involved in a plot with *ras* ↗Bäzzabbəh Täklä Haymanot against *ras bitwäddäd* ↗Mängäša Atikäm, which aroused Mənilək's anger. Apparently W.G. also murdered his second wife around this time and fled into the countryside. Mənilək, as well as Gärmame's family, wanted to punish W.G.. He was captured, imprisoned and executed in 1905 (Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos 2006/07: 29).

Src.: BTafA 980; GebMolIyas 314, 504, 558; GueCopMen 317, 540; MÄRSƎᶜE ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ ካየሁትና፡ ከሰማሁት፡** 1896–1922 (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye kayyähutənna käsämmahut: 1896–1922*, 'The Story of What I Saw and Heard: 1896–1922'), Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2006/2007 A.D.], 29, 52.

Lit.: BrHad 276–77, 289, 297; Luigi Fusella, "Le biografie del blātēngetā Ḫeruy Wålda Sellāsē", *RSE* 31, 1987, 23-67, here 45; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 229f.; Chris Prouty Rosenfeld, *A Chronology of Menilek II of Ethiopia*, East Lansing, MI 1976, 110, 124, 157, 221; Alessandro Triulzi, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy*: *Prelude to the History of a No-man's Land Belā Shangul, Wallaggā, Ethiopia* (*ca. 1800–1898*), Napoli 1981, 155–67; Id., "Neḳemte and Addis Abeba: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule", in: Donald Donham - Wendy James (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History & Social Anthropology*, Oxford 2002, 49–68, 55.

Alexander Meckelburg – Sophia Dege

Wadla

W. (**ዋድላ**) is a historical district in ↗Amhara to the south of Lasta and to the west of Angot. It also borders on Bägemdər, Dälänta and Dawənt. It is separated by the River Gəta from Bägemdər and from Dälänta (for location s. map for Waša Mikaᵓel).

Tradition associates W. with the last Zagʷe (13th cent.) ruler ↗Yətbaräk as the place of his murder. W. is mentioned in the sources from the 14th cent. onwards and was therefore under the influence of Christian Ethiopian rulers since at least *aṣe* ↗Amdä Ṣəyon I. It has been recognized as a province since the end of the 15th cent.

↗Ləbnä Dəngəl had one of his victories against ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī at W. in 1535. In 1566 ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl's men captured the rebel ↗Fasil Gärram in W. During his campaign to Lasta in 1624–25, ↗Susənyos camped at Gärägära, on the border between W. and ↗Mäqet. During her 1844 campaign in W. against *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa (the future *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II), ↗Wärqitu burnt down a church in Gärägära, which had emerged as the administrative centre for the governors of Lasta and Amhara. *Ras* ↗Ali escaped to W. several times.

When ↗Mənilək II heard of the death of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV in 1889, he went to W. where *ras* Mikaᵓel of Wällo, *ras* Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray, *ras* Mäšäša Wärqe, *wag šum* Bərru Gäbrä Mädḫən and *nəguś* Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam submitted to him.

In the imperial administrative division, W. was paired with Dälanta in the W.-Dälanta *awraǧǧa*.

Src.: BTafA 203, 383, 451, 455, 783, 799 and s. index; GueCopMen 128 n. 1, 137 n. 3, 258, 261 and nn. 1, 13, 304 and n. 13, 311 nn. 6–7, 406, 485 n. 5, 532 n. 3; PerCron I, 246, 249, 277, 303 (text), II, 189 and n. p. 523, 191, 214, 234 (tr.); *Guida* 393, 450; AbbGeogr 320.

Lit.: HuntGeogr 78, 85, 96, 133, 140, 174f., 178, 181f., 195, 266.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Waᶜəla Šobᶜattä ᶜAnsäba Zämat Taḥtay

The W. (**ዋዕላ፡ ሾብዓተ፡ ዓንሰባ፡ ዘማት፡ ታሕታይ**, Tgn. 'The Code of the Šäwᶜattä ᶜAnsäba "lower Zämat"') is the law book of the ↗Šäwᶜattä ᶜAnsäba, deriving from the traditional ↗customary law of this confederacy.

The W. as we know it was first written down on 6 *Taḫśaś* 1900 A.M. [15 December 1907], in ᶜAwdi Bərhanu, the seat of the assembly of the Zämat *taḥtay* ('lower Zämat'), i.e. the Šäwᶜattä ᶜAnsäba proper, and published in 1918 (repr. in Zärᵓa-Yaᶜəqob Ǝsṭifanos – Wäldä Maryam Abraham – Gärima Gäbrämäsqäl 1990: 433–56; tr. Conti Rossini 1940: 350–66; s. also Kemmink 1991: 56ff.). Further amendments followed in the years 1911–40 (cp. the version copied in the 1940s, ed. and tr. by Yaqob Beyene 2002, 2003). The W. was the second Eritrean customary law to be translated into a European language (Italian), after the code of the ↗Loggo Sarda (s. Conti Rossini 1940: 348; ↗Law: Traditional law books).

Codified quite recently, the W. may be characteristic of a passage from a more traditional "oral" law system, like that of the Təgre, to a "written" codified system, frequently found among the highland Təgrəñña speakers of Eritrea (Conti Rossini 1940: 349).

The law of 1907 consists of 75 articles. Articles 1 to 21 deal with matrimonial regulations, articles 22 to 23 with divorce. The largest part of the law, articles 34 to 75, with some exceptions due to the irregular structure, deals with compensation. The latter has to be paid in various situations where harm is caused to individuals or the community, such as verbal offences, thefts, bodily injury, damage caused by animals, etc. Some of the articles refer to Orthodox Church law (cp. ↗Law: Canon law), e.g., article 45 says that when a woman who has born an illegitimate child passes away, she shall have no absolution from the priest and there will be no memorial service for her. In some cases, compensation has to be paid to the Church, e.g., article 70 foresees that those who did not help with the funeral preparations for someone who had died had to pay a compensation to the Church. The size of compensation is most frequently expressed in *färgi*, a term signifying the price of a cow (initially a measurement unit for cotton, a piece of ca. 21 m x 30 cm; s. Yaqob Beyene 2002: 109 and n. 4). Thus, the compensation for a slap was set at 15 *färgi* (art. 34), the church compensation for non-participation at the funeral at 2 *färgi* (art. 70). The payment, however, was to be performed in the corresponding monetary value (in 1907 one *färgi* valued two Maria Theresa dollars; Yaqob Beyene 2002: 109).

The revised version of 1940s (ed. Yaqob Beyene 2002, 2003) contains 110 articles; the original 75 articles are included, but many of them with (usually dated) amendments. All additions and amendments had been necessarily approved by the assembly of the elders of the seven groups at ᶜAwdi Bərhanu. The rate of *färgi* for that period is stated at five Maria Theresa dollars.

The general legal principles are similar to those of the neighbouring Təgrəñña groups (cp. Conti Rossini 1916, passim), with differences in the concrete measures taken: e.g., a woman who gave birth to an illegitimate child was to be flogged 50 times, and a fine of 40 Maria Theresa dollars had to be paid by the baby's father to her legitimate husband (art. 45; cp. Muluberhan Hagos 2006: 55). When a woman was divorced, she had, however, the right to a half of the couple's property; and women could inherit property on an equal basis (Gaim Kibreab 1995: 5).

The W. resulted in a split among the Zämat (including Šäwᶜattä ᶜAnsäba or Zämat *taḫtay,* 'lower Zämat', and Dämbäzan or Zämat *laᶜəlay*, 'upper Zämat'). It abolished the customary ↗marriage law of *məknəyat* (also known as *dämoz*), a marriage contract for a limited time by which the wife received compensation for fulfilling her domestic and matrimonial duties (Bianchini 1898: 9f.), and replaced it by the *bərki*, a binding form of marriage which implies a pact between the two lineages involved, including reciprocal rights of inheritance (art. 2 in 1907 and in 1940s; cp. also art. 109:3 in the version of 1940s; Kemmink 1991: 56; Yaqob Beyene 2002: 86 n. 2). This change was only accepted by the Zämat *taḫtay*, whereas the Zämat *laᶜəlay* kept the earlier tradition.

Src.: **ዋዕላ፡ ሾብዓተ፡ ዓንሰባ፡ ዘማት፡ ታሕታይ** (*Waᶜəla Šobᶜattä ᶜAnsäba Zämat taḫtay,* 'The Code of the Šäwᶜattä ᶜAnsäba "lower Zämat"'), Asmära 1910 A.M. [1918 A.D.]; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Lo statuto dello Scioattè Ansebà (Eritrea)", in: *Scritti giuridici in honori di Santo Romano*, vol. 3, Padova 1940, 345–66; Yaqob Beyene, "Diritto consuetudinario dello Šaw'atta 'Ansabā", *RSE* nuova ser. 1, 1, 2002, 85–141 (1st part), 2, 2003, 107–64 (2nd part); Zärᵓa-Yaᶜǝqob Ǝsṭifanos – Wäldä Maryam Abraham – Gärima Gäbrämäsqäl (eds.), **ሕግን፡ ሥርዓትን፡ ናይ፡ መሬት፡ ዓደቦ** – *Codes and Bylaws of Eritrean Regions & Counties*, s.l. [West Germany] 1990, 433–56.

Lit.: Carlo Bianchini, "Il Matrimonio in Abissinia", *Domenica Guidiziaria* 3, 7, 1898; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916; Gaim Kibreab, "Eritrean Women Refugees in Khartoum, Sudan, 1970–1990", *Journal of Refugee Studies* 8, 1, 1995, 1–25, here 5, 25; Friederike Kemmink, "The Tegrenna Customary Law Codes", *Paideuma. Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde* 37, 1991, 55–72; Muluberhan Hagos, *Harmonisation of Laws Relating to Children, Eritrea*, Addis Ababa 2006, 31, 55; PollEr 121–25.

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammed – Nicole Hirt

Wäfla

W. (**ወፍላ**) is a district in northern ↗Wällo. In the imperial administrative division, it was a *wäräda* in ↗Wag *awrağğa*. Its main city is ↗Koräm; other, minor, towns include Märäwa and Zatta. It is bordered by ↗Rayya Azäbo (cp. ↗Azaboo) in the east, Rayya Qobo in the south, ↗May Č̣äw in the north, and ↗Säqoṭa *wäräda* in the west (for location s. map for Wag).

Geographically, W. is a predominantly highland region, with a lowland area esp. around Lake ↗Ḫašəngä. The only lake in the region, it has no river flowing into or going out of it. The rivers Gäräb Qola and Šayna flow through W. The highest peaks are Wänbärät and Ayhud Amba. There is moderate rainfall between February and April.

W. lies on the ancient ↗salt trade route, from Təgray via Ḫašəngä in the north, and continuing south-west to Märäwa, Dəldi and Lasta and thence to ↗Yäğğu, and further to Šäwa.

W. is inhabited by the ↗Agäw (in Märäwa, Ṭäṭära and Zatta) and ↗Təgrəñña speakers (in the highland areas). The Märäwa branch of the ↗Oromo expanded and settled as far as Lake Ḫašəngä and eastern lowland regions of Təgray to the east of W. The people in the Lake Ḫašəngä region bordering the Rayya Oromo are largely Muslims whereas the rest of the population of W. are predominantly Christian.

It was in W., at Zatta, that in 1539 the army of ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl was defeated by *imām* ↗Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), and ↗Minas was taken prisoner. Lake Ḫašəngä, and the mountainous regions of Wänbärät and Ayhud Amba, were also places of engagement between the Muslim and the Portuguese forces. At that time, the regions of Wag and W. were included in the province of ↗Bägemdər.

In 1868 the ↗Napier expedition passed through the region of W. on its way to ↗Mäqdäla.

Following the defeat of the Ethiopian army at May Č̣äw on 31 March 1936, the Italian airplanes bombed the retreating Ethiopian soldiers on the shores of Lake Ḫašəngä with mustard gas.

After the overthrow of the *Därg*, W. was placed under the administrative unit of Southern Təgray with its centre at May Č̣äw. This ended the traditional and historical relations of W. with Wag.

Src.: BassÉt 16 (text) = 107 (tr.); BassHist 460; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Lebna Dengel", *RevSem* 1, 1893, 274–86, here 278.

Lit.: BZHist 157; HuntGeogr s. index; WUDU TAFETE KASSU, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, C. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 2–14, 19–23.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

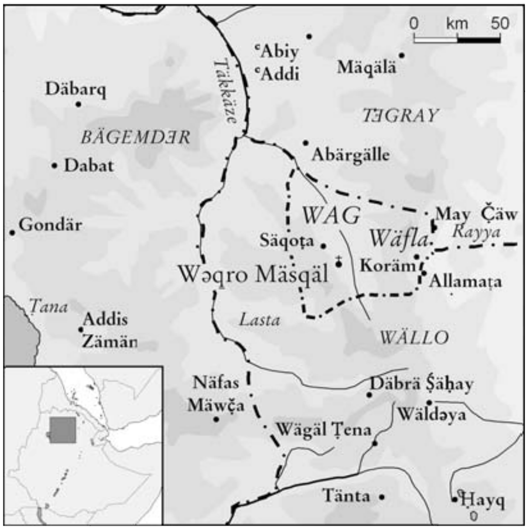
Wag

W. (**ዋግ**) is a historical region between ↗Təgray and ↗Lasta, where the River ↗Täkkäze rises (BeckHuntAlvar 200f.; cp. TadTChurch 26 n. 1). Today it forms Wag Ḫəmra zone of Amhara *kəlləl.* The main city is ↗Säqoṭa. In 2002, the population of Wag Ḫəmra was estimated at ca. 330,000 inhabitants. The traditional subdistricts (*wäräda*) are Säqoṭa (ca. 153,000 inhabitants), Daḫna (ca. 120,000) and ↗Zəqʷala (ca. 57,000).

It is important to clarify relationship between W. and other similar toponyms appearing in the sources. For Conti Rossini (1894: 434) W. and ↗Wäǧ are the same, but he distinguishes them from Wage (Wäge). Marrassini, who provides an extensive list of references (MarrAmdS 218f.), remarks that W. is a district in Təgray, and should not be confused with Wäge or Wäǧ, a district near Lake ↗Zʷay. The same distinction had also been made by Taddesse Tamrat (TadTChurch s. index for "Wag", "Wäj").

According to ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes (ed. Wolska-Conus 1970: 51), the Aksumite King ↗Kaleb ordered the governor of ↗Agäw to protect the caravan routes which led from the sea shore to the gold-mines of "Sasou", identified by some scholars with the region of ↗Fazoġli in modern Sudan (but s. Fiaccadori 1992: 96f.). If the information is reliable, the caravan routes led from ↗Aksum to W., crossed the Täkkäze and proceeded to ↗Dämbəya and the north-western shore of Lake ↗Ṭana. The region of W. and Lasta, the centre of Agäw resistance against Aksum, was to be the cradle of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty.

The Agäw of W. and Lasta are said to have largely been Christianized and their chiefs integrated with the Christian court by the beginning of the 13th cent. (TadTChurch 54f.). It is, however, also hypothesized that the first Zagʷe kings may still have been non-Christian (van Donzel 1998).



In the 14th cent., W. was the birth-place of ↗Gäbrä Iyäsus, the well-known disciple of ↗Ewosṭatewos (Conti Rossini 1938). In 1539, Zatta in W. was the site of the decisive battle between ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī and *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl. The latter was defeated, his son ↗Minas captured, and W. and Lasta fell in the hands of Grañ. After the restoration of Christian monarchy, the central control over W. and Lasta weakened, which necessitated military campaigns against the local governors by *aṣe* Minas in 1563 (Pereira 1888: 34, 51) and *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl in 1578 (CRHist 58). During the period of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, W. and Lasta remained strongholds of Orthodox Christianity and resisted conversion to ↗Catholicism (cp. BassÉt 124; Pankhurst in PICES 7, 214–20). W. and Lasta remained largerly independent throughout the reigns of Gondärine rulers until ↗Iyasu II who defeated *wag šum* ↗Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab, achieving an integration of the region into the Gondärine state. The conflict temporarily reemerged during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas, when *wag šum* ↗Gigar paid tribute to ↗Yämaryam Barya instead of *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Śəhul (BruNile IV, 50, GuiIyas 214, 239). However, on Mikaʾel's military intervention Gigar reconfirmed his allegiance and later supported the former's ambitions (BruNile IV, 50f. 64, 105).

Ever since the decline of the Zagʷe, the traditional rules of W., who bore the hereditary title ↗*wag šum*, saw themselves as descendants of the Zagʷe kings. In the second half of the 19th cent. one of the *wag šums* acceded to the imperial throne as *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II.

W. was brought under the centralized imperial control by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II in 1858.

Src.: BassÉt 101, 124; BassHist; BeckHuntAlvar 200f.; BruNile II, 166, IV, 50ff., 64, 105; CRHist 58; FotiCr 98; GuiIyas 214, 239; GueCopMen 118, 261, 532, 538, 559, 568; MarAmdS 218f., index (Lit.); PerChron I, 96 (text) =

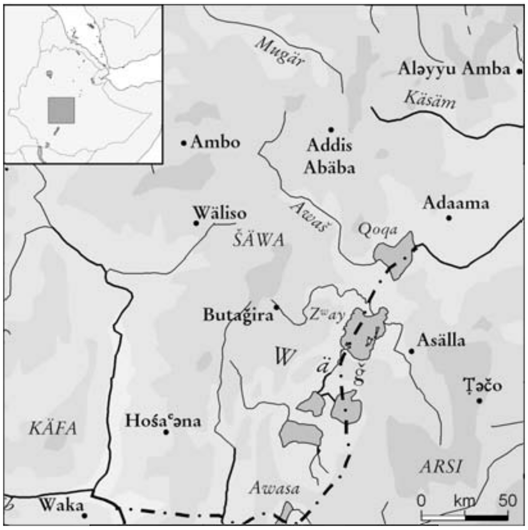
II, 75 (tr.); Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira (ed., tr.), **ዜና፡ ሚናስ።**, *Historia de Minás ᵓAdemás Sagad rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888 (= extract from *Sociedade de geographia de Lisboa. Boletim* s. 7, 12, 1887, 741–829), 34, 51; Wanda Wolska-Conus (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès. Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 2, Paris 1970 (Sources Chrétiennes 159), 51.
Lit.: BTafA 333, 387, 981 (Lit.); Carlo Conti Rossini, "Catalogo dei nomi proprî di luogo dell'Etiopia contenuti nei testi giᶜiz ed amhariña finora pubblicati", in: *Atti del Primo Congresso Geografico Italiano*, Genova 1894, vol. 2, part 1, 387–439; Id., "Note di agiografia etiopica ('Abiya-Egzi', 'Arkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus)", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 76f.; Richard Pankhurst, "Wag and Lasta: an Essay in the Regional History of Ethiopia from the 14th Century to 1800", in: *PICES* 7, 213–31; TadTChurch, s. index; Taddesse Tamrat, "Process of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of the Agaw", *JAH* 29, 1, 1988, 5–18; Wudu Tafete Kassu, *A Political History of Wag and Lasta, C. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995; Emeri Johannes van Donzel, "Ethiopia's Lalibäla and the Fall of Jerusalem 1187", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 27–49.

Emeri van Donzel

Wag ↗Law, customary; ↗Śərᶜata mängəśt

Wäǧ

W. (**ወጅ** or Wäǧ mədər, also Wäge, s. MarrAmdS 219) is a historical region in ↗Šäwa south of the River ↗Mugär which flows into the Nile west of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. It was one of the seven *gʷədäm* (*gʷədəm*), the districts in Šäwa which contributed troops to ↗Yəkunno Amlak's army for his campaign against the last ↗Zagʷe (Conti Rossini 1922: 285–96; Perruchon 1896: 358; TadTChurch 67, 119 n. 2). It is also the native region of *abunä* ↗Märḥa Krəstos, the 15th-cent. 9th abbot of Däbrä Libanos.



Other districts along the upper course of the River ↗Awaš and the southern tributaries of the ↗Abbay were Narīt (Inarīt [?], i.e. ↗Ǝnnarya, TadTChurch 177 n. 11), ↗Ǝndägäbtän and Wäräb (s. BassHist 245 n. 1; MarrAmdS index), all eventually Christianized (cp. Turaiev 1908: 198).

In this region one should also locate the district of Särka (↗Šarḫa, cp. UmMasGaud 102; cp. TadTChurch 140 n. 1), whose governor Yosef had made common cause with ↗Däwaro (MarrAmdS 186f., 214). Almost all Ethiopian sources quoted in MarAmdS (214) place Särka in ↗Goǧǧam. The Särka which is connected with W. and Gurage is to be found on the western borders of Däwaro and north-east of Hadiyya (PerChron 36).

The history of W. is closely connected to its neighbour on the east, ↗Fäṭägar. *Aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I is reported to have defeated the "Zebdar" of W. and appointed a governor with the title *mäsfən*. During the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, the governor of W. bore the title ↗*hegano*, a possible indication that the district was Islamic by that time.

Aṣe ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam campaigned against ↗ᶜAdal from W. and the ↗Gurage area (PerrZarY 157ff.). The governor's title during his reign was ↗*qaṭ*, another Muslim title. By the time of ↗Alvares's visit, the region was predominantly Christian as ↗*Ṭəmqät* was widely celebrated (BeckHuntAlvar 432).

In 1577 *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, on his way to attack Muḥammad, *sulṭān* of ᶜAdal, passed through W. and Sarkä (CRHist 49 [text]). Shortly afterwards, the region is reported to have been occupied by the ↗Oromo. By the time Almeida drew his map, the toponym W. as a name of a region was an anachronism.

Src.: BassHist 212, 245 n. 1; BeckHuntAlm 19; BeckHuntAlvar 432, 454, 584; BTafA 141, 241–43, 389, 579 and s. index; Carlo Conti Rossini, "La caduta della dinastia Zagué e la versione amarica del Beᶜela Nagast", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 31, 1922, 279–314, here 285–96; ConzGal 30, 47 (text) = 139, 149 (tr.); CRHist 49 (text) = 57 (tr.); HuntGeogr s. index; IsKrapf 30; MarrAmdS 186–87, 211, 214, 219; PerChron I, 36 (text), II, 29 (tr.), 305f.; PerrAmdS 436f., 481; Jules Perruchon, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie. Règnes de Yaᶜqob et Za-Dengel (1597–1607)", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 355–63, here 358; PerrZarY 157ff., s. index; Boris Turaiev (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*. II. *Acta s. Aaronis et Philippi*, Louvain 1908 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 198 (text) = 179 (tr.); UmMasGaud 102.
Lit.: Ulrich Braukämper, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia*: *Collected Essays*, Münster 2002 (Göttinger Studien zur Ethnologie 9), 43–45 (Lit.), 103–05 (maps), s. index; MHasOr 18–20; TadTChurch s. index.

Emeri van Donzel

Wag šum

W.š. (Amh. **ዋግ፡ ሹም**, lit. 'the governor [↗*šum*] of Wag'; Gəᶜəz ***ሠዩመ፡ ዋግ***) was the title that the traditional rulers of ↗Wag (and from the 18th cent. on also of ↗Lasta) assumed after the decline of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, from which they traced their descent, and the accession to power of the ↗Solomonic dynasty" in 1270. These local rulers also developed a strong tradition of direct descent from the Israelite King Solomon, as a counterclaim to the traditions of the Solomonic dynasty, with the aim of acquiring a high degree of legitimacy and dignity within the post-Zagʷe state structures.

The term "*wag śəyyum*" is first mentioned in the records of Emperor ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's campaigns in the 14th cent., when troops of the W.š. fought against the Nədḥan (KrAmdS 11 [text] = 15 [tr.]; MarAmdS 68f.). A note in an early 14th cent. gospel manuscript in Betä Libanos, ↗Lalibäla, gives reference to a daugther of a "*śəyyum* of Wag", Nəṣḥat Maryam, who could be the wife of the last Zagʷe king, ↗Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab (cp. Derat 2009: 69).

The W.š. were accorded privileges at the Solomonic royal court that were greater than those of other court officials. According to a tradition preserved by Bruce (BruNile I, 533f.) *abunä* ↗Täklä Häymanot played an important role in the rise to power of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak, an agreement was concluded between Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab, and the founder of the Solomonic dynasty, Yəkunno Amlak, which assured the regional governorship of Wag and certain prerogatives to the descendants of the former. The W.š. were allowed to possess a silver ↗*nägarit*, which they could beat at the gates of the imperial palace on their visits to the court; in addition, they did not have to prostrate themselves in front of the Emperor; they were allowed to wash their hands in the golden basin which the emperor himself used; they did not have to pay ↗tributes nor suffer any impositions; they were to sit on a silver chair next to the king, and symbolically received the royal garments worn by a new king on the day of his ↗coronation (Beke 1844: 55f.).

According to another tradition, the privilege of washing in the Emperor's golden basin was awarded, along with a governorship over a vast area, to W.š. Yonatan (fl. 1540s), for his active participation in the wars against *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (cp. Bərhanä Mäsqäl Dästa 1958/59: 117f.). This, as well as the marriage relations established between the W.š. and the Solomonic rulers, further increased the power of the regional governors of Wag.

The privileges continued also in the post-↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* Ethiopia, as the following recorded facts confirm: W.š. ↗Täfäri Wäsän washed his hands in the golden basin used by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV during his coronation ceremony in 1872; in 1894 W.š. ↗Bərru Gäbrä Mädḫən entered the palace of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II beating his *nägarit*, and was allowed to wash his hands in the king's golden basin during the court banquet; W.š. ↗Käbbädä Täfäri rode on a mule beating his *nägarit* when arriving at the court of Empress ↗Zäwditu in 1917, and in 1930 he received the coronation garments of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I (cp. McCann 1987: 96).

The political status of the region and its governors as a whole remained stable over centuries, during which the W.š. maintained their autonomy. It was only in the first half of the 17th cent. that we see the first signs of conflict between the court and the W.š. First with the appointment of Məhərka, son of Tewodros, as W.š. by *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, was the region of Lasta included under the regional control of the W.š.

The W.š. have always considered themselves as principal protectors of Orthodox Christianity. Thus, when in the 17th cent. *aṣe* ↗Susənyos embraced ↗Catholicism, W.š. ↗Rətuᵓa Amlak joined the anti-Catholic rebellion under *abeto* ↗Mälkəᵓä Krəstos; he died in battle in June 1632 (FotiCr 114; PerChron 332f. [text] = 258 [tr.]). During the religious controversies of the 17th - 18th cent. (↗Christology), the W.š. were staunch supporters of the ↗*Täwaḥədo* doctrine.

The military elite of the region assumed new importance as kingmakers in the earlier stages of the *Zämänä mäsafənt* until they were later overshadowed by the ↗Yäǧǧu Oromo lords. The latter, however, still drew on the traditional W.š. power, establishing marriage relations with the local elites of Lasta. *Ras* ↗Aligaz, in fact, even symbolically assumed the title of the W.š. The power briefly returned to the W.š. in the second half of the 19th cent. when one of the W.š. ascended the imperial throne as *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II. Later, a younger line of the family of Täklä Giyorgis acquired a central position at Ḫaylä Śəllase I's court, among them ↗ᶜAśratä Kaśa, who received the newly created princely title of ↗*ləᶜul ras*.

Since the beginning of the 19th cent. Lasta and Wag were separate administrative units and only

Wag remained under the control of the W.š., until the ↗Revolution of 1974 abolished such traditional and regional offices.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 114ff., 559f.; Charles Tilstone Beke, “Abyssinia – Being a Continuation of Routes in That Country”, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 14, 1844, 1–76, here 55–59; BruNile I, 533f.; BTafY 131; DombrChr 196, 341; FotiCr 114f.; GueCopMen s. index; GuiIyas 129, 139, 253 (text) = 139, 150, 262 (tr.); KrAmdS 11 [text] = 15 [tr.]; MahZekr 649f., 658; MarAmdS 68f.; Clements R. Markham, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 11f.; PerChron 332f. (text) = 258 (tr.).

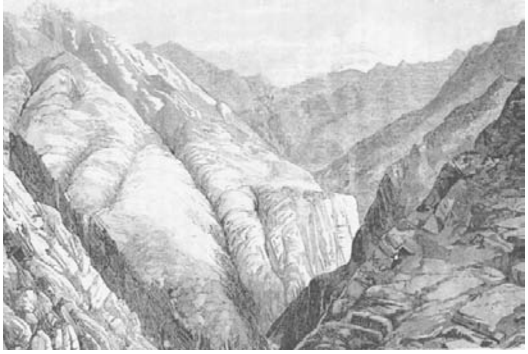
Lit.: Bərhanä Mäsqäl Dästa, **ዜና፡ ላል፡ ይበላል** (*Zena lal yəbälal*, ‘The History of Lalibäla’), Addis Abäba 1951 A.M. [1958/59 A.D.], 117f.; Claire Bosc-Tiessé, “Gouverner et Définir un Territoire Géopolitique, Art at Production Manuscript au Lāstā entre 1667 et 1768”, *AE* 24, 2009, 87–148; James McCann, *Households, Peasants, and Rural History in Lasta, Northern Ethiopia, 1900–35*, Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University 1984, 117–21; Id., *From Poverty to Famine in North East Ethiopia, a Rural History 1900–35*, Philadelphia, PA 1987, 89, 92–97, 110ff.; Marie-Laure Derat, “Du Begʷenā au Lāstā, Centre et Peripherie dans le Royaume d’Éthiopie du XIIIe au XVIe siècle”, *AE* 24, 2009, 65–86; Richard Pankhurst, “Wag and Lasta: an Essay in the Regional History of Ethiopia from the 14th Century to 1800”, in: *PICES* 7, 213–31; Wudu Tafete, *A Political History of Wag & Lasta, c. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 14–20.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

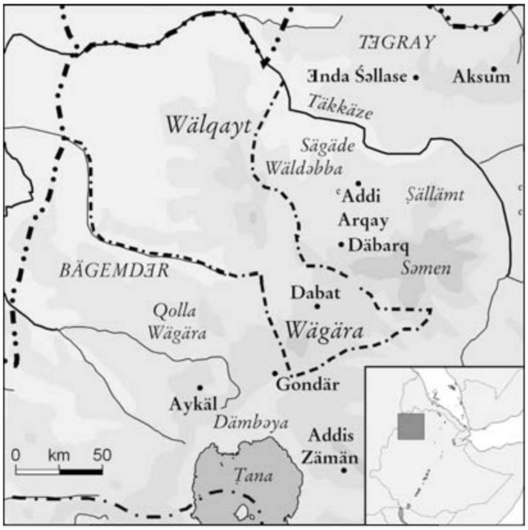
Wägära

W. (**ወገራ**) is a district north of Lake Ṭana and south-west of ↗Səmen. A plateau averaging 3,000 m A.S.L., it stretches from Lämalmo on the edge of the ↗Täkkäze escarpment in the north to the hills overlooking ↗Dämbəya in the south. The immediately adjacent lowlands to the west are known as Qolla W.

W.’s aboriginal inhabitants were ↗Agäw of the ↗Kayla branch. By the 14th cent., some Agäw groups had adopted Hebraic religious practices and were known to the Christian Amhara and Təgray as ↗*Ayhud*. Under *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon and his successors, the Christian kingdom began to incorporate *Ayhud* groups east and north of Ṭana and to proselytize among them. In W. some Agäw and *Ayhud* submitted and converted, but others refused, resulting in unrest during the 14th cent. In the early 15th cent., *aṣe* Yəsḥaq defeated yet another *Ayhud* rebellion under their leader, ↗Gedewon, and imposed Christianity and tribute payment. Those who refused to convert were deprived of their hereditary lands, many becoming landless tenants or artisans and craftsmen known eventually as Fälaša or ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. Others fled to neighbouring lands, such as ↗Qʷara, ↗Sägäde, Səmen, and ↗Wälqayt. W. was thus integrated into the Christian kingdom, its population becoming Christian and Amhara, with Betä Ǝsraʾel groups dispersed throughout.



The Wägära mountains; drawing from Bianchi 1884: 16



In the extreme southwest, the ↗Kəmant, another Agäw group that had adopted Hebraic beliefs, submitted peacefully before Christian expansion. They retained ownership of their land and preserved their cultural and religious institutions into the 20th cent.

W. was one of the provinces in which ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl sought refuge during the Muslim wars from 1527 to 1543 and in which a Christian army suffered defeat in the mid-1530s. A Fälaša rebellion in 1555–56 was doubtless related to unrest in Səmen. ↗Minas and ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl used W. as a staging ground for repeated campaigns against the Fälaša of Səmen, who in 1585 raided and pillaged in W. In 1589 Śärṣä Dəngəl established a permanent camp at Aybä in the far south-east, where he built a castle and the church of ↗Kidanä Məḥrät. Dissension and rebellion in W. and Səmen persisted into the reign of ↗Susənyos. In the 1620s the Portuguese ↗Jesuits proselytized in W.; in 1630 they claimed there were 100,000 Catholics in W. and Dämbəya.

Since at least the second millennium A.D., the ↗trade route that runs from the southern ↗Red Sea to Ṭana has traversed W. from Lämalmo to Dämbəya. At the southern end of the W. highland, the route divided into southern and western branches. To protect and levy tolls on the caravan trade at this confluence of routes was one of the reasons that *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs placed his camp at Gondär on the edge of the W. plateau overlooking Dämbəya and Ṭana in 1636–37. During the 17th and 18th cent., W. was a granary for Gondär. From 1936 to 1938, the Italians converted the caravan trails between Gondär and ᶜAddi Arqay into the all-weather road that traverses W. today.

Under the mid-20th cent. imperial administration, W. was an *awrağğa* within the Bägemdər–Səmen Province composed of six *wärädas* – ↗Dabat, Sägäde, Sätit Humära, W., and Wälqayt.

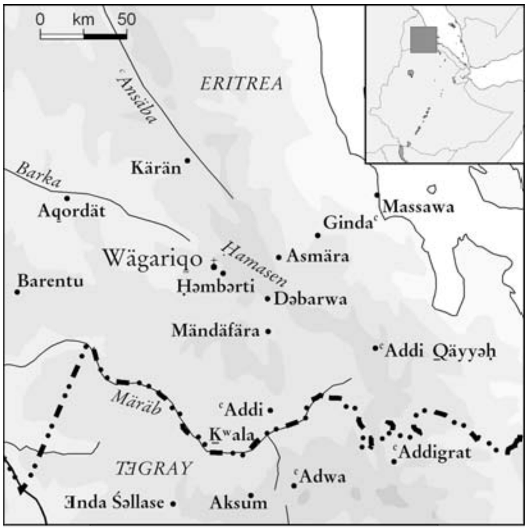
Src.: BruNile III, 191–96; CRHist 96–127, 156, 163–73.

Lit.: GUSTAVO BIANCHI, *Alla terra dei Galla*, Milano 1884, 16 (ill.); FREDERICK C. GAMST, The *Qemant*: *a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969, 13–16, 116–18; Guida 232f., 257ff.; GIRMA BESHAH –MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso–Ethiopian Relations* (*1500–1632*), Lisboa 1964, 92f.; STEVEN KAPLAN, *The Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *in Ethiopia*: *from Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century,* New York – London 1992, 53–69, 84–88, 91ff.; ALESSANDRO LUSANA, "L'Uogherà e l'Alto Semien", *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 1, 1, 1938, 143–78, here 147, 176–78; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 613–31, here 620; ID., "Gondar and Adwa: a Tale of Two Cities", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 57–66, here 57–61; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews*: *a History of the Beta Israel* (*Falasha*) *to 1920,* Philadelphia 1992, 49–57, 74–78, 84; ID., "Caste and Class in Historical North-West Ethiopia: The Beta Israel (Falasha) and Kemant, 1300–1900", *JAH* 39, 1998, 195–220, here 199–205; TadTChurch 5, 65 (map), 192f., 199ff.

LaVerle B. Berry

Wägariq̱o

W. (**ወጋሪቆ**, also Mägäriqo), also known as Ǝnda Abunä Täklä Haymanot, is a monastery 1 km off the village of Liban, not far from Ḥəmbərti, in historical ↗Säraye, today Ḥamasen, Eritrea. The name W. is possibly of ↗Agäw origin (Conti Rossini 1916: 80; 1912: 615 n. 1); the local tradition connects the origin of the people of



(Zagʷa) Libän with the migrants from ↗Lasta (KolTrad II, A 31; Conti Rossini 1942: 189).

Ǝnda Abunä Täklä Haymanot was reportedly founded by *abunä* Täklä Haymanot "Gärgära" (whose name it bears, unlike Bausi – Lusini 1992: 25) from Märätta Qäyaḥti (in the late 14th cent.?) and supported particularly by the 17th-cent. lord (↗*baḥər nägaš* under *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs) Yoḥannəs Ḥakkay of Säraye (BerTarik 151f.; Conti Rossini 1942: 194f., 209).

The circular ↗church building seen today was constructed in the 1960s. The walls of the *mäqdäs* are covered with recent wall paintings containing references to the council of ↗Nicaea and the Arian heresy.

Ǝnda Abunä Täklä Haymanot has a ↗nunnery; the area of the monastery is divided into the space accessible to nuns, and a larger space, subdivided by low walls, inhabited by monks. All dwellings are of traditional *hədmo* type (↗Houses). Today the community is in decline and counts only ca. five monks. The library preserves ca. 134 manuscripts (Bausi – Lusini 1992: 25f.).

Src.: BerTarik 151f.; GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS ABBAY, **መሰረት፡ ዓሌት፡ ህዝቢ፡ መረብ፡ ምላሽ** (*Mäsärät ᶜalet həzbi märäb məllaš*, 'The Origins of the People of Märäb Məllaš'), Asmära 1961, 39f., 51f.; KolTrad II, A31, A111, A178 (text); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942, 162, 165, 172 (text) = 189, 194f., 209 (tr).

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI – GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 25f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, II. La seconda migrazione Agau dell'Eritrea (Zaguà e Adchemé Melgà)", *RSO* 4, 1912, 599–651, here 615f.; ID., *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 80.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia – Denis Nosnitsin

Wägayyähu Nəgatu

W.N. (**ወጋየሁ፡ ንጋቱ**, b. June 1944, Addis Abäba, d. December 1989) was a popular Ethiopian ↗theatre actor. He was the only child of *ato* Nəgatu Bəzunäh and Amsale Bäyyänä. He first attended the Swedish Evangelical Mission (↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen) School and completed his secondary education at the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School.

W.N. was known for his humour and comic portrayal of film characters. In 1963 he joined the Haile Sellassie I University's Creative Arts and Theatre Programme (↗Addis Ababa University) and studied for two years the art of the theatre plays and stage production. He first displayed his talents in plays such as *Romeo and Juliet*, Samuel Becket's *Waiting for Godot* and ↗Mängəśtu Lämma's *The Marriage of Unequals* and *Snatch and Run, or Marriage by Abduction*.

In 1967, W.N. went to Budapest with a grant to study theatre for two years, culminating in a well-received performance of Hungarian plays at the Madac Theatre in Budapest. Back home in 1970 he became Programme Director of the Creative Arts and Theatre Centre. From 1974 to his death W.N. was to have yet another distinguished career as an actor and teacher at the National Theatre.

A majority of the total of 30 plays W.N. performed in during his life were staged in these later years. In 1979 he married Amsale Gännät Yəmär, an employee of the Press Ministry, with whom he had three children.

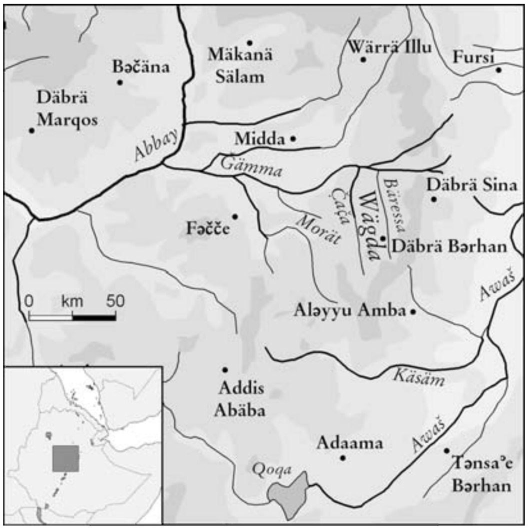
Lit.: Jane Plastow, *African Theatre and Politics*: *the Evolution of Theatre in Ethiopia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe*, Rodopi 1996, 103f., 146ff.

Girma Fisseha

Wägda

W. (**ወግዳ**) is a historical district west of ↗Däbrä Bərhan in northern ↗Šäwa, more specifically between the rivers Č̣äč̣a and Bäressa. The area is a narrow stretch of land, ca. 35 km long but only about 5 km broad, taking the shape of a long mountain ridge where the top of the ridge is of the same altitude as the tableland of ↗Morät to the south, while the rivers are some 800 metres below. The deep river valleys historically provided good protection against invaders.

In the 14th cent. W. is mentioned in the Chronicle of ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon as one of the Ethiopian countries governed by a ↗*mäkʷännən* or *mäsfən* (↗*Nəguś*; ↗Aristocracy). For the 15th cent. it is attested in the Life of ↗Täklä Haymanot. During the 16th cent. W. was attacked by the armies of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, but Christian communities survived there, and the district is mentioned supplying a contingent to the army of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. The two chiefs of W., Baro and Həryaqos, were among the chiefs to receive *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I on his visit to Šäwa in the late 17th cent. W. remained a rather independent principality, often at war with the ↗Oromo inhabiting the plains around Däbrä Bərhan, against whom they built protective walls.



W. was incorporated into the rapidly expanding principality of Šäwä in the late 18th cent. (for details s. ↗Tägulät). Thereafter, W. regularly appeared as a minor administrative division within Šäwa, and it survived as an administrative unit until the end of the imperial regime. In 1974 it was a *məkəttəl wäräda* within the *wäräda* of Wäräna. In more general descriptions, W. is often treated as part of its larger northern neighbour, Tägulät. Due to the difficult terrain, W. remained quite isolated until the construction of the road by a Norwegian Redd Barna project in the late 1980s.

Src.: AWTarik 69f.; BassÉt 280, 288; Ernest Alfred Thomson Wallis Budge (tr.), *The Life of Takla Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Lîbânos,* London 1906, 394; BTafA 245, 249, 495–97, 981; Paul Soleillet, *Voyages en Éthiopie*, Rouen 1886, 271; LudHist iii, 10; MahZekr 141; MarAmdS 52 [text] = 53 [text], 219 (Lit.).

Lit.: Volker Stitz, "The Amhara Resettlement of Northern Shoa during the 18th and 19th Centuries", *Rural Africana* 11, 1970, 73, 79; StStud 87; EgeClass 26–28, 146.

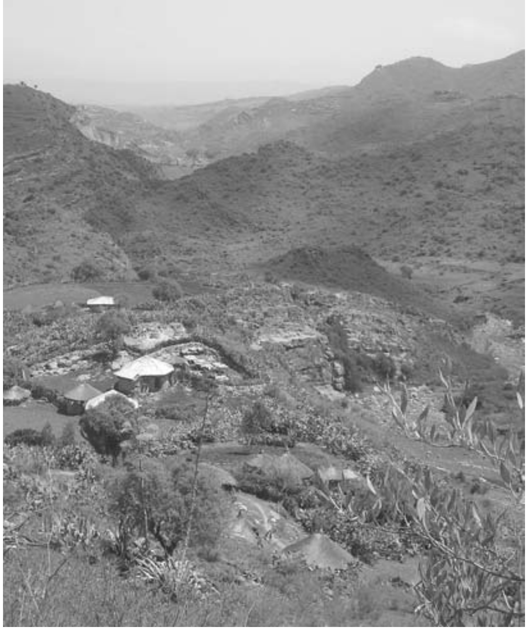
Svein Ege

Wäǧǧärat

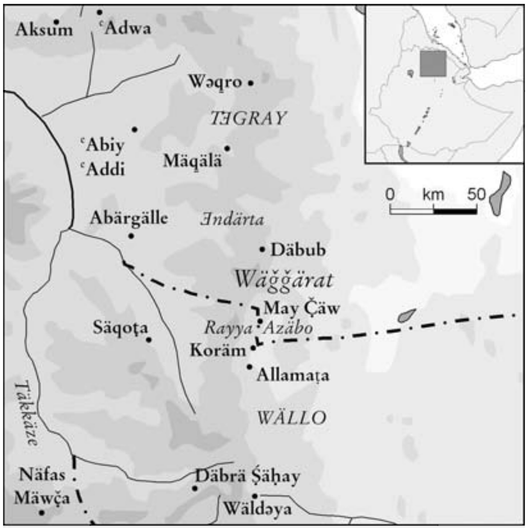
W. (**ወጀራት**, also Wäǧǧərat, Waẓẓärat) is a district in ↗Təgray to the north of ↗May Ç̣äw and to the south of ↗Ǝndärta. In the imperial administrative division, it formed part of the ↗Ǝndärta *awraǧǧa* as W. *wäräda* (main town Däbub). Today W. belongs to the Ḥənṭalo-Wäǧǧärat *wäräda* of the Southern Zone of Təgray. It is a highland area with an elevation ranging from 1,500 to 2,500 m A.S.L.

W. is inhabited by ↗Təgrəñña speakers who speak a dialect similar to that of ↗Rayya ᶜAzäbo and engage in mixed farming. The predominantly Orthodox Christian population numbered over 30,000 in 1994; it is currently estimated at about 50,000.

According to local oral tradition, the first settlers in W. arrived from the east of the ↗ᶜAfar plain in search of pasture and founded the villages of Ḥadale, Sänale, Gʷänqʷa and Gänti. Between the 10th and 14th cent. migrants from Ǝndärta, Ǝnda Mäk̠onni (↗Ǝnda Mäkʷännən), Bora, Säläwa, ↗Säqoṭa, ↗Gayənt, ↗Sayənt and ↗ᶜAddi Q̠äyyəḥ came to settle in the region, some merging with the previous population, some establishing new villages (formerly, a local legend recounted that the W. are descendants of the 16th cent. Portuguese, SalTrav 274). In ca. 1320 ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I is said to have camped in W., where he established the town of Däbub (therefore known also as Baḥri Ḥaṣ́äy, 'Sea of the emperor') and numerous churches. Some of his followers remained in the region as permanent settlers. During the 16th cent., W. is reported to have been overrun by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ").



Settlement pattern in the Wäǧǧärat mountains; photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt



More reliable references concerning W. appear in sources starting from ca. 17th cent. During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, W. was governed by *abetohun* Wäldä Krəstos. The ↗Oromo tried to conquer W., but the inhabitants successfully defended their territory. Under *aṣe* Yoḥannəs I, in 1675, the W. people joined a rebellion lead by *ras* ↗Fares and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Zämaryam (s. EAE vol. 5) which was defeated by *abeto* ↗Dəlbä Iyäsus. When Fares quarreled with Zämaryam one year later, the W., led by their governor Ḫalibä Wängel, sided with the former, but were defeated several times by Zämaryam and suffered heavy losses.

During the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, W. was granted a large degree of autonomy by *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray, who had found refuge in the region while escaping from *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul in the 1770s. This autonomy decreased only under *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, and the ↗Wäyyane rebellion in May 1943 was in part triggered by W. in protest at the political imposition of the imperial government. In spite of the victory, the autonomous administration was eventually abolished completely, with only a very few traditional institutions continuing to function.

The traditional administrative organization of the W. people is believed to go back to the time of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon. The inhabitants were grouped in 20 villages (*amba*, or *ᶜaddi*), each divided into several sub-units (known as *goṭ*, i.e. 'hamlet'). The entire *Ǝsra Amba* (or *Ǝsra ᶜAddi*, '20 villages') was administratively divided into two zones on the two sides of the Wäynat, each consisting of ten villages and referred to as *fägᶜi gäräb* ('half of the river').

In W., an elaborate system of social organization has developed, with *qänčị* ('equality', in the sense of access to power) being its central principle. Decisions were taken by an assembly (*dämär*), either at village level (*amba dämär*) or at regional level (*dämär wäǧǧärat* or *dämär əsra ᶜaddi*). The traditional venue for the latter was Gəra Gäräbo, a locality on the Wäynat River, in the vicinity of ᶜAddi Q̱äyyəḥ. Representatives of the 20 villages attended such *dämär*, presided over by a chairman elected for the particular occasion.

In addition, several other institutions functioned as traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution: the Church, the Elders, particularly the *abo gäräb* ('father of the river'), and the women's organization, *däbarte*. These mechanisms survive until today and function effectively, e.g., in the cases of murder or cross-border conflicts with the neighbouring ᶜAfar. In particular, *abo gäräb* plays an important role.

Src.: MANOEL BARRADAS, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634). A Seventeenth Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by ELIZABETH FILLEUL, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 4f., 7; BassHist; BTafA 981, s. index; CRAxum 50 (text) = 60 (tr.) [no. 67]; CSA 1994; DombrChr s. index; GueCopMen 288 n. 9, 289 n. 8, esp. 415 n. 10, 416, 452 n. 7; GuiIohan 25, 27, 29, 31f., 33 (text) = 26, 27, 30, 31f., 33 (tr.); GuiIyas 133 (text) = 144 (tr.); HuntGeogr s. index; LudHist I, 3, 27; PerChron I, 77, II, 60, 346f.; SalTrav 274f.

Lit.: GEBRU TAREKE, "Peasant Resistance in Ethiopia: the Case of *Weyane*", *JAH* 25, 1984, 77–92, esp. 79, 84, 90; ID., *Ethiopia: Power and Protest in the 20th Century,* Cambridge 1991, 93f., 106f.; *Guida* 305; TAREKEGN GEBREYESUS, *Change and Continuity in the Traditional Institutions and Mechanisms of Local-Governance and Conflict Resolution among the Wejerat: an Ethno-historical Study*, M.A. thesis, Social Anthropology, Department of Sociology and Social Administration, Addis Ababa University 2005.

Tarekegn Gebreyesus Kaba

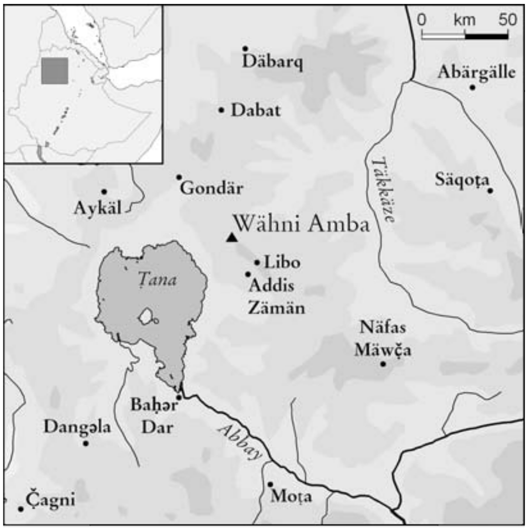
Wähni Amba

W.A. (**ወህኒ፡ አምባ**, from Amh. *wähni*, 'prison', and ↗*amba*, 'flat-topped mountain') was a mountain-top prison for royal princes during the ↗Gondärine kingdom of the 17th–18th cent. Located about 40 km south-east of Gondär in the district of ↗Libo, sub-district of Kämkäm, in present-day North Gondär Region, it should not be confused with another prison for commoners bearing the same name in ↗Č̣əlga. In geologic terms, W.A. is a volcanic "plug", the core of igneous rock that remains after the softer surrounding rock of an extinct volcano has eroded away. Estimated at ca. 550 m high on its steepest side, it is a sheer-sided "pinnacle of rock … its top was not flat … but curved and mottled like a round and shaggy head" (Toy 1961: 225). In the late 1990s, its rounded summit was perhaps one or two hectares in area (ibid.; Pakenham 1999: 173).

These physical features plus proximity to Gondär made W.A. an ideal site for detaining the male members of the ↗Solomonic dynasty. Sons of the current reigning monarch remained free so long as their father was alive, but upon his death, all were relegated to W.A. to join their relatives except for the favoured one destined for the throne.

The practice of imprisoning the sons and brothers of previous rulers originated with the reestablishment of the ↗Solomonic dynasty in ↗Šäwa in the late 13th cent. It was intended to prevent rival princes from challenging the throne, thereby contributing to political and dynastic stability. Šäwan princes were consigned to ↗Amba Gəšän; W.A. was Amba Gəšän's successor.

W.A. was in use from the reign of ↗Fasilädäs to that of ↗Täklä Giyorgis I. Initially, Fasilädäs confined his brothers on islands in Lake ↗Ṭana before instituting a formal royal prison. W.A. appears to have come into use in the later years of his reign. In 1647–48, Fasilädäs exiled his brother ↗Gälawdewos to an island in Ṭana (DonHaySirat 189), meaning that at that time

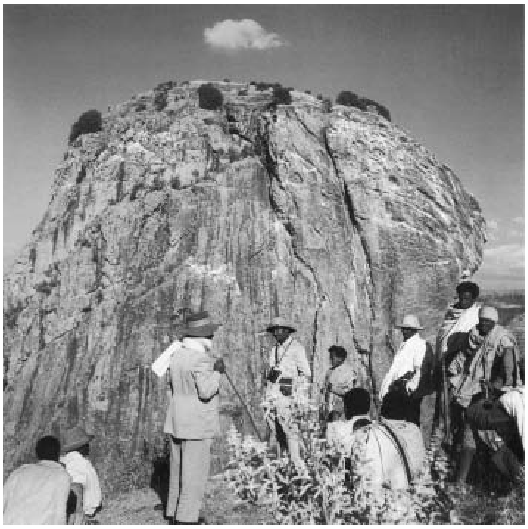


W.A. was not yet in use. One variant of the "short chronicle" says that the prison of W.A. began with these events of 1647–48, but the accuracy of this account has been questioned (Guidi 1922: 94). It seems likely that the prison of W.A. was established at some point between the later 1640s and the late 1660s. The first mention of it in the annals occurs in 1667-68, when Fasilädäs banished his rebellious son, Dawit, to W.A.

To prepare W.A. for its occupants, a path was carved out and a stairway constructed up the sheer face of one side. Guardhouses were built at the top, midway, and bottom. On the summit, tiny cubicles that apparently served as living quarters, a church, and other structures were constructed in stone, remnants of which remain today (Toy 1961: 228–32; Pakenham 1999: 173). The gatekeeper was the *azzaž* of W.A., who controlled all access, together with a detachment of guards. He prevented princes from escaping, admitted visitors, and supervised delivery of grain, meat, and clothing supplied by surrounding districts under the royal court's direction. For the princes, life offered little diversion aside from traditional ↗education at the hands of clerics. Escapes were rare. A notable one occurred in 1716 when ca. 50 princes, including the future emperor ↗Bäkaffa, fled W.A., fearing that if *aṣe* ↗Yosṭos's son succeeded his father, they might be killed. On occasion, rebellious nobles overcame the garrison and brought down a prince as their candidate for the throne, the very situation that the mountain prison was intended to prevent. ↗Iyasu I was notable for sympathizing with the plight of his imprisoned kinsmen, visiting and hosting banquets for them at the foot of W.A. At other times, the royal court was indifferent or neglectful.

Aside from clerics and soldiers, females were admitted and became concubines, so that children and even families were reported to live on W.A. E.g., ↗Täklä Haymanot II and Täklä Giyorgis were both born there to ↗Yoḥannəs II, who spent almost his entire life on W.A. before his brief reign in 1769. ↗Tewoflos, ↗Dawit III and Bäkaffa were among the princes who lived on W.A. before answering the summons to the throne.

The limitations of the royal prison became evident in the dynastic chaos of the last quarter of the 18th cent., when unscrupulous nobles enthroned and deposed emperors at will. The last prince brought from W.A. to be crowned was ↗Ḥəzqəyas. In 1789 all princes were released and W.A. was abandoned, apparently at the behest of *ras* ↗Aligaz, the most powerful noble of the time.



Wähni Amba, upper part (in the background), showing the cleft of the stairway up the north face of the cliff; photo 1956, from Pakenham 1999: 55

Src.: BassÉt 135, 138, 141, 170, 183, 192 (tr.); BeckHuntAlm 97–102; BegCron 50, 53, 56, 85, 97, 104ff. (tr.); BlunChr 203, 230ff., 392ff., 404f., 510 (tr.); BruNile II, 414ff., 420f., 428ff., 708ff.; III, 307; DombrChr 201, 204, 226 (tr.); DonHaySirat 65f., 187ff.; GuiVoc 423 and Supplemento 160; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 31, 1922, 65–94, here 93f. ("III. La prigionia di Wahni"); GuiIohan 3ff., 61f., 67, 236f., 291 (tr.); GuiIyas 31, 47, 59, 260 (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: Le règne de Fasiladas (Alam Sagad) de 1632 à 1667", *RevSem* 6, 1897, 360–72 (text) = 84–92 (tr.), here 88, 91 (tr.); interviews with Gärimä Täfärra (age 56) and Täsfu Gäbrähəwot (age 53) in Gondär, 18 January 1973.

Lit.: THOMAS PAKENHAM, *The Mountains of Rasselas,* London 1999, 39–61, 84–95, 168–73; TadTChurch 275–82; BARBARA TOY, *In Search of Sheba*: *Across the Sahara to Ethiopia,* London 1961, 220–36.

LaVerle B. Berry

Wajnberg, Isaak

W. (b. 1878, d. 1941) was a philologist and linguist, the first to contribute to ↗Ethiopian studies in Poland.

Little is known about his life. In 1917, W. completed his Ph.D. dissertation under Franz ↗Praetorius at the University of Breslau on the hagiography of ↗Yafqərännä Ǝgziʾ (an extended version was published in 1936). He continued working on philological themes, delivering a translation of the Ethiopic version of the ↗*Testamentum Domini in Galilea* into German for the edition prepared by Carl Schmidt (1919). Later, W.

shifted his attention to Ethio-Semitic linguistics, particularly Amharic and Təgrəñña morphology (1932, 1935ab, 1936a, 1937abc).

Src.: Carl Schmidt (ed.) – Isaak Wajnberg (tr.), *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung*, Leipzig 1919 (Texte und Untersuchungen 3/13), 25–155; Isaak Wajnberg, "Die Typen der Nominalbildung im Tigriña", [I] *ZSem* 8, 1932, 73–96, [II] *ibid*. 10, 1935a, 256–310, [III] *ZDMG* 90, 1936a, 637–78; Id., "Études sur les quadrilitères tigriña", *Rocznik orientalisticzny* 11, 1935b, 52–78; Id., "Dualreste und Dualspuren im Neuabessinischen", *ibid*. 13, 1937a, 19–23; Id., "Abessinische Etymologien", *ibid*. 24-41; Id. (ed., tr.), *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana 'Egzī'*, Roma 1936b (OrChrA 106); Id., *Researches in Tigriña Quadriliterals of Phonetic Origin. Badania nad czterospołgłoskowcami pochodzenia fonetycznego w narzeczu Tigriña*, Kraków 1937b (Mémoires de la commission orientaliste, Acadèmie Polonaise des Sciences 28); Id., "Beiträge zu den mehrlautigen Wurzeln im Amharischen", *Orientalia* 6, 1937c, 184–214.

Lit.: Sylwia Jastrzebska, *Stosunki polsko-etiopskie*, M.A. thesis, Department of African Languages and Cultures, Warsaw University 1998; Ignatij Kračkovskij, *Vvedenie v efiopskuju filologiju* ('Introduction into Ethiopian Philology'), Leningrad 1955, 72, 166; Joanna Mantel-Niećko, "Znajomość Etiopii w dawnej Polsce i poczatki etiopistyki polskiej", in: Jan Reychman (ed.), *Szkice z dziejów orientalistyki polskiej*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1966, 217–26.

Katarzyna Hryćko – Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Walälləññ Mäkʷännən

W.M. (**ዋለልኝ፡ መኰንን**; b. ca. 1940, Däse, d. 8 December 1972) was a student leader in the 1960s–70s, and activist for the recognition of Ethiopian nationalities.

He was the son of an Amhara merchant (possibly of Oromo descent). W.M. was active in the opposition University ↗Student movement in Addis Abäba in the late 1960s and early 1970s, expressing himself in poetry, in argumentative articles as well as in public speeches. He was associated with the "Crocs", short for "Crocodile", students who studied Marxist revolutionary literature. He contributed to the bilingual student newspaper *Struggle* (**ትግል**, *Təgəl*) and wrote illegal pamphlets.

In 1968, a fashion show was held in Ras Mäkʷännən Hall, in which female University students took part. W.M. attacked this event by writing on the undignified use of University property, on the question of ownership of the University, on foreign interference and cultural imperialism. In April 1969 W.M. was, together with five other students, sentenced to five years' imprisonment for abusing constitutional authority and for stirring up acts of violence and disturbances. They were released thanks to the persistence of student boycotts.

In November 1969 W.M. wrote a politically highly sensitive article: *On the Question of Nationalities in Ethiopia*. This article argued that Ethiopia was not yet a nation, but a collection of Amhara-ruled, oppressed nationalities – adopting the quintessence from Frantz Fanon: "to be an Ethiopian, you will have to wear an Amhara mask". He called for the building of a genuine democratic national state in which no nation dominates another nation be it economically or culturally. The article caused instant furor, the government media insisting that it was tantamount to an instigation for the break up of the Ethiopian state.

After the events following the murder of the student union president ↗Ṭəlahun Gəzaw, at the end of December 1969, W.M. was imprisoned for about 15 months. On 8 December 1972 seven University students engaged in a desperate act of protest against the regime by attempting to hijack an Ethiopian airliner bound for Europe. Security inspectors on board killed six of the hijackers, among them W.M.

Src.: Walleligne Makonnen, "On the Question of Nationalities in Ethiopia", *Struggle*, 17 November 1969, 4–7.

Lit.: BZHist 226; Randi Rønning Balsvik, *Haile Sellassie's Students: the Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution,* Addis Abäba ^{2}2005, 277–89; FanTarik 564ff.; Hailu Issayas, "Walelign Mekonnen", *Ethiopian Herald,* 21 February 1993; Kiflu Tadesse, *The Generation, the History of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party*, vol. 1, Silver Spring, MD – Trenton, NJ 1993, 51–54, 72, 139; Messay Kebede, *Radicalism and Cultural, Dislocation in Ethiopia, 1960–1974*, Rochester, NY 2008, 152, 161, 175.

Randi Rønning Balsvik

Wälamo

The district or *awrağğa* of W. was an administrative unit in the ↗Sidamo Province from 1942 (formally since 1946) to 1974, and populated largely by the ↗Wälaytta people. In 1966 W. *awrağğa* had a population of ca. 600,000 people. A decade later it was 900,000 (CSO 1966, cit. in Dessalegn Rahmato 2007: 7). The W. roughly covered the territory of the former ↗Wälaytta kingdom that was incorporated into the Ethiopian empire in 1894 (for location s. map for Soddo town). W. *awrağğa* consisted of seven *wärädas*. The origin of the name "W." is unclear and controversial, and since the Ethiopian revolution (1974) seen as condescending. It was used as a denigrating appellation of the Wälaytta people. However, the term was probably a mere territorial one, and is mentioned in earlier Ethiopian historical sources, first in the famous 14th-cent. soldiers' song honouring *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq (Guidi 1889) and secondly in the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* when describing the defeat of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's forces at the hand of the local people in the 1530s.

W. *awrağğa* was an agricultural area, with significant social inequality and little or no industry except traditional crafts and small markets, notably in the capital Soddo, which was founded as a ↗*kätäma* in 1895 by northern settlers and administrators and became the seat of the imperial government. Prior to 1957, the former king ↗Ṭona's grandson *fitawrari* Dästa Fəśśəḥa was the W. governor, the only one of Wälaytta descent. In 1957–60 ↗Gärmame Nəway, one of the instigators of the ↗coup d'état 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82), was in charge. W.'s last governor was *däğğazmač* Wäldä Sämayat Gäbräwäld (1962–74), still remembered with nostalgia by the older generation as a man deeply devoted to developing the area. In 1974 W. *awrağğa* was abolished.

In the 1960s, the capital Soddo was one of the more developed towns in southern Ethiopia as compared with ↗Awasa or other places (Wudneh Almaz 1984). From the mid-1970s the town declined due to lack of government investment, the break up of the local political-economic elite in the "revolutionary" turmoil, and the development of Arba Mənč̣ and especially Awasa. The role of Soddo as a service centre disappeared in the 1980s due to the closure in 1984 of the relatively successful, World Bank-funded, agricultural projects of the "Wollaita [initially "Wolamo"] Agricultural Development Unit" and the sabotage of private business by the Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam regime. The town's population, however, increased exponentially due to the ongoing rural crisis.

In the 1980s and 1990s the new Wälaytta *awrağğa* was part of the North Omo region and no longer a separate unit. Its status and wealth declined steeply and have not recovered since. In the new Wälaytta zone since 2000, incorporating what was known as W., some economic growth has been observed, but unemployment is high, facilities and services are underdeveloped and industrial or crafts development has lagged behind.

Src.: Ignazio Guidi, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 2, 1889, 53–66, here 56 [verse 57]; Šihābaddīn, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša. The Conquest of Abyssinia* (*16th Century*), ed., tr. by Paul Stenhouse, Hollywood, CA 2003, 332–33; BassHist 306, n. 4 (Lit.); ZerÉth 404f.

Lit.: Dessalegn Rahmato, *Development Interventions in Wollaita, 1960s–2000s*: *a Critical Review*, Addis Ababa 2007, 27–34; Government of Ethiopia, Ministry of Agriculture, Wolamo Agricultural Development Unit, *Annual Report on Year 2 Programs*, Soddo 1972; Wanna Wagäšo, የወላይታ፡ ህዝብ፡ ታሪክ (*Yäwälaytta həzb tarik*, 'The History of the Wälaytta People'), Addis Abäba ^{2}2001, 126–52; Wudneh Almaz, *The Foundation, Growth and Development of Sodo Town until the Revolution, 1974*, Addis Ababa 1984.

Jon G. Abbink

Wäläne

Wäläne language

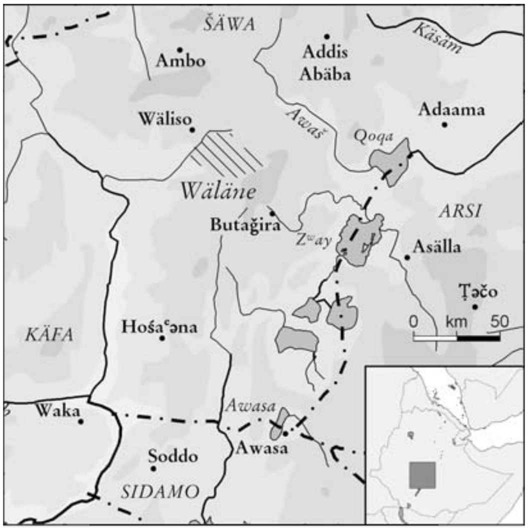
W. (also Wolane, Walani, Olanē) is an East ↗Gurage language spoken by ca. 70,000 people in the north of the Gurage Zone. Despite the high degree of mutual intelligibility between ↗Səlṭi and W., the socio-linguistic situation demands that they be treated as two distinct languages (Meyer 2006: 17ff.).

In contrast to Səlṭi and ↗Zay, W. does not have vowel length as a phonemic feature. The vowels are *i*, *ē*, *ä*, *ā*, *ō*, *u* and *ə*. The consonantal phonemes are: labials *b*, *f*, *m*, *w*; alveolars *t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *s*, *z*, *č*, *ğ*, *č̣*, *n*, *r*, *l*; palatals *š*, *ž*, *ñ*, *y*; velars *k*, *g*, *q*; glottals *h*, *hʷ*; glottal stop ʾ. Labialized non-coronals and palatalized velars are marginal. The velar ejective *q* is debuccalized to ʾ in all non-geminated, postvocalic positions: *qätälä* 'he killed' vs. *yə-ʾätl-ān* 'he kills'.

Accusative marking (by *-nä*) is restricted to proper names, personal pronouns and the interrogative pronoun *mā* 'who': *šāmil-nä wodätti* 'She loved Shamil'. W. nominals are transnumeral but may indicate plurality by the suffix *-(č)čä* (e.g., 'bird' *wumf* > *wumfə-ččä*), by the pattern -C*ā*C*ō* (e.g., 'dog' *bučō* > *bučāčō*) or by a combination of the two ('child' *č̣əlō* > *č̣əlālčä*). A few countable nouns have a suppletive plural. The definite article is *-y* for masc. and inanimate (*bučō-y* 'the dog'), and *-tē* for fem. (*lām-tē* 'the cow') nouns. The free demonstrative pronouns *ʾənnä* and *ʾannä* for proximal and distal deixis change into the bound forms *-i-* or *-ā-* when preceded by a prefix: *b-**i**-bbi* 'at this place' vs. *b-**ā**-bbi* 'at that place'.

The personal pronouns are: 1st pers. sg. *ʾihe/yihe*, 1st pers. pl. *ʾiññä* , 2nd pers. masc. sg. *ʾatä*, 2nd pers. fem. sg. *ʾašä*, 2nd pers. pl. *ʾatum*, 3rd pers. masc. sg. *ʾuhä*, 3nd pers. fem. sg. *ʾəšä*, 3nd pers. pl. *ʾuhun*.

The majority of verbs are tri- or biradical. The verb is inflected for person, number and gender. The aspect-mood system is based on three distinct templates, for perfective (PV), imperfective and jussive. Several conjugation types are distinguished (cf. Leslau 1994). Type A is unmarked.



Type B is characterized by a vowel *ē* after the first radical in the indicative mood and *i* in the jussive/imperative: *fēläˀä* 'he whistled' and *yəfēlqān* 'he whistles' but *yäfilq* 'let him whistle'. Further verb types are characterized by distinct vowels after the first radical: *ā* (*bāläˀä* 'become old', type C), *ō*/*u* (*ṭōˀäsä* 'he begged' but *yäṭuˀəs* 'let him beg', type D) and *u* (*dufälē* 'it is blunt', type F). Medio-passive, direct and indirect causative are derived by the prefixes *tä-*, *ˀa-* and *ˀat-* plus ablaut, resp.: *tä-bälä* 'it is/was eaten', *ˀa-bälä* 'he fed' and *ˀat-bēlä* 'he ordered/facilitated to eat'. Other derivations are marked by reduplication of radicals and/or the insertion of the vowel *ā*.

Negation (NEG) is expressed by *ˀa(l)-*: *ˀal-bälä* (NEG-eat:PV:3sg.masc.) 'he did not eat'. W. possesses a special set of subject markers for negated finite imperfective verbs: *yə-bäl när* 'I used to eat' vs. *ˀəllə-bbäl* 'I do not eat'.

Converbs are marked by the suffix *-āni* or *-ä*, which are attached to the inflected affirmative verbs: *bäl-āni* 'after he ate'; *bəlšä təfäğ-ä* 'after she has finished her work'.

The affixes *b*(*ä*)- (locative, detrimental and instrumental; marker of the protasis), *l*(*ä*)- (beneficiary, addressee; marker of purpose clauses), *t*(*ä*)- (allative and comitative; marker of temporal subordinated clauses), *yä-* (genitive) and *-kō* (similative; complementizer) indicate syntactic relations: *bä-mäkinä* 'in a car, with a car' or *bä-mäṭä* 'if he comes', etc.

Subject-Object-Verb is the most frequent constituent order. Present tense copular clauses are marked by the morpheme *-n*. The copular morpheme (COP) precedes possessive suffixes (POSS) or the definite article: *wāšt-ə*n*-t-kä* (sister-COP-3sg.fem.-POSS:3sg.masc.) 'She is his sister'.

The elementary wordlist is: 'one' *ˀadd*, 'two' *hōyt*, 'three' *šēšt*, 'fire' *ğirä*, 'water' *mäy*, 'sun' *ˀayr*, 'moon' *wäri*, 'blood' *däm*, 'tongue' *ˀarämät*, 'tooth' *ˀəsən* (cf. Leslau 1979).

W. is not a written language; it is only recorded in linguistic descriptions (cf. Meyer 2006: 20).

Lit.: WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (*Ethiopia*), 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1979; ID., "Outline of the Verb in Wolane (East Gurage)", in: WOLFHART HEINRICHS – GREGOR SCHOELER, *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, 2 vols., Stuttgart 1994 (Beiruter Studien und Texte 54), vol. 1, 141–57; RONNY MEYER, *Wolane. Grammar of an East Gurage Language* (*Ethiosemitic*), Köln 2006 (Grammatical Analysis of African Languages 31; Lit.).

Ronny Meyer

Wäläne ethnography

The W. (also Wäläne-Gädäbano) are the northernmost East-↗Gurage-speaking group. Their territory is roughly defined by the Gong River in the north-east and the Kärib River in the south. It is historically divided into a northern part, (Kokir-)Gädäbano, and a southern part, W. proper. Neighbouring groups of the W. are the Oromo in the north, the Kəstane (↗Soddo) and ↗Mäsqan in the east, the ↗Qabeena in the west and the ↗Ǝža and ↗Muḫər in the south. The W. population was estimated to have been ca. 70,000 at the end of 20th cent. (Meyer 2006: 17, n. 7).

The most part of the W. area belongs to the ↗*däga* agro-ecological zone. The population lives on mixed agriculture in which ↗*ənsät* combined with cattle breeding plays a central role. An important cash-crop is ↗*čat*. Many W. migrated to Addis Abäba and other southern Ethiopian towns where they are mainly active in trade. Major centres within W. country are the towns of Mähal Amba (Gädäbano), Ğimma and Zäbidar.

The great majority of W. are Muslim, their Islamic identity being deeply grounded in history. The oral traditions of the W. claim that their ancestors belong to a group of "Arabs" that migrated into the region in the wake of the wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī and ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid in the 16th-cent. via ↗Harär, Šərka (probably ↗Šarḫa) and ↗Gädäb (Arsi/Bale). Among other indicators, this major narrative as well as genealogical lists, reveal the strong historical link of the W. to the ↗Hadiyya (in the wider sense) and especially the Səlṭe (↗Səlṭi) with whom they share some of their main ancestors (e.g., *sayyid* Käbir Hamid, *ḥağği* Aliye, *šayḫ* Bärkälle, ↗Sidi Mäḥammäd and *sayyid* Naṣrallāh [↗ᶜAbdannāṣir] etc.). After the Muslim migrants reached the area they associated with the autochthonous population (called *Ge*). Tradition labels the W. as *Asrahoyt Wäläne* ('twelve W.') according to the alleged number of major descent groups (the real number of groups being much higher).

In the 19th cent. W. became an important centre of Islamic revitalism which strongly influenced and supported the *ǧihād* of ↗Hasän Ǝnǧamo against Mənilək's conquest. Important *ᶜulamāᵓ* of that time were, e.g., *šayḫ* Muhammäd Yasin, *šayḫ* Zayin and *šayḫ* Wällee from Wällo, *ḥaǧǧi* Sərağ, and *šayḫ* Abdäl Aziz Usman (the first "W. *šayḫ*") who founded the Islamic centre of Ṭərone.

After the defeat of Hasän Ǝnǧamo (1889) W. country was under ↗*näfṭañña* occupation and became part of (Č̣äbo-)Gurage province. The district of Kokir-Gädäbano came under the administration of Tole (Soddo/Aymälläl) while W. proper joined *Säbat Bet* Gurage (W.-Muhər, later Ǝža-W.). When in the 1990s the Səlṭe claimed a distinct ethnicity and rejected further administration by the Gurage zone, some similar voices were to be heard among the W. However, the result of the political process was that the *wärädas* of Kokir-Gädäbano and Ǝža-W. remained under the administration of Gurage and the W. preserved their *Säbat Bet* ethno-political identity.

Src.: DIRK BUSTORF, Feldnotizen, SF [Səlṭe Forschungen] 03, SF 04, SF 05, ms.; *šäk* UMÄR *šäk* BÄŠƎR, **ጥሮና። የኢትዮጵያ፡ ቀደምትና፡ ታላላቅ፡ ዑለማዎች፡ ታሪክ** (*Ṭərona. Yäᵓityopya qädämtənna talallaq ᶜulämawočč tarik*, 'The History of the Earlier and Great (Islamic) Scholars of Ethiopia'), ed. by ABDULFÄTAH ABDÄLLAH, Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2005 A.D.], 31, 42–46 et passim.

Lit.: JOACHIM CRASS – RONNY MEYER, "The Qabena and the Wolane: Two Peoples of the Gurage Region and their Respective Histories According to their Own Oral Traditions", *AE* 17, 2001, 175–82; DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., **ጎጎት፤ የጉራጌ፡ ብኄረሰብ፡ ታሪክ፡ ባህልና፡ ቋንቋ** (*Gogot. Yägurage bəḫeräsäb tarik, bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot, the History, Culture and Language of the Gurage Nationality'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.]; RONNY MEYER, "*Wäy läne, wäy lähagäre*! Oral Traditions of the Wolane's Past", *Hristianskij Vostok* 3, new ser. 9, 457–73; ID., *Wolane. Descriptive Grammar of an East Gurage Language*, Köln 2006 (Grammatische Analysen afrikanischer Sprachen 31), 15–21.

Dirk Bustorf

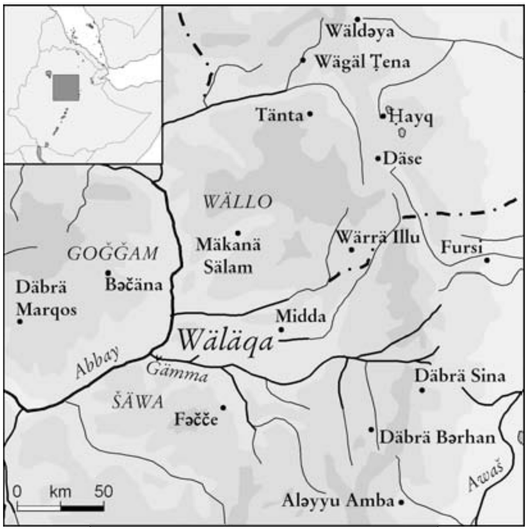
Wäläqa

W. (**ወለቃ**) is a historical region in the ancient region of ↗Amhara, which owes its name to the homonymous river, a tributary of the ↗Abbay. W. is separated from Šäwa by the River ↗Ǧämma and from Goǧǧam by the Abbay. In modern times, W. was renamed after its inhabitants, the Oromo group of Č̣aqata.

W. first appears in the sources in the 15th cent. According to the Acts of ↗Giyorgis of Sägla, the saint's mother was a descendant of the governors (*śəyyuman*) of W. (Colin 1987: 4). It is therefore possible that Sägla and W. are synonymous or at least overlapping toponyms. The governor of W. bore the title of *nägaśi* or *nägaš* (cp. ↗*Nəguś*) as attested in a document written during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (BritLib Orient. 481, fol. 154, s. Kropp in VarAeth 136) and in later sources (e.g., CRHist 95 specifies that the *nägaš* of W. was not allowed to have a ↗*nägarit*).

Different ↗genealogies of the "house of W." exist (cp. EMML no. 3253, fol. 155v–156; Kropp 1989, pl. 14). The most detailed is the one included in the genealogies of *ətege* ↗Wäld Säᵓala, who came from W. (ms. Qoma H2–IV–701, s. Wion 2003: 185–202).

During the 16th cent., this ancient Christian region was threatened by the migration of the Oromo, as it lay on the way to Goǧǧam for populations coming from Bale and the ↗Awaš. This road was taken by the Wäränteša in 1588, but *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl succeeded in driving them back across the Abbay to W. (CRHist 134f.). In ca. 1585, as a child ↗Susənyos was captured by the Borän (↗Boorana), during the *luba* of Birmaǧǧ; he grew up in W. and Amonat, becoming familiar with peoples and places there (PerChron 4; BTafA 179, 187). After the death of Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl and during the decade of his rebellion, Susənyos



chose W. as his retreat (PerChron 9f.; BTafA 189). He was, therefore, constantly at war with the governor of W. ↗Bəᶜəlä Krəstos (PerChron 12f., 24; BTafA 191), until in 1602 they negotiated, with the participation of *ras* ↗Atnatewos, the legitimacy of Susənyos's control over territories in eastern Goǧǧam and Šäwa, including W. (PerChron 31–34, 45; BTafA 245ff.). A few years later, in 1611–12, Susənyos helped the Oromo Wäränteša to resist the growing power of the ↗Tuulama; he gave them lands in Amonat and Ǧämma. However, the Wäränteša were still fighting for W. (PerChron 109f.).

From then on, W. lost its importance, and was no more contested by the Christian power, as for the following three centuries it belonged to the Oromo.

At the end of the 19th cent., after the council of ↗Boru Meda, the discovery of ancient churches symbolized the Christian reconquest of the region. The church of ↗Däbrä Qozät was thus reopened by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in 1895–96 (Derat 2001: 246f.).

Src.: BTafA 179, 189, 191, 245f.; CRHist 95, 134f.; GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]); MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däǧǧazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – Paris 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalische Studien 13); ID., "'Antiquae restitutio legis'. Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als *Imago Imperii* und *Notitia Dignitatum* in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zärᵓa Yaᶜqob im *Condaghe* der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: *VarAeth* 115–47, here 136; LudHist I, III, 10; PerChron 4, 9f., 12f., 24, 31ff., 45, 109f., 280.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Catalogo dei nomi proprî di luogo dell'Etiopia contenuti nei testi giᶜiz ed amhariña finora pubblicati", in: *Atti del primo congresso geografico italiano*, Genova 1894, vol. 2, part 1, 387–439; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "Gäbrä 'Endreyas de Däbrä Qozät et les généalogies monastiques du XVe au XIXe siècle: réécritures et réemplois", *AE* 17, 2001, 229–55; ANAÏS WION, «*Aux confins le feu, au centre le paradis*». *Qoma Fasilädäs, un monastère royal dans l'Éthiopie du 17ème siècle*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris 1, 2003, 185–202.

Anaïs Wion – Marie-Laure Derat

Wäläqa

The village of W. (**ወለቃ**) is situated on the northwestern edge of ↗Gondär, 4 km from the centre of the town. It became known as a so-called typical "Fälaša" village on the historic tourist route. It was established as a ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel village in the early 20th cent. and populated by weavers, farmers, carpenters and masons, who had been employed by *ras* ↗Gugsa Wäle, governor of ↗Bägemdər province, to build his residence at ↗Däbrä Tabor. The head of the community was *bäǧərond* Barkoləññ. Betä Ǝsraᵓel tradition attributes the migration of Betä Ǝsraᵓel craftsmen to W. during the interim period, under the rule of *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis, governor of Bägemdər. Until the 1930s, Betä Ǝsraᵓel men were taken from W. as seasonal migrants to work as masons and craftsmen decorating and repairing churches, stately homes and palaces in Gondär as well as in Səmen, Dämbəya, Wägära, Wälqayt and Təgray.

In its heyday during the 1960s, over 200 Betä Ǝsraᵓel resided in the village. In the centre stood the synagogue, similar to other *tukul*-like houses, but with the Star of David above the entrance, and divided into prayer sections inside. A menstrual hut (↗Menstruation) was separated from the other houses of the village by stones encircling it. Separated from the village by a river was the W. cemetery. Some of the women worked as potters; the men worked as weavers, blacksmiths and other craftsmen. When Western tourists and ↗Peace Corps volunteers began to visit W., they encouraged the women to start selling "Fälaša pottery". The ↗pottery was modeled on scenes of everyday life, and Täkay Elias, a woman living in the village, invented the idea of figurines with "Jewish" motifs, such as the Star of David, King ↗Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda), or *qesočč* ('priests'). During the 1970's, with the co-operation of Uri ben Baruch, the High Priest of W., the British branch of the Organisation Rehabilitation Training provided technical education to the villagers and introduced a kiln and a potters' wheel. During the regime of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam, the Ethiopian Tourist Organisation helped form a pottery co-operative. Betä Ǝsraᵓel women, side by side with women who had converted to Christianity, and "Fälaša *barya*" ('Fälaša slaves') sold the figurines to tourists.

Ceramic figurines offered in Wäläqa; photo 1988, courtesy of the author

In 1984, many Betä Ǝsraʾel went by foot from W. to the ↗Sudan, where they were airlifted out of the refugee camps to ↗Israel in "Operation Moses". In 1991, prior to "Operation Solomon", the village was emptied out. The Betä Ǝsraʾel were replaced by local ↗Qəmant, who continue to sell "Fälaša pottery" to tourists. Today, Israeli Ethiopian Jews, who visit Ethiopia, have started erecting gravestones in the cemetery.

Src.: JACQUES FAITLOVITCH, *Quer durch Abessinien: Meine zweite Reise zu den Falaschas*, Berlin 1910, 61ff.

Lit.: STEVEN KAPLAN – CHAIM ROSEN, "Created in their Own Image: a Comment on Beta Israel Figurines", *Cahiers d'Etudes africaines* 36, 141/142, 1996, 171–82.

Shalva Weil

Walašma

W. (Eth. **ዋላሽማ**; Arab. Walasmaᶜ; also Wasmaᶜ, Ǧabara) was a Muslim dynasty of Ethiopian origin in eastern ↗Šäwa (PerrZarY 112) which reigned in ↗Ifat from the 13th to the 16th cent. According to the so-called ↗Harär chronicle (Cerulli 1931), the dynasty was founded by ᶜUmar b. Dunyāḥūz al-Walasmī (d. 1275), who is said to be a descendant of the Somali Muslim saint *aw* Barḫadla, perhaps to be identified with ↗Barḫadle Yūsuf al-Akwān (Cerulli 1931: 40, 67). The beginning of the dynasty thus coincided with that of the ↗Solomonic dynasty.

Al-↗Maqrīzī reports (MaqIlmam 9) that the W. claimed an Arab ancestry from the Ḥiǧāz (↗Arabia). According to the *Kitāb al-ᶜIbar* by ↗Ibn Ḫaldūn, who derived most of his material from ↗Ibn Saᶜīd al-Maġribī, the forbears of the ᶜAdalite *sulṭān* ↗Ḥaqqaddīn (I) b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. Wasmaᶜ (d. 1328; b. ᶜUmar Walasmaᶜ) had embraced ↗Islam (ed. 1867/68: 199). This implies that the W. had first been non-Muslims, and of native Ethiopian origin. According to al-Maqrīzī (MaqIlmam 9), ᶜUmar b. Dunyāḥūz was appointed governor (↗*Gärad*) of the town of Awfāt (Arab. for Ifat) by the Ethiopian emperor. But when he recognized the authority of the king of ↗Damot, his territory was conquered by the Ethiopians. In 1277 ᶜUmar's successor ᶜAlī b. Wali Asmaᶜ began to attack the then weakened ↗Maḫzūmī dynasty in eastern ↗Šäwa, and in 1285 he deposed the last *sulṭān* of this dynasty (Cerulli 1941). During the 13th cent., Ibn Ḫaldūn (ed. 1867/68: 199) remarks that the W. sometimes recognized the authority of the Ethiopian emperor, at other moments they rejected it.

When learning that the Mamlūk *sulṭān* an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qālawūn (d. 1341) had begun a new persecution against the Copts in Egypt, and that *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's mission to Egypt of 1321 was not taken seriously by an-Nāṣir, ᶜAlī's grandson ↗Ḥaqqaddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr took it as a pretext to change his irregular incursions against Ethiopia into an offensive war and killed the Emperor's envoy. In 1328 ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon overwhelmed Ifat, took Ḥaqqaddīn prisoner and annexed both Ifat and ↗Fäṭägar as vassal states under the governorship of Ḥaqqaddīn's brother ↗Ṣabraddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr. The latter, however, persuaded the Muslim sultanates of ↗Hadiyya and ↗Däwaro, as well as the ↗Agäw of ↗Wägara, ↗Dämbəya and ↗Bägemdər to join him in attacking ↗Amhara country. But before being able to rally, they were all defeated. Ṣabraddīn was deposed and his brother ↗Ǧamāladdīn [I] b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr was appointed as ruler of Ifat and the three other Muslim states, whose independence thus came to an end. It probably was Ǧamaladdīn I who, between 1332 and 1335 (cp. TrIslam 72), sent a Muslim delegation to Egypt to request *sulṭān* al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to intervene with the Ethiopians on behalf of the Muslims in Ethiopia. The Coptic Patriarch sent a letter to the Emperor, but without success. Ibn Faḍlallāh al-↗ᶜUmarī (UmMasGaud 2f., 14–19) describes the position of the tributary Muslim states vis-à-vis the Ethiopian kings. When Ǧamāladdīn joined the Muslim alliance of ↗Mora (PerrAmdS 44, 346–70), he was captured and killed by the Emperor, who destroyed the town of Ifat.

The internal strife among the W. after the death of Ǧamāladdīn ended with the accession to the throne of ↗Ḥaqqaddīn II b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad in 1376. He declared himself independent from the Ethiopian emperor, but was defeated and killed in 1386. His son and successor ↗Saᶜdaddīn [II] Abū l-Barakāt resumed the hostilities and gained some initial successes, but the expedition sent by *aṣe* ↗Dawit II forced him to take refuge in ↗Zaylaᶜ, where he was besieged and killed either in 1415, during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq, or still during that of *aṣe* Dawit (TrIslam 74, n. 4). This *sulṭān*'s martyrdom in the ↗*ǧihād* lives on in the other name for ᶜAdal: *Barr Saᶜdaddīn* ('Land of Saᶜdaddīn').

The occupation of Zaylaᶜ during the reign of *aṣe* Yəsḥaq put an end to the Sultanate of Ifat, which was permanently occupied by the Ethiopian king and is no more heard of (MaqIlmam 11–14; BassÉt 239 n. 93; BassHist 306, n. 1). The ten sons of Saᶜdaddīn took refuge with al-Malik an-

Nāṣir Aḥmad b. Ismāᶜīl I (r. 1400–24), the Rasūlid ruler of the ↗Yemen. After a short while the W. returned to Africa, assumed the title of *sulṭān* of ↗ᶜAdal and took their residence in ↗Dakar. From that time onwards ᶜAdal became the protagonist of the Muslim struggle against the Christian kingdom (TrIslam 74, n. 6, 7). The first W. prince of ᶜAdal, which was perhaps a district of the former Ifat, was Saᶜdaddīn's son Ṣabraddīn, who resumed the hostilities against *aṣe* Yəsḥaq. However, Ṣabraddīn was defeated after some initial successes and died in 1422. The same happened to his brothers and successors Manṣūr (d. 1424*)* and Ǧamāladdīn II (d. 1433). Saᶜdaddīn's son ↗Aḥmad Badlāy, whose genealogy is given by Ibn Taġrībirdī (Popper 1957–60, vol. 6, vii, 4; cp. PerrZar 88*)*, invaded Däwaro, but was defeated and killed during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. Badlāy's son Muḥammad (r. 1445–71) concluded a truce with *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam, but the influence of the *amīrs,* fanatical Somali and ↗ᶜAfar, who wanted *ǧihād* against the Christians, grew and the power of the W. *sulṭān* diminished accordingly.

The first of these *amīrs* to exercise influence was ↗Lada ᶜUṯmān, governor (*gärad*) of Zaylaᶜ. After an initial success, which culminated in the sack of Dakar in 1471, two Ethiopian armies were defeated by the *amīrs* who gained control over ᶜAdal. Under *sulṭān* ↗Muḥammad b. Aẓharaddīn, Maḥfūẓ, the *amīr* of Harär, rose in power. Recovering from a defeat by *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod, he became the *de facto* ruler of ᶜAdal. In 1516 *sulṭān* Muḥammad, who at first had followed a peaceful policy with *ətege* ↗Admäs Mogäsa, a converted Muslim, led a regular invasion against Fäṭägar. He was defeated by *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl and Maḥfūẓ was slain. After the murder of *sulṭān* Muḥammad in 1518, order was restored by the zealot *gärad* Abūñ b. Adaš, but in 1525 he was surprised and killed at Zaylaᶜ by *sulṭān* ↗Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Āzar, who in 1520 had transferred his headquarters from Dakar to Harär. It was during *sulṭān* Abū Bakr's reign that ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, the future *imām* and conqueror of Ethiopia, married ↗Bati Dəl Wämbära, daughter of ↗Maḥfūẓ of Zaylaᶜ, and built up his power. For some time he shared the government with Abū Bakr, but ultimately killed him and replaced him with his brother ᶜUmardīn, a mere puppet sultan. In 1553 ᶜUmardīn was succeeded by his son ᶜAlī. When the latter died in 1555, he was succeeded by his brother Barakāt b. Umardīn, who helped ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid, the new *amīr* in Harär, to organize the army. Upon the advance of an Ethiopian force, he had to abandon Harär, and was killed shortly afterwards. With him the W. disappeared.

↗Wälasma

Src.: ᶜAbdarraḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Kitāb al-ᶜIbar wa-diwan al-mubtadaᵓ wal-habar* … ('The Book of Evidence, Record of Beginnings and Events …'), Būlāq 1284 H. [1867/68], vol. 6, 199; Id., *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale,* tr. by Mac Gluckin de Slane, ed. by Paul Casanova, 4 vols., Paris 1968, vol. 2, 107f.; Abū 'l-Fidā, *Géographie d'Aboulféda,* tr. by Stanislas Guyard, 2 vols., Paris 1883, vol. 2, 229; Abū l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad al-Qalqašandī, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-aᶜšā* ('The Book of the Dawn of the Blind'), 14 vols., Cairo 1331–38 H. [1913–19 A.D.], vol. 5, 325f.; BassÉt 239, n. 93; BassHist 306, n. 1; Enrico Cerulli, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–96 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206]; Id., "Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XII secondo un nuovo document storico", *RSE* 1, 1, 1941, 5–42 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 207–43]; Id., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 3, 1943, 272–94 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80]; MaqIlmam; William Popper (ed., tr.), *History of Egypt* (*1382–1469 A.D.*) [*tr. from the Arabic Annals of Abū l'Maḥasin Ibn Taġrībirdī*], 6 vols., Berkeley, CA 1957–60; Id., *History of Egypt*: *Indices,* Berkeley, CA 1963; PerrZarY; UmMasGaud 2f., 14–19; Ewald Wagner, "The Genealogy of the Later Walashmaᶜ Sultans from Adal and Harar", *ZDMG* 141, 1991, 376–86.
Lit.: TrIslam; TadTChurch 263.

Emeri van Donzel

Wälasma

W. (**ወላስማ**) was a traditional title of chiefs in the ↗Yəfat ↗Argobba area of northern ↗Šäwa. The ↗Walašma dynasty ruled the Muslim sultanate of ↗Ifat from the 13th to the 15th cent. in constant conflict with the Christian empire. In the late 15th cent., Ifat was defeated and *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam appointed a governor with the title of W. In the wars of the 16th cent., north-eastern Šäwa became a battleground, and central power collapsed. After the wars of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhim al-Ġāzī, many of the Muslim communities were apparently overrun by ↗Oromo pastoralists, and the "W. of Yəfat" preferred to ally himself with the Christian Amhara.

The W. played a key role in the early military success of the Šäwan dynasty. During his visit to Šäwa, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I initiated a pact between ↗Nägaśi Krəstos Wärädä Qal of Mänz and the W. of Yəfat against the Oromo (BTafA 499). The W. also took a prominent place in the political alliances behind the next two Šäwan rulers. According to Aṣmä Giyorgis, when ↗Səbəstyanos as the first Šäwan ruler took the title of ↗*märəd azmač*, he issued the proclamation to this effect after consulting with the W. (ibid. 507). Co-operation continued under *märəd azmač* ↗Abbəyye, and the

W. was given the lower regions of the newly conquered area towards the ↗Käsäm River. Thereafter the W. disappears from the various Šäwan chronicles, perhaps because expansion was now concentrated in other parts of the chiefdom and Yəfat became just one of many districts, or perhaps because the W. came into conflict with and was defeated by *märəd azmač* Abbəyye, as claimed by Stitz (USCES, 191). In any case, the W. kept much of his power and received considerable attention from the many European visitors to Šäwa around 1840. *Wälasma* Mäḥammäd was then the principal governor of the Yəfat area and certainly high in royal favour. He was entrusted with the customs of the important trade route, and his residence at Gončo served as a principal state prison.

By this time, however, and perhaps earlier, there were also numerous other W. with hereditary claims in various parts of Yəfat. It is not clear whether the "W. of Yəfat" had a superior position, or whether he gained prominence in the sources and the history of Šäwa simply because he happened to be a somewhat important chief close to the area of Šäwan expansion. What is certain, however, is that by the 1840s, the various W. held their position by the discretion of the king, and even *wälasma* Mäḥammäd could be demoted and had to wait on the king to regain his position. Under ↗Mənilək II the key positions of the Yəfat area were given to Christian Amhara governors closely associated with the court, and the W. were reduced to local notables.

Src.: BTafA 431, 499–509; AWTarik 78, 82-83; HarAeth I, 324–27; ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la Mer Rouge, dans le pays d'Adal et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1841, 126, 319; ID., *A Diary Written During a Journey in Abessinia* [*sic*] etc. *From 31 August 1840 to 5 February 1841* [BritMus, Add. mss. no 30.250B], 156, 225f., 300.

Lit.: ABBEBE KIFLEYESUS, *Tradition and Transformation: the Argobba of Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 2006 (AeF 66), s. index; VOLKER STITZ, "The Western Argobba of Yifat, Central Ethiopia", in: *USCES,*185–92; StStud 68, n. 1; EgeClass 174f.

Svein Ege

Wälättä Ǝsraᵓel

W.Ǝ. (**ወለተ፡ እስራኤል**; fl. second half of the 18th cent.) was one of three daughters of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) and *grazmač* Iyasu (GuiIyas 10 [text]). She was named after her paternal grandmother, a daughter of ↗Iyasu I. Her sisters were ↗Aster Iyasu and ↗Alṭaš Iyasu.

A prominent member of the Gondärine aristocracy, W.Ǝ. held lands of the Gondär churches ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam and Qaha Iyäsus, as well as of ↗Narga Śəllase (CrumLand 106f.). She was married at least twice: to *däǧǧamač* Yosedeq with whom she had a son, ↗Ḫaylu, and to *däǧǧazmač* (later *ras bitwäddäd*) ↗Goššu with whom she had two children, Hirutä Iyäsus and Sahlu (GuiIyas 12 [text]).

Her marriage to Yosedeq, governor of ↗Goǧǧam during 1752–59, involved her in the affairs of that province with which she remained associated. Early in 1765 she was appointed ruler of Goǧǧam (GuiIyas 203 [text]). In 1768/69 and again in 1770 she is noted in the chronicles as taking part in military campaigns (ibid. 236 [text]; BlunChr 12 [text]).

During much of the visit of ↗Bruce to Ethiopia, W.Ǝ. was in Goǧǧam and remains a shadowy figure in his account, in comparison to her sister, Aster, and her mother, Məntəwwab, for whom Bruce provides vivid portraits. W.Ǝ. is mostly mentioned in connection with her vendetta against *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Səhul of Təgray (BruNile vol. 2, 612f. and vol. 3, 398f.).

She founded the church of ↗Moṭa Giyorgis and endowed it after the fashion of her mother's most famous foundation, Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam (mf. Ill/IES, 89.VIII.28–30). She also supported the church of Muga Däbrä Iyäsus in Goǧǧam (mf. Ill/IES, 89.III.33). Her son Ḫaylu Yosedeq, later governor of Goǧǧam in his own right, confirmed her endowment of Moṭa Giyorgis. Various sources note her gifts to Gondär churches (GuiIyas 97 [text]; mss. BritLib Orient. 604, fol. 137r; Orient. 776, fol. 4v).

Src.: GuiIyas 10, 12, 97, 203, 236 (text) = 10, 105, 213, 247 (tr.); BlunChr 12 (text) = 218 (tr.); BruNile vol. 2 612f., 661, vol. 3, 398–99, vol. 4, 213; WrBriMus 143ff., no. 216 [ms. Orient. 604], 255, no. 349 [ms. Orient. 776]; mfs. Ill/IES, 89.VIII.28-30, 89.III.33, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign/ IES.

Lit.: CrumLand 97, 99, 105–07, 157.

Donald Crummey

Wälättä Iyäsus

W.I. (**ወለተ፡ ኢየሱስ**; b. 30 January 1850, Gondär, d. 15 August 1932, Addis Abäba), also known under her European name Katharina Hall née Howsepian, was the mother of a large family, many of whose members were involved in Ethiopian affairs. She herself was at times an influential lady-in-waiting at the Ethiopian court in the early 20th cent.

She was the daughter of Eduard ↗Zander, the German artist and illustrator for Georg ↗Schimper,

Wälättä Iyäsus in Palestine shortly after arriving from Ethiopia, ca. 1868/69; from the collection of Jochen Bertsch

and Zander's first Ethiopian wife, *wäyzaro* Ǝsäte Wärq, a lady-in-waiting at the court in ↗Gondär. W.I.'s later use of "Howsepian" as a maiden name perhaps indicates that she spent part of her childhood with an Ethio–Armenian family, even if her family papers show that she was Zander's daughter. At the age of 14, on 17 May 1863, she married Moritz ↗Hall, and joined him at the ↗Gafat colony of the ↗St. Chrischona brethren artisan missionaries. W.I., her husband, and her infant son Jakob Gottlieb (b. 1866, Mäqdäla, d. 1919, Addis Abäba), were among those held captive by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II and were liberated from captivity at ↗Mäqdäla by Lord ↗Napier's British forces in 1868, at which time W.I.'s daughter Magdalena "Theodora" (1868–1945) was born.

W.I. and Moritz Hall and their children left Ethiopia with the British-Indian army of intervention in mid-1868 and settled in Jaffa's "German Colony", where her husband worked for the Protestant mission; they came under the protection of the German Consulate, and eleven more children were born to them. Accompanied by her son Jakob, W.I. returned to Ethiopia without her husband around 1902, following an Ethiopian mission to Palestine (↗Ottoman Empire). They were joined in 1906 by W.I.'s son, Friedrich Salomon (1879–1964), who also entered into Ethiopian service. W.I. became a lady-in-waiting, in charge of the royal pages at the court of the *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. A very close confidante of the *ətege* Ṭaytu, W.I. was viewed as exerting considerable (if not undue) influence at the court. Ṭaytu persuaded W.I. to have her son-in-law, the Wurttembergian noble Baron Platon von Ustinov, buy property in ↗Jerusalem for the Ethiopian community there. During ↗World War I, W.I. returned to Jaffa and petitioned the German Consulate there to grant her and her children full German citizenship because her sons David and Joseph were serving in the German army.

Soon after the war, W.I. again returned to Ethiopia, where she was joined by another son, David ↗Hall, who became an important advisor to the Ethiopian court and served as a member of diplomatic missions. W.I. convinced ↗Zäwditu to buy the property in Jerusalem owned by her daughter Magdalena, by then the widow of Baron Platon von Ustinov, thus ensuring an Ethiopian presence in Jerusalem. W.I.'s daughters Christina (1874–1964), Augusta (1884–1936), and Vera (1886–1983) also came to Ethiopia and, as tutors to the members of the royal family, especially the children of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, continued their mother's close relationship with the court. W.I. is buried in Addis Abäba.

Src.: Hall and Bach family archives, Jochen Bertsch.
Lit.: AVRAHAM HOLTZ –TOBY BERGER HOLTZ, "The Adventuresome Life of Moritz Hall: a Biographical Study," in: *OrbAethChoj* 49–66 (Lit.); WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "Verbindungen der Familie Ustinov nach Äthiopien", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 29–47 (Lit.).

Toby Berger Holtz

Wälättä P̣eṭros

W.P̣. (ወለተ፡ ጴጥሮስ; b. 1594, d. 1644) was one of the most prominent female religious figures in 17th-cent. Ethiopia. She is known mainly for her resistance to ↗Catholicism and is venerated as a saint by the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church.

The principal source on her life is the ↗hagiography written down in 1673–74 by a monk from Afär Färäs, a community W.P̣. had founded. This staunchly anti-Catholic and pro-monophysite text merits special attention, for it constitutes a contemporaneous antithesis to the testimonies of the ↗Jesuits.

According to the *gädl*, W.Ṗ.'s parents, Baḥər Sägäd and Krəstos ᶜƎbäya, were members of the nobility in Däwaro and Fäṭägar. The source provides an extremely innovative account of W.Ṗ.'s childhood, especially as far as the vivid description of her father's affectionate support is concerned (Papi 1943: 88). At a tender age, she was betrothed to Mälkəᵓa Krəstos, a high-ranking official of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. Although the hagiography reports that her husband was quite fond of her, W.Ṗ. was attracted to the ideal of monastic life – an inclination that may have been reinforced by the loss of three infant sons. She ultimately joined a group of monks on the shores of Lake Ṭana. However, W.Ṗ. subsequently returned to her husband, thanks in part to the mediation of *abba* Fätlä Śəllase (Conti Rossini 1912: 13–17 [text] = Ricci 1970: 12–16 [tr.]).

When Susənyos embraced Roman Catholicism and the open conflict arose between the Catholics and the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church, W.Ṗ. vigorously backed the local clergy. The fact that her husband had fought on Susənyos's side when *abunä* ↗Səmᶜon was killed by imperial soldiers in May 1617 was the final straw which ended their marriage. Soon after, she left him for good and formed a small aristocratic circle of nuns on Lake Ṭana with the likes of ↗Ǝḫ̮ətä Krəstos and Wälättä Ṗawlos (the daughter of *ras* ↗Atnatewos).

When Susənyos proclaimed Catholicism the official religion (1624), it became too dangerous for W.Ṗ.'s circle to remain in close proximity to the Emperor's camp. The group headed north to Aksum, where she urged the inhabitants to reject the newfangled faith. W.Ṗ. was then taken to Susənyos, who sought to convert her to the empire's official creed. When she refused to succumb to the pressure (Conti Rossini 1912: 30 = Ricci 1970: 29), the Emperor ordered W.Ṗ. to desist from preaching against Catholicism and placed the noblewoman under the custody of her kin. However, she immediately fled to ↗Zäge, where the aristocratic circle was revived. W.Ṗ. then moved on to ↗Waldəbba – already the site of fierce anti-Catholic resistance – where she continued to entreat her fellow Ethiopians "not to accept the impure religion of the Europeans" (Conti Rossini 1912: 43 = Ricci 1970: 42). As a result, many people in Məṣəl refused communion, which led ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos to threaten W.Ṗ. with forced conversion (Conti Rossini 1912: 59f. = Ricci 1970: 57f.).

The alleged grave of Wälättä Ṗeṭros on the island of Rema, Lake Ṭana; photo 2006, courtesy of Michael Gervers

When ↗Fasilädäs ascended the throne in 1632 and rejected Catholicism, he honoured the champion of Ethiopian Orthodoxy and promoted her religious activism. W.Ṗ. continued to pursue an itinerant lifestyle, moving about the country and attracting numerous disciples along the way.

The example set by W.Ṗ. constitutes an unprecedented paradigm of female religious leadership. W.Ṗ. was the first Ethiopian to try and systematically organize the monastic life of nuns. More specifically, she advocated running monasteries for women along the same lines as those for men. She founded several monastic settlements – Zäge, Dämboza, Afär Färäs and Zäbol – and managed to turn them into self-supporting communities (Böll in HirKrSaints 37f.). Moreover, her personal wealth enabled her to maintain populous convents and erect a church on the island of ↗Rema. Her vast influence notwithstanding, as a woman W.Ṗ. required the support and approval of her spiritual fathers, namely ecclesiastic leaders such as the *abun* and monks (Conti Rossini 1912: 70f. = Ricci 1970: 70).

W.Ṗ died at the age of 50, having appointed Ǝḫ̮ətä Krəstos as her successor.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI – CARL JAEGER (ed.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum. I. Acta S. Walatta Ṗēṭros. II. Miracula S. Zara-Buruk*, Louvain 1912, repr. 1962 (CSCO 68 [SAe 30]); LANFRANCO RICCI (tr.), *Vita di Walatta Ṗiēṭros*, Louvain 1970 (CSCO 316 [SAe 61]).

Lit.: VERENA BÖLL, "Holy Women in Ethiopia", in: *HirKrSaints* 31–45; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "Creating an Iconographic Cycle: The *Acts of Wälättä Ṗeṭros* and the Emergence of Qwäraṭa as a Place of Asylum", in: *PICES* 15, 409–16; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "A Transgressor of the Norms of Female Behaviour in the Seventeenth-Century Ethiopia – the Heroine of the «Life of Our Mother Walatta Petros»", *Hristianskij Vostok* new ser. 4 (10), 2006, 56–72;

CrumLand 70; Maria Rosaria Papi, "Una santa abissina anticattolica, Walatta-Pēṭros", *RSE* 3, 1943, 87–93.

Leonardo Cohen

Wälättä Qirqos

W.Q. (**ወለተ፡ ቂርቆስ**) was a 17th–18th-cent. noblewoman.

She was a spouse of *ras* ↗Ḥəzqəyas (fl. 1696–1711). It is not certain whether she was the mother of his two sons mentioned in the "short chronicles" (BassÉt 76 [text], 191 [tr.]).

Besides serving as *däğğazmač* to *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I and *ras* of ↗Bägemdər to *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos, Ḥəzqəyas co-operated with *abeto* ↗Nägaśi Krəstos of ↗Šäwa and had thus close contacts with several ruling elites. He was exiled by *aṣe* ↗Yosṭos in 1711, but it is not known whether W.Q. was exiled, too, even if it is possible that she had been involved in the political, or at least religious, affairs of her husband.

A miniature in an illuminated manuscript of the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* (BN d'Abbadie 114, fol. 87v) shows a female figure praying in front of the image of St. ↗Mary, identified by an inscription as "queen [*nəgəśt*] W.Q.". Annequin (1972:198) ascribed the ↗painting style to the first Gondärine school (1630–1730) and identified W.Q.'s husband with *aṣe* ↗Ḥəzqəyas, thus dating the image to 1689–94, the five years of his rule. Chojnacki (ChojPaint 297), however, maintains that the original inscription bore the name of another queen, which was later erased and replaced by that of W.Q. W.Q. and Ḥəzqəyas are also named as a couple in another copy of the *Täʾammərä Maryam,* from ↗Čəlga. Most probably there is a connection to a third manuscript of the *Täʾammərä Maryam*, with a miniature showing Mary adored by ↗Wälättä Giyorgis and ↗Wälättä Əsraʾel ("Gondär XV", Jäger 1960: 370; Bosc-Tiessé – Wion 1998: 231).

Illustrations in this *Täʾammərä Maryam* may be taken as a historical source (Six 1999) and interpreted in the light of the contemporary theological disputes between the Unctionists (↗*Qəbat*) and Unionists (↗*Täwaḥədo*). Ḥəzqəyas was a known supporter of the latter, and was even removed from his office due to rumours dispersed by the Unctionists (Bartnicki – Mantel-Niećko 1978: 194). It is possible that, when the *Täwaḥədo* teaching was reinstalled as the true doctrine, W.Q. was honoured by having her name inscribed in the miniature.

Src.: BassÉt 76 (text) = 191 (tr.); CRAbb 93–99, no. 55 [ms. d'Abbadie 114].

Lit.: Guy Annequin, "L'illustration des Ta'amra Mâryâm de 1630 à 1730: quelques remarques sur le premier style de Gondar", *AE* 9, 1972, 193–226; Claire Bosc-Tiessé – Anaïs Wion, "Inventaire des peintures dates du XVII au début du XIX siècles: question sur l'art gondarien (Éthiopie)", *Les cahiers du Centre de Recherches Africaines* 9, 1998, 215-42; Andrzej Bartnicki – Joanna Mantel-Niećko, *Geschichte Äthiopiens*, Berlin 1978, vol. 1, 194–98; ChojPaint 297; Otto A. Jäger, "Ethiopian Manuscript Paintings", *EthObs* 4, 11, 1960, 353–91; Veronika Six, "Water – The Nile – and the *Täʾamrä Maryam*:Miracles of the Virgin Mary in the Ethiopian Version", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 53–68.

Verena Böll

Wälaytta

Wälaytta language

W., or "Wolaitta" [Wolaytta], is spoken in southwest Ethiopia (Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region) by about 1.5 million people. It belongs to the North ↗Ometo group of the ↗Omotic language family. The neighbouring languages are ↗Kullo, ↗Gamo, ↗Ṭimbaaro, ↗Kambaata, ↗Sidaama.

The consonant segments of W. are: stops (*p*), *b*, *t*, *d*, *ṭ*, *k*, *g*, *q*, *ʾ*; affricates *č*, *ğ*, *č̣*; implosives *ɓ*, *ɗ*; fricatives (*ɸ*), *s*, *z*, *š*, (*ž*), *h*; nasals *m*, *n*; liquids *l*, *r* and glides *w*, *y*. The segments *p* and *ɸ* are free variants in word-initial and intervocalic positions. *ɸ* does not occur as a geminate or as a member of a consonant cluster; in these cases only *p* is used. The alveolar implosive occurs only as geminate and in word medial positions: e.g., *šóɗɗe* 'frog'. The labial implosive knows no such restriction: *ɓánqa* 'very sour', *šoɓɓá* 'armpit', *qáɓe* 'trap'. Lamberti and Sottile (1997) mention only the labial ejective and no implosive. Some speakers pronounce initial and non-geminate implosives as ejective, e.g., *palqa* instead of *ɓalqa* 'split!' but this is most probably due to the influence of Amharic. Lamberti and Sottile (1997) also include "preglottalized phonemes" in their inventory but this is a result of an incorrect analysis/perception of consonant clusters in which the glottal stop features as C2. *ž* is used only in ideophonic words. Gemination is contrastive: *máta* 'near' vs. *mátta* 'bee'. W. has five vowels (*i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*); vowel-length is phonemic: *mára* 'calf' vs. *maára* 'row'. Syllable types are: CV, CVV, CVC, and CVVC (where C = consonant, V = vowel) as in: *tá* 'I', *ʾéé* 'yes', *mal.dó* 'sorghum', and *keet.tá* 'house' resp. Clusters and geminates consist only of two members and occur only word-medially. High and low tone-accent distinction is made, e.g., *góda* 'lord, chief', *godá* 'wall' (high marked with (´); low unmarked). With few exceptions, such as *ha* 'this', *ta* 'my', there are no words with low tones only. Word-final vowels with low tone accent are often devoiced but, unlike the claim in Lamberti and Sottile (1997:47), these do not have phonemic status.

Basic nouns and adjectives end in *e, o* or *a*. Examples: *gáde* 'land', *géne* 'naughty/ mischievous', *ˀoóso* 'work', *zoˀó* 'red', *ˀimattá* 'a guest', *méla* 'dry'. The case system consists of three basic cases (nominative [Nom.], accusative [Acc.] and genitive [Gen.]). Case, gender and definiteness are designated cumulatively, e.g., 'the guest' *ˀimatt-íya* (fem.Nom.) and *ˀimatt-íyo* (fem.Acc.) vs. *ˀimatt-áy* (masc.Nom.) and *ˀimatt-áa* (masc.Acc.). Indefinite nouns are marked for Nom. by *-í*; Acc. is unmarked in indefinite nouns (i.e. in the Acc. the citation form of nouns is used if they are indefinite). Singular is unmarked. Plural is marked by suffixing *-t-* before case markers (only masculine case endings are used in plural): 'the guests' *ˀimatta-t-í* (Nom.), *ˀimatta-t-á* (Acc.). The genitive case for definite feminine and plural nouns is *-ee* and *-u* resp. In the masculine singular, the genitive coincides with the accusative. Examples: *ˀimattá* 'a guest', *ˀimattáa* 'the guest (masc.Acc)', *ˀimatt-ée naˀa* 'the (fem.) guest's son', *ˀimatt-áa naˀa* 'the (masc.) guest's son', *ˀimattá-t-ú naˀa* 'the guests' son'. A noun already marked with the genitive or accusative case can attach additional morphemes for such semantic cases as instrumental (*-ra*), ablative (*-ppe*), dative (*yo/-ssi*), etc.: *ˀimatt-ée-ppe* 'from the (fem.) guest', *ˀimatt-áa-ppe* 'from the (masc.) guest'; *ˀimattá-t-ú-ppe* 'from the guests'.

Possessive, nominative and accusative forms constitute the basic pronoun paradigms of W.

Person	Possessive	Nominative	Accusative
1st sg.	*ta*	*táání/tá*	*táná*
2nd sg.	*ne*	*néénі́/né*	*néná*
3rd fem. sg.	*ˀi*	*ˀá*	*ˀó*
3rd masc. sg.	*ˀa*	*ˀí*	*ˀá*
1st pl.	*nu*	*núúní/nú*	*núná*
2nd pl.	*ˀinte*	*ˀínté*	*ˀíntena*
3rd pl.	*ˀeta*	*ˀetí*	*ˀetá*

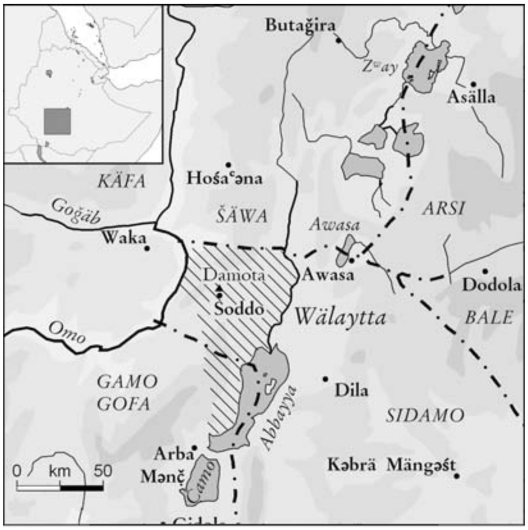
W. has a decimal numeral system. When numerals under 'five' modify a noun, the final vowel of the numeral is replaced by a linking vowel (*i* for *ˀissó* 'one', *u* for the rest of the numerals): *ˀoiddá* 'four', but *ˀoddú naa-t-a* 'four children'. In contrast, the numerals from 'six' to 'nine' lose their final vowel as modifiers: *laáppuna* 'seven' but *laáppun naa-t-a* 'seven children'. Those above 'nine' are similar to the lower numerals: *támma* 'ten' but *támmu naa-t-a* 'ten children'. The quantified noun may occur as singular or plural.

The verb is marked for tense (present, past and future [FUT]), negation, mood (declarative, interrogative and imperative/optative) and optionally for aspect. In the future tense the verb does not inflect for subject, e.g., *demm-aná* (find-FUT) expresses '(I/you/he/she/we/you[pl.]/they) will find'. The past and present tense markers merge with subject agreement, tense, polarity and/or mood markers. The imperative/optative paradigm has no first person form.

Person	Affirmative, declarative		Imperative/ optative
	past	present	
	'to fall'	'to fall'	'to find'
1st sg.	*kúnd-aási*	*kúnd-aísi*	–
2nd sg.	*kúnd-ádasa*	*kúnd-aása*	*demm-á*
3rd fem. sg.	*kúnd-iísi*	*kúnd-eési*	*demm-ó*
3rd masc. sg.	*kúnd-aásu*	*kúnd-aúsu*	*demm-ú*
1st pl.	*kúnd-ída*	*kúnd-oósi*	–
2nd pl.	*kúnd-ídeta*	*kúnd-eéta*	*demm-ité*
3rd pl.	*kúnd-ídosona*	*kúnd-oósona*	*demm-óna*

Person	Negative, declarative	
	past	present/future
	'to see'	'to see'
1st sg.	*beˀ-á-beíkke*	*beˀ-íkke*
2nd sg.	*beˀ-á-baákká*	*beˀ-ákka*
3rd fem. sg.	*beˀ-í-beénná*	*beˀ-énna*
3rd masc. sg.	*beˀ-á-beíkkú*	*beˀ-úkku*
1st pl.	*beˀ-í-boókko*	*beˀ-ókko*
2nd pl.	*beˀ-í-beékkétá*	*beˀ-ékketa*
3rd pl.	*beˀ-í-boókkóná*	*beˀ-ókkona*

Question words are derived from two bases: *ˀa-* and *ˀo*(*o*)- by adding gender and case markers: *ˀa-í* 'what', *ˀa-i-gé* 'which (masc.Nom.)', *ˀa-i-nná* 'which (fem.Nom.)', *ˀa-í-ssi* 'why', *ˀa-udé* 'when', *ˀá-wa* 'where (to)', *ˀá-wa-n* 'where (at)', *ˀoó-ni* 'who', *ˀoó-ssi* 'for whom'. Likewise demonstratives have two basic forms: *ha* (proximal) and *he/ hi* (distal), used in this form as modifiers, e.g., *ha naˀay* 'this boy'. Demonstratives may be nominalized (by *-gé* (masc.Nom) or *-ga* (masc.Acc) and *-nná* (fem.Nom) or *-nnó* (fem.Acc) and distinguish gender and case; in this case they may occur with or without the noun they modify: *ha-gé naˀay* 'this boy (Nom)' or *ha-gé* 'this one (masc. Nom)', *ha-nná* 'this one (fem. Nom)', *he-gá* 'that one (masc.Acc)', *hi-nnó* 'that one (fem.)'.



Manner adverbs are mainly derived by suffixing locative, instrumental or ablative suffixes *-n*(*i*), *-ra* and *-ppe* resp., to nominals, e.g., *ˀakeéka-ni* ‘carefully’ < *ˀakeéka* ‘attention’; *ˀissí-ppe* ‘together’ < *ˀissó* ‘one’.

Nominal derivational suffixes include: *-ta* and *-tétta* (abstract noun), e.g., *laggé-ta* ‘friendship’ < *lágge* ‘friend’, *zoˀó-tétta* ‘redness’ < *zoˀó* ‘red’; the agentive nominalizer *-anča*: *gošš-ánča* ‘farmer’ < *goššá* ‘farm’; the adjectivalizer *-aáma*, e.g., *wolq-aáma* ‘powerful’ < *wolqá* ‘power’. Verb root extensions include causative *-is*(*s*)- (*šoč̣-iss-iísi* ‘he has some one hit’); passive *-ett-* (*šoč̣-étt-iísi* ‘he was hit’) and intensive/distributive *-erett-* (*šoč̣-erett-iísi* ‘he hit repeatedly/several people’).

Demonstratives, numerals, adjectives and relative clauses generally precede the head noun; adverbial and clausal complements precede the verb. Modifiers do not show agreement, e.g., *guútta* ‘small’ and *guútta naˀa* ‘a small child (masc./fem.)’, *guútta naˀíya* ‘the small girl’, *guútta naˀáy* ‘the small boy”. Still, when substantivized, adjectives may be marked for case, gender and definiteness: *guútta-y* ‘the little one (masc.)’ vs. *guútta-íya* ‘the little one (fem.)’.

The basic word order in clauses is Subject-Object-Verb:

heezzú	*kaiso-t-í*	*ˀissí*	*miizz-íyo*	*wuúqq-ídosona*
three	thief-PL-NOM	one	cow-FEM:ACC	steal-3PL:PAST:DCL

‘Three thieves stole a cow’

The standard ten-word list for W. is: *ˀissó* ‘one’, *naaˀˀá* ‘two’, *heezzá* ‘three’, *tamá* ‘fire’, *haattá* ‘water’, *ˀawá* ‘sun’, *ˀagína* ‘moon/month’, *suútta* ‘blood’, *ˀinṭársa* ‘tongue’, *ˀaččá* ‘tooth’.

Src.: Raymond G. Gordon (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 119.

Lit.: Bruce A. Adams, *A Tagmemic Analysis of the Wolaitta Language*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London 1983; Azeb Amha, “Tone-Accent and Prosodic Domains of Wolaitta”, *Studies in African Linguistics* 25, 2, 1996, 111–38; Ead., “Ideophones and Compound Verbs in Wolaitta”, in: Friedrich Karl Erhard Voeltz – Christa Kilian-Hatz (eds.), *Ideophones*, Amsterdam – Philadelphia, PA 2001, 49–62; Ead., [review of Lamberti – Sottile 1997], *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 23, 1, 2002, 79–87; Richard J. Hayward, “‘The Wolaytta Language’ by Marcello Lamberti and Roberto Sottile: Some Reactions and Reflections”, *BSOAS* 63, 3, 2000, 407–20; Marcello Lamberti – Roberto Sottile, *The Wolaytta Language*, Köln 1997 (Studia linguarum Africae orientalis 6); Walter A. Ohman – Hailu Fulass, “Welamo”, in: *BendLang* 155–64; Motomichi Wakasa, *A Descriptive Study of the Modern Wolaytta Language*, Ph.D. thesis, Kyoto University 2008.

Azeb Amha

Wälaytta ethnography

The W. are a people in southern Ethiopia with a population of some 1.5 million people (CSA 2008:77; in 1994 the CSA [1998:66] gave their number as 1,269,216). They are the largest Omotic-speaking group in Ethiopia (of the Ometo sub-group), playing an important role in the Southern Ethiopian Region since 1991, having their own administrative zone since 2000. They are heirs to a powerful kingdom that existed until 1894, and which serves as a nostalgic reference point of past glory. Today W. has a very weak and vulnerable agrarian economy, no industries, little growth, and high population pressure. Densities in some W. rural areas reach up to 750 people per km² (Wolaita Zone 2005). Urbanization is low. The administrative capital is ↗Soddo town; with ca. 76,500 inhabitants (CSA 2008:78).

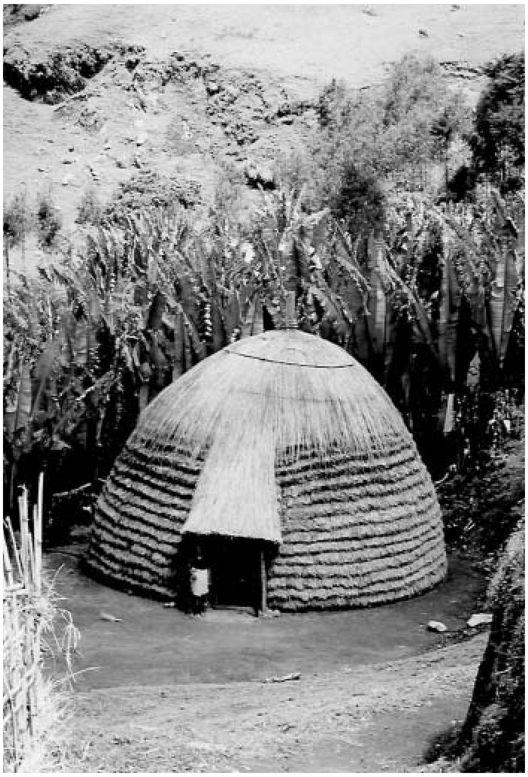
W.’s population is of diverse backgrounds, but a strong W. identity was developed over time, despite significant differences between its various social strata. This is reflected in divergent oral traditions on W. history and society. In the course of the emergence of the historical W. state, groups from neighbouring people, such as ↗Hadiyya, ↗Libido, ↗Arsi, Borodda, Kuča and ↗Dawro, were incorporated and an amalgam culture emerged.

The term “W.” has diverse folk-etymologies, the two dominant being ‘coming together of many’, and the second referring to a W. word for the Ethiopian fig tree (Amh.: *šola*), metaphor of a large, encompassing roof for all people. The term "Wälamo", used in imperial times for the W. district (there was a ↗Wälamo *awrağğa*) is resented as condescending, although its meaning is not clear and it was already known in the 14th cent. (For the history of W. s. also ↗Wälaytta kingdom and ↗Wälaytta-Malla dynasty).

W. society is traditionally composed of more than a hundred patrilineal clans, with diverse origins. While ideas of clan descent diminished in importance, there is a latent distinction between higher and lower clans, referring to ideas of first birth and origins, indigenous status, occupational specialization, and relation to the former kingship. The high-ranking clans are those of the former royals and nobles, followed by those of the free farmers known as *goqa*, with the craftsmen (*hilánča*) and former slaves (*ayle*) at the lower rung of the social ladder. The craftsmen were the largely endogamous castes of tanners, blacksmiths, and potters, many of whom still live in separate quarters or villages (Berhanu Bibiso 2003), although the boundaries with others are fading due to social and economic changes (education, trade, migration). The former high clans are no longer recognized as they were before and have merged with the general population.

The W. economy is agrarian, with ↗*ənsät* and its products, ↗maize, beans, ↗*ṭef*, taro, yam and cereals like wheat, and barley as the main crops. W. also keep livestock. ↗Coffee, butter, sweet potatoes, etc. are sold in the markets. Another major export product is ↗eucalyptus wood, a tree that has replaced virtually all indigenous species.

W. oral tradition contains rich historical and family narratives, and stories about the kings and the deeds of important persons. The oral traditions, as, e.g., recorded by Haberland in the 1950s, are, however, very diverse and do not give "one story" of W. history but many. The *gereesa* is the most important form of recital of these narratives. Dominant themes are valour in battle, deeds of the ancestors, hunting feats and other notable achievements deemed heroic. W. women after reaching a certain age and having proven their social and economic valour were honoured with a ritual called *gimo*, now no longer performed. While oral traditions of the recent past reveal a fierce pride in W. history and culture, these traditions are declining and find little resonance among the youth, which seems preoccupied with survival, educational achievement and the desire to leave the area.


Wälaytta house in the Lašo area; photo December 2003, courtesy of the author

Various religious denominations are present in W. Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity being the first denomination of a world religion to have established in the area. There are various old churches dating from the 17th cent., e.g., in Ofa. Catholicism was brought by European missionaries in the early 20th cent. There are some Muslims; mainly in the towns. A fast growing denomination is the Pentecostal-Protestant movement, which may now be the dominant faith. This Evangelical Christianity was brought to W. by foreigners in the late 1920s (cf. Balisky 1997). Its growth has led to tensions within W. society (e.g. generational), and has created religious antagonism and exclusion of non-believers.

W. have characteristic songs and dances, performed at weddings and other ceremonial events. They are also regularly performed by national dance and theatre companies in Ethiopia. Various W. singers have recorded traditional cultural songs and stories and released them on cassettes and DVDs. The growing Pentecostal faith is inimical to such traditional W. cultural expressions.

In 1999–2000 W. passed through a major crisis due to government plans to enforce one language for the four ethno-linguistic groups Wälaytta, ↗Gamo, ↗Gofa and Dawro ("Wogagoda") for educational and political purposes. A violent revolt in the W. town of ↗Soddo led to people being killed by police, dozens of W. teachers dismissed and exiled, and mediating W. elders arrested. The battle, W. people said, was for the maintenance and assertion of "W. identity". In 2000 the plans were cancelled and W. became a separate Zone.

Contemporary W. is in deep economic distress, with land scarcity and great population pressure (ca. 3–3,5 % annual growth) contributing to serious economic stagnation and social problems, and enduring poverty, leading to generational tensions, e.g. between fathers and their sons, who demand land which is not available. Furthermore the absence of alternatives to agriculture and small-scale trade excabates the problems of the W. zone. The region is quite vulnerable to weather fluctuations, and almost every year food aid is needed for thousands of people. There is serious environmental decline, and a drying out of the land is noticeable. Next to significant seasonal labour migration (to plantations in central Ethiopia), permanent out-migration to towns in the south (↗Awasa, ↗Šašämäne) and to ↗Addis Abäba is growing. While a new university is being developed in Soddo, the overall socio-economic picture of W. is problematic.

Src.: Jon Abbink, *Fieldnotes on Wälaytta*, 2002–07 (ms.); CSA 1998, 66; CSA 2008, 77f.; Eike Haberland, *Fieldnotes on Wälaytta*, 1955, 1967, 1970; Wolaita Zone Finance and Economic Development Main Department, *Zonal Basic Socio-economic and Demographic Information*, Soddo 2005, table 3.1.

Lit.: Altaye Alaro, "*Gulia* and *Golwa*: Seasonal Ceremonies from the Cultural Heritage of Wolayta", *Sociology-Ethnology Bulletin* 1, 2, 1992, 29–31; Id., "*Gomya*: a Mechanism of Social Control in Wolayta Society", *ibid.* 1, 3, 1993, 77ff.; Emon Paul Balisky, *Wolaitta Evangelists: a Study of Religious Innovation in Southern Ethiopia, 1937–1975,* Aberdeen 1997; Berhanu Bibiso, *Production Practices in Damotte Woyda*: *a Case Study of Suro Koyo*, Addis Ababa 1995; Grace Carswell, "Complexity, Change and Continuity in Southern Ethiopia: the Case of Crop-livestock Integration", in: Ian Scoones – William Wolmer (eds.), *Pathways of Change in Africa*: *Crops. Livestock and Livelihoods in Mali, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe*, Oxford – Portsmouth, NH 2002, 91–136; CSA 1998, 66; Dessalegn Rahmato, *Development Interventions in Wollaita, 1960s-2000s*: *a Critical Review,* Addis Ababa 2007; HabKön 253–80; Id., "Sklaverei im alten Wolayta (Süd-Äthiopien)", *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 39, 1992, 157–73; Haileyesus Seba, *Social Change in Wolayta,* Addis Ababa 1996; Sabine Planel, "Du Wolaita à l'Éthiopie", *AE* 19, 2003, 43–71; Ead., "La décentralisation conservatrice en Éthiopie", *Afrique Contemporaine* 221, 2007, 87–106.

Jon G. Abbink

Wälaytta kingdom

The W. state in southern-central Ethiopia emerged in the 13th cent. and existed until 1894, when it was destroyed and incorporated into imperial Ethiopia. It was an early example of state formation in the Omotic-speaking area, which knew small-scale divine chiefdoms (s. ↗Kingship, divine), but not kingship with an elaborate hierarchical government structure. A likely cause of the emergence of the W. hereditary kingship in what was presumably an assembly society with local chiefs and sacrificers, found in various ↗Gamo societies until today, was perhaps the control of the ↗iron ↗trade. Iron, found in the south-western Kindo area, the cradle of the W. state, was important from an early date and was made into weapons and tools, and a means of exchange (*márčua,* thin iron bars functioning as money). Whoever controlled its production and trade was powerful, could control the weapons and expand his hold over people.

W. had two dynasties (hereditary lines of kings): the ↗Wälaytta-Malla, founders of the kingdom, and the "Tәgre" (since ca. 1710). There was probably a gradual take-over of the kingdom by the second dynasty, although in oral traditions this is telescoped into the actions of a few individuals. In addition, oral traditions in W. differ markedly as to names, events and stories about the development of the kingdom, whereby the versions of leading families, former royal clans (Wälaytta-Malla and Tәgre) as well as of commoners and former craftsmen castes diverge at crucial points.

The Wälaytta-Malla state had the king at its apex, with a designated heir (the *bušaše*) and then four advisers (or *oydu ginda*). It also had 'war leaders' (*gadawa*) and officers called *zakara guda*, who were responsible for the work on the royal agricultural estates (Altaye Alaro 1982: 5). The king always ruled with an elite from the leading (*goqa*, 'free') clans and was in part dependent on them. Thus his power was not unconditional, even if he was (as were the kings from the Tәgre clan) an absolute ruler with power over life and death, and treated with ritual awe and a host of behavioural taboos.

In the Ethiopian Middle Ages the W. state, with several hundred thousand inhabitants and a relatively wealthy economy, was well-known to the Ethiopian Solomonic emperors, and contacts through trade and religious and political emissaries probably existed, including the occasional settlement of monks or priests, as reflected in the ↗Täklä Haymanot legend. The 15th-cent. soldiers' song in honour of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq contains a phrase about the "Wälamo" kingdom (Guidi 1889: 55, verse 57), suggesting that this name was originally not denigrating and certainly does not date from the *aṣe* Mənilək's time.

The W. state expanded significantly under the Təgre dynasty since ca. 1710. The Wälaytta-Malla kings had to face the emergence of a group of northern migrants, ancestors of the Təgre royal line. They were led by one Mihala (ca. 1580–1600), who allegedly originated from ↗Tämben. While the individuals first mentioned in this line appear in many oral traditions and may have held positions of authority, the first officially recognized Təgre dynasty king of W. was probably ↗Kote.

The most notable expansion of the W. state occurred under King Sanna (r. 1762-90), who fought the ↗Libido, the ↗Hadiyya and the ↗Dawro and included areas beyond Mount Damota in his realm. He was the most important conqueror king of the W. and decisively shaped the W. state. His royal compound was in Lašo, where he was also buried. His son Ogato continued the expansion to the north-east. The Təgre kings' *sacrum* was symbolized in certain regalia, such as the crown and the golden index-finger ring.

Under the Təgre dynasty the "divine" element in the kingship was reinforced: elect status, supernaturally legitimized authority, powerful personal spirit. This occurred especially under King Amado (1822–48), who was designated as *Ṭossa kawa* (i.e. 'God's king') according to certain oral traditions (Chiatti 1984: 321), not because of his feats in battle but because of his beneficial, wise and strong rule. Nevertheless, the W. kings were never sure of the loyalty of the powerful clans and their subjects.

The Təgre kings developed an elaborate court system based on that of the Wälaytta-Malla system, consolidating a hierarchical state structure, with four advisers (*guda*) below the king, and a head of defence (*močona*), and a council of twelve *balmola* ('councillors'), who had a great say in choosing/confirming the successor king and who were also involved in general policy matters. There was a court system and a police force, and several other offices. The *balmola* acted as a curb on power abuse by the king, and indeed W. kings were often pressurized into making concessions (a case in point was the forced abdication of the tyrannical King Damote, in ca. 1852–53).

All these kings continued warfare against neighbouring groups. It appeared that, apart from attaining valour in the feats of war being a desired cultural ideal, the need to gain additional territory was also necessary for the king to confirm his rule and maintain his hold over the people, especially the leading clans. The engine for state expansion and royal authority was thus territorial conquest. In this same process, the various political and displaced 'ethnic' groups of different backgrounds could be assimilated into the state as well. The 19th cent. was a time of glory for W., especially under the kings Amado (ca. 1822–48) and Gobe (1853–89). The latter was undisputedly the greatest king, who brought warfare to a close, reputedly ruled just and wise, and led the country to economic prosperity. The agricultural wealth and strategic southern position of W. led to Mənilək coveting it for political and economic reasons (including control of the ivory trade through W.), and as King ↗Ṭona refused to acknowledge the Emperor's sovereignty, this led to the disastrous war in 1894, which demolished the W. state structure and brought steep economic decline and an identity crisis to the society.

Src.: Jon Abbink, *Fieldnotes on Wälaytta*, 2002–2007 (ms.); Ignazio Guidi, "Le canzoni geez-amariña in onore di re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 2, 1889, 53–66; Eike Haberland, *Fieldnotes on Wälaytta*, 1955, 1967, 1970 (mss.).
Lit.: Altaye Alaro, *The Political History of Wolayita in the Nineteenth and Twentieh Centuries*, Addis Ababa 1982; Remo Chiatti, *The Politics of Divine Kingship in Wolaita (Ethiopia), 19th and 20th Centuries*, Philadelphia, PA 1984; HabKön; Eike Haberland, "Zum Geschichtsbewusstsein der Wolayta (Süd-Äthiopien)", in: Peter Snoy (ed.), *Ethnologie und Geschichte*: *Festschrift für Karl Jettmar,* Wiesbaden 1983 (Beiträge zur Südasienforschung 86), 212–20; Friedrich Klausberger, "Die Königsdynastien der Wolamo (1270–1900), Süd-Äthiopien", *Wiener Ethnohistorische Blätter* 15, 1975, 29–50; Wanna Wagäšo, **የወላይታ፡ ህዝብ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäwälayta həzb tarik*, 'The History of the Wälaytta People'), Addis Abäba ^{2}2001.

Jon G. Abbink

Wälaytta-Malla dynasty

As one of the few ↗Omotic-speaking (Ometo) societies in southern Ethiopia, the ↗Wälaytta people developed a kingdom at a relatively early stage, probably in the 13th cent. The first line of kings or "dynasty" was that of the W.-M., originally a clan (meaning the 'real', 'full' or 'original Wälaytta'). These kings replaced the formerly dominant Aruǧe people, who had no kingship. Under the W. dynasty a new state emerged, with royal councillors and an executive branch (for the organization of work and implementation of justice) next to the kings. The state expanded to the north and east, largely by military means, and incorporated or displaced various pre-existing groups. Conquest was thus essential to the emergence of the kingship. The W.-M. subsequently developed a form of "divine ↗kingship", with the omnipotent king having supernaturally ordained powers and control over rain, fertility and over the socio-cosmic order in general (Chiatti 1984: 341f.) His descent and position were legitimized in myths of origin. But the authority of the kings was never unquestioned: internal disputes and revolts are frequently mentioned in the oral narratives and, despite his claims, the king's authority was often disputed.

The original base of the W. was the area around the now uninhabited Kindo-Didaye hill in the south-west, which still contains a sacrificial cave allegedly used by the W.-M. Most royal compounds of the W. dynasty were here, although the last W.-M. king (Lače) lived in Wuluše, to the east.

One oral tradition indicates that the first king (*káwo*) of the W.-M. dynasty was Bitto, and that he was followed by eleven others until the "Tǝgre" dynasty took over. Other traditions mention only six kings. The most famous W. king is reputedly "Motolome" (↗Motälämi), a name any Wälaytta person knows, and who acquired fame by being mentioned in the Acts of St. ↗Täklä Haymanot as the king of the south (Damot) who kidnapped the saint's mother and who was later converted by the saint.

Oral traditions differ as to the names and sequence of the W.-M. kings. Haberland (fieldnotes 1955) has six names: 1. Sazze/Satte, 2. Motolome, 3. Awse, 4. Bure, 5. Oče, 6. Lača. Another source (Wanna 2001: 100) gives eight names: 1. Anse, 2. Bure, 3. Saddo, 4. Motole/Motolome, 5 Tulme, 6. Mate, 7. Oče and 8. Lače. Abbink (fieldnotes) has six as well: 1. Sadde, 2. Moddole (Motolome), 3. Samora, 4. Sanna, 5. Oče and 6. Lače. One list (cited in Altaye 1982: 10) had twelve names: 1. Bitto, 2. Sägäd, 3. Sanna, 4. Woddo, 5. Naqsa, 6. Dočiso, 7. Sassa (or Sadde), 8. Motolome, 9. Urunbo, 10. Abose, 11. Birane, and 12. Agize. The historical truth of the "correct" list or even of the existence of the persons mentioned, including Motolome, can no longer be recovered, especially in view of the often divergent oral traditions. Nor have new written sources on the subject become available.

As to the religion of the W. dynasty, it is likely that they followed the traditional Wälaytta religion, despite the legend of Motolome being converted by St. Täklä Haymanot in the 1280s. The W. kings are known to have fought the incursions of the imperial Christian troops. But Orthodox Christianity was present well before the conquest of Wälaytta by *aṣe* Mǝnilǝk's forces in 1894, and was probably brought by the ancestors of the Tǝgre royal dynasty after ca. 1600.

Around 1600 the W. dynasty declined due to constant fighting with neighbouring groups (notably Hadiyya, cf. HabKön 259), to a loss of control over vassal countries, and to dissatisfaction among the people because of *corvée* labour for the war efforts and royal estates. Thus a new elite, allegedly of northern migrant origin, emerged, probably as senior advisors or deputies of the W. kings. Eventually, in the early 18th cent., this elite yielded the "Tǝgre dynasty", with ↗Koté as its first installed king. Nevertheless, the W. clan, often still seen as "owners" of the land, remained important in certain land rituals.

Src.: JON ABBINK, *Fieldnotes on Wälaytta*, 2002–2007, ms.; EIKE HABERLAND, *Fieldnotes on Wälaytta*, 1955, 1967, 1970, ms.

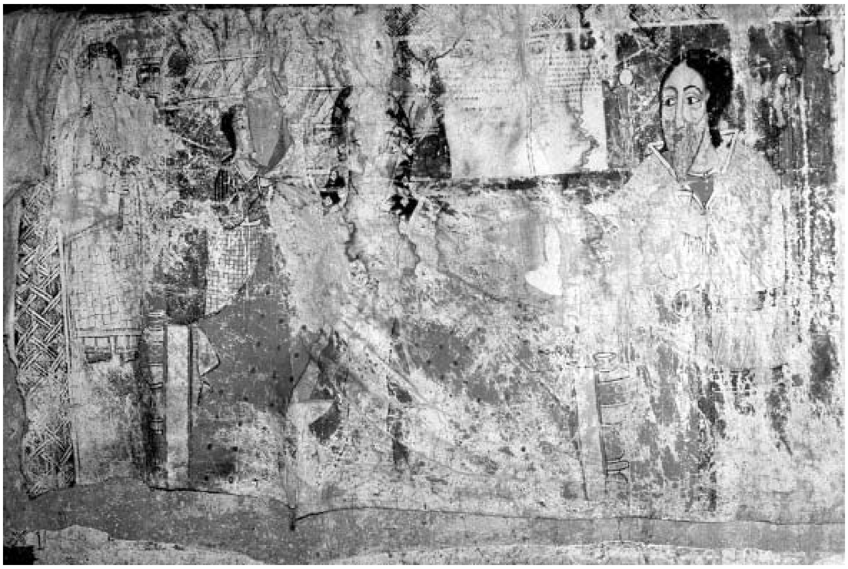
Lit.: ALTAYE ALARO, *The Political History of Wolayita in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Addis Ababa 1982; REMO CHIATTI, *The Politics of Divine Kingship in Wolaita (Ethiopia), 19th and 20th Centuries*, Philadelphia, PA 1984; HabKön; FRIEDRICH KLAUSBERGER, "Die Königsdynastien der Wolamo (1270–1900), Süd-Äthiopien", *Wiener Ethnohistorische Blätter* 15, 1975, 29–50; TSEHAI BERHANE-SELASSIE, "The Question of Damot and Wälamo", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 37–45; WANNA WAGÄŠO, **የወላይታ፡ ህዝብ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäwälayta hǝzb tarik*, 'The History of the Wälaytta People'), Addis Abäba ^{2}2001, 78–79.

Jon G. Abbink

Wäld Śä^{c}ala

Ǝtege W.Ś. (**ወልድ፡ ሠዓላ**, crown name **ሥልጣን፡ ሞገሳ**, Śǝlṭan Mogäsa, b. Däfäsa, Amhara, fl. 1600–28, d. 1661 [?]) was the most important of the wives of *aṣe* ↗Susǝnyos. Oral tradition makes her a member of an influential clan from ↗Wäläqa, her father being a certain *Wälaqa nägaš* Abrako (Wion 2003: 184ff). She would have married Susǝnyos in ca. 1601 (cp., however, with Wion 2003: 183; on W.Ś.'s name and titles cf. Tekle-tsadik Mekouria 1956: 169f.).

W.Ś. was, initially, one of the main opponents of the Jesuit missionaries at the court (cp. ↗Jesuits).



A portrait of the queen Wäld Śäᶜala with Arsanyos, her spiritual father, on the murals of Qoma Fasilädäs; photo 1997/99, courtesy of Anaïs Wion

With the unfolding of the mission, however, she adopted an ambiguous attitude. She was cordial to the Europeans whilst also prompt to defend those who were victims of her husband's arbitrary decisions in favour of ↗Catholicism. In 1627, a Jesuit annual letter described W.S. as possessing a strong character and being very distant to the Jesuits (Almeida to Vitelleschi 1627, 422v; cp. also BecRASO IV, 7). The same document, however, said that thanks to the persuasion of some missionaries she took a more favourable stand towards them (Almeida to Vitelleschi 1627, 422v). During the Christmas of 1628, for instance, she visited and admired the nativity scene that the Jesuits had set at ↗Gännätä Iyäsus (BecRASO XII, 383f.). In 1629, she interceded, though to no avail, with her husband to stop the execution of Adäro, sister of the rebel ↗Täklä Giyorgis (BecRASO VII, 30). It is not clear, however, what role she had during the crisis of 1632 when Orthodoxy was reinstated.

W.Ś. outlived her husband by many years. Her role during the period of expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries and during the reign of her son *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs remains unclear. Besides Fasilädäs, she was the mother of at least another three of the many sons of Susənyos, Marqos, ↗Gälawdewos and ↗Mäläkotawit.

According to oral tradition and to written sources W.Ś. founded the monastery of ↗Qoma Fasilädäs. In the early 1620s, she founded a church at Qoma and endowed it with lands. Some time later, after an agreement between W.Ś. and her son, the monastery was renamed after St. Fasilädäs (Wion in *PICES* 14 and Ead. 2003: 21, 94, 96, 108, 117, 125ff.). She also contributed donations to the construction of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon (Wion 2003: 134 n. 287). Her remains are reportedly preserved at the monastery of her foundation.

Src.: BecRASO IV, 7; VII, 30; XI, 481; XII, 383f.; BegCron 52; Manoel de Almeida to Mutio Vittelleschi, Gorgora, 17 April 1627, Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Goa 39 II, 418r–41r, 422v; PerChron I, 43, 290 (text), II, 34, 224 (tr.).

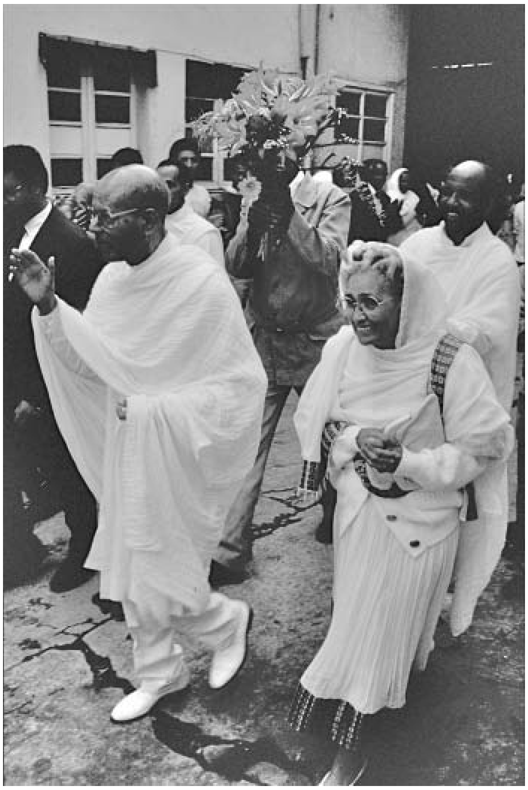
Lit.: TEKLE-TSADIK MEKOURIA, *Les noms propres, les noms de baptême et l'étude généalogique des rois d'Ethiopie (XIII–XXo* [*sic*] *siècles) à travers leurs noms patronymiques*, Belgrad 1956, 169f.; ANAÏS WION, "The Monastic Library of Qoma Fasilädäs", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 275–300; EAD., *Aux confins le feu, au centre le Paradis: Qoma Fasilädäs, un monastère royal dans l'Ethiopie du 17*$^{\text{ème}}$ *siècle*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris 1-Sorbonne 2003.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam

W.A. (**ወልደ፡ አብ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም**; b. 27 April 1905, ᶜAddi Zarna, Säraye, d. 15 May 1995, Asmära), widely regarded as the father of modern ↗Eritrea, was a prominent political activist. Both of his parents came from ↗Təgray. W.A. was educated at Swedish Evangelical Mission schools where he later also served as a teacher and director (↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen).

In 1942, the British authorities, who had taken over the administration of Eritrea (↗British



Wäldä Ab Wäldä Maryam in April 1993 on the way to the polling station on the occasion of Eritrea's independence, Asmära; photo courtesy of Tom Dassel

Military Administration), enlisted W.A. as editor of the ↗Tǝgrǝñña-language weekly newspaper, *Nay Erǝtra Sämunawi Gazeṭa* (↗Eritrean Weekly News). The newspaper became an important forum in shaping the debate over the future of Eritrea and W.A.'s own involvement and prominence grew substantially. He was one of the founders of the ↗Maḫbär Fǝqri Hagär, which after some policy changes became the forerunner of the ↗Unionist Party. W.A., like some other founding figures of the Maḫbär, was reluctant to commit himself to an unconditional union with Ethiopia and seemed to favour the British position that initially proposed some form of British trusteeship over "Greater Eritrea" (Tǝgray–Tǝgrǝñña) under the nominal sovereignty of the Ethiopian Emperor. W.A. was also keenly aware of the growing disenchantment of Eritrean Muslims with the prospect of union with Ethiopia.

In an attempt to close the growing Christian-Muslim rift regarding the future of Eritrea, W.A. took the initiative of calling a meeting at Bet Giyorgis in November 1946. His proposal for a "conditional" union with Ethiopia was roundly condemned by a majority of the Christian leaders, and the last meeting ended in recrimination when the ardent unionist ↗Tädla Bayru pointed out W.A.'s Tǝgrayan origin and questioned his right to meddle in Eritrean affairs. When officially organized parties began activities in 1947, W.A. first aligned with the ↗Liberal Progressive Party led by *ras* ↗Täsämma Asbärom, but soon withdrew and founded his own organization, the Association of Eritrean Intellectuals. Both of these parties had very few followers among Eritrean Christians, nor did they make a clear cut call for independence. The Liberal Progressive Party claimed that Tǝgray and Eritrea were inseparable and that they were opposed only to Šäwan hegemony, and not to Ethiopia. W.A. continued to raise the possibility of some form of union with Ethiopia. In a letter to Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śǝllase I, he declared in 1947 that he had never been opposed to union with Ethiopia and that he called for a conditional union only to appease Muslim Eritreans who were averse to total union.

W.A.'s plea for "conditional" union fell on deaf ears both among Eritrean Christians and Ethiopian officials who regarded him as a puppet of the British authorities. Exacerbated by the increasing attack from the unionists, W.A. joined the Eritrean ↗Independence Bloc that was led by ↗Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. W.A.'s position became even more precarious after the establishment of the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation. He continued to decry the erosion of Eritrean autonomy. Numerous attempts were made on his life, some of which seem to have been organized by officials of the imperial Ethiopian government. His nemesis, Tädla Bayru who was elected chief executive of Eritrea, hounded him into exile in 1953. W.A. was given asylum in Egypt where Nasser's government allowed him to make Tǝgrǝñña Radio broadcasts into Eritrea for some time. Although he played some role in the founding of the ↗Eritrean Liberation Movement in 1958, W.A. remained alienated from Eritrean politics in the diaspora which was dominated by the originally more Muslim oriented ↗Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF). His association with ↗Uṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabbi of the ELF/PLF was purely nominal.

In 1987 W.A. came out of political oblivion when he was invited to Saḥǝl to address the Second Congress of the ↗Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (EPLF). He returned to ↗Asmära after the EPLF's victory in 1991. In addition to his involvement in Eritrean politics, W.A. is credited with popularizing Təgrəñña writings.

Src.: TƎKʷABO ARÄSSƎᶜ (ed.), **ምሩጻት፡ አንቀጻት፡ አቶ፡ ወልደ፡ አብ** (*Məruṣat Anqäṣat Ato Wäldä Ab*: *1941–1991*, 'Selected Articles of Ato Wäldä Ab: 1941–1991'), Asmära 1995 [review by YAQOB BEYENE, *RSE* 38, 1996, 258–63].

Lit.: ᶜALÄMSÄGÄD TÄSFAY, **አይንፈላለ** (*Aynfälalä*, 'We will not Tear Apart'), Asmära 2001; LLOYD ELLINGSON, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941–1950", *JAH* 18, 2, 1977, 261–81; SHUMET SISHAGNE, *Unionists and Separatists*: *the Vagaries of Ethio–Eritrean Relation, 1941–1991*, Hollywood, CA 2007.

Shumet Sishagne

Wäldä Ewosṭatewos

Däǧǧazmač W.E. (**ወልደ፡ ኤዎስጣቴዎስ**, also known as **ወረኛ** Wäräñña; d. 24 January 1763, Damot; GuiIyas 207) was an influential 18th-cent. noble. Probably a native of ↗Damot (cf. Perret in PICES 8, vol. 2, 132), he allegedly became ↗*šum* of that province in 1730 replacing *däǧǧazmač* Kombe, whom locals had forced to be dismissed on the grounds that he was not a local (GuiIyas 46f. [tr.]). W.E. was a relative of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) and a close friend of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II (cp. GuiIyas 181 [tr.]). His name also appears in the church lists of ↗Narga Śəllase (Bosc-Tiessé 2001:536f.).

Between September and December 1730, following the accession of Iyasu II, W.E. quickly rose to higher positions in the military, from *šalaqa* to *fitawrari* and finally to *däǧǧazmač* of Damot (GuiIyas 31, 37, 46f. [tr.]). In December 1732, he went to the Guta country and made the inhabitants pay as tribute 2,000 oxen to the Emperor and his consort and 500 oxen to himself (GuiIyas 53f. [tr.]). During the same month he went to fight in Goǧǧam against the rebel ↗Tänśe Mammo, whom he captured and took to Gondär towards the end of 1733 (GuiIyas 86f. [tr.]; Guidi 1926:414).

Soon after, W.E. was recalled to Gondär where he defeated a group of rebels who wanted to proclaim one Ḥəzqəyas "Wäräñña" Emperor (GuiIyas 54ff. [tr.]). At this point, W.E. would have counted under his command a large army composed of ↗Mäč̣č̣a, ↗Ǧawe, Damot, Däräbe, ↗Yəlmana and Dänsa (GuiIyas 77ff. [tr.]). W.E. and some of his men were immediately rewarded for their loyalty to the Emperor: *asallafi* Näčo, his relative, was appointed *fitawrari* (GuiIyas 81 [tr.]) on 8 January 1733 and on 7 February 1733 W.E. and *azzaž* Giyorgis were each robed in a honorary *kappa*–cloak and received an *anbar* ('bracelet'), a belt and a golden dagger (Guidi 1926:408).

In September/October 1737, W.E., together with other *śəyyumanä wäsän* ('chiefs of the frontiers') – *däǧǧazmač* Adäru (Goǧǧam) and *däǧǧazmač* Ayo (Bägemdər) – payed a visit to Iyasu II, then convalescent in Gondär (GuiIyas 91 [tr.]). In January 1739 he captured and took to Gondär a certain rebel named Bäkaffa who claimed to belong to *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob's lineage. Sentenced to death, the rebel was eventually pardoned (GuiIyas 91, 93 [tr.]). Towards the end of 1746, W.E. participated with the Emperor in a campaign in Wag (GuiIyas 139ff. [tr.]). In 1750, he also received the governorship of Goǧǧam (GuiIyas 137, 162f. [tr.]). In 1755, he was still *śəyyumä wäsän* together with ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul (GuiIyas 174 [tr.]).

At the end of 1755 or beginning of 1756, W.E. was accompanied by *balambaras* ↗Ǝšäte of Qʷara in a campaign against a certain "Nana Gergis". The decisive battle took place at Kilti, on the banks of the River ↗Täkkäze, the side of W.E. emerging victorious. However, on this occasion W.E. seems to have played a double game, probably with the aim of protecting his own interests and alliances. He thus refused to hand over the rebel Kidanä Wäld Mammo to Ǝšäte (GuiIyas 187–90 [tr.]) and in October 1756 he even became reconciled with Nana Gergis (GuiIyas 193 [tr.]). These events might perhaps explain the use in the royal chronicle of the nickname "Wäräñña" (Amh. for 'rebel') to designate W.E.

Src.: GuiIyas 31, 37, 46f., 53-56, 77ff., 81, 86f., 91, 93, 137, 139ff., 162f., 174, 181, 187-90, 193, 207 (tr.); IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Due nuovi manoscritti della 'cronaca abbreviata' di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 6ª, 2, 1926, 357–421, here 408, 414.

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, *Art, Église et royauté aux XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ siècles*: *écriture de l'histoire et "fabrique" des images dans les églises du lac Ṭānā*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris I 2001, 536f.; MICHEL PERRET, "Les partis à la cour de Gondar en 1769", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 129–36, here 132.

Dimitri Toubkis

Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel

Ras W.G. (**ወልደ፡ ገብርኤል**, fl. 1791–79, d. 1799) was a noble from ↗Lasta. The son of Fasil of Damot, he and his brother *ras* ↗ᶜAśrat jointly represented the Lasta group who contended for the domination of the court of ↗Gondär as kingmakers during the early period of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. In 1791/92, the two brothers defeated *ras* ↗Aligaz of ↗Yäǧǧu and forced him to go back to his region. After these encounters, W.G. was seen fighting at Flakit, in 1795, and in the spring of 1797 in the area of Näfas Mäwç̣a (Crummey 1975: 7).

Reportedly, towards 1795 W.G. deposed ↗Täklä Giyorgis and placed on the throne ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam II who named W.G. *ras bitwäddäd*. His rise in power, however, was not well accepted by his brother who abandoned him and went over to W.G.'s rival *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq. When ↗Märəd Ḫaylu came to power, a dispute over the ownership of the lands of ↗Maḫdärä Maryam arose between the latter and W.G. When the dispute was not resolved, on 15 July 1799, the two leaders fought each other at Wägära. On the side of W.G. were *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gugsa Märsa and *fitawrari* Alula, whilst their opponents included *ras* ↗Gäbre Täsfa of Səmen, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Mikaᵓel Ǝšäte and ᶜAśrat. W.G. and his rival Märəd died in the battle (Crummey 1975: 7; Tekle-Tsadik Mekouria in PICES 8). The outcome, however, was to favour the supporters of W.G., the Yäǧǧu Oromo chiefs, who thereafter returned to dominate the court of Gondär as king-makers until they were removed from power in 1853.

Src.: BlunChr 181f.; BTafA 436, 625, 885, 983; ZanLitTheod 1f.

Lit.: Donald Crummey, "Ç̣äç̣äho and the Politics of Northern Wällo – Bägémder Border," *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 1–9, here 7; TSTarik IV, 390–93; Tekle-Tsadik Mekouria, "Histoire abregée de Haylou Esheté (Degiazmatche)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 189–213, here 207f.; Wudu Tafete, *A Political History of Wag & Lasta, C. 1543–1919*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995, 11f.

Wudu Tafete Kassu – Red.

Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel

Däǧǧazmač W.G. (**ወልደ፡ ገብርኤል**, horse name Abba Sayṭan; b. ca. 1837, d. after 1894) was an important officer of Mənilək (future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) in his early years.

W.G. lived in Gondär during the time of ↗Tewodros II. He was possibly one of the officials who helped the future Emperor escape from the prison of Mäqdäla in 1865. He thence became a trusted confident and councillor of Mənilək and was given the title of *däǧǧazmač* along with the governorship of Wäsil and Bäräk̠ät at the eastern escarpment of Šäwa.

For Mənilək, W.G. brought under control the ↗Ittuu Oromo and in 1885 expanded his governorate as far as ↗Č̣ärč̣är. In 1885 W.G. also assigned Alfred ↗Ilg to build a bridge over the Awaš. W.G. founded two *kätämas*, Gälämso and Boroma, to the west and to the east of Č̣ärč̣är, respectively.

W.G. had territorial conflicts with *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase which had to be resolved by Mənilək. In late 1886, after the demise of the ↗Porro expedition and the removal of the Egyptian garrison from ↗Harär, Mənilək saw his chance to conquer ↗Harärge and assigned W.G. to the task. W.G., who had army composed of soldiers from Arsi, Č̣ärč̣är and Ittuu, mobilized a Gondär regiment with such officers as *fitawrari* Kolase of Ifat and occupied a territory north-west of ↗Harär, where he established a camp at Hirna. His army was, however, defeated in a surprise attack by a Harari force under an Ottoman general of *amīr* ↗ᶜAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad. Taken aback by unfamiliar pyrotechnic effects, W.G.'s soldiers deserted the battlefield. On 6 January 1887 W.G. was involved in the battle of ↗Č̣ellenqo, this time victorious.

W.G. was called, along with *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ləᶜul Sägäd, to Mənilək's camp at ↗Däse in 1890. The two were ordered combat the rebellious *däǧǧazmač* ᶜAbbay. W.G. went out victorious. He subsequently settled at his newly established camp of Tänqʷe Bäläl.

In 1894, W.G. with his family was living in Ginnir, where he was visited by the American traveller Donaldson Smith, who provided a description of W.G.'s household and estimated his age at 57 (1897: 76ff.).

Src.: Henry Audon, "Voyage au Choa. Abyssinnie méridionale, 1884–1888", *Le Tour du Monde* 2, 1889, 113–60, here 144; Jules Borelli, *Éthiopie Méridionale. Journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama, septembre 1885 a novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 179, 229f., 244; BTafA 761, 771–75, 892, 982; Arthur Donaldson Smith, *Through Unknown African Countries*: *the First Expedition from Somaliland to Lake Lamu*, London 1897, 62–82, 91ff., 98–107; GueCopMen 238–41, 289f.

Lit.: BrHad 302; BZHist 63; Luigi Fusella, "Le Biografie del Blātengētā Ḫeruy Wålda Sellāsē", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987], 15–52, here 42; HerTar 71; Kofi Darkwah, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813–1889*, London 1975, 107; MahHorse 195–98, 266; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913,* Oxford 1975, 91, 124; PankHist II 191f., 204; Chris Prouty Rosenfeld, *A Chronology of Menilek II of Ethiopia, 1844–1913*, East Lansing, MI 1976, 119, 253; Ead., *Empress Taitu and Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London 1986, 54f.

Isabel Hofmann – Red.

Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel

Däǧǧazmač W.G. (**ወልደ፡ ገብርኤል**; fl. late 19th–early 20th cent.) was an important court official of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu and *əṭege* ↗Zäwditu. He started his career as a soldier of Mənilək, but was soon distinguished for his potential and appointed *däǧ* ↗*aggafari*, later being elevated to ↗*ligäba*. He had this title ca. 1887 when Mənilək entrusted him with supervising the reconstruction of the church of Mädḫane ᶜAläm at Aqaqi.

Under *ləǧ* Iyasu W.G. was dismissed from his position as *ligäba* but given the title of *däǧǧazmač*. In July 1910, for *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw, he fought alongside *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ləᶜul Sägäd against *ras* ↗Wale, who eventually submitted. W.G. was subsequently appointed governor of ↗Kämbata instead of Ləᶜul Sägäd.

Under Zäwditu, W.G. had diplomatic career and was appointed a Minister at the ↗*Gəbbi*. In 1911 he was sent as the head of a delegation to Brussels and Paris.

During the ↗coup d'état 1916, W.G. fought alongside Gäbrä Śəllase in the decisive battle of ↗Sägäle.

In 1918–20 W.G., with the title of ↗*fitawrari*, governed the province of ↗Bale. He was very old but still alive in 1922.

Src.: GueCopMen 524, 623.

Lit.: BrHad 326f., 396f.; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Le Biografie del Blātengētā Ḫeruy Wålda Sellāsē", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [print. 1987], 15–52, here 41.

Isabel Hofmann

Wäldä Giyorgis

Ras W.G. (**ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**, d. 1664) was the grandson of *qes ḥaṣe* Baḥrəy and the brother of *abeto* Akalä Krəstos. In 1636/37 he was appointed *ras* by *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (s. ms. Ṭānāsee 136 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 25, fols. 115v–118). W.G. is well known for his military campaigns during the 1650s against the Oromo ↗Tuulama, Wako, Moz and Gonga.

W.G. died together with his sons in 1664, possibly in disgrace, and was replaced by another military chief, *ras* Lawis. W.G. is often remembered through his descendants: he married a daughter of *aṣe* Fasilädäs, Əskəndərawit, by whom he had at least two sons, *abeto* Qoste and *abeto* Mikaᵓel. The latter was the father of Maryamawit, mother of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa.

Src.: BassÉt II, 290f.; BegCron 40, 52f.; DombrChr 201f.; GuiIohan 136, 290; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Le règne de Fasiladas (ᶜAlam Sagad) de 1632 à 1667", *RevSem* 6, 1897, 360–72 (text) = 1898, 84–92 (tr.), here 89ff.; SixTana III, 147, ms. Ṭānāsee 136 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 25, fols. 115v–118.

Anaïs Wion

Wäldä Giyorgis

W.G. *ras* "of Agaṣ" (**ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**; d. ca. 1710) was a prominent figure at the court of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I of ↗Gondär.

In 1696 W.G. was involved in a conspiracy against Iyasu, this plot was discovered and W.G. had to flee. He sought shelter in the house of *wag šum* ↗Arᵓayo, but was later forgiven. W.G. was appointed *azmač* of ↗Bägemdər by Iyasu on 28 February 1702. The following year he responded to the command of Iyasu that he join the king at the ↗Abbay for an expedition to the ↗Gibe, and, in the course of the expedition, he made carnage among the ↗Gonga (GuiIohan 219, 255 [text], 233, 239 [tr.]).

At the end of Iyasu's reign, W.G. appeared as a supporter of Iyasu's usurping son, *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot I. Identified as "*däǧǧazmač* of Səmen and husband of *wäyzäro* Wälättä Rufaᵓel" (tr. by the author), he was one of a group of Gondär notables, most prominent among them *ras* ↗Fares, who proceeded to proclaim Täklä Haymanot as king in 1706 (BassÉt II, 56f.). Two years later, on the death of Täklä Haymanot, *ligaba* W.G., quite possibly the same man, and other notables "who were devoted to Täklä Haymanot", had him buried on the island of Kəbran (BassÉt II, 63).

We learn of W.G. in quite a different capacity, as the creator of the "*aläqənnät* of ↗Gälawdewos". This is first mentioned in an anonymous will, which, in retrospect, was clearly made by W.G.: "I have made Gälawdewos my first born", reads the will, "let him be the leader in the house of my mother and of my father" (tr. by the author; UNESCO, Dima 10:2.6, fol. 1). It mentions the town Agaṣ, which, apparently, is north-east of Səmada, in Bägemdər. It suggests that W.G. may have had two daughters, Marta and Ənqʷəlal, and a second son, Näč̣č̣o. Some of the relationships surrounding the founding of the *aläqənnät* are confusing. Several sources, including Basset's short chronicle referred to above, make Wälättä Rufaᵓel, daughter of Iyasu I, the wife of W.G. and mother of Gälawdewos (Kropp 1989: 169–77). However, several other sources claim that the wife of W.G. and mother of Gälawdewos was *əmmäbet* Bərute and that Wälättä Rufaᵓel was the mother of Gälawdewos's wife, *wayzäro* Wälättä Ṣəyon (Kropp 1989; BritLib, Orient. 778, fol. 1v).

Whatever the relationships, W.G. recognized Gälawdewos as his heir and endowed him with the family *aläqənnät*. This institution was to persist into the early decades of the 19th cent. (CrumLand 115–21, 126). We know neither the date of W.G.'s birth, nor of his death, although the latter may have occurred sometime before 1710.

Src.: BassÉt II, 56f., 63 (text) = 167, 175, 308f. (tr.); BegCron 70f.; DombrChr 239, 260, 275f.; GuiIohan 183ff.,

219, 225 (text) = 192ff., 233, 239 (tr.); UNESCO mf. at the IES Dima 10:2.6, fol. 1; BritLib Orient. 778, fol. 1v.
Lit.: CrumLand 115–21, 126; DONALD CRUMMEY, “Three Amharic Documents of Marriage and Inheritance”, in: *PICES* 8 vol. 1, 315–27; MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däğğazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalische Studien 13), 167–77; RICHARD PANKHURST, “Wag and Lasta: an Essay in the Regional History of Ethiopia from the 14th Century to 1800”, in: *PICES* 7, 213–31.

Donald Crummey

Wäldä Giyorgis

Ǝç̣ç̣äge W.G. (**ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**; d. June 1918) was a prominent ecclesiastic of the ↗Mənilək II era.

From his early years, W.G. was a monk at the monastery of ↗Maḫbärä Śəllase. He was then called to the court of *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot of Goğğam, and gradually accumulated considerable power. He participated in the battle of ↗Ǝmbabo between Täklä Haymanot and *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa on 6 June 1882, both inspiring Täklä Haymanot’s soldiers and fighting himself. Mənilək won the battle, and W.G. followed the victor to Šäwa.

W.G. gradually won Mənilək’s confidence, and in 1896, following the battle of ↗^{c}Adwa, he appointed W.G. ↗*nəburä əd* of Aksum. W.G. was thus entrusted with significant control over the border province of ↗Təgray; his contemporaries called him “Mənilək’s agent in Təgray”.

In 1906, W.G. succeeded *əç̣ç̣äge* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase as the head of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, thus finally becoming a part of the Šäwan court. In 1909, W.G. was granted landed property in Aksum by ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul.

W.G. was also involved in royal politics. In 1910, under instigation of *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw, he annulled the marriage between the minor *ləğ* ↗Iyasu and Ṭaytu’s young niece Romanä Wärq, interrupting the progress of the tie between the two families. While during the ↗coup d’état 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081), the Metropolitan *abunä* Matewos hesitated in his loyalties, W.G. openly sided with Ṭaytu’s party and excommunicated *ləğ* Iyasu. During the battle of ↗Sägäle, he encouraged the soldiers of *ras* Täfäri (the future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I).

W.G. was buried at Däbrä Libanos.

Src.: CerDLib III, 167f.; LUIGI FUSELLA, “Le Biografie del Blātengētā Ḫeruy Wålda Sellāsē”, *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987], 15–52, here 42f.; GueCopMen 450, 459, 524, 623.
Lit.: BZHist 127f.; CHRIS PROUTY ROSENFELD, *A Chronology of Menilek II of Ethiopia, 1844–1913*: *Emperor of Ethiopia, 1889–1913*, East Lansing, MI 1976 (Occasional Papers Series 4), 251.

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Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye

Nəguś W.G.A. (**ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ አቦዬ**, horse name Abba Sägäd; b. 1851, Mänz, d. 1918, Däbrä Tabor) was one of the most prominent Ethiopian generals who spearheaded ↗Mənilək (II)’s southward expansion at the close of the 19th cent. His mother, *wäyzäro* Ayahlušim was a granddaughter of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase. His father, *afä nəguś* Abboyye (Abba Ǧawi), a nobleman from ↗Mänz, served briefly as governor of Šäwa under *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II in the late 1850s before he was removed to Bägemdər where he died ca. 1863. The young W.G.A. started service in *nəguś* Mənilək’s court as a page and rose through the ranks to become chief of the personal guard of the *nəguś* with the title of *grazmač* in 1883. The most important turn in his career came in 1885 when he became one of half a dozen officers selected by Mənilək to take responsibility for the recently annexed territories to the south-west under the supervision of *ras* ↗Gobäna Dač̣i. W.G.A. was named *däğğazmač* and appointed over ↗Limmu.

Using Limmu as his base, W.G.A. embarked on large-scale military expeditions that resulted in the incorporation of ↗Kullo, ↗Konta and other areas to the south as far as the Omo river. He also assisted ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar of Ǧimma in the incorporation of the kingdom of “Ǧanğäro” (↗Yäm); helped *däğğazmač* ↗Täsämma Nadäw in defeating the ↗Gomma resistance; and joined Mənilək in the conquest of ↗Wälaytta in 1894.

Already made a ↗*ras* in 1893, W.G.A. continued his pressure on the kingdom of ↗Käfa by annexing its subordinate territories. The total defeat of this last remaining independent principality was delayed by the mobilization for the ↗Italian war 1895–96. Due to the distance, the southern armies led by *ras* W.G.A. and *däğğazmač* Täsämma did not reach Addis Abäba until after Mənilək and the bulk of his army had started moving to the north. Instead of proceeding to the main war front in Təgray, W.G.A. and Täsämma were instructed to place themselves under the command of *azzaž* ↗Wäldä Ṣadəq and head east against *sulṭān* ↗Maḥámmad “Illálta” Hanfad̮é of Awsa who had just switched his loyalty from Mənilək to the Italians. *Sulṭān* Maḥámmad was defeated in January 1896 and news of the victory reached Mənilək on the eve of the battle of ↗^{c}Adwa.

W.G.A. resumed the offensive against Käfa soon after his return from the Awsa campaign. This time he was assisted by a much larger force led by Abbaa Ğifaar II, *däğğazmač* Täsämma and *däğğazmač* Däməssäw. Käfa was overrun after nine months of resistance and the king ↗Gaki Šeročo was captured in September 1897. W.G.A. set out for Addis Abäba to hand over the captured king to the Emperor, only to return back immediately to participate in an expanded expedition ordered by Mənilək along the southern and south-western border areas; an apparent move designed to preempt British and French ambition in that direction.

Ras W.G.A. was instructed to advance from Käfa into the south annexing all lands that lay along the way to the 2° north meridian and establish a foothold at Lake ↗Turkana. On 29 March 1898 he planted the Ethiopian flag on both of its shores. Report of this campaign is given by the Russian traveller Alexander ↗Bulatovich, who accompanied the troops of the *ras*.

Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye (left) with two unidentified generals in the German newspaper "Deutsche Kolonialzeitung" from 1906; from the collection of Friedrich Julius Bieber, courtesy of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, University of Hamburg

Control over the rich province of Käfa allowed W.G.A. to maintain one of the largest and best equipped armies in the empire. The dazzling military display he presented with his 32,000 strong army in Addis Abäba for the seventh anniversary of the battle of ᶜAdwa was greatly admired. There was little doubt that W.G.A. had emerged as one of the most powerful military chiefs when Mənilək's health began to wane beginning in 1906. As a cousin of the Emperor and grandson of Śahlä Śəllase, there was suspicion among the nobility that W.G.A. might harbour ambition for the throne. This may have been one of the reasons why Mənilək bypassed W.G.A. in favour of *ras* Täsämma to serve as a regent for his designated successor *ləğ* ↗Iyasu.

Although W.G.A. appears to have chosen to stay out of the political fray in the capital, the power struggle between the new regime under *ras* Täsämma and *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu who still had control over the ailing Emperor, made neutrality untenable. Ṭaytu's strong following in the north could only be neutralized by someone who had the military muscle that W.G.A. had. The regency, therefore, invited W.G.A. in July 1910 to take the governorship of Bägemdər, Səmen and some districts in Wällo – the areas that were held by Ṭaytu's close relatives and supporters including *ras* ↗Wale Bəṭul of Yäğğu, *ras* ↗Gugsa Wale and *däğğazmač* Gässäsä of Səmen. With a prominent Šäwan in charge of Ṭaytu's power base, Täsämma's group was able to effectively quash any attempt to resurrect the power of the deposed Empress. W.G.A.'s authority extended into Təgray as well since he was charged by the central government to oversee the stability of the region. In 1914 he marched into ᶜAdwa with a force that numbered 50,000 to suppress a rebellion led by *däğğazmač* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər who had killed *ras* ↗Səbḥat Arägawi and two of his sons.

W.G.A. was once again called to the national political stage when *ləğ* Iyasu was deposed in September 1916 (↗Coup d'état 1916, s. EAE vol. 2, 1081). The forces that plotted Iyasu's deposition were acutely aware of the challenges they faced from supporters of *nəguś* Mikaᵓel and *ləğ* Iyasu in Wällo and Təgray. W.G.A.'s support for the new regime was crucial. He was called upon to assist in the campaign against the supporters of *ləğ* Iyasu and promised a generous reward. W.G.A. marched to Däse, mopping up remnants of *nəguś* Mikaᵓel's followers along the way. From there he proceeded to Addis Abäba where he received the title of *nəguś* of ↗Gondär on 18 February 1917.

Src.: ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes*: *Country in Transition*, 1896–1898, ed., tr. by RICHARD SELZER, Lawrenceville, NJ 2000; EDUARDO GLEICHEN, *With the Mission to Menelik 1897*, London 1898; GueCopMen s. index; MÄRSƎʾE-ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QƎRQOS, **የሀያኛው፡ ክፍለ፡ ዘመን፡ መባቻ፡ የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ ካየሁ፡ ትና፡ ከሰማሁት** 1896–1922 (*Yähayyaññaw kəflä zämän mäbača yäzämän tarik təzzətaye kayyähu tənna käsämmahut, 1896–1922*, 'The Beginning of the 20th Century. My Recollection of the Time, from what I Saw and Heard: 1896–1922'), Addis Abäba 1999 A.M. [2006 A. D.]; *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 8, 24, 2, 1906, 76 (ill.).
Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Two of the Last Provincial Kings of Ethiopia", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 29–55; BZHist, s. index; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKURYA, **አጼ፡ ምኒልክና፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ አንድነት** (*Aṣe Məniləkənna yäʾityopya andənnät*, '*Aṣe* Mənilək and the Ethiopian Unity'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990 A.D.].

Shumet Sishagne

Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs

Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz W.G. (**ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወልደ፡ ዮሐንስ**; b. 4 August 1901, Bulga, d. 29 July 1976, London) was a powerful Minister of the government and close confidant of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. He was born to a humble family of saddlers and cobblers in Šäwa.

W.G. received his early traditional education at the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase church in Addis Abäba. He later joined the ↗Mənilək II Secondary School where he was educated in French (Bahru Zewde 2003: 24). His formal education ended at the primary school level (HSLife II, 16).

In June 1920, W.G. was appointed customs inspector at the Customs Office in Addis Abäba. Thereafter, he joined Mənilək II Hospital as dispenser, interpreter, and clerk. Following a brief stint as interpreter for *däğğazmač* ↗Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəʾel while he was being treated for diabetes in France, he became interpreter for *ras* Täfäri (the future Ḫaylä Śəllase I).

In 1926 W.G., together with ↗Loränso Taʾəzaz, was sent to Geneva to assist the Ethiopian Mission to the ↗League of Nations. Shortly after his return, he was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in charge for the Italian, Belgian and German sections. He rose to the position of Director General of the Ministry in 1931. He was one of the young, educated Ethiopians Ḫaylä Śəllase had recruited to promote his reform and centralization efforts. In 1934, he was promoted to the position of Director General of the Ministry of the Pen (HSLife II, 16).

During the Italian occupation W.G. planned the flight of Ḫaylä Śəllase and the royal family and accompanied them into exile (Greenfield 1965: 223; HSLife II, 47). While abroad, *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot, supported by the Italians, tried to plot against W.G. and Ḫaylä Śəllase, distributing leaflets with a fake seal of the Emperor and forged signature of W.G. However the plot had no success, the support of the local ↗Resistance by the British, under Colonel ↗Sandford, forced the Italians to withdraw from Goğğam (Greenfield 1965: 254). The weakened position of the Italians gave the Emperor the chance to re-enter Ethiopia via Sudan (HSLife II, 100).

After the liberation W.G. was appointed Minister of the Pen (↗*Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*). From 1941 on he was the most intimate confidant of Ḫaylä Śəllase and most powerful politician in the mission of centralizing Ethiopia. He accompanied Ḫaylä Śəllase on several state visits to Europe and the ↗United States. From 1943–49 W.G. also became Minister of the Interior, and later even Minister of Justice (ClapHS 112). W.G. reportedly used an efficient spying ring, and took advantage of his position in the most ruthless ways (Greenfield 1965: 293).

W.G.'s powerful position aroused envy among other politicians, such as *däğğazmač* ↗Takkälä Wäldä Ḥawaryat, who were in favour of forming a parliament and breaking up the old palace structures (Greenfield 1965: 291). Rumours spread by W.G.'s opponents reported that he might plan a military coup d'état. An allegation

Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs; from ZRErtra 433 that later found some affirmation as a weapon depot was found under W.G.'s house on Ǝnṭoṭṭo (Greenfield 1965: 296). As W.G. had made many enemies, the pressure on Ḫaylä Śəllase to dismiss W.G. grew from all sides, especially from ↗Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld, formerly a good friend of W.G. (ClapHS 115). W.G. was finally dismissed and appointed governor of ↗Arsi province in 1955. As a sign for a general change in politics, which had also caused W.G.'s fall, the Revised Constitution was promulgated (↗Constitutions) that same year. From 1960–61 he was sent to ↗Gamo Gofa province.

In 1961 W.G. returned to Addis Abäba but lived retired in his house on Ǝnṭoṭṭo. In February 1974 he suffered a stroke and was transferred to London for treatment, where he died two years later.

Src.: HSLife II, 16, 47, 100; Anon., "Walda Giyorgis Walda Yohannis", *The Times* 10 August 1976, 12 [obituary].

Lit.: Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia*, Oxford – Athens, OH – Addis Abäba 2003, 24, 74, 78, 177ff., 197, 205; BZHist 198f., 204ff.; ClapHS 110–19, et passim; FanTarik 548–51; Richard Greenfield, *Ethiopia, a New Political History*, London 1965, 223, 254, 295–98, et passim; MockWar 73, 225, 382; PerGov 89, 91f., 98; ZRErtra 433 (ill.).

Amḫa Märsᶜe Ḫazän – Red.

Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs

Blattengeta W.G. (**ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወልደ፡ ዮሐንስ**; b. 1894, Gubela, Šäwa, d. 19 December 1981, Addis Abäba) was a journalist, editor, and statesman and is considered to be a pioneer of Ethiopian journalism.

W.G. received a traditional education at ↗Wärra Illu and ↗Gondär, where he studied under *aläqa* Ḫəruy Fänta. In 1920/21, W.G. accompanied his former teacher to Addis Abäba, when Ḫəruy had been summoned by the then Crown Prince Täfäri Mäkʷännən (the future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), to help translate a number of Gəᶜəz works into Amharic. W.G. worked for ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, who introduced him to Täfäri. W.G. himself was employed by Täfäri to translate, to teach, to act as secretary scribe in the government treasury and to compose and recite ↗*qəne*. Later W.G. startet to work in the ↗*Bərhanənna Sälam* printing press and became assistant editor (later editor) of the monthly magazine **ከሣቴ፡ ብርሃን፡ ለልበ፡ ጠቢባን** (*Käśate Bərhan Läləbbä Ṭäbiban*, 'The Revealer of Light to the Heart of Wise Men'; ↗Press).

During the Italian occupation W.G. fled the capital in order not to collaborate with the Italians, as many journalists were compelled to do. Yet in 1937 he was arrested and sentenced to death, which was later commuted to imprisonment. One year later, however, he was released and forced to write for the fascist newspaper *Corriere dell'Impero*. At the same time he secretly wrote pamphlets for the ↗Resistance movement, such as *Yäwänd ləǧ kurat səlähagär mämot*, in which he appeals the people to fight for Ethiopia's independence. He also wrote for the ↗*Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər*.

When the British forces entered Addis Abäba in 1941 they requested W.G. to set up a newspaper which he called ↗*Addis Zämän*. He himself was a frequent contributor to the paper as well as to *Sändäq ᶜalamaččən* (formerly ↗*Banderaččən*). He edited both papers from 1959 to 1962 and then became Assistant Minister responsible for all Amharic newspapers and magazines. In 1966 on the 25th anniversary of the founding of *Addis Zämän*, W.G. was appointed to rank ↗*blattengeta* and awarded the official title of "Father of Ethiopian Journalism". In 1967 he also became adviser to the Ministry of Information and served in this capacity until 1974 when he finally retired due to his deteriorating health. That was about three month before the downfall of Ḫaylä Śəllase, and W.G. could live relatively peaceful under rule of the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council).

W.G. wrote several works both in prose and poetry (cp. MolLit 37f.; cp. FanTarik 547; GerLit 439). After a visit to Europe he wrote *Bəlṣəgənna bägəbərənna*, a reflection on growth and development. Many of his works were in praise of the Emperor and his family. The most famous and most widely read of his books is the novel *Agʾazi*, which appeared in 17 instalments in *Addis Zämän* from 1946 onwards, and was published as a book in 1968/69. W.G.'s contribution to Ethiopian journalism and Amharic writing in their early, pioneering stages was remarkable. Ahead of his time, he was open to new, foreign, ways of thinking and was aware of what the modern, technological world could do to help Ethiopia.

W.G. must not be confused with his contemporary and close confidant of Ḫaylä Śəllase, *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs, as has happened in some publications such as Gérard (GerLit 315ff.).

Src.: Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs, **የወንድ፡ ልጅ፡ ኩራት፡ ስለሀገር፡ መሞት** (*Yäwänd ləǧ kurat səlähagär mämot*, 'A Man is Proud to Die for his Country'), Addis Abäba 1927 A.M. [1935/36 A.D.]; Id., **ጀግና፡ ሰው፡ ተጋዳይ፡**

ለጠላቱ፡ አልሞት፡ ባይ (*Ǧägəna säw tägaday läṭälatu almot bay*, 'The Brave Man Fights on, Telling his Enemy he will not Die'), Addis Abäba 1928 A.M. [1936/37 A.D.]; Id., **ብልጽግና፡ በግብርና** (*Bəlṣəgənna bägəbərənna*, 'Wealth through Agriculture'), Addis Abäba 1941 A.M. [1948/49 A.D.]; Id., **አግአዚ** (*Agʾazi*, 'The Ruler') Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]; HSLife II, 16 n. 47.

Lit.: FanTarik 544–48; GerLit 315ff., 321, 325, 338, 439; KaneLit 12, 117, 158f., 178f., 258; MolLit 29–45.

Jack Fellman – Maxim Zabolotskikh

Wäldä Ḥawaryat

W.Ḥ. (**ወልደ፡ ሐዋርያት**; d. 1 January 1733) was an official of the court of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa. He was appointed to the office of ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* on 5 October 1722 (BassÉt 81), which he held until his death. He may have been the same figure as a ↗*mäggabi* W.Ḥ., who is mentioned as an official with reference to an event in April 1721, during the reign of the preceding *aṣe* ↗Dawit (BégCron 102).

W.Ḥ. appears to have been the guardian of the ↗*Kʷərᶜatä rəʾəsu* icon, kept in the Church of Gəmǧa Bet Maryam, in the Gondär castle compound, which, from time to time, accompanied the Emperor on military expeditions.

W.Ḥ. is mentioned in the chronicle rarely and only in passing. Early in 1723, when Bäkaffa left Gondär for a major expedition, W.Ḥ. remained behind (GuiIohan 276). However, when, at the end of 1725, the Emperor left for an expedition against rebels in ↗Lasta, W.Ḥ. accompanied him along with the *Kʷərᶜatä rəʾəsu* (ibid. 297). On the same expedition he was present at a major review of the royal army near ↗Č̣äč̣äho. On 6 November W.Ḥ. and the icon were back in Gondär.

Following the death of Bäkaffa, in September 1730, W.Ḥ., along with the metropolitan, *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu, and the *əč̣č̣äge*, ↗Täklä Haymanot, presided over the funeral ceremony (GuiIyas 31). His final appearance was during the anti-*Qʷaräñña* rebellion of 1732, when, at the end of December, rebels, who had seized the royal compound, forced the leading ecclesiastical officials, W.Ḥ. among them, to pronounce anathema on the recently-crowned ↗Iyasu I and his mother Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa; GuiIyas 72). W.Ḥ. died, two days later, in the battle in which the royalists crushed the rebellion.

Src.: BassÉt 81 (text) = 197 (tr.); BégCron 102, 109; GuiIohan 276 (text) = 294f. (tr.), 297 (text) = 319 (tr.); GuiIyas 31 (text) = 32 (tr.), 72 (text) = 78 (tr.).

Donald Crummey

Wäldä Ḥəywät ↗Hatätä Zärᶜa Yaʾəqob

Wäldä Ləᶜul

Ras W.L. (**ወልደ፡ ልዑል**; d. 27 March 1767) was a major figure in the court politics of ↗Gondär from the 1730s to the 1760s, the brother of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) and leading member of the *Qʷaräñña* faction (↗Qʷara), which dominated the palace and state during those decades.

The principal source of information about W.L. is the royal chronicle (GuiIyas). He was the son of *wayzäro* Ǝnkoyye and *däǧǧazmač* Mänbär. He had four half-brothers on his father's side and was the father of at least seven children. At different times he held the titles of *ṭäǧǧ asallafi*, ↗*bitwäddäd*, ↗*ras*, and *rəʾəsä mäkʷannənt*.

W.L. first achieved prominence during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, of whom he was a favourite (BruNile II, 609). His first recorded appointment occurred in September 1730, following the ascent to the throne of his nephew, ↗Iyasu II, and his sister, Məntəwwab (GuiIyas 34 [text]). The following June, he was appointed as *ṭəqaqən* ↗*blattengeta*. In December 1732, a major revolt broke out. The rebels wanted to unseat the recently-crowned Iyasu and Məntəwwab and besieged the castle compound. W.L. was prominent among the successful loyalist defenders in recognition of which he received, on 8 January 1733, appointment as *bitwäddäd* (GuiIyas 65f., 75). The title of *ras* followed later that year. In January 1740, "chief of nobles …, chief general" and great councillor to the Emperor, he led an expedition to subjugate *däǧǧazmač* Ayo of Bägemdər (BruNile II, 629f.). In April 1744 he participated in a royal expedition to ↗Sinnār, which ended in defeat and the humiliating loss of the ↗*Kʷərᶜatä rəʾəsu*, an icon, which since the late 17th cent. had always accompanied the Ethiopian rulers into battle (GuiIyas 113ff.; BruceNile II, 636–41). In November 1746, he led first the vanguard, then the rearguard, in a successful royal expedition to ↗Lasta and ↗Təgray. The principal thrust of the expedition had been to gain the submission of *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul of Təgray, which, following a siege of Mikaʾel's stronghold of Samayata, was obtained on 7 January 1747 (BruNile II, 647–53). W.L. was confirmed in office as *ras bitwäddäd* on 3 September 1747, on 14 July 1748, in September 1751, July 1752, September 1753 and September 1754 (GuiIyas 141, 143, 154, 155, 157, 163).

The death of *aṣe* Iyasu II in June 1755 precipitated a major crisis. While events confirmed W.L.'s position as lead courtier, the existence of tension between him and Məntəwwab was indicated by the fact that the queen used her cousin, Ǝšäte, as a go-between with W.L., and it was she who nominated ↗Iyoᵓas as successor to his father, a decision in which W.L. acquiesced (GuiIyas 164f.). W.L. was again re-confirmed in his position on 22 September 1755, in October 1757, September 1758, October 1759, September 1760, October 1761, October 1762, September 1764, September 1765 and September 1766 (ibid. 174, 184, 187, 193, 194, 197, 198).

The last episode in W.L.'s career, his intervention in the Council of ↗Kayla Meda, occurred in October 1763. We have contradictory accounts of his role. Both accounts agree that he was then instrumental in having *däǧǧazmač* Yabo Barya expelled from Gondär. The first account gives no motive for this action and claims that he acted as a pacifier of the turbulent clergy, who pillaged and beat *əč̣č̣äge* Henok. The second explains it as part of W.L.'s intervention, which was far from peaceful. Motivated by jealousy of the "orthodox" Ǝšäte he had actively worked to support the insurrectionists and led the pillaging. Religious sectarianism was his primary motive for acting against Yabo Barya (GuiIyas 198–202).

W.L. was buried in the Yoḥannəs church, which he had built (ibid. 223). Only two years after his death, the rule of the *Qʷaräñña* faction came to an abrupt end (BruNile II, 669ff.).

W.L. was a prominent holder of ↗*rim* lands, especially those attached to the churches of Qaha Iyäsus, ↗Narga Śəllase and ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam, Gondär (CrumLand 106f.).

Src.: GuiIyas 34, 65f., 75, 113ff., 141, 143, 154, 155, 157, 163ff., 167, 174, 184, 187, 193f., 197–202, 223 (text) = 36, 69ff., 80, 124f., 152, 154, 164, 166f., 173ff., 177, 184, 194, 196, 202f., 206–11, 232 (tr.); BruNile II, 609, 629f., 636–41, 647–53, 669ff.

Lit.: CrumLand 106f.

Donald Crummey

Wäldä Maryam ↗Historiography; ↗Tewodros

Wäldä Maryam

According to the lists of the ↗*əč̣č̣äge* published by Cerulli (CerDLib III, 160ff.), W.M. (**ወልደ፡ ማርያም**; fl. mid-19th cent.) was the 49th holder of this office.

For all that he participated in epochal events, surprisingly little, starting with the dates of his birth and death, is known about him. Apparently he was originally from ↗Waldəbba and is first mentioned in a Catholic source with reference to the presence in ↗Gondär in 1852 of Catholic clergy, whose activities W.M. attempted to block in association with the ↗*käntiba* (CerDLib III, 161, citing Conti Rossini 1916: 503).

The following year, in May 1853, W.M. was present at the formal return of *abunä* ↗Sälama to Gondär, and, in 1855, accompanied *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II on his expedition to Šäwa. In the course of this expedition, W.M. and Sälama were accused of spreading sedition against the Emperor (ZanLitTheo 25; MorTeod 164f.). It was during W.M.'s tenure that Tewodros reversed the long-standing precedence of the *əč̣č̣äge*'s office *vis à vis* that of the Metropolitan (↗*Abun*). At the time of the Council of ↗Amba Č̣ara in 1854, Tewodros placed Sälama on his right and W.M. on his left, thereby recognizing the *abun* as superior in rank to the *əč̣č̣äge* (CerDLib III, 162; MonVidTeod 27; in this account the *əč̣č̣äge* is not named).

At an uncertain date, Tewodros appointed Wäldä Tənśaᵓe to replace W.M. as *əč̣č̣äge*, Wäldä Tənsaᵓe thereafter serving apparently for the bulk of Tewodros's reign (CerDLib III, 162).

Src.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Fonti storiche etiopiche per il secolo XIX, I. Vicende dell'Etiopia e delle missioni cattoliche ai tempi di ras Ali, deggiac Ubié e re Teodoro secondo un documento abissino", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 25, 1916, 425–550, here 503; ZanLitTheo 25; MorTeod 164f.; MonVidTeod 27 (text) = 32 (tr.).

Lit.: CerDLib III, 160ff.

Donald Crummey

Wäldä Mikaᵓel Sälomon

Ras W.M. (**ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ሰሎሞን**; b. ca. 1823, Hazzäga, d. 1906, Aksum; popularly known as Wäldänkel, Gomida, or *Ǝmbiyalä* Wäldu) was a nobleman of ↗Ḥamasen, who was renowned as an intrepid and tactful military leader as well as an astute judge, though at times rather impetuous. He is widely regarded in Eritrea as a national hero, and some writers view him as the pioneer of Eritrean nationalism. His father was *ayte* Sälomon, the eldest son of *käntiba* ↗Zärᵓay, a descendant of the 18th-cent. *baḥri nägaśi* Gäbrat, and his mother *əmbet* ↗Ǝllen, both of whom had played active political and military roles in the region in the 1830s and 40s.

A descendant of a line of rulers of Ḥamasen, W.M. was born and brought up in ↗Hazzäga. The exact date of his birth is unknown, and sources give different dates ranging from 1810 to 1827. Equally little is known about his early life and education apart from the fact that he grew up in an arena of conflict. At home, there was an incessant rivalry for power between his parents and a cousin, Gäbray Habtä Ṣəyon, who had inherited the greater part of their paternal grandfather's wealth. There was also a longstanding conflict on a larger scale between his extended family and the ruling dynasty of ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga, a neighbouring district inhabited by a people distantly related to that of Hazzäga. In addition to these conflicts, there were intermittent invasions from the lords of Təgray and Səmen (cp. ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam) who exacted tribute from Ḥamasen, ↗Akkälä Guzay and ↗Säraye during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

According to the available records, W.M. began his administrative career in the 1850s under his brother, *ayte* (later *däggäzmati*) Märᵓəd, an ally of "Agäw" ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaᵓel. After the death of Agäw Nəguśe in 1861, *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II arrested and imprisoned Märᵓəd on Mount ↗Mäqdäla where he eventually died. W.M. joined the new governor, *däggiyat* ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən of Ṣäᵓazzäga, who was appointed by Tewodros to govern ↗Märäb Məllaš, and Ḫaylu gave W.M. a large part of Ḥamasen to govern.

Däggiyat Kaśa Mərč̣a (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV) imprisoned Ḫaylu in 1868 and appointed W.M. governor of the greater part of Märäb Məllaš. W.M. was accused sometime later of corresponding with the French government, allegedly seeking support in an effort to achieve independence for Märäb Məllaš, and he was consequently arrested in 1869 and imprisoned at ↗Ambalage, Təgray. Wäldä Iyyäsus, the governor of southern Təgray and brother-in-law of Yoḥannəs IV, rebelled in 1872–73 and released W.M. from prison.

W.M. went straight to ᶜAdwa and submitted to Yoḥannəs IV who kept him at his court until November 1875. That month, W.M. fought on the side of Yoḥannəs against an Egyptian army led by the Danish officer, Arendrup, at ↗Gundät. In fact, he intercepted an Egyptian military contingent which was transporting equipment and captured about 700 weapons. In return, the sovereign pardoned W.M. and appointed him governor of Ḥamasen under *däğğazmač* (later *wag šum*) Gäbru Wəbät, the very man who had had him imprisoned five years earlier. Dissatisfied with the offer, W.M. rebelled and went over to the Egyptians on whose side he fought in the battle of ↗Guraᶜ in March 1876 (↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war, 1875–76). When the Egyptians lost the battle, W.M. escaped to the western lowlands which were under the jurisdiction of the Egyptians, and gradually built up an army of those who, for one reason or other, had fled the highlands. Yoḥannəs IV released Ḫaylu from prison and appointed him governor of Märäb Məllaš after the victory of Guraᶜ. This imperial act revived the traditional feud between Ṣäᶜazzäga (represented by Ḫaylu) and Hazzäga represented by W.M. From this time onward, W.M. intermittently marched into the highlands to confront his rival.

The Egyptians and their European mercenaries who, when they invaded the Christian highlands of Eritrea, had lured W.M. to their cause with false promises, accused him of cruelty and treachery. General Charles ↗Gordon, who governed the Sudan on behalf of Egypt, and Augustus B. ↗Wylde, the British "Vice-Consul for the Red Sea", alleged that he had raided and devastated "the seat of his old Government, and turned the Ḥamasen plateau, formerly known by the name of the plain of the thousand villages, owing to its fertility and industrious population, into a howling wilderness of ruined houses, with a few half-starved peasantry" (Wylde 1901:27). His military campaign was actually an attempt to defeat his traditional rivals and regain his gubernatorial office in accordance with the convention of the region at large.

In the summer of 1876, W.M. marched his men to Ḥamasen and confronted Ḫaylu at Wäkkədəbba, near Asmära. Ḫaylu was killed in the heat of the battle and his army routed. Among the officers of W.M. killed in the battle was his firstborn son, Mäkʷännən, which grieved him greatly and provoked an outburst of rage against the people of Ṣäᶜazzäga.

Yoḥannəs IV immediately sent a huge army to Ḥamasen under the command of one of his leading generals, *ras* Baryaᵓu Gäbrä Ṣadəq. W.M. engaged him in a pitched battle in Asmära in 1878, defeated and killed him. But he had to retreat again to the western lowlands for fear of an attack by Yoḥannəs IV himself. Yoḥannəs appointed a junior officer, *šaläqa* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, over Märäb Məllaš and put him at the head of a large army. Alula preferred to use a strategem rather than confronting W.M. on the battlefield. He offered him peace and reconciliation guaranteeing him safety. Under pressure from Gordon *pasha*, the Egyptians had at this time refused to support W.M. This also coincided with famine and the outbreak of an epidemic in the region which seriously affected W.M.'s army. Hence, he accepted Alula's offer in 1879.

In September of the same year, Alula took W.M. with him to ᶜAdwa where Yoḥannəs was preparing the celebration of ↗*Mäsqäl* and suddenly brought charges against him. The sovereign sentenced him to imprisonment for life and sent him to ↗Ǝnda Abba Sälama together with some of his sons. A year and a half after the death of Yoḥannəs in 1889, one of the political pretenders released him from his mountain prison, free to go wherever he wanted. W.M. did not wish to surrender himself to the Italians who in the meantime had occupied his home region, and instead he retired to ↗Aksum where he died of illness 15 years later.

Src.: BTafY; BAIRU TAFLA, "Troops, Missionaries and an Anonymous Observer – a Presentation of an Evidentiary Document", *Eritrean Studies Review* 5, 1, 2007, 183–209; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), "Epistolario del debterà Aseggachègn di Uadlà", *RRALm* ser. 6^{a}, 1, 1925, 449–90; WILLIAM MCENTYRE DYE, *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia*, New York 1880; KolTrad I, s. index under Uoldenchiél; RubActa III, s. index; AUGUSTUS B. WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia*, London 1901, 21, 26, 28, 30, 47, 193.
Lit.: ErDizBio; FanTarik 541f.; KilHDic 258f., 434f.; RubInd s. index; YƎSḤAQ YOSEF, **እምቢያለ፡ ወልዱ፡ ጎሚዳ፡ – ታሪቅ፡ ራእሲ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል** (*Ǝmbiyalä* Wäldu Gomida – *tarik̠ raᵓəsi* Wäldä-Mikaᵓel, 'A Biography of *Ras* Wäldä Mikaᵓel'), Asmära 2000; ZewYoh s. index.

Bairu Tafla

Wäldä Ṣadəq

Azzaž W.Ṣ. (**ወልደ፡ ጻድቅ**; d. February 1909, Ankobär) was an important official during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II.

Of low (possibly Oromo) descent (cp. GueCopMen 606 n. 1), he is believed to have helped Mənilək in his escape from ↗Mäqdäla in 1865, in return for which he acquired the status of the future Emperor's protégée.

In 1877, having with W.Ṣ.'s help subdued a local revolt at ↗Ankobär, Mənilək appointed him *wähni* ↗*azzaž,* i.e. governor of the state prison (↗Wähni Amba) and of the district of Ankobär (CecZeila I, 165; MasMis^{2} vol. 5, 356f.). In this charge, which he held until his death, W.Ṣ. was responsible for guarding many prominent prisoners.

Thus, in 1889, the briefly arrested Abbaa Ǧifaar was placed in W.Ṣ.'s hands (GueCopMen 280). In the same year he is reported to have been instrumental in Mənilək's dropping charges against the scribe (probably ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis) who had tried to warn the Emperor against accepting Article 17 of the ↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty (BTafA 845).

In 1892, *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel of Harär sent the cattle looted during his successful campain in ↗Ogaden to Ankobär for Mənilək via ↗Erär. The ᶜAdalites wanted to appropriate the booty, but W.Ṣ., who was sent to receive the tribute, defeated them. However, an epidemic from an infection conveyed by the animals broke out among his soldiers, many of whom died (GueCopMen 322f.). W.Ṣ., who fell ill himself, left the cattle to the ᶜAdalites and ordered all roads be closed to keep the Emperor safe at Ankobär. He could not nevertheless prevent the epidemic of reaching the town, and Mənilək had to escape to ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo (ibid.).

In October 1895, while Mənilək was preparing his campaign against the Italians, he left W.Ṣ. along with *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase and *däǧǧazmač* Ḫaylä Maryam (a brother of *ras* Mäkʷännən) in full charge of the country (GueCopMen 375).

In 1895/96 W.Ṣ. participated alongside *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Täsämma Nadäw, in a successful military expedition against the *sulṭān* of the neighbouring sultanate of ↗Áwsa *amoyta* ↗Maḥámmad "Illálta" Ḥanfaḍé and fought in the battle of ↗Millee (GueCopMen 404f., 437). He also took part in the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, commanding 3,000 infantry, a few months later.

In 1903 W.Ṣ. is reported to have become a guardian and tutor of the Emperor's grandson *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, when the latter was brought from Wällo to Šäwa and accommodated at Tämqi near Ankobär (GueCopMen 540 n. 5; Märsəᵓe Hazän Wäldä Qirqos 2002/03: 44, 69).

Src.: BTafA 845, 983f.; CecZeila I, 165, 273f., 421; GueCopMen 133 n. 4, 280, 282 fig. 41 (seal of W.Ṣ.), 322f., 375, 404f., 437, 453, 528 n. 4, 540 n. 5, 606 n. 1; HerTar 74; MÄRSƎᶜE ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ በዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ዘመን፡ መንግሥት** (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətayye bädagmawi Mənilək zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memories of the History of the Period of Mənilək II's Government'), Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2002/03 A.D.], 44, 69; MasMis^{2} vol. 5, 356f., 360; vol. 6, 97.
Lit.: HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913,* Oxford 1975, 46, 51, 71, 215.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Wäldä Ṣadəq Goššu

Bitwäddäd W.Ṣ.G. (**ወልደ፡ ጻድቅ፡ ጎሹ**, "horse name" Abba Gəšän; b. ca. 1870, Gola, d. 1 May 1937, Addis Abäba), was an important politician and personality during the time of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, *nəgəśtä nägäśtat* ↗Zäwditu and *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

W.Ṣ.G. started his career as private secretary of *ras* ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase, whose daughter, *wäyzäro* Təsäme, he married. He was known as a master of Amharic, both in speech and in writing. In the following years he moved to ↗Addis Abäba and was appointed by *aṣe* Mənilək ↗*käntiba* of Addis Abäba and separately of ↗Gondär.

In 1907 W.Ṣ.G. was appointed to the first Ethiopian Cabinet as Minister of Agriculture. In 1911, W.Ṣ.G. participated in the conflict between *ras* ↗Abatä Bʷayaläw and *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, on the side of *ras* Abatä. After the ↗coup d'état 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081) W.Ṣ.G. participated in the battle of Maqdäla between the Šäwän troops and Iyasu in 1917.

He was dismissed together with other members of the Cabinet in 1918 and exiled. However, in the same year he returned to the capital to become Minister of Interior. At the end of his career, before the ↗Italian war of 1935/36 he became President of the ↗Senate.

In 1935 he was sent to ↗Gore as a representative of the Emperor. During the Italian war, the day before his departure from Ethiopia, *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase appointed W.Ṣ.G. President of the Provisional Government at Gore. However, W.Ṣ.G. surrendered to the Italians at the end of November 1936. He was one of the victims of the ↗Graziani massacre (MahHorse 267). His wounds eventually led to his death.

Wäldä Ṣadəq Goššu in the German newspaper "Die Woche" from 1911; from the collection of Lorenz Jensen, courtesy of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, University of Hamburg

Src.: GebMolIyas 363, 382, 385f., 391, 509; HSLife, 179, 291; GueCopMen 528; MÄRSƎʾE HAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ በዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት። (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətayye bädagmawi Mənilək zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memories of the History of the Period of Mənilək II's Government'), Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2002/03 A.D.], 23, 34, 45, 50f., 120f.; MahHorse 267; TSTarik IV 94.

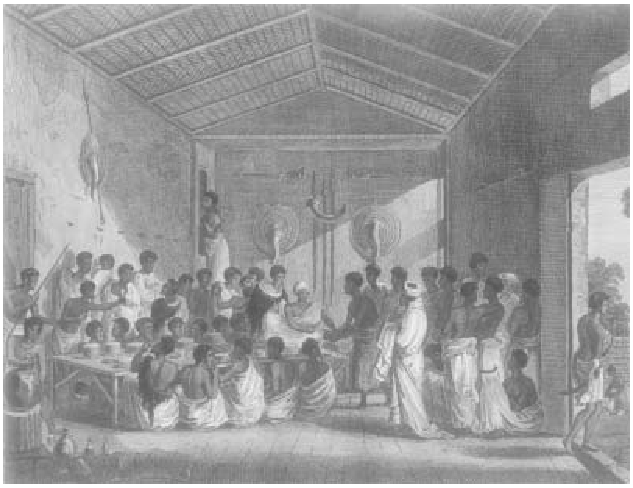
Lit.: MockWar 136, 163f, 167.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Wäldä Śəllase

Ras W.Ś. (**ወልደ፡ ሥላሴ**; b. ca. 1733, d. May 1815), dominated northern Ethiopia in the 1790s and the early years of the 19th cent. His base of operations was Ḥənṭalo (↗Anṭalo) in ↗Ǝndärta, from where he ruled Təgray with its dependencies. He was a proponent of the ↗*hulätt lədät* ('Two Births') theological doctrine, and his principal national rivals were the ↗Yäǧǧu rulers of ↗Bägemdər.

His father was Kəflä Iyäsus, a local noble of Ǝndärta. W.Ś. entered the national political arena in 1781 with the title of *šaläqa*. He was a supporter of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis I as *nəguśä nägäśt*, a posture he maintained for much of the next twenty years (BlunChr 23 [text] = 235 [tr.], 39 [text] = 257 [tr.]). In May, 1783, *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis appointed him as ↗*balgäda* (BlunChr 66 [text] = 297 [tr.]), i.e. governor of Ǝndärta. That same year W.Ś. went to war against his neighbour *ras* ↗Gäbre Täsfa of Səmen in support of Täklä Giyorgis. The appointment as *balgäda* was contested in Təgray, by *däǧǧazmač* Wäldä Gäbrəʾel, son of and successor to, ↗Mikaʾel *Səḥul*, the ruler of Təgray (i.e. ↗ᶜAdwa region, without W.Ś.'s governorate of Ǝndärta). Not until the death of Wäldä Gäbrəʾel in 1788, did W.Ś. achieve ascendancy in Təgray itself (AbPrince 31f.). Over the years relations between Wäldä Gäbrəʾel and W.Ś. were strained at best. In 1795, W.Ś. supported the claims to the throne of the ephemeral *aṣe* Bäʾədä Maryam, whose "reign" lasted a matter of months (Rüppell 1840: 383). However, at some other point during this same year, *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis appointed W.Ś. as ruler of all of Ethiopia from the ↗ᶜAngäräb, just outside Gondär, to Massawa (BlunChr 163 [text] = 434 [tr.]; an area corresponding to the greater ↗Bambolo Məllaš, which had been given to predecessors of W.Ś.). In 1796 W.Ś. appears to have been reconciled with *ras* Gäbre, who visited him in Aksum.



Imaginative depiction of a feast at the court of the Təgrayan ruler in the early 19th cent.; from the collection of Wolbert Smidt

The following year, however, they again came into conflict when W.Ś. joined with *ras* ↗Märʾəd Ḫaylu and *däğğazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq of Goğğam to promote the restoration of Täklä Giyorgis to the throne. In 1798 W.Ś. again formally submitted to Täklä Giyorgis, bestowing the ruler with lavish gifts, in appreciation of which Täklä Giyorgis appointed him as *ras* and *bəhtwäddäd*. Writing of this event, the chronicler praised W.Ś. as a great prince (*mäkʷännən*), who deposed no one, who made no one king, and who did not lift his hand against the Lord's anointed (BlunChr 173 [text] = 450 [tr.]; Rüppell 1840: 386). Despite this panegyric there continued to be tension between W.Ś. and Täklä Giyorgis. W.Ś. sent emissaries to the King of Kings asking him to bring reconciliation between himself and *ras* Gäbre, but, apparently, then went ahead and did this on his own, which displeased Täklä Giyorgis. Not for long. In February of that year Täklä Giyorgis confirmed W.Ś.'s appointment as *bəhtwäddäd*, and awarded him the revenue of Təgray for four years, "because he has helped me" (BlunChr 180 [text] = 459 [tr.]).

The end of 1799 found W.Ś. again at war with Gäbre in support of Täklä Giyorgis as king of kings. Täklä Giyorgis spent the period from March to June, 1800, his last as king of kings, in Təgray (Rüppell 1840: 388f.). He then withdrew to the monastery of Waldəbba, where he lived out his last years. This final eclipse coincided with the rise of a new star in the firmament of Ethiopian national politics. ↗Gugsa Märsa of Yäğğu had arrived in Təgray, where, in January, 1800, he received appointment from Täklä Giyorgis as *däğğazmač* of Bägemdər (BlunChr 180 [text] = 459 [tr.]; CRReal 2ff. [text] = 863f. [tr.]).

W.Ś.'s relations with Gugsa went through stages. His appointment, in 1800, as *däğğazmač* appears to have been with the blessing of W.Ś. However, in 1803, Gugsa joined with *əččäge* Wäldä Yona to expel Two Birth doctrinal adherents from central Ethiopia, and, following the death of *abunä* ↗Yosab II, plundered his property (CrumMis 25). These actions were opposed by the ruler of Goğğam, *däğğazmač* ↗Zäwde, and W.Ś.'s support for Zäwde's position brought about Gugsa's acquiescence and the subsequent reconciliation of the two princes (CRReal 15 [text] = 874f. [tr.]). Peace between W.Ś. and Gugsa rested uneasily on the principle enunciated by W.Ś.: "You stay in your country and I'll stay in mine" (BlunChr 190 [text] = 475 [tr.], 193 [text] = 479 [tr.]; CRReal 19 [text] = 878 [tr.]).

W.Ś. was the object of the first 19th cent. European diplomatic probe into Ethiopia. In 1805 he received Henry ↗Salt, secretary of Sir George ↗Annesley, Viscount Valentia, who commanded an exploratory trip into the Red Sea (RubInd 37–52; AbPrince 31f.). Salt returned five years later. Rubenson, in his account of these episodes, concludes that the initiative was entirely on the European side and that "it was mainly the internal, political struggles with their religious overtones that interested the feudal lords of Ethiopia" (RubInd 51). In an 1810 letter to George III, W.Ś. expressed this interest explicitly, complaining of Gugsa, "who is not identical with us in faith. He has proclaimed a king who is not Orthodox in faith. For this reason I have quarrelled [with him]" (RubActa I, 4f., no. 2). The king in question was Gʷalu (*aṣe* ↗Əgʷalä Ṣəyon), whom Gugsa had placed on the throne in 1801. In an attempt to resolve these issues, which remained quite unresolved up to W.Ś.'s death in 1815, W.Ś. arranged for the Coptic patriarch to appoint a new metropolitan for the Ethiopian church (Pearce 1831, vol. 2, 51). *Abunä* ↗Qerəllos arrived in Ethiopia in 1815, just a few months before W.Ś.'s demise, but quickly became embroiled in doctrinal controversies with the clergy of Təgray (CRReal 32f. [text] = 889f. [tr.]; CRNuov 362f.).

W.Ś. was active in support of the churches of Təgray, Aksum Ṣəyon not least among them. He founded a church dedicated to the Trinity in ↗Č̣äläqot, near Ḥənṭalo (CRAxum 80–83 [text] = 96–99 [tr.], 83 [text] = 100 [tr.], 49 [text] = 59 [tr.], 50 [text] = 60f. [tr.], 51 [text] = 62 [tr.], 54 [text] = 65 [tr.]).

He was married to *wäyzäro* Məntəwwab, daughter of *aṣe* ↗Həzqəyas, and, after her death, to Səhin, daughter of *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis. Wäldä Rufaᵓel, a nephew, claimed his political legacy, but Təgray remained conflicted until the definitive emergence of ↗Säbägadis Wäldu, in 1822 (CRReal 37f., 893f.; Rüppell 1840: 394f.; AbPrince 34f.). W.Ś. died in 1815 (Annesley 1809, vol. 3, 41; CRReal 32f.; BlunChr 197 [text] = 484 [tr.]; Pearce 1831, vol. 2, 83f.).

Src.: GEORGE ANNESLEY, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt, in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, 3 vols., London 1809; BlunChr; CRReal; CRNuov; CRAxum; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *Life and Adventures*, 2 vols., London 1831; RubActa; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1838–40.

Lit.: AbPrince; CrumMis; RubInd.

Donald Crummey

Wäldä Śəllase Kənfu

Däbtära W.Ś.K. (**ወልደ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ክንፉ**, b. ca. 1841, Səmen, d. 17 July 1876, Ṣäᶜazzäga) was an Orthodox priest, who initiated the Bible readers' movement in ↗Ḥamasen and later entered into the services of the Protestant ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission.

After receiving his initial education at a ↗Wäldəbba monastery, W.Ś.K. visited the theological schools at Gondär (1855–60). Then he joined the court of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, where he carried the ↗*tabot* during military campaigns. Following theological doubts he planned a pilgrimage to ↗Jerusalem in 1861, but only got as far as ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga in Ḥamasen, where he was asked by the governor *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən to take over the teaching of young deacons. In late 1867, after reading an Amharic Bible sent by the missionary Martin ↗Flad (which he himself had previously forbidden to his students), W.Ś.K. started to propose the reading of the Bible in Amharic instead of Gəᶜəz (cp. ↗Protestantism). This initiated a vivid movement of Bible readers which spread over much of Ḥamasen. In ca. 1869 W.Ś.K. managed to make contact with Protestant missionaries, who finally funded his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1871.

In 1872 W.Ś.K. joined the theological school of St. Chrischona near Basle, with the aim of being employed later as a "indigenous missionary", to initiate reforms of the Orthodox Church from within. He also went to Kornthal, to help the missionary Ludwig ↗Krapf in the revision of the Amharic Bible translation, and taught Gəᶜəz to the orientalist Ernst Trumpp in Tübingen. In addition, W.Ś.K. served as an informant for Leo ↗Reinisch (s. his book on the ↗Ḫamtaŋa language; Smidt 2005: 12).

In spring 1874 W.Ś.K. was sent back to Ṣäᶜazzäga, where he distributed Amharic religious tracts brought from Switzerland, funded by St. Chrischona and the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society. According to a report of the Catholic mission at ↗Kärän, this caused great unrest on the part of the official church hierarchy, who excommunicated him and his followers as "enemies of St. Mary" in May 1874. Persecuted by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, the "Bible readers" fled to the border region of ↗Gindaᶜ, but later, during the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian War of 1875–76, returned. However, W.Ś.K. was killed after the Battle of Wäkki Dəbba in a local power struggle between *däǧǧazmač* Ḫaylu and the pro-Egyptian *raᵓsi* ↗Wäldä Mikaᵓel Sälomon, by soldiers of the latter (as were the Swedish missionary Lager and other Evangelical Christians outside the church of Qəddus Mikaᵓel near ᶜAddi Qonṣi).

Src.: KolTrad vol. 2, 234, 249, 250; RubActa III, 180f.

Lit.: ArEvang 197–201; WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "Before Eritrea, Before the Diaspora: *Habesha* in Exile and on Missions Abroad in the 19th Century", *Eritrean Studies Review* 4, 2, 2005, 1–36, here 11–14 (Lit.).

Wolbert Smidt

Wäldä Yoḥannəs

Mälakä bərhan W.Y. (**ወልደ፡ ዮሐንስ**; d. 27 December 1913, Addis Abäba) is mostly known and referred to due to his role in the council of ↗Boru Meda. W.Y. was there an official representative of adherents of the 'two birth' (↗*Hulätt lədät*) doctrine. Being a true partisan of this creed, he succeeded in successfully winning the theological dispute against Habtä Wäld, who represented the 'three births' (*Śost lədät*, s. ↗*Sägga*) dogma (for details s., e.g., GueCopMen 153f.).

Later he became Mənilək's expert on the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* (Wolde Qirqos 2004: 150) with the title of *mälakä bərhan*. W.Y. is also said to have written traditional ↗*qəne* poetry (GueCopMen 153).

W.Y. is not to be confused with Wäldä Yoḥannəs Däbälqe, father of Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs.

Src.: Luigi Fusella, "Le Biografie del blātengētā Ḫeruy Wålda Sellāsē (IIª parte)", *RSE* 31, 1987, 23–67, here 41; GueCopMen 153f.; Mersé Hazen Wolde Qirqos [Märsəʾe-Hazän Wäldä Qərqos], *Of What I Saw and Heard*: *the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II and the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, Addis Abeba 2004 (Études Éthiopiennes 1), 150.

Maxim Zabolotskikh

Wäldä Yoḥannəs Wäldä Ab

Grazmač W.Y. (**ወልደ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወልደ፡ አብ**; born in Yəfat [?]) was an expert in gold, silver, copper and iron working. He also seems to have been a court official who resided permanently in Addis Abäba.

During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, when the son of Täklä Haymanot *däǧǧazmač* Śəyyum was removed from the governorship of Goǧǧam (1902), and its next governor ↗Bäzzabbəh Täklä Haymanot died in prison (18 August 1905) after conspiring against Mənilək, the Emperor appointed W.Y. as his representative in the province. Soon after, however, *däǧǧazmač* Śəyyum was pardoned and restored to his position (30 May 1907). W.Y. returned to Addis Abäba (Mersʾé Hazen Wolde Qirqos 2004: 33). According to ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, he was then a follower of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (the future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), who, "due to his special attitude towards educated people, made him his major favourite" (Fusella 1987: 41). Though this estimate seems to be exaggerated, his professional skills were apparently very much appreciated.

W.Y. is not to be confused with Wäldä Yoḥannəs Däbalqe, father of ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs.

Src.: Luigi Fusella (tr.), "Le Biografie del Blātengētā Ḫeruy Wålda Sellāsē", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987], 15–52, here 41; GueCopMen s. index; Mersé Hazen Wolde Qirqos [Märsəʾe-Hazän Wäldä Qərqos], *Of What I Saw and Heard*: *the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II and the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, Addis Abeba 2004 (Études Éthiopiennes 1), 33.

Maxim Zabolotskikh

Wälde Aššagari

Ras W.A. (**ወልዴ፡ አሻጋሪ**, also Wälde Aššagre, "horse name": Abba Śəyyum; b. Efrata, d. November/December 1908) was an important administrator and general of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. He served as governor in a number of provinces and was instrumental in the expansion of the Christian Ethiopian empire into the south.

In the mid-1860s W.A. was a ↗*balabbat* and governor in north-eastern Šäwa (↗Gəšše, ↗Anṣokiya and Efrata). In 1865, after *nəguś* Mənilək had escaped from captivity in ↗Mäqdäla, W.A. immediately accepted him as *nəguś* of Šäwa and became a strong supporter throughout Mənilək's struggle for the imperial throne. In 1875 W.A. is reported to have taken part in an expedition to reconnoitre Mäqdäla together with the French traveller Pierre Arnoux. A year later he was appointed governor of ↗Yäǧǧu but also remained responsible for his home region. In January 1878 W.A., as a close ally of Mənilək, was attacked by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV's troops in Gəšše.

In 1886 *däǧǧazmač* W.A. replaced ↗Mäšäša Säyfu as governor of ↗Soddo; the *kätäma* of Gəyon (↗Wäliso) serving as his administrative centre and military base for campaigns in the countries of the ↗Gurage, ↗Hadiyya and ↗Kambaata. In the same year the ↗Qabeena and ↗Wälane under ↗Hasän Ǝnǧamo formed an Islamic revitalist army who suspended their submission to Mənilək and waged a *ǧihād* against the Christian empire. They attacked the *näfṭäñña* of Gəyon and killed W.A.'s brother. During the next three years W.A. together with *däǧǧazmač* Gərmame and *balambaras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel led campaigns to re-establish Mənilək's supremacy in the region. They were supported by a pro-Šäwan alliance formed by the Soddo, ↗Gumär, ↗Dobbi, ↗Səlṭi, ↗Muḫər and Aymällälal. The Šäwans, however, were not successful and W.A. even "fell from grace at the Ǝnṭoṭṭo palace" (Borelli 1890: 300) for some time. Hasän Ǝnǧamo was defeated only in 1889 by *ras* ↗Gobäna Dač̣i, a competitor of W.A., in Ǧäbdu Meda (BTafA 755; BrHad 263, 275; Borelli 1890: 300, 403; Bustorf 2009: 228f.).

After the Battle of Ǧäbdu Meda *ras* Gobäna's troops entered into the countries of the ↗Səlṭi and ↗Libido while W.A. led the recapture of the Gurage highlands. He attacked the ↗Čaha, ↗Geto, ↗Gumär and Azärnät-Bärbäre. After short skirmishes, all submitted to Mənilək due to the superiority of Šäwan firearms. His troops became known in local tradition as *Wälde Amara* although they predominantly consisted of Oromo warriors. W.A.'s son Bərratu Wälde took part in the submission of the Mälga of ↗Wəlbaräg. In 1891 his troops conquered the Hadiyya of

Šaašoogo and Leemo as well as the Kambaata (BrHad 261, 276; Bustorf 2009: 233ff., 237, 264).

In 1889 W.A. was rewarded several possessions of the deceased *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV and became governor of ↗Wadla, ↗Lasta and ↗Č̣äč̣äho in northern Bägemdər (Prouty Rosenfeld 1976: 137, 202). In 1900, W.A. is again mentioned to have been appointed as governor of Č̣äč̣äho "between the River Bambolo and Dəngel Bär" (↗Bambolo Məllaš). It is not clear from the sources, however, if this was a new appointment or an affirmation of the earlier one. It is similarly unknown when and to whom W.A. lost Wadla and Lasta. Anyhow, due to *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu's support for *ras* ↗Wäle Bəṭul and his family, W.A. could not hold his provinces for long. Tension with the party of the Empress may have been also the reason for his relatively late promotion to *ras* in 1900. In 1901 Č̣äč̣äho was given to ↗Gugsa Wäle and W.A. received the northern provinces of Šäwa instead. A year later he is mentioned as governor of Faği, while his son Mäšäša held the governorate of Efrata (GueCopMen 485, 487, 503f.; Prouty Rosenfeld 1976: 137, 202).

According to Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, W.A. travelled to Moscow and France (HerTar 75). Probably he was part of *fitawrari* Damṭäw's official delegation to ↗Russia in 1895. This seems to be a bit doubtful, however, because he is not explicitly mentioned in the sources and the Ethiopian delegation was in Egypt still in August, while W.A. is reported to have taken position against the Italian troops under Pietro Toselli at Amba Alaği already in September the same year (Prouty Rosenfeld 1976: 172, 176). In May 1898 W.A. was part of a group of Ethiopians led by *däğğazmač* Bəru Ḫaylä Maryam that travelled to France with Comte ↗Lagarde (GueCopMen 466, n. 7; Prouty Rosenfeld 1976: 189).

In 1905 W.A. bought a house at Däbrä Gännät in Jerusalem following the examples of *aṣe* Mənilək II, *ətege* Ṭaytu and *afä nəguś* ↗Näsibu. In Addis Abäba his compound was situated at the edge of Ğan Meda (GueCopMen 456, 485, 518).

Src.: Jules Borelli, *Éthiopie meridionale. Journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama*, Paris 1890, 135, 244, 300, 402; GueCopMen I, 103, 136, 179; II, 396, 416, 435; HerTar 75; MahHorse 263; Mersé Hazen Wolde Qirqos [Märsəʾe-Hazän Wäldä Qərqos], *Of What I Saw and Heard*: *the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II and the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, Addis Abeba 2004 (Études Éthiopiennes 1), 36, 55, 107.

Lit.: BrHad 261ff., 275, 317; BrKam 83f.; BTafA 755ff., 795, 984; Dirk Bustorf, *Die Səlṭe. Geschichte, Geschichtserzählung und Geschichtsbewusstsein eines muslimischen Volkes im südlichen Zentral-Äthiopien*, Ph.D. thesis, Hamburg University 2009, 217, 228f., 233ff., 237f., 280, 364; Chris Prouty Rosenfeld, *A Chronology of Menilek of Ethiopia*, East Lansing, MI 1976, s. index.

Dirk Bustorf

Waldəbba

W. (**ዋልድባ**) is a historical region in the north-west of Ethiopia (Sämen *awrağğa*, Ṣällämt *wäräda*), separated from ↗Šire by the River ↗Täkkäze in the north and bordered by the rivers Zärema and Tənsaʾe from the other sides. Lying in the lowlands, the area is characterized by an unhealthy, hot climate (cp. ↗*qʷälla*) and ↗malaria is widespread. However W. is most important due to its tradition of monasticism, and especially because of its ↗hermits.

Local tradition claims that upon its flight to Egypt the Holy Family went as far as Ethiopia and stayed in W.; therefore, the monastic life in W. took its origin from Christ himself. The name W. is traditionally explained as being derived from *wali*, the name of a plant "brought by Our Lord from Paradise" (Bärrihun Käbbädä 1990/91: 36).

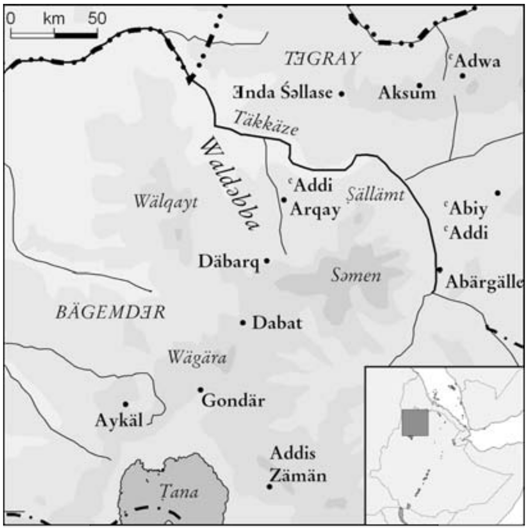
It seems that, historically, the spread of monastic life in W. was dependant on the influence of ↗Tämben, Šire and ↗Däbrä Abbay. The earliest historical reference to the area may be found in the hagiographic tradition of *abunä* Samuʾel of W., who is said to have been active in the region called **ገዳመ፡ ዋሊ** (*gädamä Wali*, 'the desert of Wali', rather than 'the monastery of Wali') in the published version of his Vita. Moreover, W. is mentioned as a place of great spirituality in the Acts of ↗ʿAbiyä Əgziʾ (Conti Rossini 1938: 414), ↗Yafqərännä Əgziʾ (Wajnberg 1936: 50f.), ↗Wälättä Ṗeṭros (Ricci 1970, s. index), ↗Täklä Haymanot (with reference to ↗*səwwuran*), ↗Filmona, and others. No Ethiopic non-hagiographic source refers to W. prior to the 17th cent.; however, European maps indicate the existence of W. as early as the 15th-cent. ↗*Egyptus Novelo* (cp. Almeida's map, BeckHuntAlm, after p. xcvi, "Oldeba", and cp. LudHist; as unnamed "hermitage", on 1564 Castaldi's map, s. BeckHuntAlvar).

In the 16th cent., the troops of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") did not enter W.; however they attacked Däbrä Abbay on the other side of the Täkkäze (DombrChr 161). Later the region occasionally suffered attacks from the "*Šanqəlla*" (GuiIohan 165 [text]; BegCron 65 BruNile III, 178; RubActa II, no. 111). *Aṣe* ↗Susənyos is reported to have received a blessing from hermits (*baḥtawəyan*) of W., in ca. 1609 (PerChron I, 123; II, 95, 405). During the ↗Gondärine kingdom, W. was much revered by emperors and nobles who frequently passed by on their way to Šire and ↗Aksum, or during their hunting trips (like *aṣe* Iyasu I in 1697, s. DombrChr 225). W. was a favourite place of retreat and religious meditation, as well as for burial (for ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Gäbre, s. CRReal 839f.); it was sometimes used as a place of refuge (DombrChr 283). Among those seeking separation from the world in W., were *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot II (who was forced to leave the throne in 1777 and probably died in W., BlunChr 88), *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis (cp. also CRReal 790f., 797, 803f., 816, 856) and *aṣe* ↗Iyasu IV.

The exact date when the coenobitic monasticism was established in W. is not known, though it might have been linked to the revival of the monastic movement after the re-establishment of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, and the activities of *abunä* Samuʾel of W.

Currently, there are several coenobitic communities in W.: ↗Däbrä Abräntant, Däbrä Säqʷar, Dəlšəha/Dalšəh. The first one is the first to be attested in published sources (Ḫabärtanti, for 1692, s. GuiIohan 152f., 165; Labärtanti/Abärtanti, for 1700, DombChr 230). Local traditions of the history of W. from the 14th-cent. *abunä* Samuʾel to the 20th cent. have been recorded (cp. Bärrihun Käbbäda 1990/91; Girma Elyas 1977; BerTarik; *Waldəbba bähagärä əgziʾabəḥer* … 2000/01), but they are in need of critical comparative analysis. Specifically, they stress the coming of five monks from Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa to Abräntant at the beginning of the 15th cent. (Bärrihun Käbbädä 1990/91: 72, 80); the changes made in rules of diet by the head *abba* Zäp̣äraqliṭos (d. 1644; Girma Elyas 1977: 103) and his restructuring of Abräntant's economy; the split of the community of Abräntant into two independent "houses" (Girma Elyas 1977: 106).

The participation of W.'s monks in the church councils is well attested (cp., e.g., DombrChr 236; CRNuov 364). The W. monks were persecuted for their adherence to the ↗*Ṣägga* doctrine by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II (s. RubActa II, no. 249); at ↗Boru Meda, a certain *abba* Ǝngəda from W. was one of the leading members of the *Ṣägga* party, which was banned by the decision of the council (GueCopMen 149). From the early 20th cent., a controversy concerning the teaching on the ↗Trinity is reported to have emerged in W. (BerTarik 238–42).



From the earliest times, sources underline the strong asceticism of W.'s hermits and monks (cp., e.g., CrawItin 165), with special mention of the local ↗*qʷarf*-staple food. In 1881, Rohlfs, one of the few Europeans who ever visited W., reported the existence of 17 settlements with ca. 1000 monks, and one with nuns (Rohlfs 1883: 286ff.; cp. BruNile III, 177; cp. Chaillot 2002: 161).

W.'s monasteries have never possessed any ↗*gʷəlt*-lands, but developed monastic households, well-adapted to the local natural conditions, making the monastic communities self-sufficient (Girma Elyas 1977: 115ff.). The internal rules of monastic life are well-established (ibid. 113ff.). Today, a monk can enter hermitic life only after many years of service, and only with special permission (Girma Elyas 1977: 114). W. has long been considered as one of the leading monastic centres in Ethiopia, outstanding and exemplary in its asceticism (cp. GueCopMen 331; MahZekr 570f.).

The presence of substantial libraries, paraphernalia and church paintings have been reported (cp. Girma Elyas 1977: 118–21, pls. 1–21; Jäger 1960: 370, "Gondar XVI"), which remain unexplored. A closer study of the W. monastic complex would be most welcome.

Src.: AbbGeogr 9, 239f., 243; Bärrihun Käbbädä, የዋልድባ፡ ገዳም፡ ታሪክ (*Yäwaldəbba gädam tarik*, 'The History of the Monastery of Waldəbba'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; Manoel Barradas, *Tractatus Tres Historico Geographici* (*1634*). *A Seventeenth Century Historical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by Elizabet

Filleul, ed. by Richard Pankhurst, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 131, 141; BeckHuntAlm xcviff., 14, 15, 227; BeckHuntAlvar s. index; BerTarik 238–42; BlunChr 88; BTafA s. index; BruNile III, 177–80, 261; Enrico Cerulli (ed., tr.), *Atti di Krestos Samrā*, Louvain 1956 (CSCO 163, 164 [SAe 33, 34]); Christine Chaillot, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition*: *a Brief Introduction to its Life and Spirituality*, Paris 2002, 160-63; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Note di agiografia etiopica ('Abiya-Egzi', 'Arkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus)", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52, here 414; Id. – Carl Jaeger (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum. I. Acta S. Walatta Pētros. II. Miracula S. Zara-Buruk*, Louvain 1912, repr. 1962 (CSCO 68 [SAe 30]), s. index; CrawItin 79, 93, 165; CRAxum 42 (text) = 50 (tr.) [no. 49]; 81f. (text) = 98 (tr.); CRNuov 361, 364f., 376; CRReal 790f., 797, 802ff., 816, 828, 839f., 856 (text); DombrChr s. index; GueCopMen 149, 331; GuiIohan 152f., 165 [text]; Otto A. Jäger, "Ethiopian Manuscripts Paintings", *EthObs* 4, 11, 1960, 354–91, here 370; HuntGeogr s. index; MahZekr 570f.; Nathaniel Pearce, *Life and Adventures in Abyssinia*, 2 vols., London 1831; PerChron I, 123; II, 95, 405; Lanfranco Ricci (tr.), *Vita di Walatta Piētros*, Louvain 1970 (CSCO 316 [SAe 61]); RubActa II, no. 111; II, no. 96, 249; Gerhard Rohlfs, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien auf Befehl Sr. Maj. des Deutschen Kaisers, im Winter 1880–81*, Leipzig 1883, 286ff.; Isaac Wajnberg (ed., tr.), *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerana ᵓEgzīᵓ*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 50f.; **ዋልድባ፡ በሀገረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አቢሲንያ። ያብረንታንት፡ ገዳም፡ ታሪክ** … (*Waldəbba bähagärä əgziᵓabəḥer Abissinəya. Yabräntant gädam tarik* …, 'Waldəbba in God's Country, Abyssinia. History of the Monastery of Abräntant …'), n.p. 1993 A.M. [2000/01 A.D.].

Lit.: Jacques Jarry, "Un voyage de reconnaissance au Waldebba", *AE* 9, 1972, 227–36; Girma Elyas, "The Monastery of Abrentant in Waldibba", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 93–121.

Denis Nosnitsin

Waldmeier, Theophilus

W. (originally Blasius W., in Ethiopian sources **ወልደ፡ ማየር**, Wäldä Mayyär [and similar]; b. 3 February 1832, Möhlin, Aargau, d. 10 March 1915, Beirut) was a Swiss lay missionary of the Protestant ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission.

W. grew up in Lörrach in a Catholic family. He converted to Protestantism in Geneva and joined the St. Chrischona-Pilgermission in 1856. In 1858 he was recruited by bishop Samuel ↗Gobat for the Protestant mission in ↗Mäqdäla. In December 1859, W. married a great-grand-niece of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, Yäwəbdar (baptismal name Sara, also Susan Bell; b. ca. 1847, d. July 1893, Brummana), daughter of *liqä mäkʷas* John ↗Bell. This connection and his positive attitude towards Ethiopians helped him to maintain good relations with Tewodros II, even if starting from April 1866 W. was detained together with all the other missionaries.

In 1860, W. founded the craftsman's colony of ↗Gafat and, together with other missionaries, opened a school for poor (and often slave) children, teaching them reading and craftsmanship. One of his pupils was Gobbaw Dästa, who accompanied him everywhere and later became an important Ethiopian missionary himself (cp. ↗Gäbrä Əgziᵓabəḥer Dästa; Arén 1999:415). In around 1866, together with Moritz ↗Hall and his later brother-in-law Karl ↗Saalmüller, W. casted cannons for Tewodros, among them the famous "Sebastopol". As a teacher he prepared Amharic religious texts and he also collected linguistic material on ↗Agäw.

After the expulsion of Europeans from Ethiopia in 1868, W. went to Beirut and in May 1869 took the post as inspector of the British Syrian Schools. He continued to support the idea of a mission in Ethiopia; e.g. in 1872 he strongly supported Johannes ↗Mayer's demand in the name of king ↗Mənilək II of Šäwa to sent craftsmen to Ethiopia (ArEvang 171). He joined the Quakers in 1874 and founded several new mission schools at Brummana. Saalmüller joined him as a teacher, and W.'s daughter, Rosa (b. ca. 1863, Gafat), married the teacher Bessarah Manasseh. Another daughter Hannah styled herself as "Princess ↗Asfa Yilma" (after her ancestor *däǧǧazmač* Yəlma Asfaw, taking his name as a "noble name" for herself) and wrote a book on Ethiopia based on her father's memories.

W.'s report on his stay in Ethiopia, published in 1869, was translated into Swedish, French and Arabic. His autobiography is an important source on the missionaries' work in Ethiopia and later in the Lebanon.

Src.: Roger Acton, *Abyssinia*, London 1868; Richard Andree, *Abessinien, das Alpenland unter den Tropen und seine Grenzländer*, Leipzig 1869, 185f., 200; Stefana Armbruster, *Life and History of John Bell and his Descendants by his Granddaughter*, Palma de Mallorca 1966; [Hannah Princess] Asfa Yilma, *Haile Selassie Emperor of Ethiopia* …, London 1935; Henry Blanc, *A Narrative of Captivity in Abyssinia, with some Account of the Late Emperor Theodore, his Country and People*, London 1868; RubActa II, index; Staatsarchiv Basel, PA 653, D3, V; Theophil Waldmeier, *Wörter-Sammlung aus der Agau-Sprache*, St. Chrischona 1868; Id., *Erlebnisse in Abessinien in den Jahren 1858–1868*, Basel 1869; Id., *The Autobiography of Theophilus Waldmeier*, London – Leominster [1886/87]; Id. (tr.), *Christ is all and in all. Translated from the English into Amharic* …, Basle 1874; Id., *The Autobiography of Theophilus Waldmeier Comprising Ten Years in Abyssinia and Forty-six Years in Syria*: *with some Description of the Peoples and Religions of these Countries*, London 1925.

Lit.: ArEvang (index); Gustav Arén, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia, in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers 1898–1936*, Stockholm 1999, 415; Beat de Fischer, *Contribu-*

tions à la connaissance des relations Suisses-Égyptiennes (*d'environ 100 p. C. à 1949*) *suivies d'une esquisse des relations Suisses-Éthiopiennes* (*jusqu'en 1952*), Lisbonne 1956, 282–87; GERD GRÄBER, "Die befreiten Geiseln Kaiser Tewodros' II: Aus dem Photoalbum der Royal Engineers 1867/68", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 159–82; PankSoc (index); BARBARA STREBEL, "Leben auf dem Missionsfeld. Chrischona-Pilgermission in Äthiopien (1856–1868)", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 121–57.

Wolbert Smidt

Wäle Bəṭul

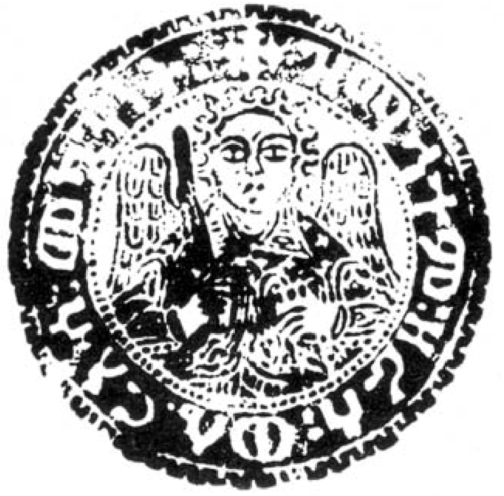
Ras W.B. (**ወሌ፡ ብጡል**, "horse name" Abba Ṭäṭṭaw; b. in Yäǧǧu, d. 16 June 1918, Yäǧǧu) was a ruler of ↗Yäǧǧu and ↗Təgray.

He was a son of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Bəṭul Ḫaylä Maryam and a brother of Alula Bəṭul, who, together with W.B., served *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. W.B.'s younger sister was *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul. W.B. was the father of *däǧǧazmač* Amäde Wäle and of *ras* ↗Gugsa Wäle, the last husband of Empress ↗Zäwditu. W.B.'s daughter, *wäyzäro* Käfay, married *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs; their daughter ↗Aster Mängäša was the only wife of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, who married her with proper ceremony.

W.B. spent his youth at the court of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II until 1865, beginning a long-lasting friendship with Mənilək, who was also a guest/prisoner at the Emperor's court at this time. Probably in 1867 W.B. and his brother Alula went for two years to Šäwa. Mənilək's marriage with W.B.'s sister, Ṭaytu, in 1883, made the political bond between the two even stronger. Thanks to this relationship, W.B. played an important role in domestic politics during Mənilək's time.

W.B. was well known for his military skills, and on several occasions he fought on Mənilək's side in provincial wars. For example, in 1891 he helped Mənilək suppress a revolt of *ras* ↗Zäwde (GueCopMen 311ff.), and W.B.'s victory over Tädla Waḥəd in 1892 helped Mənilək strengthen his position in the country (GueCopMen 322f.). W.B. also took part in the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, with 3,000 soldiers under his command (TSTarik IV, 77) as well as in the battle of ↗Ambalage (GueCopMen 416).

Mənilək appointed W.B. to rule over Yäǧǧu in 1868 (GueCopMen 121; Marcus 1975: 35). The province was once won over by *wag šum* ↗Zägäyye Bərru, but given back to W.B. by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV. After being crowned Emperor in 1889, Mənilək re-appointed him to this governorship together with the governorship of ↗Bägemdər and ↗Dämbəya province (GueCopMen 260, 262). At the same time W.B. received the title of *ras*. In 1900 he obtained the governorship of Təgray (ibid. 485). In the years of Mənilək's deteriorating health and the growth of *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Ali's power following Iyasu's nomination as heir to the throne, W.B. and Ṭaytu struggled to keep power in the hands of the northern landlords. They both lost, when in 1910 Ṭaytu was removed from power and her protégés had to follow her.



Seal of *ras* Wäle Bəṭul; from Pankhurst 1972: 153 no. 62

On 5 May 1910 W.B. lost his province to *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis. The latter's nomination was followed by a war between the Šäwan forces and W.B. and his son, Gugsa Wäle. The defeat of W.B. by *ras* Mikaᵓel's army in Wällo put an end to the fighting. W.B. accepted the hegemony of Šäwa and had to move to Addis Abäba; later he was imprisoned in ↗Ankobär (GueCopMen 624). He was released in 1916, after the successful ↗coup d'état (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081), and appointed to the governorship of Yäǧǧu again. He kept the governorship until his death in 1918.

Src.: BTafA 767, 895, 985, 997; GebMolIyas 319, 358, 377; GueCopMen 121, 260, 262, 311ff., 322f., 416, 485, 624 et passim; MahHorse 259; MÄRSƎᶜE HAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ በዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት።** (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətayye bädagmawi Mənilək zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memories of the History of the Period of Mənilək II's Government'), Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2002/03 A.D.], 43, 62, 96, 88ff., 105ff., 110, 129; MERSÉ HAZEN WOLDE QIRQOS [MÄRSƎᵓE-HAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS], *Of What I Saw and Heard*: *the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II and the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, Addis Abeba 2004 (Études Éthiopiennes 1), 36, 50, 66, 68ff., 84, 87, 89, 93; *aläqa* TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM, *History of the People of Ethiopia*, ed., tr. by GROVER HUDSON – TEKESTE NEGASH, Uppsala 1987 (Uppsala Multiethnic Papers 9), 83; TSTarik IV, 69, 75ff., 91ff., 98.

Lit.: Richard Caulk, *Between the Jaws of Hyenas*: *a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia* (*1876–1896*), ed. by Bahru Zewde, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60), 46, 170; ErlAlula^2 186f.; FanTarik 536ff.; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 23, 35, 72, 144, 164, 236ff., 246ff.; Leonard Mosley, *Haile Selassie*: *the Conquering Lion*, London 1964, 124f.; PankHist II, 315, 326; Richard Pankhurst, "Ethiopian Noblemen's Seals of the late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: a First Selection", *EthObs* 15, 3, 1972, 142–53, no. 62 (ill.).

Hanna Rubinkowska

Walī

W. (Arab. 'close friend, companion'; pl. *awliyāʾ*; related abstract form: *walāya* or *wilāya*, 'to be a W.') is the term commonly used in the Muslim world to indicate a ↗holy man (more precisely: *walī Allāh*, 'friend of God'). As a loanword from Arabic, W. has entered many Ethiopian languages: Amharic *wäləy* (KaneDic 1489 also with the meaning 'sorcerer, shaman'; in DTWDic 540 the verb *wälläyä* 'to choose, to select for a position, prophecy or any important thing' is attested), Tgn.: *awliya* (pl. form meaning 'spirit' or '*zar*', Leslau 1990: 311, *Mäzgäbä qalat* 1996: 556, '*zar*'), Harari *wäli* (Leslau 1963:159; Abdurahman Mähämmäd Qorram 1991: 159), in Tgr.: *wäləʾ* (Leslau 1990: 157), Somali: *weli* (*Dizionario Somalo–Italiano* 1985: 613).

The theological concepts underlying the idea of W. are very complex and heated debates took place among Muslim learned men about the definition of who and what a W. should be (s. for a general assessment Radtke in EI^2). The content of these discussions is not unknown in Ethiopia (s. for a contemporary example Muḥammad Walī 2005: 3, 17–25). In the ↗Qurʾān, W. is an epithet used for God himself who is the "close friend of the faithful" (Sura 2: 257, Sura 3: 68). God has in his turn friends "upon whom there is no fear, nor shall they grieve" (Sura 10: 62). W. is thus the word that directly (grammatically, so to speak) links the deity to his most beloved servants to whom protection and right guidance are surely guaranteed on this earth until they attain eternal bliss in paradise. The signs of God's predilection and affection for his friends are evident in their supernatural gifts and powers: *baraka* (lit. 'blessing', i.e. mystical power) and *karāmāt* (miracles). By his superhuman capability a W. alleviates suffering in the world and makes people meditate on divine mercy and omnipotence; at the same time, he can defend himself from the attacks of the enemies of God who are the friends of the devil (*awliyāʾ al-šayṭān*) and must be severely contested (Sura 4: 76). According to a well-known tradition, God himself protects *awliyāʾ* and He is at war with everyone who offends them. A love relationship connects God so closely to W. that no real distinction can be made between the two persons (Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-riqāq*, *Bāb al-tawāḍuʿ*, ḥadīṯ 6502).

However, the image of W. in Ethiopian Islam – as elsewhere in the Islamic world – is not univocal and monochrome and has undergone a long and manifold historical evolution: full respect for the principles of *šarīʿa* coexists with – at least apparently – unlawful behaviour (the so called *malamātiyya* stream: s. de Jong in EI^2); holy men known for their deep piety and high level of learning are revered side by side with holy fools (*maǧḏūb*) and illiterate mystics (s. Gramlich in EI^2).

Moreover, the sainthood of a W. is most commonly linked to his ancestry and lineage. Descendents of the Prophet Muḥammad (*šarīf*; *sayyid*) or of some of his companions (*ṣaḥāba*) are almost by default considered holy men. The *baraka* of a saint is also normally considered to be hereditary and thus clans and tribes of saintly origin are widespread.

On the other hand, the spread of the mystical brotherhoods favoured the diffusion of a more typified image of W. A peculiar phenomenon in the Horn is the sanctification of purely tribal eponymous founders. Among Somalis, for example, the forefathers of the main clans and tribes are depicted with the features of the classical sufi holy men (Lewis 1955, 1956 and 1998: 1–32).

As the domain of the typical Islamic W. many times has extended to comprehend a purely magical sphere, it is not surprising that in Ethiopia the word W. can be used to indicate spirits and *zar* (Rodinson 1967: 62 and n. 5).

Src.: Abdurahman Mähammäd Qorram, **ጨቅቲ፡ ክታብ፡ ሀረሪ፡ አማርኛ፡ መዝገበ፡ ቃላት** (*Č̣uqti kətab Haräri amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, 'Harari-Amharic Dictionary'), Addis Abäba, 1984 A.M. [1991 A.D.]; *Dizionario Somalo–Italiano*, Roma 1985; DTWDic 540; KaneDic 1489; Wolf Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1963 (University of California Publications. Near Eastern Studies 1); Id., *Arabic Loanwords in Ethiopian Semitic*, Wiesbaden 1990; **መዝገበ፡ ቃላት፡ ትግርኛ፡ ብትግርኛ** (*Mäzgäbä qalat təgrəñña bətəgrəñña*, 'Təgrəñña-təgrəñña Dictionary'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996 A.D.]; *aš-šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* Muḥammad Walī b. *aš-šayḫ al-ḥāǧǧ* Aḥmad b. ʿUmar, *Kitāb īqāẓ himam al-aġbiyāʾ birašḥ qaṭrat min tarāǧim al-ʿulamāʾ waʾl-awliyāʾ fi ǧumhūriyat Iṯyūbiyā* ('The Book of Awakening of the Aspirations of the Ignorant through Spaying a Drop of

Bibliographies of the Scholars and Saints in the Ethiopian Republic'), Addis Ababa 2005.

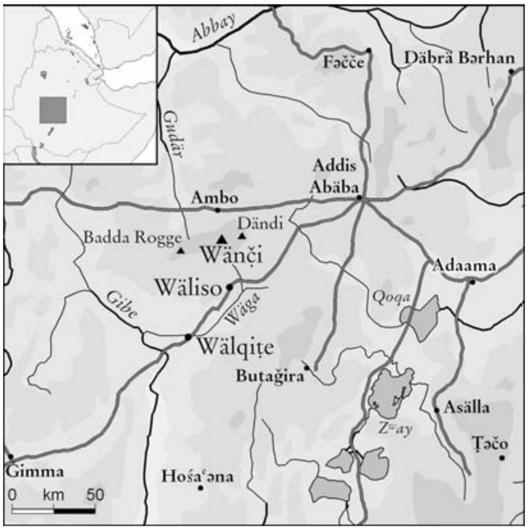
Lit.: RICHARD GRAMLICH, "Madjdhūb", in: *EI²*, vol. 5, 1029; FRED DE JONG, "Malamatiyya", *ibid.*, vol. 6, 223–24; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, "Sufism in Somaliland: a Study in Tribal Islam: I", *BSOAS* 17, 1955, 581–602; ID., "Sufism in Somaliland: a Study in Tribal Islam: II", *ibid.* 18, 1956, 146–60; ID., *Saints and Somalis*, Trenton, NJ 1998; MAXIME RODINSON, *Magie, medicine possession à Gondar*, Paris – Le Haye 1967; BERND RADTKE, "Walī", in: *EI²*, vol. 11, 120–23.

Alessandro Gori

Wäliso

The town of W. (ወሊሶ) known also as Gəyon (ግዮን) is situated 2,103 m A.S.L. and ca. 120 km from Addis Abäba on the road to Ǧimma. Like Ambo, ↗Fiçç̣e or Däbrä Bərhan W. lies within the two hour travelling time radius from the capital. Merely a large village in 1938, its population reached 16,871 inhabitants in 1984 and 34,227 inhabitants in 1999. The regime of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam tried in vain to impose the biblical name Gəyon instead of W. ,which is the ethnonym of a faction of the ↗Mäçç̣a. Until 1987 this town, which hosted the Cuban expeditionary Corps garrison, was the capital of the Č̣äbo-Gurage *awrağğa* (↗Č̣äbo), which later (1991) became the West-↗Šäwa (Məʿərab Šäwa) zone with Ambo as its capital, this zone being itself a district of the Oromiyaa *kəlləl* ('state-region').

W. is an important agricultural market located between a cereal growing plateau and the ↗*ənsät* producing regions of the Dändi ↗Wänç̣i volcano area and of the Gurage country. The town is still the seat of the West-Šäwa diocese presently occupied by Bishop Diyosqoros (*mämhər* Wäldä Tənśaʾe) who is said to have the ability to cure people with holy water (s. ↗*Ṣäbäl*), thus attracting, thousands of pilgrims. W. is also frequented by a great number of students and of tourists who use these waters. It is also a stop-over for the lorries which export the products of the south, particularly coffee.



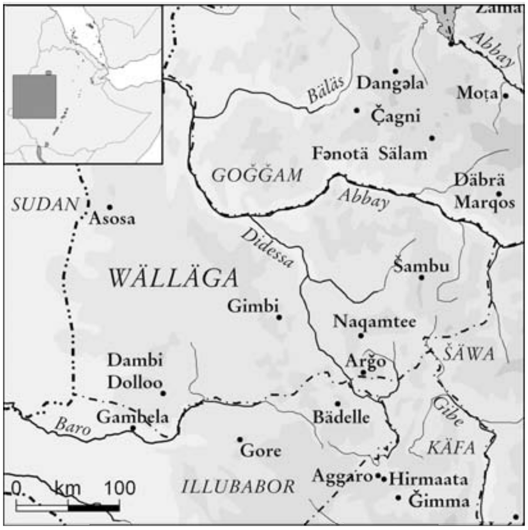
Src.: CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE (ed.), *Report on a Survey of Shoa Province*, Addis-Ababa 1966; ID., *Survey of Major Towns in Ethiopia*, Addis-Ababa 1968; ID., *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 1970,* Addis-Ababa 1971; EMAtlas; *Guida*; HuntGal; MesfAtlas; MesfGeogr; CSA 1984; CSA 1996; CSA 2000.

Lit.: GasEth; ALAIN GASCON, "Les 'bastides' d'Éthiopie. Les villes fortes de Menilek dans le sud de l'Éthiopie et l'urbanisation contemporaine", in: BENOÎT ANTHEAUME et al., *Tropiques. Lieux et liens,* Paris 1989, 435–44; ID., "'Fair Borders' for Oromiyaa" in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 362–78; ID., "Partager une Terre Sainte. Érythrée unitaire, Éthiopie fédérale", in: JOËL BONNEMAISON – LUC CAMBRÉZY – LAURENCE QUINTY-BOURGEOIS (eds.), *Le territoire, lien ou frontière?*, Paris 1999, 185–209; ID., "Éthiopie, Érythrée: la ville, expression d'un destin messianique en hautes terres rurales", in: JEAN-LOUIS CHALÉARD – ALAIN DUBRESSON (eds.), *Villes et campagnes dans les pays du Sud: géographie des relations*, Paris 1999, 151–68; HUBERT KRISS, "Le père Walda Tensae, un célèbre thaumaturge contemporain", in: JACQUES MERCIER – HENRI MARCHAL, *Le roi Salomon et les maîtres du regard. Art et médecine en Éthiopie*, Paris 1992 [Réunion des musées nationaux, Commissaires généraux de l'Exposition tenue au Musée des Arts Africains et Océaniens 20 octobre 1992–25 janvier 1993], 71–75; GEOFFREY C. LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary Schools*, Addis Ababa 1963.

Alain Gascon

Wälläga

W. (ወለጋ, Orom. sp.: Wallaggaa) today is an administrative unit in the Oromiyyaa regional state, divided into East W. and West W. (↗Administrative division). Before 1991 it was a province on its own bordered to the north by ↗Goğğam, to the south by ↗Illubabor, to the east by ↗Šäwa and to the west by the ↗Sudan. In the past the name W. was applied only to the region situated to the west of the ↗Ḍiḍessa (Dhidheessa) River. This area is inhabited by the Sibuu ↗Oromo branch. All territories situated east of the river were called ↗Leeqaa (Abebe Ambachew 2002: 132; Triulzi 1986: 52). In the 19th cent. W. was known for its riches and important trade routes (CecZeila 485ff.). W. is also mentioned by ↗Baḥrəy (HuntGal 12). Nevertheless as a geographical concept it was uncertain. In the mid 19th cent. W. may have included an extensive territory including Illubabor to the west of the



Goğğäb River in addition to the ↗Gambella region, north of the River ↗Baro (Beke 1847: 49f.) and all territories roughly to the south of upper ↗Gibe (Gibee) River near Baakkoo town. The Gibe River forms the natural boundary between the provinces of Šäwa and W. (BTafA 921).

W., rich in streams and rivers, has abundant rainfall and vegetation. The Ḍiḍessa River flows through the province at an average height of 1,830 m A.S.L. In the higher part of the region, the climate is temperate. The heaviest rains fall from mid-May to mid-September. There is a short rainfall from March to April. The driest and coldest months of the year are October, November and December (Abebe Ambachew 2002: 132).

The etymology of the word W. is uncertain, but it seems connected to the westward migration of the ↗Mäč̣č̣a (Maccaa) Oromo (↗Oromo, history). W. may derive from the words *wol* – 'each other' and *lagač̣č̣u* – 'abstain from, avoid', according to oral evidence collected by Lambert Bartels (1983: 71). Oral tradition from the Amboo of Šäwa states that the "five Gibe", the Wallaga, the Iluu, the Guduru, the Liiban and the Walisoo in search of new land, were told to expand by their religious leader. The Wallaga and Illuu were told to move to the "region west of the Gibe" (Negaso Gidada 1984: 41).

↗Naqamtee, founded by the Oromo ruler ↗Bakaree Godaana (s. EAE vol. 5), is the provincial capital. Other important centres are Nağğoo, Gimbii, ↗Dambi Dolloo, Mandii, Šambuu, Giddaa, Arğoo, ↗Aʾira (s. EAE vol. 5), Gullisoo and Boğği.

Bakaree consolidated his power over the territories between the Waamaa and Ḍiḍessa Rivers. In the second half of the 19th cent. his son and successor, ↗Morodaa Bakaree, extended his family's influence and power over the Leeqaa groups and beyond, to the Sibuu groups by a blend of diplomacy and conquest. He gained supremacy over Gimbi, Haaruu, Arğoo, Nağğoo, Ğaarsoo, Baabboo, Mandii and other areas to the west of the Ḍiḍessa thereby unifying both sides of the river and the two Oromo groups (Sibuu and Leeqaa) of the Mäč̣č̣a branch. Morodaa peacefully accepted the overlordship of *nəguś* Mənilək [II] of Šäwa in the 1880s which helped him to secure a special autonomy over most of W. (Tesema Taʾa 1993: 63–66).

Western W. was ruled by the Leeqa ↗Qälləm *mooti* ↗Ğootee Tulluu who was based in ↗Gidaamii. His main opponent was *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷağalī of Asosa, with whom he was in constant conflict for slaves and territory in the region around Begii. Both rulers were tributaries to the Ethiopian Emperor.

In 1889 Morodaa's son Kumsaa (baptismal name ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer) succeeded his father as governor of W. He supported the conquest of ↗Beni Šangul by *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən and introduced the cultivation of ↗coffee in W. The coffee ↗trade which mainly ran through Gambella, led also to the economic growth of ↗Dambi Dolloo. In addition, W.'s importance was based on its great deposits of gold and marble.

The rise of Leeqaa Naqamtee and Leeqaa Qälləm led to the decline of the ↗*gadaa* system in W. The incorporation into *aṣe* Mənilək II's empire and the subsequent introduction of Orthodox Christianity further reduced the role of the *gadaa* rituals. The introduction of Orthodox Christianity did not, however, make further headway in superseding the traditional ↗religion. The Protestants founded village schools and clinics in order to establish themselves among the local people. Prior to 1935, the Swedish, the American and German missions were active in W. The missionaries were largely successful in education and in converting people. Local chiefs and rulers began to send students to the schools and were also encouraged them to go to Addis Abäba for further education. As a result of missionary activities in W. there were many local converts as well as local preachers, and theological seminaries were founded in the towns of Aʾira and Naqamtee. This contributed considerably to the development of literacy in W. In the late 1940s educated people from W. in Addis Abäba formed a W. self-help association which started to raise funds to establish new schools or support the existing ones. After 1970 there were earnest efforts to establish a university, known as “Oromo University”. *Aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, however, did not give his permission and the project was abandoned (Tsega Endalew 1992: 39).

During the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, the Oromo of W. together with those of ↗Ǧimma tried to assert their independence from *näfṭäñña* rule by establishing ↗Western Oromo [Galla] Confederation under British mandate. Thirty-three Oromo chiefs held meetings in 1936 and signed a document expressing their “desire of the people of western Oromia to become a League of Nations’ protectorate with the help of the British government until the Oromo could achieve self-government” (Assefa Jalata 2005: 177). The document was sent to the British Foreign Secretary, but they were not ready to endorse the proposal and subsequently the Italians occupied W.

Src.: Alessandro Təriyulzi [Alessandro Triulzi] – Täsämma Taᵓa, **የወለጋ፡ የታሪክ፡ ሰነዶች፡ ከ1880ዎቹ፡ እስከ 1920ዎቹ** (*Yäwälläga yätarik sänädočč*: *kä1880wočču əskä 1920wočču*, ‘Documents for Wälläga History from the 1880s to 1920’), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.]; BTafA, s. index; CecZeila 485ff.

Lit.: Abebe Ambachew et al., “Field Trip to Naqamte, University College of Addis Ababa, Ethnological Society Bulletin 6, 1953–1963”, in: Alula Pankhurst (ed.), *Ethnological Society Bulletin, vol. I, no. 1–10 and vol. II, no. 1, Reprint, 1953–1963*, Addis Ababa 2002, 131–95; Assefa Jalata, *Oromia and Ethiopia*, Lawrenceville, NJ ^{2}2005, 177; Lambert Bartels, *Oromo Religion. Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia – An Attampt to Understand*, Berlin 1983, 71 et passim; Charles Beke, “On the Nile and its Tributaries”, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 17, 1847, 1–84, here 49f.; HuntGal 12; Negaso Gidada – Donald Crummey, “The Introduction and Expansion of Orthodoxe Christianity in Qélém Awraja, Western Wälläga from about 1886 to 1941”, *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 103–13; Negaso Gidada, *History of the Sayyoo Oromoo of Southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia*: *from about 1730 to 1886*, Ph.D. thesis, Frankfurt/Main 1984, passim; Täsämma Taᵓa, “The Process of Urbanization in Wollega, Western Ethiopia: the Case of Neqemte”, *JES* 26, 1, 1993, 59–72; Alessandro Triulzi, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy*. *Prelude to the History of a No-man’s Land*: *Bela Shangul, Wallagga, Ethiopia* (*ca. 1800–1898*), Napoli 1981, passim; Id., “Nekemte and Addis Abeba: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule”, in: Donald Donham – Wendy James (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1986, 51–68; Tsega Endalew, *The History of the Wollega Self-Help Association*, B.A. senior essay, Addis Ababa University 1992.

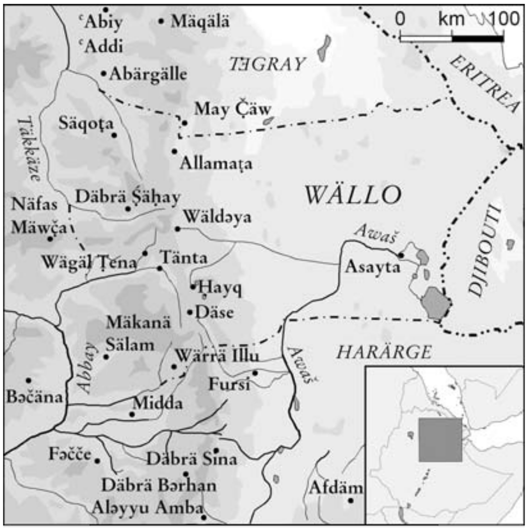
Tsega Endalew

Wällo

W. (**ወሎ**, Orom. sp.: Walloo) is one of the major regions of central Ethiopia. Between the 17th cent. and the end of the 19th cent., the territory named W. corresponded to the boundaries of ancient Amhara (↗Amhara province, s. EAE vol. 5) before the 16th cent. It was approximately delimited by the course of the Bäšəlo to the north, the Abbay to the west, the Wänčit to the south, and the upper Borkänna to the east. During the 20th cent., the extension of W. as an administrative division of the Ethiopian state expanded considerably beyond the historical limits of this territory. It extended to the north to the fringes of ↗Təgray, to the south to Karakore, and in the east to the frontier of ↗Djibouti (i.e. large parts of the ᶜAfar province of ↗ᶜAwsa). Nowadays, W. includes two administrative zones: Sämen Wällo (cp. ↗Wäldiya) and Däbub Wällo (cp. ↗Däse). This article deals with the historical dynamics that took place within the perimeter of the contemporary administrative zone of South W., which is considered as “historical” W. (for North Wällo, s. also ↗Lasta, ↗Yäǧǧu, ↗Wag).

W. owes its name to one of the large clans of the ↗Oromo who settled in the region beginning from the late 16th cent. According to Baḥrəy’s account (BeckHuntAlm), the Oromo of W. belonged to the Bareytuma (↗Baarentuu), one of the two Oromo moieties. By the end of the 16th cent., the various Oromo clans had occupied the territory of Amhara, the core province of the mediaeval Christian kingdom of Ethiopia where they formed an enclave challenging the expansion and reconsolidation of the Christian kingdom in the late 16th cent. after the end of the military conflict with the forces of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. Traditionally, the W. Oromo were divided into seven main sub-units which inhabited different parts of W. and which later came to designate the main territorial divisions of the region (Amh.: *Säbat bet Wällo*, ‘Seven Houses of Wällo’). Their exact listing varies according to traditions. According to Combes and Tamisier (1838) and Krapf (IsKrapf) who went across W. in the 1835 and 1842 respectively, these *Säbat bet Wällo* were: Läggambo, Läggahida, Lägä Gora, ↗Wärrä Himäno, Wärrä ↗Qallu, ↗Ambassäl and ↗Boräna. This framework has been used until today to name the major administrative divisions.

Whilst progressively influenced and overwhelmed by the Amhara language and culture of the land they had come to occupy, the W. Oromo



also assimilated military and political ethos to such an extent that they meddled in, and dominated, the politics of the Christian monarchy, especially during the 18th and 19th cent. This process culminated with the reign of ↗Iyoᵓas, whose mother (Wəbit, baptized as Bärsabeh) was from W., being the daughter of Amito, who had been an ally of ↗Bäkaffa. The Oromo W. family of the young Emperor, particularly his uncles, settled in Gondär and played a role in the political intrigues that led to the assassination of Iyoᵓas and the collapse of the Gondärine kingdom, opening the so-called ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. Despite this political participation of some Wälloyye in the sphere of influence of the Christian kingdom, other W. groups retained their separate identity through adherence to Islam, following the Šāfiᶜī and Hanafī schools of Islamic law and the orders of mystical ↗Islam, especially the Qādirī and Šāḏilī ↗Islamic brotherhoods. The islamization of W. took place at the end of the 18th cent., at a time when the pressure to subjugate the area had increased. This was particularly true of the ↗Mammädočč ↗*imāms*, the most powerful chiefs of W. and hereditary governors of Wärrä Himäno. For the W. chiefs, establishing an Islamic network was a means of resisting the encroachment of the neighbouring Christian provinces and securing commercial and political advantages.

This situation lasted until the middle of the 19th cent. when the Ethiopian Christian emperors undertook the re-conquest of the W. territory in the name of political reunification and to preserve the hegemony of the Christian state and faith. W. was also the target of several destructive and punitive campaigns led by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros and a bone of contention between *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV and *nəguś* ↗Mənilək [II] of ↗Šäwa. In order to put an end to this competition, and to turn W. into a buffer zone between Mənilək and himself, Yoḥannəs convened in 1878 a religious council at ↗Boru Meda, in the east of W., south of Lake Ḥayq. This aimed at restoring and enhancing the unity of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church by putting an end to the doctrinal dissension within the Church. Having resolved the problem, he issued an imperial edict ordering the forceful and mass conversion of the W. Muslims to Christianity. This policy was inaugurated by the baptism of the Muslim leader of W., Muḥammad ᶜAlī, who was renamed ↗Mikaᵓel and received the title of ↗*ras* and the governorship of the province as a reward for his conversion and submission. This event and the following years of persecution and conflict have been preserved in the memory of the W. Muslims as the *yäkəfäru zämän* ('era of forced conversion [to Christianity]'). A large number of W. Muslims became nominal Christians while some of the religious scholars like *šayḫ* ↗Ṭalḥa b. Ǧaᶜfar led a movement of armed resistance against the policy of religious coercion. Despite this, however, W. remained a model of mutual tolerance and coexistence between the Christian and Muslim communities while retaining their respective religious and cultural identities.

In W. there are renowned centres of advanced Islamic learning and shrines which attract Muslim students and pilgrims from all over the country and beyond. Its Muslim scholars and reformers played a key role in the propagation and revival of Islam, especially in southern, eastern and southwestern Ethiopia in the 19th cent. (cp. ↗Ḥasän Ǝnǧamo). They were also the authors of manuscripts and published works in Arabic (and in Amharic and other local languages using the Arabic script) dealing with grammar, theology, mysticism, history, literature and other disciplines.

After the death of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV in a battle against the army of the ↗Mahdists of the ↗Sudan, *aṣe* Mənilək II ruled the country in a relatively more consensual and tolerant way. With *ras* Mikaᵓel at its head, W. continued its administrative integration into the Christian polity. After his baptism, he became a sincerely devout Christian and built churches all over the province. He was both one of the most favourite vassals of Mənilək and his son-in-law since he married his daughter, ↗Šäwarägga (s. EAE vol. 5). The suspicion of secretly remaining faithful to ↗Islam later fell on his son, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu. In 1909 Mənilək, having suffered several strokes, designated his grandson, Iyasu, as his successor. When Mənilək died in 1913, Iyasu was still too young to be crowned and the struggle for power among different factions of the nobility was intensified. Finally, Iyasu was deposed through a ↗coup d'état in September 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081) after being accused by the Christian oligarchy of having converted to Islam and of jeopardizing the integrity of the kingdom. The attempt of his father to reverse the situation ended in fiasco at the Battle of ↗Sägäle in 1917, with disastrous consequences for the people and hereditary rulers of W. which was reduced to the status of a buffer zone to be ruled and taxed only for the benefit of Šäwan officials appointed over it and the imperial regime that kept a watchful eye on events taking place in the region.

Under the government of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən, initially regent to *ətege* ↗Zäwditu, and crowned as *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1930, W. was considered (not without reason), as a potentially insurrectionary territory and subjugated by a strong military force of Šäwan troops. Inspired by the Fascist Italian invasion in 1936, the Wälloyye (people of W.) took their revenge against the central government. They were not only reluctant to fight against the invaders, but they also attacked the retreating army of the Emperor that had been defeated in 1936 at the Battle of ↗May Č̣äw. Nevertheless, they supported and actively took part in the national patriotic resistance movement against Italian rule. After the restoration of Ḫaylä Śəllase to the throne in 1941, W. paid heavily for its "betrayal" by being neglected by the central government in the process of the modernization of the administrative and economic infrastructure of the country. It became the victim of the politics of underdevelopment and marginalization. The stigma of W.'s defiance, recalcitrance and potential disloyalty to the political centre – spanning the reigns of Tewodros, Yoḥannəs, Mənilək and Ḫaylä Śəllase (and the period of Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam) – has remained embedded in the attitude and policy of the Ethiopian imperial and post-imperial regimes, and affected their relations with the region and its people. The central government appointed as governors of W. non-Wälloyyes which caused much resentment among the local people. Moreover, some districts and sub-provinces in the north, south and east were detached from W. and merged into ↗Təgray and Šäwa. However, in W., there was no popular sentiment or organized separatist movement calling for the creation of an independent political entity. Although Ḫaylä Śəllase was not popular in W., he relied on the support of a section of the W. nobility through his wife, *ətege* ↗Mänän Asfaw, granddaughter of Mikaʾel and niece of Iyasu. The incorporation of W. into the Ethiopian empire-state was symbolized by the nomination as titular governor of the province of *alga wäraš* ↗Asfa Wäsän, eldest son of Ḫaylä Śəllase, who, however, was more active in the palace affairs of Addis Abäba than in the development of his fief from Däse.

Events in W. finally dealt a deathblow to the long reign of Ḫaylä Śəllase I. In 1973 W. was hit hard by a devastating famine which was concealed by the bureaucracy but exposed by the international media and internal humanitarian campaign. This scandal sparked off a wave of protest which administered the *coup de grâce* to the Solomonid monarchy. As they had been exhausted by the trauma of the famine, and although there were peasant and student protests in W. against the oppressive rule of the feudo-bourgeois order, the Wälloyye played only a largely passive role in the popular upsurge that culminated in Ethiopian ↗Revolution of 1974, apart from the involvement of some *šayḫs* in the movement for the freedom of worship. But these efforts were swept aside by the brutality of the *Därg* military dictatorship.

In 1984 W. was once again the scene of a great ↗famine. It became the main target of a coercive policy of the forced resettlement of impoverished northern peasants in less populated and more fertile southern areas. One of the effects of this crisis in W. was the strengthening of the solidarity among different segments of the society and relegating to the background the former tensions between Christianity and Islam. The support of the Wälloyye for the anti-*Därg* insurgency movement operating in their territory was one of the decisive factors that contributed to the collapse of the military regime in 1991.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm; BlunChr; Domenico Brielli, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo (con note di C. Conti Rossini)", in: *CRStud* 78–110; Edmond Combes – Maurice Tamisier, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, Paris 1838, vol. 2; IsKrapf.

Lit.: Asnake Ali, *Aspects of the Political History of Wallo: 1872–1916*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1983; Id., "The Condition of the Peasantry in Wallo, 1917–1935: a Review of the Traditions", in: *Proceedings of the Third Annual Seminar of the Department of History*, Addis Ababa 1986, 1–8; Id., "A Historical Survey of Social and

Economic Conditions in Wallo, 1872–1917”, in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 263–76; Donald Crummey, “Čäčäho and the Politics of the Northern Wällo/Bägémder Border”, *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 1–9; Id., “The Violence of Tewodros”, *ibid.* 9, 2, 1971, 107–25; Id., “Deforestation in Wällo: Process or Illusion?”, *ibid.* 31, 1, 1998, 1–41; Dessalegn Rahmato, *Famine and Survival Strategies: a Case Study from Northeast Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1991, 99–114; Dinar Amare, *The Darg Administration in Southern Wallo* (*1974–1991*), M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2008; Fekadu Begna, *A Tentative History of Wallo: 1855–1908*, B.A. thesis, Haile Sellassie I University 1972; Id., “The Wallo Territorial Army, 1943–1974”, in: *Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar of the Department of History*, Addis Ababa 1990, 49–59; Eloi Ficquet, *Du barbare au mystique: Anthropologie historique de recompositions identitaires et religieuses dans le Wällo* (*Ethiopie centrale*), Ph.D. thesis, EHESS, Paris 2002; HusIslam; Alessandro Lusana, “L’Uollo orientale”, *Gli Annali dell’Africa Italiana* 2, 2, 1939, 477–515; Mengistu Abebe, *Land and Peasantry in Ambassal Awrajja* (*Wallo*): *1941–1985*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1997; Mesfin Wolde Mariam, *Suffering under God’s Environment: a Vertical Study of the Predicament of Peasants in North-Central Ethiopia*, Bern 1991; Zergaw Asfera, *Some Aspects of Historical Development in Amhara/Wallo* (*ca.1700–1815*), B.A. thesis, Haile Sellassie I University 1973.

Eloi Ficquet – Hussein Ahmed

Wall painting ↗Painting: monumental

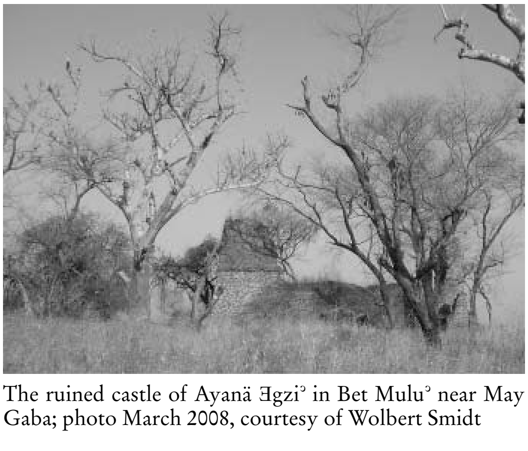
Wälqayt

W. (**ወልቃይት**) is a historical province in the north of Ethiopia (for location s. map for Wägära). It is located south of the ↗Täkkäze which separates it from ↗Adyabo; in the south, it neighbours Ṣägäde; in the north, it neighbours ↗Mäzäga (which is in fact considered “lowland W.”). Qafta and Bərtukan constituted the core highland part of W. (Ellero in EllLusAnt 110). In Ḫaylä Śəllase I’s imperial Ethiopia, W. was a *wäräda* (the capital Addi Rämäṣ) within ↗Wägära *awrağğa* of ↗Bägemdər; today it is in the West Təgray Zone.

Though W. is separated from ↗Təgray by the Täkkäze, today the bulk of its population is composed mostly of Təgrəñña-speakers, scores of Amhara, a few ↗Agäw-speakers and others. At least until the 1940s, there were smallest pockets of ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel.

The toponym W. appears only in relatively recent sources. The archaeological evidence (presence of Muslim cemeteries), as well as local traditions (Ellero in EllLusAnt 111f.) suggest that W., thinly populated by non-Semitic speakers (Gumuz? Agäw?), was once under the Muslim domination of ↗Bäläw and ↗Funǧ. The penetration of Semitic-speakers from Təgray started relatively late; this process, as well as spread of Christianity, may be reflected in the legend of *abunä* ↗Gäbrä Nazrawi, a disciple of ↗Ewosṭatewos (ibid. 120). The royal power reached W. only with *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam, when the final submission of Ṣällämt, Səmen and Dämbəya was achieved. The tradition refers to *ras* Degäna (s. ↗Šire), accompanied by Bolay, Täsfay (Qästä Agam), Šäkkor and Zena Gäbrᵓəl and others (the chronology of the tradition is, however, confused), who divided W. among themselves and founded some lineages and a few settlements (ibid. 115). The Muslim influence weakened with the decline of the Muslim state in Mäzäga and after the death of Queen ↗Gaᶜəwa.

In the 17th cent., W. appears as a separate province (BeckHuntAlm 11, 13, 15f., said to have been previously in Bägemdər, but later separate from it). From 17th–18th cent., W.’s powerful governor (and a favourite of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I) *däğğazmač* Ayanä Ǝgziᵓ (Nayəzgiᵓ) is known, allegedly a descendant of *ras* Degäna (s. genealogy in Ellero in EllLusAnt 130f., n. 8). *Aṣe* Yosṭos had allowed three ↗Capuchins to stay in W. under Ayanä Ǝgziᵓ’s auspices, but in 1716, under Dawit III they were brought to Gondär and stoned to death (DombrChr 264f. and no. 793; cp. BudHist 440f.; BruNile II, 568f., 579f.). They may be put in connection with the ruins of a large structure showing features of Gondärine architecture style in W., near today’s May Gaba. *Aṣe* Bäkaffa had good relationship to Ayanä Ǝgziᵓ, and used W. as a place of exile for his enemies. A break happened in 1725, when Mammo of ↗Ṣäᶜazägga was appointed over ↗Bambəlo Məllaš. He conflicted with Ayanä Ǝgziᵓ and defeated him (cp. KolTrad I, II, chs. 82–85; PankBord 407f.; the reason was probably struggle for power). Ayanä Ǝgziᵓ died in 1731 (GuiIyas 47 [text]). In



The ruined castle of Ayanä Ǝgziᵓ in Bet Muluᵓ near May Gaba; photo March 2008, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

1749, the governor of W. was sent to support ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul during the latter's conflict with *däǧǧazmač* Wälde of Lasta. In the same year, one more rebel, Kəsade, was defeated in W.; in the next year, Č̣erqin Nač̣č̣o was appointed governor of W. and Ṣägäde, and in 1754 Surahe Kəsos (Krəstos). In 1781 *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis fought the rebellious local ruler *däǧǧazmač* Gädlu and forced him to submission.

At least from the 19th cent., different groups from ↗Sudan used to settle in W. It appeared as area of ↗trade activities, not only as wildness for ↗hunting. Qafta was a slave market frequented by the Arabs and the ↗Tukrīr from ↗Sinnār; from W., ↗cotton and ↗iron were imported into Ethiopia, and large quantities of cloths were locally produced. Insecurity of W. was a great impediment for trade.

By the time of ↗Parkyns passed through W., it was governed by *ləǧ* Ḫaylu, under ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam (who inherited it from his father ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Gäbre). By late 1850, W. was claimed by ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel. In the 1860s, W. was under the rule of the rebellious ↗Ṭəso Gobäze, until he was killed by *wag šum* Gobäze (↗Täklä Giyorgis II). *Aṣe* ↗Yoḥannes IV claimed the submission of W. in 1873 (RubActa II, 141, no. 102), but it was under a rebellious leader a couple of years later (ibid. 146, no. 104; 173, no. 123).

In the 20th cent. W. was incorporated into the empire; recently, its importance grew due to its position in the rear of ↗Ḥumära and its potential for commercial farming.

Src.: BeckHuntAlm s. index; BlunChr 9 (text) = 215, 233–50 (tr.); BruNile II, 568f., 579f.; DombrChr 265, 273, 275, 281, 342, s. index; GueCopMen s. index; GuiIyas 38, 47, 150f., 153, 163 (text) = 40, 50, 160f., 163, 173 (tr.); HuntGeogr s. index; KolTrad I, II, chs. 82–85, s. index; LudHist I, iii, 35; Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, London 1853, vol. 2, 343–57; PankBord 407f., s. index; Walter Chichele Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia*, London 1868, 31, 382, 384; RubActa I, 62, 93, 243, 262; II, 21, 116, 141, 146, 173; ZerÉth 321.

Lit.: Gianni Dore – Johanna Mantel-Niećko – Irma Taddia, *I Quaderni del Walqayt. Documenti per la storia sociale dell'Etiopia*, Torino 2005; Giovanni Ellero, "Il Uolcaìt", *RSE* 7, 1948, 89–112 [= EllLusAnt 109–31]; PankEcon s. index.

Denis Nosnitsin

Wälqiṭe

W. (**ወልቂጤ**; 08° 17' N and 37° 46' E, 1892 m A.S.L.) is a fast-growing, multiethnic town on the all-weather road from Addis Abäba to Ǧimma with approximately 30.000 inhabitants (CSA 2007; for location s. map for Wäliso). The first village-like settlement of today's W. was the so-called Maryam Säfär on the southern tip of the town. W. probably got its name from ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar, who, on his way to the capital, used to rest at the place, which was situated at the half-way point between Ǧimma and Addis Abäba, thus Oromo *wal-qiṭe*, 'equal part, half' (FID 2006: 2).

In 1936, under Italian rule, W. became the *Residenza dei Guraghè Occidentali* and was recognized as a town (BrHad 360; FID 2006: 1). Consequently, it expanded toward the north along the road and became the most important market place in the region. Starting from the 1960s W. was the administrative centre for the Goro *wäräda* of Č̣äbo-Gurage *awraǧǧa*. In 1992 it became the administrative centre of the newly formed Gurage Zone in the Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (FID 2006: 2); since 2002 it is also the administrative centre of the ↗Qabeena *wäräda* (Crass 2005: 2). Until recently there were political tensions between the Gurage and Qabeena about the status of W.

In the 1970s W. was known for its large-scale mechanized farming (Ståhl 1974: 152f.) which probably attracted seasonal workers from other places. Today W. is known for its retail trade but also hosts a flour factory and a factory producing power poles. The population increase over the last decades has caused severe problems in the domestic fresh water supply established in 1976 (FID 2006: 26). Although the first primary school *Ras Zäśəllase* was founded in 1955 (FID 2006: 7), the highschool could only be established in 1979 with financial help of *šaläqa* Sulṭan (*Yäqatbäre šayḫ*, s. ↗Qatbäre). Education rapidly grew after the decline of the *Därg*. Until today six further private and government primary schools have been established (FID 2006: 7), a technical college was founded in 2005 and two further colleges are under construction.

Src.: interviews in Wälqiṭe, 2001–07; CSA 2007; Faynansənna Industri Ləmat Ṣəhəfät Bet [= FID], **የወልቂጤ፡ ከተማ፡ጊዜያዊ፡ ማስተዳደር፡ ማህበራዊና፡ ኢኮኖሚያዊ፡ ገጽታ** (*Yäwälqiṭe kätäma gizeyawi mastädadär mahəbärawinna ikonomiyawi gäṣəta*, 'Social and Economical Magazin of Today's Administration of Wälqiṭe Town'), Wälqiṭe 1999 A.M. [2006 A.D.]; *Guida* 519.

Lit.: BrHad; Joachim Crass, *Das K'abeena. Deskriptive Grammatik einer hochlandostkuschitischen Sprache*, Köln 2005 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 23), 2; Michael Ståhl, *Ethiopia: Political Contradictions in Agricultural Development*, Stockholm 1974, 152f.

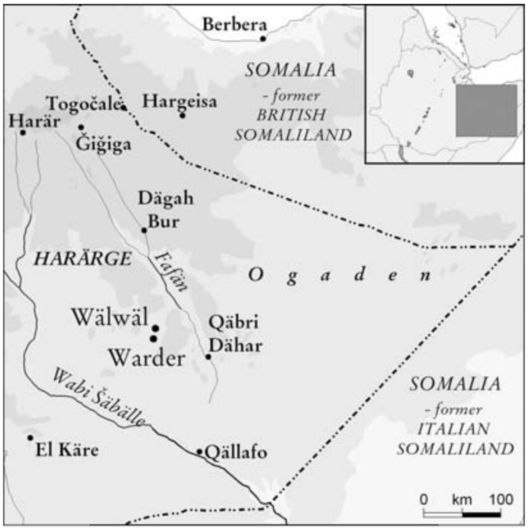
Ronny Meyer

Wälwäl

W. is a locality in the ↗Ogaden, deep inside the Ethiopian territory, which was claimed by colonial administration of ↗Italian Somaliland in the 1930s (↗Boundaries). The area served as the side on 5 December 1934 of a skirmish that triggered the subsequent mass invasion of Ethiopia by the Italian army (↗Italian war 1935–36).

↗Mussolini was obsessed by the "[↗]ᶜAdwa complex", like all ultra-nationalists, and the minor event in W. gave him the long-awaited pretext to take the initiative. According to the agreement signed in 1908, W. belonged to Ethiopia but the fort had been held since 1930 by a small Italian garrison inspite of Ethiopian protests. W. and ↗Warder, precious for their wells traditionally used also by Somalis from Italian Somaliland, were regarded by the Italians as "our border posts" (Sabelli 1938: 204). The confines between Ethiopia and Somalia, and in general the confines of Ethiopia with the neighbouring European possessions, were ill- or un-demarcated and the terms of reference of the bilateral Conventions were sometimes represented by widely inaccurate maps (Ciasca 1940: 621ff.).

During the governorship of De Vecchi in Italian Somaliland (1923–28) and later on, the Italians pushed their presence further into the ↗Wabi Šäbälle region and into the Eastern Ogaden. Regulars and irregulars of the two sides frequently clashed. Rome worked to sow disaffection among the governors and inhabitants of the northern periphery of the Empire (BZHist 189). Italian military commands had prepared an Eastern Africa Plan. Pressures became more manifest after King ↗Vittorio Emanuele III's visit to Somalia; the King, contrary in principle to warfare in Africa, gave the impression of having changed his mind (Del Boca 1979: 229ff.). The incident of W. involved the Ethiopian escort of an Anglo-Ethiopian boundary commission (↗United Kingdom), that arrived in the area on 22 November 1934, on the one hand, and Somali troops (*dubat*) with some Italian officers led by Roberto Cimmaruta, on the other. The Ethiopian request was to evacuate the fort because it had been illegally set up on Ethiopian territory. The tension escalated day by day until 5 December when the Ethiopians, provoked or unprovoked, opened fire. Lacking neutral witnesses, circumstances and responsibilities remained controversial (Berhanou Abebe 1998: 175; Lessona 1939: 77). In the ensuing fight the superiority of the Italians, who employed three aircraft and two tanks, was overwhelming. Sources disagree on the number of casualties. Among the heavy Ethiopian losses (about 300 dead), one of the commanders, *fitawrari* ↗ᶜAlämayyähu Goššu, a cousin of the Emperor, was killed (Cimmaruta 1936: 185f.). Italy lost between 20 and 30 *dubat*.



Somali at one of the wells of Wälwäl; from Rikli 1935:80

Italy claimed to have been attacked and asked for official and formal apologies, reparations for the victims and punishment of the culprits. The Ethiopian government accused Italy of aggression and proposed to make use of the compulsory arbitrage provided for by clause 5 of the Treaty signed in 1928. A secret memorandum circulated by Mussolini on 30 December, however, proves that Italy wanted a total onslaught on Ethiopia and the conquest of the empire (Rochat

1971: 101–07, 376–79). Under these conditions, all the talks and initiatives of mediation were useless. As Italy refused to yield and insisted on "unreasonable demands", Ethiopia appealed to the ↗League of Nations which failed to resolve the dispute diplomatically. In the meantime, Italy proclaimed general mobilization. France appeased Italy's grievances whereas Britain – between Italy and the League – chose the latter. The crisis of W. developed into an all-out war which led to the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. W. had been forgotten and the whole attention of the Italian propaganda focused on the need to get land, space, and job opportunities in Africa.

Src.: Roberto Cimmaruta, *Ual Ual*, Milano 1936; Martin Rikli, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935 (ill.); Cesare Maria De Vecchi, *Orizzonti d'impero*, Milano 1935.

Lit.: BZHist; Berhanou Abebe, *Histoire de l'Éthiopie d'Axoum à la revolution*, Paris–Addis Ababa 1998; Raffaele Ciasca, *Storia coloniale dell'Italia contemporanea*, Milano 1940, 620–31; Angelo Del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa orientale. La conquista dell'impero*, Roma – Bari 1979, 219–91; Alessandro Lessona, *Verso l'impero*, Firenze 1939, 73–81; Giorgio Rochat, *Militari e politici nella preparazione della campagna d'Etiopia. Studi e documenti 1932–1936*, Milano 1971; Luca dei Sabelli, *Storia dell'Abissinia*, vol. 4, Roma 1938.

Giampaolo Calchi Novati

Wämbär

W. (**ወምበር**) is the highest religious judicial figure among the ↗Kəmant. The term is also widely used in Amharic and means literally 'chair' or 'seat', but is also commonly used with the meaning of 'judge', particularly with reference to the higher level of judges in the traditional ↗*čəlot*. Such judges accompanied the emperor or regional governors in adjudicating cases, but sometimes also rendered verdicts on their own.

Among the Kəmant, the W. plays a most important socio-political role. Indeed, the Kəmant are unusual perhaps even unique among the peoples of northern and central Ethiopia in having leaders who combine these dual religious and secular roles. This institution appears to date to at least the Gondärine period, and prior to the 20th cent., there appear to have been as many as ten W. throughout the territory of the Kəmant, however more recently there were only two, one in ↗Čəlga and his superior in Kärkär. By 1955 only the former of these remained active.

In many ways the W. can be said to represent the Kəmant as a people, mediate between them and both supernatural and natural forces, and guarantee the smooth functioning of society. He insured the fertility of the land, flora, fauna and people. Women wishing to conceive brought gifts to the W., and he also oversaw the annual "spring" (*ṭəqəmt*) festival which began the ritual year. Perhaps most importantly, he led the Kəmant priests at the ↗*täzkar* ceremony which ensured that the deceased would pass to the next world.

Given the awesome power wielded by the W., it is interesting to note that although he, like most Kəmant religious leaders, must come from the *kəbər* moiety, he is chosen by the people when his predecessor was elderly or had died. In some cases mature adults are chosen for the role, in others a child, who is represented by an adult until he reaches maturity.

After his election or selection by consensus the candidate was blessed by the people and showered with green grass and leaves, which symbolize fertility. He was trained into the duties of his office by his predecessor – if he was still alive – or elderly priests. When he is sufficiently trained he is "ordained" through two ceremonies. One is the *yaqumtäzkar*, which, as the name suggests, is related to the commemoration of the dead and includes prayers said for oneself to pass into heaven. The other, *kasa*, is the same as the ordination of a priest. In the case of a W. who was subordinate to the highest W. of Kärkär (most recently only in Čəlga, but in the more distant past in several regions) he also brought gifts to the W. of Kärkär and received his blessings, which were followed by a two or three day feast.

The chief identifying feature of the W. was his white turban. Interestingly, although the W. officiated at several ceremonies at which ↗sacrifices were performed, he himself did not sacrifice. Indeed, even in daily life, he could not hold a knife or any other weapon.

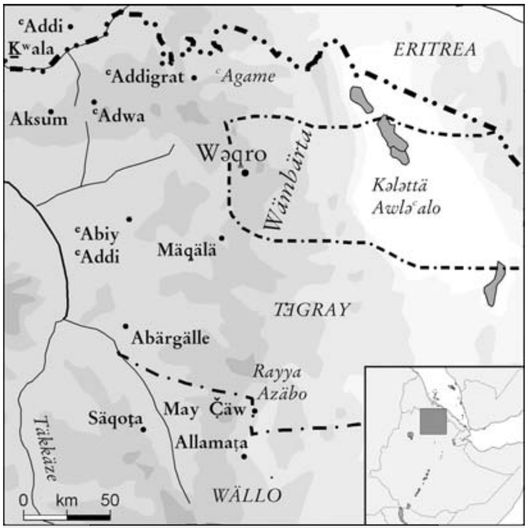
In addition to these religious duties, the W. of the Kəmant had a vital judicial role reminiscent of the W. in broader Ethiopian society. He served as a court of final appeal when disputes could not be settled by councils of elders. This legal system operated in both a local and central fashion in the distant past when there were several W. Among the fines and punishments which could be levied were daily ablutions, drinking of ↗*koso*, sleeping on the ground and payments of bars of salt (↗*Amole*). Those who refused the judgment of the W. would be ostracized. In the case of homicide, when the family of the deceased could not come to an accord regarding the indemnity to be paid by the guilty party, the W. would determine this. This system functioned until the middle of the 20th cent., with Amhara administrators referring cases to the W.

The wealth of the W. derived from the fees and gifts he received in return for the performance of ceremonies. In some cases these were not limited to the Kəmant, but involved other communities as well.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 439, n. 4.

Lit.: FREDERICK C. GAMST, *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, Prospect Heights, IL 1969, 34–43, 57–64; ID., "The Qemant Theocratic Chiefdom in the Abyssinian Feudal State", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 793–98; JAMES QUIRIN, "Caste and Class in Historical North-West Ethiopia: the Beta Israel (Falasha) and Kemant, 1300–1900", *JAH* 39, 1998, 195–220 (Lit.); CRAVEN HOWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933, 144–52.

Steven Kaplan



Wämbärta

W. (ወምበርታ, in old sources also Mänbärta, Mämbärta) is a sizeable district in north-eastern Ethiopia, in the ↗Kələttä Awlaᶜəlo area, overlooking the ↗ᶜAfar lowlands (Tsegay Berhe 1996: 17). It constitutes today the Aṣbi Wämbärta *wäräda* of the Təgray regional state (↗Aṣbi). It is located east of the historical province of ↗Ṣəraᶜ. W. is situated partly on the edge of the plateau, and in the north-eastern escarpments, where it is forested. Agriculture and ↗salt trading constitute the basis of local peasant livelihood in W. A large seasonal labour force regularly leaves W. to work in the ancient Arho salt mines, in the northern ᶜAfar desert. Ethnically, the area forms a trans-frontier district between the ᶜAfar land and the Təgrayan highlands, as a centre of interaction, population movements and displacements (Munzinger 1869: 208, 223; Tsegay Berhe 1996: 18). W. is inhabited by ↗Təgrəñña-speakers who call themselves W.; smaller communities like Tälfän and possibly the historical ↗Dobaʾa also live there.

The region is mentioned in chronicles at least since the time of ↗Iyasu I who travelled to Təgray to establish custom posts; in 1698 he collected tolls from the posts of W. ("Mämbärta") and Ǝnnägale (GuiIohan 196 [text]). Salt tax from W. ("Momboerta") is also mentioned in the responses Murad had given to Ludolf's questionnaire in 1697 (DonMurad 93f.).

Munzinger (1869), when describing the area, speaks at length about the area of "Doga" inhabited by the omonymous people. Judging by the geographic description (Munzinger 1869: 208: "successive terraces" at the altitude of "3000 to 5000 feet high") he is probably referring to the geographical zone of ↗*däga* and the ᶜAfar and ↗Sāho-related peoples inhabiting this highland region. He assumed that the "Doga" region was initially inhabited by Ethiopian Christians (i.e. Təgrayans, ibid. 221) and its inhabitants were therefore a product of ᶜAfar-Sāho and Təgrayan socio-cultural assimilation and economic interaction. They constituted the principal inhabitants of the area, stretching from eastern ↗ᶜAgamä up to and including eastern ↗Rayya ᶜAzäbo. The "Doga" engaged in salt trade and were paying customs both to the ᶜAfar and Təgrayan chiefs. The Dahimela Sāho of the "Doga" area had in their hands two largest salt trade markets of the region (ibid. 210). The market in Efissa was owned by the chief of W., three markets to the south were under the chiefs of W. and ↗Ǝndärta and two more under the ↗*šum ᶜagame* (ibid. 223). This mode of livelihood changed through time into combining salt trading with farming (Munzinger 1869: 208, 211, 223).

Currently, W. is inhabited by ᶜAfar, Sāho and Təgrayan communities, with the latter dominating the area. ᶜAfar Muslims and Christian Təgrayans extensively assimilated in W. The neighbouring ᶜAfar regard the Christians in W. as their kinsmen and also in the past enjoyed peaceful relations with them, while they repeatedly came into conflict with the Ǝndärta Təgrayans over resources (salt, livestock raids and territorial hegemony, especially over Arho).

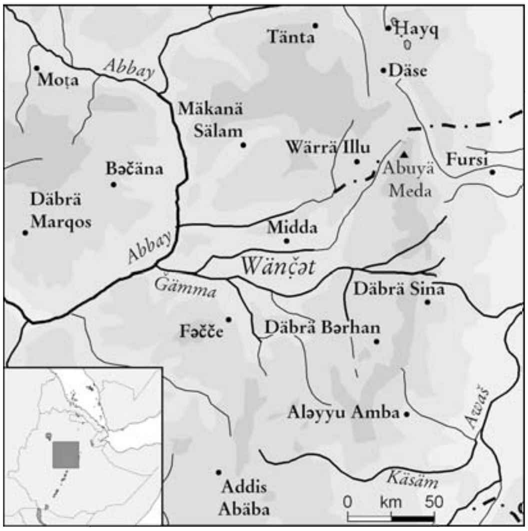
Regional administrative reshuffles coupled with growing ecological stress, however, left their mark and led to new territorial conflicts over woodland, pasture and farming plots between the long-interacting Təgrayans and the ^{c}Afar throughout W.

Src.: DonMurad 93f.; GuiIohan 196 (text) = 207 (tr.); WERNER MUNZINGER, “Narrative of a Journey through the Afar Country”, *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* 39, 1869, 188–232, here 208, 210f., 221ff.; interviews with *fitawrari* Dämoz Śəyyum, 92 years, Wəqro, May 2006; *haläqa* Täsfay Abrəha, Arhotay, 35 years, Agula^{c}, May 2006, *šayḫ* Adam Ḥussen, 75 years, Agula^{c}, May 2006; *grazmač* Täkka Waras, 68 years, Mäqäla, May 2006.
Lit.: HuntGeogr 237ff.; TSEGAY BERHE, *A History of Agama, 1822–1914*, M.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1996, 17.

Tsegay Berhe

Wänč̣ət

The W. (**ወንጭት**) River is a ca. 160 km long subtributary of the ↗Abbay River. It springs up at more than 3,000 m A.S.L. on the northern slopes of Mount Abuyä Meda in the South-Wällo zone of Amhara *kəlləl*. It flows to the south-west first on cenozoic basalt plateaus (trapps) and has carved a deep gorge into the mesozoic sediment layers (cretaceous limestone and Mugär mudstone). In the North-West Šäwa zone of the Oromiyaa *kəlləl* the W. River flows into the Šämma River (ca. 1,050 m A.S.L.) which is a right bank tributary of the Abbay River. The W. and the Šämma gorges marked the southern border of the Zag^{w}e kingdom, Oromo groups used to fight there during their great migrations to the North (Arnesen in BHTOrom 222). Both valleys formed the southern boundary of the former ↗Märḥabete *awrağğa* (Šäwa region) until the 1991-administrative reform.



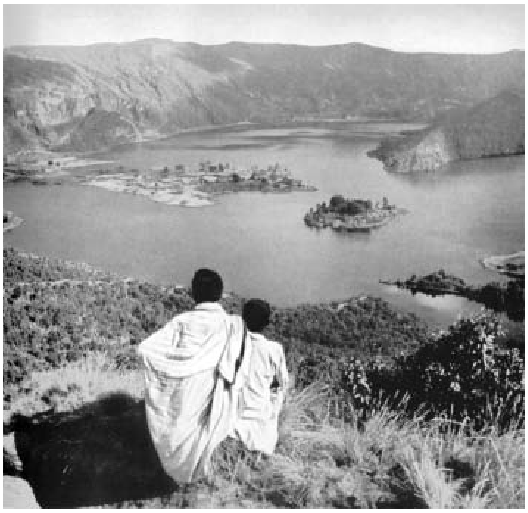
Src.: *Guida* 381.
Lit.: ODD ERIK ARNESEN, “The Becoming of Place: a Tulama-Oromo Region of Northern Shoa”, in: *BHTOrom* 211–38, here 222.

Alain Gascon

Wänči

Mount W. (**ወንጪ**) rises 35 km to the north of Ambo (Oromiyaa, West-Šäwa, Wänči *wäräda*). It is located in the middle of a range of recent volcanoes (Upper Cenozoic, Pleistocene) between Mount Badda Rogge to the west and Mount Dändi to the east (for location s. map for Wäliso). This volcanic massif lines the southern fault which delimits the Gudär graben. To the north it divides the Gudär basin (which runs to the Abbay River) from the Wäliso plateaus whence some rivers flow south-west to the Gibe/Omo River and others south-east from the Upper Awaš marsh. The W. slopes with plateaus formed from lava flows gently rise above Ambo and Wäliso. Recent volcanic domes and craters have erupted along the fault lines. Above 2,400 m A.S.L. huts are grouped on narrow plateaus where barley is grown and are surrounded by *ənsät* orchards. Above ca. 2,800 m eucalyptus and *ənsät* are replaced by *koso* which grows to a height of approximately 3,000 m A.S.L. where *asta*, giant heather (*Erica arborea*), is grown. This alpine stratum is often cleared in order to sow barley.

During the historic period Mount W. was volcanically active as witnessed by a recent rise in the level of the crater lake caused by a lava weir (Smeds). This 4 km by 3 km lake (*haaro*) at ca. 2,900 m A.S.L. lies at the bottom of an inner caldera encompassed by a huge outer caldera which is worn away by erosion. To the west, between the rims of the two calderas a marshy plateau is flooded during *kərämt* but some small volcanic ash cones are settled and cultivated (with *ənsät*). Some herds of cattle come from Ambo to spend the rainy season in the high mountain pasture. Around the Sunday daily market a large village has grown since the 1980s after the Ambo–Wäliso road through W. was completed. To the east a trail branches from the main road and leads through the inner caldera crossing down to the lake and up to the Giyorgis Church. It is located on a densely settled peninsula where



The Wänč̣i Lake near Ambo; from Ursin 1958: 73

ənsät is grown among orchards. One can reach Qirqos Church island in a *koso* dug-out where Betä Ləhem Church was recently built. South of the lake and between the walls of the two calderas hot mineral springs may be active. The waters coming from the lake and from the calderas are barred by the lava of "Fasiladäs bridge" and merge with the Wäga River which is breached by the deep Goro W. gorge, the outer caldera flowing into the Gibe River. Topped by a pyramid-shaped eroded dyke, the uninhabited cliff of the Galila peninsula plunges south into the lake. The high walls of the inner caldera (3,387 m A.S.L., EMA) tower above the lightly settled finger-shaped peninsula of the northern shore. On the outer part of the volcano, more and more barley fields have been cleared on the steepest slopes (GasEth; Gascon 2006). Both outside and inside the crater the population has increased along with their subsistence needs. Inhabitants may hope to earn some money in guiding tourists to the crater lake; a tourist hotel in traditional style of architecture is under construction.

Like their neighbours, the inhabitants of Dändi, the Galila of W. are related to the Gurage (Cohen 1931; Haberland 1960) this can be seen in their language and by the fact that they cultivate of *ənsät* (Getachew Asrat 1969). Along with the ↗Zay of ↗Zʷay Lake, they form Semitic speaking enclaves among the Oromo (Cohen 1931; Haberland 1960; Henze 1973).

Antoine d'Abbadie notes the meeting of two young priests, who had been ordained in Gondär, on their way back to W.; they met on 20 April 1844 in Dämbäč̣a, Goǧǧam (d'Abbadie 1890). They described their itinerary for him and the volcano, its crater lake, its island and its churches as a Christian Gurage speaking enclave under threat from the Oromo and close to the Muslim Hadiyya. Italians burned the Qərqos Church, where Mənilək had left King Ṭona of Wälayta's saddle after he had defeated him (Getachew Asrat 1969). As a consequence of this destruction the Galila were granted tax reduction after the war (Getachew Asrat 1969). In May 1991 a company of the regular army was retreating to Wäliso through W. after its defeat in Ambo and was assaulted and destroyed by the Wäyyane.

Src.: ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AGENCY (EMA), *Akaki Beseka, Ethiopia Sheet NC 37–14, Scale 1: 250,000*, Addis Ababa 1979; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AGENCY, *National Atlas of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1988;

Lit.: ANTOINE d'ABBADIE, *Géographie de l'Éthiopie. Ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu*, Paris 1890, 132f., 227; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale, journal de mon voyage aux pays amhara, oromo et sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890, 268ff.; MARCEL COHEN, *Études d'éthiopien méridional*, Paris 1931, 66 n. 1, 69, 98; ALAIN GASCON, "Le miracle de l'ensät. Géographie d'une plante peuplante", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 81–89; ID., *Sur les hautes terres comme au ciel. Identités et territoires en Éthiopie*, Paris 2006, 28f., 67, 148; GasEth 23f., 39–42, 44, 82f., 104, 133, 179; GETACHEW ASRAT, *Regional Study of Lake Wonchi Area*, B.A. thesis, Haile Sellasie I University, Addis Ababa 1969; *Guida* 499; EIKE HABERLAND, "Bemerkungen zur Kultur und Sprache der 'Galila' im Wonči-See (Mittel-Äthiopien)", *RSE* 16, 1960, 5–23; PAUL B. HENZE, "Patterns of Cultural Survival on Islands in Ethiopian Highland Lakes", *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 83–96; LastGeogr 34ff.; HELMER SMEDS, "A Note on Recent Volcanic Activity on the Ethiopian Plateau as Witnessed by a Rise of the Level of Lake Wonchi 1400 ± 140 BP", *Acta Geographica* 18, 1, Helsinki – Helsingfors 1964, 31 p.; STANLEY STANLEY, "Ensete in the Ethiopian Economy", *Ethiopian Geographical Journal* 4, 1, 1966, 30–37; ALBERTO TESSORE [photos] – TSEGAYE GABRE MEDHIN [text], *Éthiopie, trace du temps*, Paris 1984, n° 15; MAX URSIN, *Äthiopien: Impressionen aus einem altchristlichen Land*, Mannheim 1958, 73 (ill.).

Alain Gascon

Wänd Bäwäsän

Däǧǧazmač W.B. (**ወንድ፡ በወሰን**; d. 10 December 1777), *balabbat* of ↗Bägemdər and *šum* of ↗Lasta, was a prominent warlord during the late Gondärine period and the early ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, during the puppet reigns of *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas I and ↗Täklä Haymanot II and the actual rule of *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul of Təgray.

W.B. began his career as an officer of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Yämaryam Barya and was highly respected. Himself of noble descent, W.B. married Yäwəbdar, the daughter of *wäyzäro* ↗Alṭaš Iyasu and Mikaᵓel Səḥul's son *qäññazmač* Wäldä Ḥawaryat, and therefore the granddaughter of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa). Their marriage festivities were sumptuous, Iyoᵓas and Mikaᵓel Səḥul donated W.B. large areas of land, gold, muskets, cattle and horses to the couple on the occasion (BruNile III, 241). Mikaᵓel Səḥul invested W.B. with a ↗*lämd* and other precious items (ibid.; BlunChr 214).

Together with *ras* ↗Goššu Wädağe of Amhara, W.B. was sent to fight off the attacks of *däggazmač* Fasil "Wäräñña" of Damot.

When in 1768 Mikaᵓel Səḥul officially became ↗*ras bitwäddäd,* he began ruthless campaigns against the opposition, which included Yämaryam Barya, who had opposed Mikaᵓel's appointment. Soon, Mikaᵓel Səḥul had Iyoᵓas imprisoned and then executed; and installed Täklä Haymanot II on the throne (PankHist I, 167).

At the beginning, W.B. was loyal to Mikaᵓel Səḥul, but the relationship worsened with W.B.'s growing ambitions. W.B. was particularly offended when Mikaᵓel refused to give him his relative Wəšən Azal, a sister of ↗Ḫaylä Mikaᵓel Ǝšäte, as a wife, on the grounds that W.B. was already married, and, moreover, to a member of the same family (BlunChr 316). Later, however, Ḫaylä Mikaᵓel Ǝšäte let W.B. marry his sister (Guidi 1902: 34).

Eventually, Fasil, Goššu and W.B. formed an alliance against Mikaᵓel. They besieged Gondär (BruNile IV, 230f.), forcing Mikaᵓel to retreat to Təgray. The rebels entered Gondär and proclaimed Susənyos II as Emperor.

However, the alliances between the rebels and Mikaᵓel Səḥul changed constantly. Susənyos was deposed by Fasil who officially reinstalled Täklä Hamyanot. Thus, Fasil reunited with Täklä Hamyanot at Gondär. This newly strengthened army marched against W.B. and Goššu. They managed to defeat the enemy army at the battles of ↗Sarbakusa in Dämbəya in May 1771. W.B. even captured Mikaᵓel Səḥul and held him imprisoned for one year.

In 1777, W.B. made a short-lived peace with *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot II and was appointed governor of ↗Bägemdər, he is even said to have ruled the kingdom temporarily (BudHist 477). W.B. was among those who deposed Täklä Haymanot that same year and put ↗Sälomon I on the throne.

W.B. died in an accident in December. He can be considered as the founder of the Lasta dynasty, as the governorship of the province remained within his family for several generations, including his successor *däğğazmač* Bäqätu "Abba Ǧale", as well as another active king-maker of the time, *ras* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel and *ras* ↗Aśrat.

Src.: BlunChr 212–28, 315–20; BruNile III, 220–41 and passim; IV, 15–262; BTafA 435, 449, 523, s. index; GuiIyas 218, 242; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "La storia di Ḫāyla Mikāᵓēl", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 11, 1902, 2–79, here 27–55; EDUARD RÜPPEL, *Reisen in Abyssinien*, Frankfurt am Main 1840, vol. 2, 365–69, 422.

Lit.: BudHist 470–77; CrumLand 111ff.; DONALD CRUMMEY, "Family and Property amongst the Amhara Nobility", *JAH* 24, 1983, 207–20, here 214, 216; HAROLD G. MARCUS, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA 1994, 51f.; PankHist I, 167; MICHEL PERRET, "Les partis à la cour de Gondar en 1769", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 129–36; TEKLE-TSADIK MEKOURIA, "Histoire abregée de Haylou Esheté (Degiazmatche)", in: *ibid*. 189–213, here 205.

Sophia Dege

Wändəmmu Wänd

W.W. (**ወንድሙ ፡ ወንድ**; b. 1917, Bəčäna Giyorgis, Goğğam, d. 2002, Addis Abäba) was an Ethiopian painter. At the age of six he decided to become a priest like his father, and attended church school together with ↗ᶜAlämu Ḫaylä Maryam, also later an artist. Later on W.W. became a deacon at ↗Bəčäna Giyorgis Church, where he was deeply impressed by the mural paintings. He observed the traditional painters at work, started to practise their technique and became a self-taught artist who later painted the interior of the church of Läᵓatrəfo Giyorgis in the Gurage region.

He went to ↗Addis Abäba in 1934 and joined the brother of his friend ᶜAlämu, Yətbaräk Ḫaylä Maryam, who was already an established painter of secular themes, producing mainly for the expatriate community. W.W. realized that he would make more money if he also painted

Wändəmmu Wänd painting in his house; photo 1986, courtesy of Doro Röthlisberger secular themes for foreigners, and he started to imitate Yətbaräk's paintings, especially those of the legend of the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda). Later on he found his own way of expression, also painting other subjects such as hunting and farming scenes. In Addis Abäba he lived in a little house near the University in the neighbourhood of ᶜAlämu Ḫaylä Maryam.

Five of W.W.'s paintings can be seen in the Museum of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba, three in the Völkerkundemuseum of the University of Zurich, Switzerland, two are reproduced in Biasio (2006: 130–33) and two in Girma Kidane (1989, fig. 119, fig. 120).

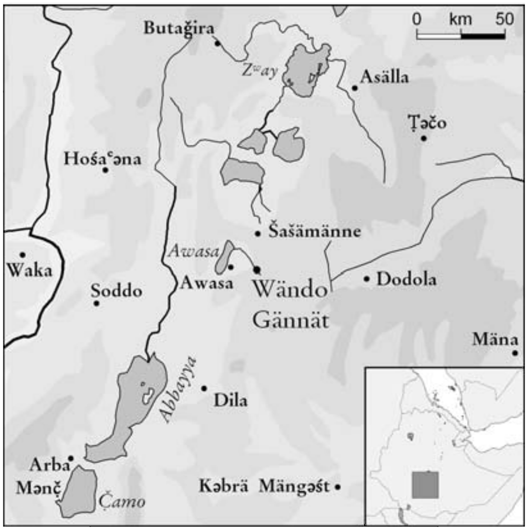
Lit.: ELISABETH BIASIO, *Heilige und Helden – Äthiopiens zeitgenössische Malerei im traditionellen Stil*, Zürich 2006, 30f., 130–33; GIRMA KIDANE, "Four Traditional Ethiopian Painters and their Life Histories", in: *PICEA* 1, 72f.

Elisabeth Biasio

Wändo Gännät

W.G. (**ወንዶ፡ ገነት**) is a spa ca. 20 km south-east of ↗Šašämänne, near the village of Woša and the marshy lake of Dabaši, located in the Sidaama zone of Ethiopia's Southern Region. W.G. had 5,530 inhabitants in 2004.

In the reign of Ḫaylä Śəllase I a hotel and swimming-pool were built near the hot springs in a dense forest of *ṭəd* and *Cordia.* An agricultural college and an arboretum have been opened near the spa where new hotels have been constructed. During the rule of the *Därg* it was a favourite place for officials to spent their holiday. In 2000 W.G. Agricultural College, Awasa University of Agriculture and Dilla Teachers Training Institute (TTI) merged into Awasa Regional University.



Src.: CSA 2004; *Guida* 557.

Alain Gascon

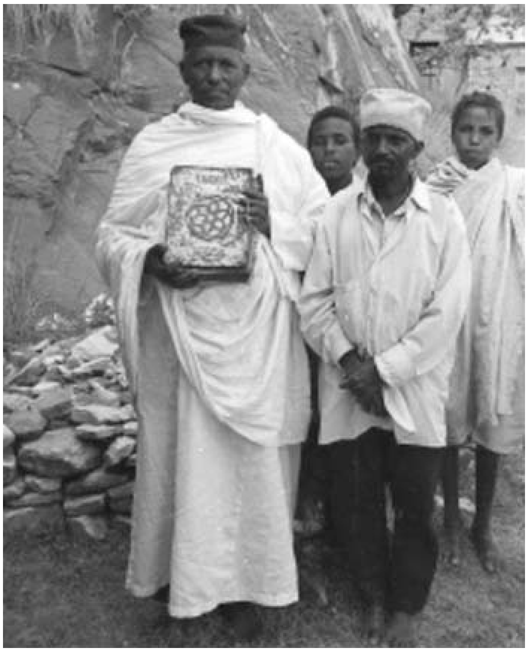
Wängelä Wärq

W.W. (Gəᶜəz **ወንጌለ፡ ወርቅ**, or **ወንጌል፡ ዘወርቅ**, *wängel zäwärq*, 'Golden Gospel', often also in Amharizing form, **ወርቅ፡ ወንጌል**, *wärq wängel*, Tgn. **ወንጌል፡ ወርቂ**, *wängel wärqi*) is a term used with a twofold meaning. In its more literal sense, W.W. indicates a ↗manuscript of the Four Gospels with a gold, but usually gold-like, silver or simply metal cover (cp. GuiVoc 565), a well-known practice in all medieval Christian civilizations (cp. Heldman – Devens in VarAeth 93, n. 54; for the Copto-Arabic and Christian Oriental domain, cp. Leroy 1974: 55f.). In a more specific sense, W.W. indicates a book of the Four Gospels in which notes regarding the institution (usually a monastery or a church), the place or the region where the codex is preserved, or where its owner dwells, are contained (cp. Conti Rossini 1916: 393; Kolmodin 1916: 246f., n. 10; P̣āwlos Ṣādwā 1953: 19f.; Doresse 1972: 150f.; BauEr II, 14, n. 2; Bausi in StudAeth 21). The notes may be either inserted in the empty spaces and leaves (blanks) of the manuscript, or/and be copied on separate leaves or fascicules rebound within the same codex.

The notes which characterize the W.W. are acts and grants declaring rights of exploitation, land prerogatives and benefits (cp. ↗*gʷəlt*, ↗*rəst*, ↗*rim*, etc.), usually in favour of the book's owner; the notes can also consist of inventories of goods and books. Such notes as well as others of different character added on the blank pages (historical records, genealogies, monastic rules, prayers, correspondence, etc.) are known as *additiones*, less properly also as *marginalia* (cp. Lusini 1999: 5ff.). With respect to their function, other questionable terms have also been proposed, such as '*condaghe*' (cp. Kropp in VarAeth 141ff.) and simply 'archive' (Wion 2006; further references in Bausi – Dore – Taddia 2000: 155–65; Bausi in StudAeth 19ff., nn. 50ff.; 2006: 102ff., nn. 1ff.; 2007: 81, n. 4).

The twofold meaning of W.W. probably represents the convergence (quite rare in codicological phenomenology, cp. Bausi 2008: 546, n. 133) of functional task and material appearance, i.e. between the special function of the Four Gospels book as a register of memories and records, and the visible preciousness it displays through its peculiar material structure (metal binding or decoration, cp. Balicka-Witakowska 1997: 8, n. 33). On the other hand, the same function can equally be borne by (non-Gospels) biblical and hagiographic manuscripts. In the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* however, there is only one document, dating to the time of *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl, that attests the expression *wängel zäwärq*, with the technical meaning of "Gospel book as register of memories" (cp. CRAxum 46 [tr.], doc. no. II, 43; HuntLand 51, n. 1 wrongly supposes a reference to one specific manuscript, i.e. the W.W. of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana, Ham); three other occurrences in inventories of the same *Liber Aksumae* seem to refer to the material aspect of the codex instead (CRAxum 70.24-25, *wängel zäwärq*; 71.3, 71.12, *wärq wängel* [text], doc. no. III, 4). The general opinion that metal, esp. golden bindings, are reserved to books of the Four Gospels seems to be confirmed by the evidence (cp. Sergew Hable Selassie 1981: 26), even if some exceptions are attested, such as the manuscript of the Catholic ↗Epistles (i.e. Ḥawarya, 'Apostle', according to the traditional designation), with a richly decorated binding in gold and silver, donated by *aṣe* Naᶜod to the Church of Märṭulä Maryam (author's documentation), or ms. BritLib Orient. 728, *Gädlä Täklä Haymanot* (cp. Pankhurst 1983–84: 249, 256, fig. VI).

Even though not every important monastery or church has its own W.W. (cp. GuiVoc 565), "Golden Gospels" as a repository of records are widely attested all over Christian Ethiopia and Eritrea (for a general survey of Gospels manuscripts, cp. Zuurmond 1989, Part I, 240–55; for some W.W. cp. also Balicka-Witakowska 1997: 9ff.; BauEr I, 24–44 [no. 1], III, 13–23 [no. 11], 32–37 [no. 13]; Lusini 1999: 15f.; Heldman – Devens in VarAeth; Derat 2006). Far more rare are codices with metal bindings, which, however, seem to have existed from the most remote periods of manuscript documentation. In consistence with half-legendary traditions narrated by hagiographic sources for Aksumite times (the Acts of ↗Zämikaᵓel Arägawi report that books decorated with gold and silver were donated by king Gäbrä Mäsqäl to him, cp. Guidi 1896: 73*b*, 92), a certain number of ancient copies of the Four Gospels, which in the course of time have carried out the twofold function of W.W., are decorated with metal bindings. Two of the Abba Gärima Gospels are finely decorated with metal covers (Abba Gärima I and II–III, cp. Leroy 1960: 132, 134, fig. a; 1968: 75, 80, fig. 9; AfrZion 129, nos. 52f.), and the same is true of the 13th-cent. W.W. of Däbrä Libanos (cp. CRDLib; BauEr III, 13–23): at least for the latter, the metal cover seems to be contemporary with the time the manuscript was first copied and bound (cp. Schneider in PICES 8). According to a note on fol. 339v, dating to 1293/1294, in the Four Gospels ms. EMML no. 1832 from ↗Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, copied in 1280/81 (cp. Taddesse Tamrat 1972: 92), *aṣe* 'Yagba (!) Ṣəyon' decorated the codex, a few years after the copying, with gold and silver (cp. Sergew Hable Selassie in OrbAethChoj 252f., 255; Heldman – Devens in VarAeth 93, n. 54; BassHist II, 272, 337). The much more recent Four Gospels book of ↗Däbrä Dəmaḥ also has metal covers (cp. Bausi – Lusini 1994: 19f., n. 33), like two post-16th cent. mss. from ↗Aksum Ṣəyon (cp. *DAE* I, 17). Generic W.W. are, e.g., reported from ↗Ǝndärta and ↗Wälqayt (cp. EllLusAnt 75, 79, 82, 121), from ↗Hazzäga (cp. KolTrad III, A51–A61, with 16th cent. notes), from Betä ↗Ṗänṭälewon near Aksum (author's documentation; also mentioned in Zuurmond 1989, Part I, 254).


The *Wängelä Wärq* of Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana, Ham, Eritrea, held by the *abbot* of the monastery; photo 1993, courtesy of the author

Src.: AfrZion 129; BassHist II, 272, 337; BauEr; BritLib Orient. 728 (WrBriMus 196, no. 304); CRAxum; CRDLib; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "A Royal Correspondence in the

XVth and XVIth Centuries: the Documents of the Gospel of Däbrä Kärbe", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 64–79; EMML no. 1832; GuiVoc 565; Ignazio Guidi, "Il «Gadla 'Aragâwî»", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1896, 54–96, here 73b, 92; Marilyn E. Heldman – Monica S. Devens, "The Four Gospels of Däbrä Mäʿar: Colophon and Note of Donation", in: *VarAeth* 77–99; HuntLand 51, n. 1; Johannes Kolmodin, "Abessinische Bücherverzeichnisse (Aus den Inventarien der Zion von Aksum und einiger anderen Kirchen)", *Le Monde Oriental* 10, 1916, 241–55, here 246, n. 10; KolTrad III, A51–A61; Manfred Kropp, "«Antiquae restitutio legis»: Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als *imago imperii* und *notitia dignitatum* in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zär'a Yaʿqob im *Condaghe* der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: *VarAeth* 115–47, here 141ff.; Jules Leroy, "L'Évangéliaire éthiopien du Couvent d'Abba Garima et ses attaches avec l'ancien art chrétien de Syrie", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 11, 1960, 131–43; Id., "Un nouvel évangéliaire éthiopien illustré du monastère d'Abba Garima", in: André Grabar et al. (eds.), *Synthronon. Art et Archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age …*, Paris 1968 (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 2), 75–87; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarā'ē, Eritrea)", *RSE* 42, 1998 [1999], 5–55, here 10; Ṗāwlos Ṣādwā, "Un manoscritto etiopico degli Evangeli", *ibid.* 11, 1952 [1953], 9–28; Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117; Rochus Zuurmond, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice*: *the Synoptic Gospels*, Part I: *General Introduction*, Part II: *Edition of the Gospel of Mark*, Stuttgart 1989 (AeF 27), Part I, 240–55.

Lit.: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, *La crucifixion sans crucifié dans l'art éthiopien*: *recherches sur la survie de l'iconographie chrétienne de l'antiquité tardive*, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 1997 (Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica 4), 8–11; Alessandro Bausi, "Il testo, il supporto e la funzione. Alcune osservazioni sul caso dell'Etiopia", in: *StudAeth* 7-22; Id., "Un indice del *Liber Aksumae*", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 102–46; Id., "Un indice dell'*Evangelo d'oro* di Dabra Libānos (Šemazānā, Akkala Guzāy, Eritrea)", *ibid*. 10, 2007, 81–91; Id., "La tradizione scrittoria etiopica", *Segno e Testo* 6, 2008, 507–57, here 546; Id. – Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei", *RSE* 36, 1992 [1994], 5–36, here 19f., n. 33; Id. – Gianni Dore – Irma Taddia (eds.), *Materiale antropologico e storico sul «rim» in Etiopia ed Eritrea. Anthropological and historical documents on «rim» in Ethiopia and Eritrea*, Torino 2000, 155–65 (Lit.); Carlo Conti Rossini, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 393; DAE I, 17; Jean Doresse, *La vie quotidienne des éthiopiens chrétiens aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siecles*, Paris 1972, 150f.; EllLusAnt 75, 79, 82, 121; Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés*, Paris 1974 (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 96), 55f.; Richard Pankhurst, "Ethiopian Manuscript Binding and their Decoration", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 205–57, here 249; Roger Schneider, "L'Evangéliaire de Dabra Libanos de Ham", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 163; Sergew Hable Selassie, *Bookmaking in Ethiopia*, Leiden 1981, 22–27; Id., "The Monastic Library of Däbrä Hayq", in: *OrbAethChoj* vol. 1, 243–58; Anaïs Wion, "Aux frontières de la codicologie et de la diplomatique. Structure et transmission des recueils documentaires éthiopiens", *Gazette du Livre Médiéval* 48, 2006, 14–25.

Alessandro Bausi

Wansleben, Johann Michael

W. (also Wansleb; French: Jean Michel Vansleb, Ital.: Giovanni Michele Wanslebio or Vanslebio, Lat.: Johannes Michael Vanslebius; b. 1 November 1635, Frankenhausen near Erfurt, d. 13 June 1679 Bourron, Fontainebleau) was a German Orientalist and traveller, who later became a Domenican father and a French citizen.

Born as a son of a Lutheran pastor, he started in Königsberg (1654) studies of theology and philosophy, as well as of Oriental languages (Hebrew, Samaritan, Persian, Greek, Syriac and Arabic) and mathematics, soon becoming a student of Hiob ↗Ludolf in Gəᶜəz (s. Quetif – Echard 1721: 793; W.'s diary for the period preceding his travels to Egypt is now kept in the "Nachlass Ludolf" in Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, ms. 105/103, s. Beltz 1995:86).

As a very promising scholar, W. was sent to London to take care of the first edition of Ludolf's *Lexicon* and *Grammatica* in 1661 (both emended and reedited by Ludolf respectively in 1699 and 1702), published in one volume together with the *Confessio fidei* of *aṣe* Gälawdewos, the "liturgy of Dioscorus" and other appendixes (s. Wansleben 1661). In London he also helped Edmund Castell (a collaborator of Brian Walton in the project of the polyglot Bible) in the realisation of the *Lexicon heptaglotton* (1669), one of the major achievements of Oriental scholarship of the 17th cent.

At his return to Germany, W. kept on cooperating with Ludolf, for whom he also realized from various libraries, since 1660 at the latest, copies of Gəᶜəz manuscripts which are now disseminated in Europe (s. Bausi 1991: 7ff.; 2009: 261ff.; SixTana III, 258–63; Six 2007: 113ff.).

Ten years after the visit of *abba* ↗Gorgoryos to Germany, under the auspices of the Thuringian Duke Ernst "the Pious" of Saxe-Gotha, Ludolf prepared an exploratory mission to be sent to Ethiopia. The aim was to overcome the lack of information after the expulsion of the Jesuits 30 years before, and even more that of highlighting the purported affinities between the Lutheran and the Ethiopian faith. W. started the journey alone in June 1663. He was supposed to spread interest for Luther's doctrine among Ethiopian clergy, to invite young "Abyssinian" pupils to study in Thuringia, and to collect as much information as possible on church history, government, peoples, history, geography and the nature of Ethiopia (s. his instructions, Flemming

1890: 549; Loth 1986: 72–78). Duke Ernst planned to support Ethiopians spreading Christianity in the countries surrounding them, in order to establish a route to Ethiopia.

W. arrived in Egypt in January 1664. He established lively contacts with the Copts. Their patriarch Matthew, however, warned him not to go to Ethiopia for security reasons. Therefore, W. resigned himself to collecting information on Ethiopia from Copts and from Indians, who had been at *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs's court in ↗Gondär, as well as from Ethiopians in the Cairo churches and Egyptian monastic communities which W. visited, e.g., at ↗Dayr al-Muḥarraq, where he was also able to copy a few Ethiopic manuscripts and acquire Arabic ones (almost all of W.'s copies and Arabic manuscripts resulting from this first travel are presently kept in Florence, cp. Bausi 1991). He also collected the first reliable information on ↗Dongola and on Darfur (s. Adelberger 1991). W. returned to Italy in 1665 and sent a report to Duke Ernst from Florence concerning the political situation in Egypt and Ethiopia (*Relation von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande Ägyptenlandes*), only later published from Ludolf's own copy (s. Paulus 1794: 10–121, "Johann Michael Wansleb's bisher ungedruckte Beschreibung von Aegypten im Jahr 1664"). The report, however, did not contain any particular comments on religion.

In Italy W. acquired fame as a great Orientalist, first in Florence, where he examined at least one Gəʿəz manuscript preserved there in the library of Grand Duke Ferdinando II, and then in Rome, where he had occasion of visiting the Ethiopian community of ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori and annotating and copying Gəʿəz manuscripts. Probably in this period, not only for poverty (as Ludolf, styling W. a betrayer, assumed), but also for deeper reasons connected with a wider knowledge of Ethiopian canonical writings (as it appears from his personal notes, s. Bausi 1991: 12), he converted to Catholicism. W.'s conversion disconcerted and greatly disappointed Ludolf and shortly put an end to any cooperation among the two, even though W. kept on corresponding with Duke Ernst. In Rome he eventually became a Dominican priest at the Convento di Santa Maria sopra Minerva. In 1668 he asked the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide to establish a school of Gəʿəz language and literature in Rome for a future Catholic mission, which was, however, not realized (Beccari 1903: 178). His travel report, dedicated to the Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo III, appeared later in Italian (a language W. mastered and in which he entertained extensive correspondence also in his French period) in 1671 in Paris, where W. moved the same year following the bishop of Montpellier, François Bosquet.

In 1671–76, under initiative of minister of finance Jean-Baptiste Colbert, W. undertook a new journey to the Orient, with the principal task of purchasing Oriental manuscripts and ancient medals, and of acquiring information on all sort of archaeological findings, inscriptions, etc. he would come across (s. Omont 1902, vol. 1, 54–174, vol. 2, 879–951). Via Eastern Mediterranean, W. reached Egypt in 1672, and extensively travelled there for two years visiting several places, for some of which he provided the earliest available information in Europe (e.g., the White Monastery founded by ↗Shenute of Atripe, the most important Coptic writer, on whom also he was the first to report). Yet, he never reached Ethiopia. In the monastic compound of St. Anthony near the Red Sea, in October 1672 he visited the ruins of a monastery, once inhabited by Ethiopians (Wansleben 1677a: 302). He returned to Paris via Asia Minor and Istanbul in 1677, having shipped in the course of time and from various places almost 600 manuscripts to France (Greek, Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew, but no Gəʿəz except one), now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. All this notwithstanding, in consideration of the high costs undertaken and the disappointment for not reaching Ethiopia, Colbert considered W.'s expedition a failure. Fallen into disgrace, he lived poorly first taking residence at the Dominicans' house at rue Saint Jacques, in Paris, where he published his second travel account (ibid. 1677a) and his most important work, i.e. the *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie* (ibid. 1677b), a milestone in the scientific investigation of Egyptian Church institutions, antiquities and writings, and eventually in Bourron in 1678, where he worked as parochial vicar and died. His planned extensive publications of Ethiopic works (where the identification of an ancient Gəʿəz version of a 3rd-cent. text of ↗Cyprian of Carthage, the *Epistle 70*, is also found, s. Wansleben 1671b) never took place.

After his death, a spurious anti-Catholic pamphlet circulating under his name (Wansleben 1679) was strongly criticized by Ludolf in the 2nd edition of the English translation of his *Historia* (s. Ludolf 1684: Preface, bifols. F–G).

Src.: JOHANNES MICHAEL WANSLEBEN (ed.), *Jobi Ludolfi I.C. Lexicon Aethiopico-latinum* …, Londinii 1661;

ID., *Relazione dello stato presente dell'Egitto*, Parigi 1671a [Arab. tr. Cairo 2006]; ID., *Conspectus Operum Aethiopicorum quae ad excudendum parata habet R.P. Fr. Joan. Michael Vanslebius*, Parisiis 1671b; ID., *Nouvelle rélation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Égypte. Par le P. Vansleb, R.D. En 1672 & 1673*, Paris 1677a [^{2}1698]; Engl. tr.: *The Present State of Egypt*; *or, A New Relation of a Late Voyage into That Kingdom. Performed in the Years 1672 and 1673. By F. Vansleb … Englished by M.D.B.D.*, London 1678; ID., *Histoire de l'église d'Alexandrie fondée par S. Marc, que nous appelons celle des Jacobites-coptes d'Egypte, écrite au Caire méme en 1672 et 1673*, Paris 1677*b*; ID. [spurious], *A Brief Account of the Rebellions and Bloodshed Occasioned by the Anti-Christian Practices of the Jesuits and other Popish Emissaries in the Empire of Ethiopia. Collected out of a Manuscript History Written in Latin by Jo. Michael Wansleben, a Learned Papist*, London 1679; JOB LUDOLPHUS, *A New History of Ethiopia*, London ^{2}1684; HEINRICH EBERHARD GOTTLOB PAULUS (ed.), *Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisen in den Orient*, vol. 3, Jena ^{2}1794 [^{1}1782], 10–121, 124–384 ("J.M. Wansleben's bisher ungedruckte Beschreibung von Aegypten im Jahre 1664", "Neue Beschreibung einer Reise nach Aegypten in den Jahren 1672, 1673 in Form eines Tagebuchs", ed. by J.D. REUSS).

Lit.: JÖRG ADELBERGER, "Urimellis", *Sudanic Africa* 2, 1991, 177-78; ALASTAIR HAMILTON, *The Copts and the West 1439–1822*: *the European Discovery of the Egyptian Church*, Oxford 2006 (Warburg Studies), 142–50, passim; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "I manoscritti etiopici di J.M. Wansleben nella Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze", *RSE* 33, 1989 [1991], 5–33 (Lit.): ID., [review of SIX 2007], *Aethiopica* 12, 2009, 259–63; CAMILLO BECCARI, *Notizia e Saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la Storia di Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII, con otto facsimile e due carte geografiche*, Roma 1903, 178; WALTER BELTZ, "Johann Michael Wansleben: zu den Anfängen der deutschen Koptologie und Äthiopistik", in: ID. (ed.), *Übersetzungen und Übersetzer im Verlag J.H. Callenbergs. Internationales Kolloquium in Halle* (*Saale*) *vom 22.–24. Mai 1995*, Halle 1995 (Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft 19), 86–88; AUGUST BECK, *Ernst der Fromme, Herzog zu Sachsen-Gotha und Altenburg*: *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Weimar 1865, vol. 2, 162ff., 570ff., 580f.; JEAN-MARIE CARRÉ, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Egypte*, 2 vols., Le Caire 1956, vol. 1, 29–36; JOHANNES FLEMMING, "Hiob Ludolf: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Philologie", *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 1, 1890, 537–82, here 537, 548f., 555, 563; HEINRICH LOTH (ed.), *Reisen nach Nigritien*: *Bilder afrikanischer Vergangenheit*, Leipzig 1986, 70–87; MAURICE MARTIN, "Le journal de Vansleb en Egypte", *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 97, 1997, 181–91; HENRI OMONT, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVII et XVIII siècles*, Paris 1902, vol. 1, 54–174, vol. 2, 879–951, passim; Abbé ALEXANDRE POUGEOIS, *Vansleb, savant orientaliste et voyageur. Sa vie, sa disgrâce, ses oeuvres*, Paris 1869; SixTana III, 258–63; JACOBUS QUETIF [Quétif] – JACOBUS ECHARD, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum recensiti …*, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1721, vol. 2, 793f.; VERONIKA SIX, "Äthiopische Handschriften", in: RENATE WÜRSCH (ed.), *Die orientalischen Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern*, Wiesbaden 2007, 111–39, here 113ff.

Wolbert Smidt – Alessandro Bausi

Waq

W. (also *Awaqa*; adressed as *ğanḫʷe*, 'majesty' [Leslau 1979: 64, 453, cp. also ↗Žanhoy]) is one of three main ↗spirits or deities of the autochtonous ↗Gurage folk-↗religion. He is associated with the sky (as is his namesake ↗*Waaqa*) and his most important symbol is the shooting star. W. is believed to be the source of power and wealth. He is seen as protector of his people and their *gän* ('country' or 'district') in times of war and as guarantor of ↗'customary law' (*qič̣č̣a*) and 'justice' (*ang*). While the two other main spirits, ↗Dämʷamʷit and ↗Božžä, are venerated all over *Säbat bet* Gurage, W. has a local image, name and ritual tradition in each group. In fact, the term W. seems to cover a class of spirits rather than a single spiritual being. Such W. spirits are *Saᵓamär* in ↗Əndägañ, ↗Ənär and ↗Mäsmäs, *Gäbär* in ↗Ənnämor, *Awägʸä*(*t*) or *Ogʸät* in Čaha and Gumär, *Mando* or *Yənfaša* in ↗Geto, *Ənggʸäbär* in ↗Əža, and *Yämʷarär* in Aklil. In ↗Muḫər folk-religion, which has a high degree of Christian elements, *Iyäsus* (Jesus) was equated with W.

W. is venerated at various local sacred places situated on mountain tops and in groves. Every *gän* has its central shrine where chiefs are installed and assemblies are held under a holy ↗tree. The priests of his cult (*wäg* or *awaᵓə*), some of which are female, act as spirit mediums (↗Possession cults) and judges. They also function as convenors of the annual *č̣əst* feast in honour of W. Many of their ritual assistants are members of an endogamous social group, called ↗*fuga.*

Among all local W. cults of the western Gurage that of *Awägʸät*, the spiritual patron of the ↗*yäğoka* pan-Gurage assembly in the Yäbaze district of Čaha, achieved a central role by ritually and politically integrating the diverse subgroups. The highest representative of *Awägʸä*, is a female spirit medium with the title of *yogäp̣äča dämam* ('lady of Wägäp̣äča [the place of the shrine]'). She is chosen "by W." from the virgins of the Mäzäkʷər (Mazahur) clan. After a time of ritual seclusion she becomes the "ritual wife" of the *damo* of the Yənäqʷamt clan who inherits this office through his patrilineage. Her tenure ends after his death or in case she remains barren.

Today, the number of active followers of the Gurage religion is rather small. However, certain elements were integrated into Christian Orthodox and Islamic folk-religion (cp., e.g. ↗Abrät in EAE vol. 5). Attempts to maintain or revive the old cults remain on the local and clan level and are strongly discouraged by purist Orthodox Christian groups, such as, e.g., the *sänbät tämari* (lit. 'Sunday's students') in the case of Yawaqamʷeʸät of Gurša (Ǝža).

Src.: DIRK BUSTORF, field Notes from Ǝža Gurage, November 2009 (ms.); WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (*Ethiopic*), vol. 1: *Individual Dictionaries*, Wiesbaden 1979, 64, 453.

Lit.: DIRK BUSTORF, "Some Notes on the Traditional Religion of the Ǝndägañ", in: *VarAeth* 12–34; GABREYESUS HAILEMARIAM, *The Guragué and their Culture*, New York – Los Angeles, CA 1991; JEAN-FRANÇOIS PRUNET – BERHANI CHAMORA, "A Sky-God Cult of the Gurage", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 559–64; WILLIAM A. SHACK, "On *deus otiosus* in Guragé Religious Traditions after Menilek II", in: *PICES* 5a, 491–99; ID. – HABTE MARIAM MARCOS, *Gods and Heros*: *Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974, 38–59; ShGurage s. index.

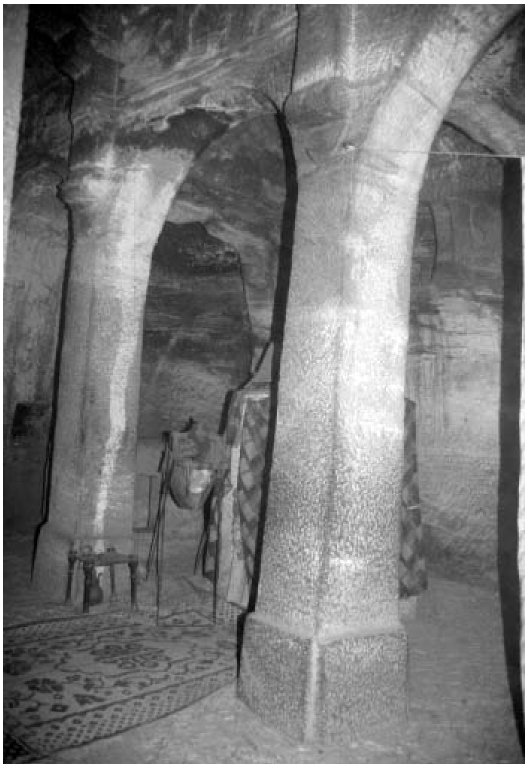
Dirk Bustorf

Wäqen Gabrəʾel

W.G. (**ወቄን፡ ገብርኤል**) is a ↗rock-hewn church in ↗Tämben, ca. 10 km east of ↗ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi. Its foundation and the establishment of a monastic community close by are attributed to a local saint Danəʾel of Tämben (15th cent.). The design of the church interior and the liturgical arrangement seem to confirm this attribution.

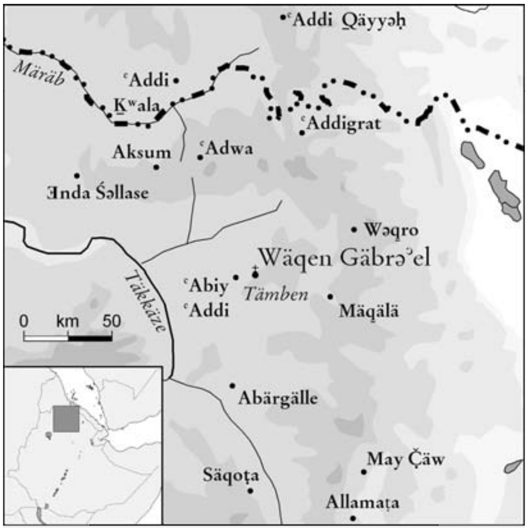
The limestone structure measures ca. 10 x 13 x 2.6 m. Its southern façade is exposed, while from the other three sides it is encircled by a fully excavated ambulatory, which at a later point was partially roofed over with huge flat stone slabs. In front of the western entrance, a pillared niche is excavated. The church is surrounded by a dozen cave-dwellings which were used by the hermits, and a large graveyard. Constructed walls with arched doors and windows around the western part were built by the Italians ca. 1935–41. Close to the church there is a rock pillar which, according to a local tradition, was the prayer site of *abba* Danəʾel.

The interior of the church is divided by three pairs of pillars into three aisles of similar size and four bays. The division into sections is marked on the ceiling by flat lintels, with the exception of the intercolumnium in front of the sanctuary bay which is arched. The architrave of that part is decorated with a frieze of small arcades; the pilasters here do not descend all the way down to the ground but are interrupted at the level of the spandrels and are ended by the corbels. The western and northern walls are articulated by engaged pillars connected by large arches. Blind arcades are located below the three windows in the southern wall. The eastern wall behind the sanctuary is decorated with an imitation of windows, divided by small columns and supplied with traceries. The square compartments of the ceiling have either shallow domes or crosses in relief. In the central area of the sanctuary there is a high monolithic altar also functioning as the *mänbärä* ↗*tabot* and storage for liturgical paraphernalia (↗*Qəddase*: paraphernalia). Its top is decorated with a frieze composed of small arcades and crosses inscribed in the circles. A similar but smaller altar rises in the northern part, while the third, in the southern part, is constructed of stones.


Wäqen Gäbrəʾel, arches seen from the west entrance doorway, 15th cent.; photo 2000, courtesy of Michael Gervers

A large tablet-woven hanging (↗*Mägaräğa*), made of three cotton panels sewn together, stretches across the church from the north to the south, separating the first and second bays. Besides the intricate geometrical patterns, there are figural sections representing the church ceremonies and decoratively treated groups of animals.

There are carved crosses on both sides of the western door, and a twisted rope pattern above



the frieze of small arcades. A robed life-size figure is incised on the right-hand side. The door and its jambs are decorated with paintings in the Second Gondärine style: in the middle there is the Annunciation and Three Youths in the Furnace with a donor; on the right and left angels with raised swords and cherubs; above the Trinity, an anonymous saint and a donor couple. The southern exposed façade is decorated with blind arcades.

The most precious possession of the church is the 15th-cent. diamond-shaped shafted ↗cross of gilded bronze. An old wooden shafted cross is fastened at the top of a chest kept in the sanctuary.

Lit.: DAVID BUXTON, "The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 1–99, here 60ff.; ID. – RUTH PLANT, "Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province", *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–268, here 236f.; EMMANUEL FRITSCH – MICHAEL GERVERS, "*Pastophoria* and Altars: Interaction in Ethiopian Liturgy and Church Architecture", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 7–51, here 46; GerKir^2 151f., figs. 224–26; MICHAEL GERVERS, "The Tablet-woven Hangings of Tigre, Ethiopia: from History to Symmetry", *The Burlington Magazine* 146, 2004, 587–601; KinBibl 68, no. 37; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia,* Worcester 1985, 153–55; ROGER SAUTER, "Églises rupestres au Tigré", *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here no. 1614.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Waqf

W. (pl., *awqāf*) is an 'endowment', usually, but not exclusively, in the form of landed property. It is established either for pious purposes (called *waqf ḫayrī*, 'public and charitable endowment'), or for the benefit of the members of the donor's family (called *waqf ahlī* or *waqf durrī* or *ᶜādī*). The genesis of the Islamic institution of W. can be traced back to the time of Caliph ᶜUmar (r. 634–644). There are traditions attributed to the Prophet about the merits of granting W. The regulations governing the granting, receiving and administration of W. property, and the conditions attached to it, were promulgated, defined and elaborated in the early ᶜAbbāsid period (8th cent. to mid-14th cent.).

The roots of W. include certain types of annuity that existed in pre-Islamic Arabia: contributions to the ↗*ǧihād*, the Byzantine practice of *piae causae* which was widespread especially in ↗Egypt, the desire of middle-class parents in 9th-cent. Iraq to exclude their daughters and their descendants from the benefits of the Islamic law of succession, and as a security against state confiscation of property.

Research on the origin, development and the extent of the practical application of W. in Ethiopia is still not well advanced. The existing literature is fragmentary and scattered. There are only cursory references to it in the secondary sources dealing with land tenure, Islam and Islamic institutions.

Trimingham's assertion that, in Ethiopia, "the institution of *waqf* (pious endowment) is weak compared to most Islamic countries" (TrIslam 233), is implausible in view of the long history of ↗Islam in the country. In the medieval Muslim states and those that flourished in subsequent centuries in other parts of the country (such as ↗Harär and ↗Wällo), the local rulers, pious and wealthy merchants, and cultivators set aside plots of land as W. which they granted to ↗mosques and teachers as sources of subsistence. In Harär, there were also W. farmlands bequeathed to members of families (Abbas Ahmed 1992: 52f.). In Wällo, the local rulers, prosperous merchants and cultivators granted plots of land to the mosque and prominent men of religion (Mengistu Abebe 1997: 45). In ↗Ǧimma, kings such as Abbaa Boqa (r. 1859–61) gave lands (*waqfi*) to merchants from northern Ethiopia (Taddese Semma 2007: 36). In the Muslim ↗Oromo kingdom of ↗Gommaa in south-western Ethiopia, kings provided land to the local scholars (Aman Seifedin 2006: 74). The last *sulṭān* of Ǧimma, ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II (1861–1932), bought an apartment in ↗Mäčča which he turned into W. for accommodating Ethiopian pilgrims.

In Ethiopia the state forcibly took over W. and/or church lands (↗*Sämon*) at three different times. The first was the unsuccessful attempt of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II to confiscate ecclesiastical lands. During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, lands that had been granted to mosques and prominent *šayḫs* by Muslim chiefs in Wällo were appropriated by the state and church, following the religious council of ↗Boru Meda in 1878 which imposed ↗Christianity on the Wällo Muslims. The third occasion was in 1975 when the military government issued a decree for the nationalization of the surplus lands and real-estate belonging to religious institutions. As a result, buildings owned by churches and mosques, especially those in Addis Abäba, were confiscated. For instance, the ↗Ǧāmiᶜ al-Anwar Mosque, which owned and collected monthly rents from shops that had been endowed to it by rich merchants, was deprived of its main income. The rent from the shops was to be shared with the other mosques of the city because, unlike the churches, the mosques never received any regular subsidy from the government. A few years after the overthrow of the regime in 1991, the current government discreetly but fully restored the confiscated properties to both the churches and the mosques.

In Eritrea, the institution of W. – both *ḫayrī* ('charitable') and *ahlī* ('family') – has been in practice for centuries, mostly in the coastal urban settings and later in towns of the interior. Up to late the mid-19th cent. legal records from the Islamic court of ↗Massawa include the foundation of endowments as well as other W.-related proceedings. Most endowed properties involved land, houses, rooms, stores, and water wells proceeds of which usually benefited Massawa's mosques (Miran 2009; Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār 1958). In 1882 the Egyptian authorities established a *awqāf* committee in Massawa. In 1916 the Italian colonial administration promulgated a decree which legalized W. committees in Massawa, ↗Kärän and ↗Asmära, but it was implemented only in the 1930s. In 1936 a new decree stipulated the creation of a W. council in Asmära, but it was established only in 1943 (Yassin M. Aberra 1983–84). Under the ↗British Military Administration, the Grand Mufti of Eritrea granted *qāḍīs* in the principal towns the right to establish W. committees and appoint its members. In 1956 Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār noted the existence of 288 endowed properties (esp. rooms, land) throughout Eritrea (Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār 1956). Overall, the endowment of properties declined in the second half of the 20th cent. yet different *awqāf* councils still nowadays administer mosques and other religious institutions throughout the country.

Src.: Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār ᶜUmar, *Taqrīr al muftī ᶜan awqāf Iritrīyā al-Islāmīya li-ᶜām 1376* ('The *Muftī*'s Report on Islamic Eritrea's Pious Endowments for the Year 1376'), 1376 H. [1956 A.D.], internet source; Id., *Al-Ǧāmiᶜ li aḫbār ǧazīrat Bāḍiᶜ* ('A Compendium of Information on the Island of Bāḍiᶜ'), Asmära 1378 H. [1958 A.D.], ms., 48–56.

Lit.: Abbas Ahmed, *A Historical Study of the City-State of Harar* (*1795–1875*), M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1992; Aman Seifedin, *Islam and the Muslim Community of Gommaa*: *a Historical Survey* (*1886–1974*), M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 2006; Hussein Ahmed, "*Waqf*-Land in Nineteenth-Century Wällo (Ethiopia)", in: Donald Crummey (ed.), *Land, Literacy and the State in Sudanic Africa*, Trenton, N.J. – Asmara 2005, 241–50; Mengistu Abebe, *Land and Peasantry in Ambassal* Awrajja (*Wallo*): *1941–1985*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1997; Taddese Semma, *Origin and Development of Jimma Town to 1942*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 2007; R. Peters et al, "Wakf" in: *EI*^{2} , vol. 11, 2002, 59–99; Jonathan Miran, "Endowing Property and Edifying Power in a Red Sea Port: *Waqf*, Arab Migrant Entrepreneurs, and Urban Authority in Massawa, 1860s–1880s", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 42, 2, 2009, 151–78; TrIslam 233; Yassin M. Aberra, "Muslim Institutions in Ethiopia: the Asmara Awqaf", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 5, 1983–84, 203–23.

Hussein Ahmed (W. in Ethiopia) –
Jonathan Miran (W. in Eritrea)

War(s)

Overview

W. can be defined as a large-scale armed combat between independent political units (or those striving to be so) in pursuit of power or dominance with regard to territory, people or to resources of a material or immaterial nature or because of competing value systems, ideologies, or notions of collective honour. W. can occur at the level of states, but also at that of political elites or of ethnic groups acting in a more or less organized way (s. Fukui – Turton 1979). In the history of the Ethio-Eritrean region and the Horn of Africa in general, W. have been a near-permanent feature of life, accountable for the formation as well as the destruction of states and non-state political entities, and cause for ↗migrations and perennial local-level conflicts over resources. In this the region has been no exception, but some specific patterns of conflict and warfare can be discerned, related to the types of state and communal relations that emerged and to the nature of its ethnic and religious formations.

Ethiopia, a political-geographical entity with shifting boundaries and historically the scene of a great diversity of peoples and local traditions, has been an arena of W. since living memory. The motives of W. throughout the centuries were fairly similar. Next to political dominance, conquest of resources, class struggle, control over people, territorial expansion in competition with other political units, or the quest by marginalized ethnic and regional communities for political inclusion, there were socio-cultural and religions motives which had a W.-propelling power of their own. Religious expansion was one of them (cf. Martin 1973). Some (pastoral) peoples had ritual requirements for warfare in connection with ↗initiation or bride-wealth systems (requiring males to gain livestock, show valour and achieve "killer status"), implying that in some cases W. was internally generated. In many Ethiopian cultural traditions (e.g., of the Amhara, Tǝgray, ↗Oromo, ↗Gurage, ↗Suri ↗ᶜAfar) participation in combat and success in W. came to be seen as positive (male) values. This is related to the "↗meritorious complex" (Braukämper 2002): the ideal of the self-made, assertive man (only occasionally, woman), becoming prominent through achievements in political manoeuvring and battle, which gained cultic aspects. Until this day, the public ritual enactment of ethnic identities in Ethiopia (e.g., on certain national holidays or commemorative days) is marked by the performance of stylized war dances and warrior ideals. Up to the late 20th cent., warfare was also the prime career choice to attain political prominence.

W. were also fuelled by political ideology, such as certain origin myths and ideas of religious identity and expansion also fuelled W.: ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's ↗*ǧihād* against the Christian empire, and the armed struggle of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannǝs IV against Ethiopian Muslims in the late 19th cent. W., being endemic to Ethiopia's political systems and a prime form of maintaining elite rule, defining relations and boundaries with other political units, profoundly shaped society and inter-group relations.

The impact of W. and warfare on history and society in the past two millennia has been pervasive, due to the traditionally contested hold of chiefs, provincial lords and emperors on their dominions, due to ceaseless disputes between emerging socio-political communities on borders and spheres of influence, and due to perennial local conflicts within competing smaller ethnic-based societies. W. thus played a role in the creation of states, chiefdoms and sultanates, but also caused lasting destruction and sapped the productive potential of the region. As Parkyns (1856: 55) wrote on northern Ethiopia, (civil) W. was "the perpetual scourge of Abyssinia", and the source of its poverty and other deficits due to the ongoing predations of the soldiery on ↗peasantry and ↗traders (cf. Caulk 1978). Warfare thus figured historically as a generative mechanism for the formation of authority, power structures, group boundaries and political units. W. had important economic and environmental ramifications, but also involved cultural values, group identities and social hierarchization, either as motivating factors or as reactive results of W. on collective identification.

Wars in non-state settings

While the traditional focus of Ethiopian historiography has always been of W. and its relation to the highland Christian state and the Muslim states, or – to a lesser extent, on indigenous kingdoms such as ↗Käfa, ↗Wälaytta, or the Oromo ↗Gibe states, there were at any point in time other processes of W. among decentralized societies in the Horn of Africa, such as the pastoral ↗Somali, the Gurage, or the ᶜAfar, or among small-scale chiefdom societies in the south-west. Examples are the ↗Konso, the ↗Dizi or the ↗Aari peoples, where the various sub-units frequently fought armed battles. Pastoralist groups such as the ↗Hamar, Suri, ↗Mursi, ↗Guǧǧi or ↗Boorana regularly clashed with sedentary farmers or other herding peoples. Knowledge about historical patterns and effects of W. among these groups is limited due to the absence of written records, but oral traditions contain numerous references to armed conflict. These societies in the south and west only engaged the Ethiopian highland state in the 1890s, when *aṣe* ↗Mǝnilǝk II's troops conquered and subdued them. In the non-state political formations W. were carried out for regional dominance or resources such as land, pasture and livestock in fragile ecological settings, although in many cases religious/cultural motives also played a role (e.g., Somali). Such societies usually had a strong in-group ethos and directed W. to territorially or ethnically different enemy groups, avoiding internal fighting (Taddesse Berisso in PICES 11, 312). As a rule, they knew warfare as a contained and ritualized activity whereby certain codes were respected and gross abuse was limited. In many of these loosely administered societies, local W. with neighbours continued up until recent years (Turton 1999). Still, these forms of W. were indirectly connected to those of the larger states, via relations of trade, resource extraction, political domination and forced conscription, notably since the late 19th cent. when imperial rule was extended over them.

History of wars

The emergence of the Aksumite empire (↗Aksum), a precursor of the medieval Ethiopian state, was a feat of W. (Marcus 1994: 5), in the course of which smaller polities were united in a new political formation under the influence of ideas of divine ↗kingship. For the Aksum state of the early 1st cent. A.D., W. was essential in its rise to regional power and to its subsequent economic and political expansion. The strong kingship that developed in Aksum was buttressed by an important military machine that reached in to ↗Sudan and ↗Yemen. The decline of Aksum in the 10th cent. eventually invited a violent take-over of power by the Agäw-based ↗Zagʷe state. This state showed much continuity with Aksum in political organization, religion and warfare practices, and was in its turn overthrown, probably by W., in 1268–70, when the ↗Solomonic dynasty took power and vested its rule in a neo-Aksumite royal ideology and a reconstituted Christian identity. In the Solomonic empire warrior-kings played an important role in both redefining, defending and expanding a renewed Ethiopian state. It emerged in parallel with a number of Muslim states in the east (e.g., ↗Ifat, ↗ᶜAdal, ↗Bale, ↗Däwaro) who competed with the Christian state for a variety of motives (territorial sovereignty, land, economic power over the coastal areas and trade routes, and religious identity). These Islamic states had emerged in the 9th cent. in the Red Sea coastal areas, territories never securely tributary to, let alone under the control of, Christian highland kings. Of the latter, ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon was the most prominent figure, battling the Muslim warrior-kings such as ↗Ṣabraddīn who gradually tried to move westward into the highlands. Later episodes of W. followed under ↗Gälawdewos, ↗Minas, ↗Yəsḥaq, ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl and ↗Iyasu I. The dynamics of W. between these two domains thus determined much of Ethiopia's history up to the late 19th cent., at least until ↗Tewodros II.

Soldiers were not salaried but were exempt from taxation, and had to rely on provisions and on quartering at the expense of the local population, which usually led to forced requisitioning and looting. They also received land as a recompense, worked by peasants (s., e.g., ↗*Madäriya*). *Aṣe* Tewodros was the first to start salaried remuneration (unsuccessfully), but it was *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I who introduced the salaried standing ↗army after 1930. Even after this, soldiers regularly forced the local peasants in battle zones to give them provisions and property due to scarcity and low pay.

The organization of warfare showed remarkable continuity through the ages. The emperors had a core army around their camp (s. ↗*Kätäma*) or capital, but most of the country's defences was based on loyal ↗*č̣äwa* regiments as well as regiments that were formed on a territorial-ethnic basis (cf. TadTChurch 89ff.; Merid Wolde Aregay 1971: 282; 1997: 41) and were stationed in strategic border areas and regularly moved according to where major campaigns (s. also ↗*Zämäča*) were undertaken. Peasants could be called up for service by provincial lords at any time. Regimental organization was complex (cf. Merid Wolde Aregay 1971: 80–98). Personal ties of loyalty with the emperor (e.g., via kinship and affinal links) were important. Large numbers of soldiers were involved in the armies with tens of thousands of men and many more camp followers, although travel-writers had a strong tendency to overestimate the actual numbers. The size and the decentralized nature of the armies caused frequent lack of discipline and a lack of unity of purpose. Most of the army were ↗infantry armed with ↗lances, bow and arrows, ↗spears, clubs, ↗shields, sabres or ↗swords and knives. In the mid-16th cent. ↗fire-arms became important (Merid Wolde Aregay 1979), but were used only by a few strike units and lacked ammunition. Special units like the ↗Maya were known as skilled archers, with poisoned arrows. ↗Cavalry grew in importance in the late 16th cent. and became crucial in all subsequent W. until the early 20th cent. In the 17th–19th cent., notably, Oromo cavalry proved to be a formidable force in W. Actual warfare was bloody and ruthless, with no rights of prisoners respected and soldiers taking pride in their killing feats. Emasculation (s. also ↗Castration) of captured opponents occurred on all sides. Many of the vanquished were sold into ↗slavery.

A major period of W. that emerged from the age-old conflict between Muslim states and the Christian highland state occurred in the early 16th cent. with Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm

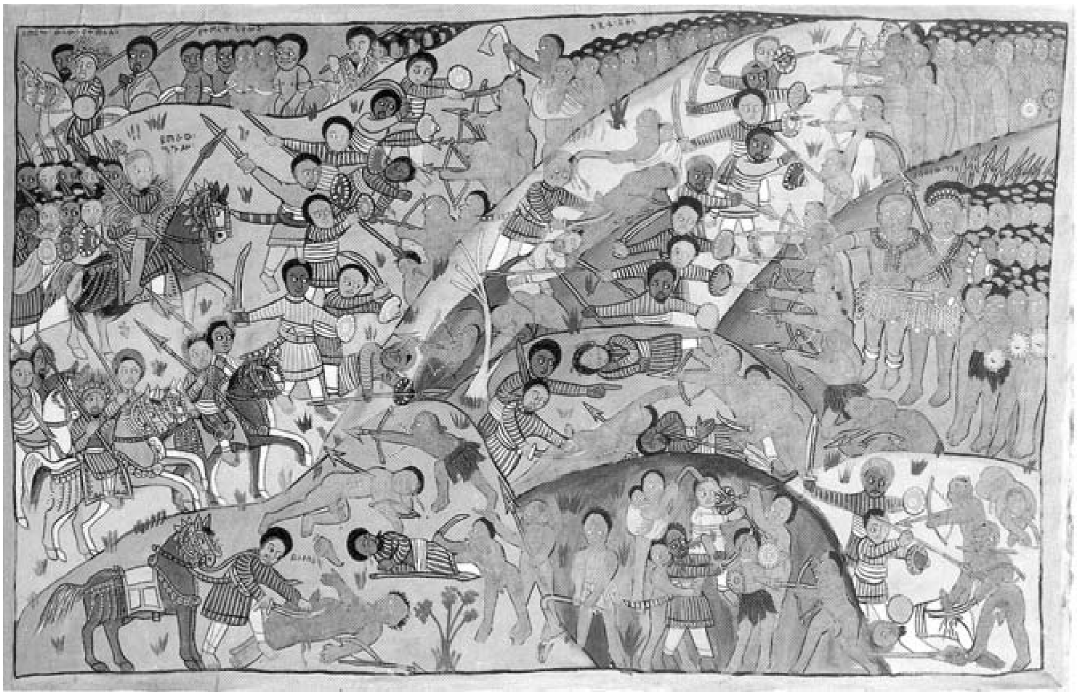


Fig. 1: Traditional depiction of a battle between the "Amhara king" and a southern people, by an unknown painter, ca. 1928, paint on cloth, 134 x 84 cm; from the Melchers collection, courtesy of the Übersee Museum Bremen

al-Ġāzī, the powerful leader of the ↗Harär sultanate, engaging the Solomonic state (1527–43). This became one of the most massive W. that Ethiopia experienced (BassHist). For the Muslim states it marked the transition from raiding and ambushing to organized W. in longer campaigns. New elite strike units like the ↗*mäläsay* were introduced by them. This well-described and highly influential period of W. had underlying demographic and politico-economic causes, but came to be marked by religious opposition. It led to major destruction of life and property and redefined Ethiopia and Christian–Muslim relations. It also meant a qualitative and quantitative transformation of W., in that for the first time fire-arms were used on a significant scale (first imported by the Turkish allies of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm and put at his disposal, and later by the Portuguese military contingent [↗Portugal, relations with]) that came to assist *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl in 1541) as well as the adoption of cavalry by both sides. Next to the huge number of casualties and the economic devastation, this W. (a self-proclaimed *ǧihād*) also saw the systematic destruction of cultural treasures and places of worship, notably churches, by Aḥmad's forces, and forced mass conversion of soldiers and peasantry as well as opportunistic defections to the opponent's side. The attempt to conquer and annihilate the Christian empire and religionwas also new; prior to this, W. was regulated by an idea of seeking dominance, trade route access and tribute, not wholesale conquest (cf. Merid Wolde Aregay 1971:75).

A second major period of W. was instigated in the wake of this W., when the northward migrations of the Oromo people into the highlands began, facilitated by the mutual exhaustion of the Muslim and Christian states. It led to long periods of major W. and territorial expansion that only ended in the 19th cent. This development not only evoked major political changes, but also showed innovations in the organization and scale of W. In their penetration of the highlands the Oromo, fuelled by population expansion, used mobile and highly organized units (*čəfra*) based on age grade organization (↗Age group systems; s. also ↗*Gadaa*), and, from the second half of the 16th cent., made effective use of cavalry, taken over from the highland state, which had long maintained royal mule and horse farms and stables. Contrary to some suggestions, neither the Oromo nor the Somali used ↗elephants or ↗camels in battle. While they were not united in a common political project, the Oromo came to be partly associated with and incorporated into the highland empire (cf. the Oromo regiments of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos), and had major influence at the royal court since the mid-18th cent. Other, southern Oromo sections formed new states in southwestern Ethiopia (↗Limmu Ǝnnarya, ↗Gomma, ↗Guumma; cf. MHasOr). The Oromo advance since the 1550s was not only directed to the areas of the Christian highland state but also deeply affected other kingdoms such as Käfa, Wälaytta and chiefdoms or segmentary societies such as the Gurage, ↗Sidaama, Somali, and numerous ethnic groups in the west, with whom W. were fought and many of whom were later incorporated. In the late 16th cent. the Oromo advance also led to the decline of eastern Muslim states, such as ᶜAdal and ↗Fäṭägar.

Apart from W. with neighbouring states, campaigns to subdue rebellious, semi-incorporated areas such as that of the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel (cf. CRHist 118–21) or defensive battles to ward off the Oromo, W. in the Christian highlands from the 16th cent. onwards had the character of internal W. Provincial warlords and the emperors were perpetually battling each other, vying for regional autonomy, power or economic resources. In addition, doctrinal divisions in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church and constant conflict about royal succession also contributed to W. (s. also ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*).

Since the 1550s the Ottomans sent their own well-armed military forces instead of proxies to discourage the Portuguese from becoming trade competitors in the Red Sea area. Previously some fire-arms from the Ottomans had reached the Ethiopian emperors, while larger numbers were provided to the forces of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī; the Ottomans had also sent reinforcements to the latter in the late 1530s–early 1540s (↗Ottoman empire). The Ottomans occupied ↗Massawa in 1557 and also ventured inland creating a precedent for later armed interventions by the Egyptians in 1875–76 and in 1885 (↗Egypt, relations with), and by the ↗Mahdists in the 1880s, leaving a massive trail of death and destruction.

In the 1880s a major period of W. was initiated in the context of European designs on Ethiopia, spurring Mənilək of Šäwa to embark on his violent conquest of the regions south and east of the Ethiopian heartland. Some of these regions (e.g., ↗Gamo, some Gurage areas) had nominally been part of the Ethiopian imperial state in medieval times, but consisted of autonomous states such as Käfa, Wälaytta and the Gibe kingdoms. These campaigns caused huge economic damage, great human suffering (cp. Vanderheym 1896) and redirected resources and migration flows to the imperial centre, buttressing its power. The use of fire-arms played a key role in securing the conquests (Merid Wolde Aregay 1979). Fire-arms had already been imported on a large scale by the highland warlords and emperors in the 19th cent.

In the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa of 1896 the Italians had used qualitatively better fire-arms, but were outnumbered and outwitted by *aṣe* Mənilək II's forces. This historic battle had great symbolic value not only in Europe but also in Ethiopia itself, as some basic idea of national unity or national interest was forged. The actual battle was as devastating for local (Təgray) society as any previous imperial campaign (↗Italian war 1895–96). After 1896 *aṣe* Mənilək II could not prevent the advance of the Italians in Eritrea, who combinded to encroach and worked toward provoking a new W.

Mənilək's successor *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu tried to change the policies of the empire but operated unwisely in both foreign and internal affairs (in ↗World War I) and lapsed into a number of devastating slave raids, e.g., in the south. Forces loyal to him lost the Battle of ↗Sägäle in 1916 against *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I). During the 20th cent., the technology of warfare rapidly changed, with the introduction of semi-automatic weapons, grenades, war planes, tanks, land-mines, etc. The Battle of Sägäle was the turning point proving the importance of machine-guns (used by Iyasu's opponents) over cavalry, which receded into history after 1930.

The ↗Italian war 1935–36 and the occupation of Ethiopia by Italy from 1936 to 1941 (↗Africa Orientale Italiana) introduced new forms of warfare and took a huge toll on Ethiopian society. Italy used aerial bombardment, tanks and poison gas (Pankhurst 1999; Sbacchi 2002), ruled by force and repression and massacred large numbers of (innocent) Ethiopians in reprisal killings (Addis Abäba 1937; Däbrä Libanos 1937). The Patriots' ↗resistance movement (Hilton 2007) turned to guerrilla warfare in the countryside, with support of the local population in many (but not all) areas.

After the end of the ↗War of Liberation and of ↗World War II, where the British forces, Pa-

Fig. 2: Ethiopian soldiers training the appropriate tactics during air raids; from Rikli 1935: 84

triots and troops of the Emperor defeated the Italians, and following the restoration of Ḫaylä Śəllase's reign after a period of British control (April 1941–January 1944), W. receded in Ethiopia, and, apart from the suppression of three major insurrections (the first ↗Wäyyane rebellion in 1943, the Goǧǧam revolt in 1968 and the Bale insurgency of 1963–70), W. was not seen again until the 1960s, with a low-key conflict against Eritrean separatists (↗Eritrean Liberation Front, ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF]). This developed into a full-scale W. under Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council; ↗Revolution) in 1977. The protracted conflict between the state army and the "liberation movements" fighting for independence caused tens of thousands of casualties and led to huge material damage and economic stagnation.

In 1975 a new phase of civil W. started when the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the ↗Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and several other ethno-regional fronts emerged, fighting for people that felt excluded from power (cf. Gebru Tareke 2009). They embarked on sustained armed struggle. In response the Ethiopian regime, with its Marxist ideology and a strongly authoritarian military dictatorship, and following a rigid unitary state formula, built up one of the largest and best-equipped armies in Africa, with an ↗air force and modern arms of Soviet origin. However, it did not succeed in containing the insurgents. Other violent episodes in Ethiopia were the "Red Terror" campaigns of 1976–77 carried out by the *Därg* government against leftist parties and urban guerrilla movements that took the lives of some 30–40,000 mostly young people, and almost simultaneously the W. initiated by ↗Somalia against Ethiopia in 1977–78, which was only won by Ethiopia with the support of Cuban troops.

In the *Därg* era, W. had a deeply corrosive effect on the economy, the political system and on society, with people losing trust in government and their fellow citizens, and with the traditional moral, social and religious values under great duress. The *Därg* regime collapsed under the strain of W. and internal dissent in May 1991 (Gebru Tareke 2009; Fantahun Ayyele 2009), after which the insurgent movements TPLF and EPLF took over power respectively in Addis Abäba and Asmära, Eritrea.

W. did not end, however, with this new post-1991 political dispensation, because, apart from regular ethnic clashes and ongoing low-intensity struggles of various insurgent fronts (including the OLF), a large-scale "border W." between Eritrea and Ethiopia erupted in May 1998, leading to ca. 80–90,000 deaths, hundreds of thousands of displaced, massive destruction and an end to the political alliance between the two countries (Jacquin-Berdal – Plaut 2004). On the domestic front, while Ethiopia did not see a return to civil war, nevertheless regular violent "ethnic clashes" have caused the deaths of thousands of citizens over the past 18 years. This reveals the continuing deep divisions caused by centuries of conflict and the difficulty of overcoming the violent legacy of the past (cp. Triulzi 2006).

Societal effects of war

In the Ethiopian medieval era, the feudalist social organization (↗Feudalism), with its classes of royals, nobles, soldiers, peasants and craftsmen, led to a self-perpetuating predatory regime that lived off the produce and resources of peasants and traders. While the emperors did not officially permit the looting and robbing of local peasant populations (Merid Wolde Aregay 1971: 92; 1997) – indeed proclamations were later issued against it (by e.g. Tewodros and Mənilək) – the soldiery was more often than not undisciplined and engaged in the same, notably when their supplies ran out, or after a victory. Chronicles and eyewitness reports never fail to refer to the constant depredations of soldiers on the local population (PankBord 70, 159). Ironically, throughout Ethiopian history until today, foot soldiers were mostly recruited from the impoverished peasantry, the unemployed, the poor, underprivileged, and criminal elements (cf. PankBord 148), as well as from smaller and often marginal ethnic groups, who were put in special units (like the post-1991 *fäṭno däraš* units), thus perpetuating the problem.

While W. and warfare has certainly not determined all aspects of Ethio–Eritrean culture and society, its effects throughout history have been devastating, causing structural, long-term damage. Familiar effects of W., next to the high numbers of dead, maimed and traumatized, were impoverishment, crop destruction and ↗famine, war-induced diseases, recurring "ethnic" tension, a state of insecurity, sexual violence and spread of venereal disease (Pankhurst 1963: 143), lack of state investments and development, continued political authoritarianism, and distrust between local communities and social strata. Another effect was perpetual instability in the wider region of the Horn, notably in the late 20th cent. (Gebru Tareke 2009).

At the same time, warfare figured in the identity discourse of most political and ethnic groups (↗Ethnicity). The public self-presentation of ethnic or territorial communities in public ritual and on commemorative days often showed a notable emphasis on militarist symbols and identity markers. These values of (masculine) self-assertion then continued to shape warfare as a social practice. The role of women in W. was supportive of their warriors and their community; not only did they, as dependents, provide supplies and were camp followers, they also verbally and otherwise encouraged men to engage in battle.

Historically, W. could be said to have created a "culture of warfare" in the region, an institutionalized ethos of violent conflict resolution, and of militant responses to exploitation, insult and humiliation via recourse to violent action. This ethos often coexists with modes of accommodation and conflict resolution still present at the local level, but has prevented the emergence of a shared, institutionalized system of consensus politics at the national level.

↗Holäta Military Academy; ↗Harär Military Academy; ↗Military units (s. EAE vol. 5); ↗Military organization, modern (s. EAE vol. 5)

Src.: BlunChr 208, passim; CRHist 110, 118–21, 204ff.; HuntAdmS 54ff.; PerrAmdS; PerrEsk; PerrZarY 8, 16f., 43, 57; BassHist.

Lit.: AbPrince xx, 34, 54, 56, 90, 109, 127, 139ff.; Ulrich Braukämper, "The Meritorious Complex: a German Approach to Ethiopian Anthropology", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 2, 706–24; Richard Alan Caulk, "Armies as Predators: Soldiers and Peasants in Ethiopia, c. 1850–1935", *IJAHS* 11, 3, 1978, 457–93, Id., "Bad Men of the Borders: *shum* and *shefta* in Northern Ethiopia in the 19th Century", *ibid.* 17, 2, 1984, 201–27; Vassilios Christides, "The Himyarite-Ethiopian War and the Ethiopian Occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius (ca. 530 AD)", *AE* 9, 1972, 115–46; Christopher Clapham, "War and State Formation in Ethiopia and Eritrea", Brighton 2003, ms.; Fantahun Ayyele, *The Ethiopian Army: from Victory to Collapse, 1977–1991,* Addis Ababa 2009; Gebru Tareke, "The Ethiopia-Somalia War of 1977 Revisited", *IJAHS* 33, 3, 2000, 635–67; Id., *The Ethiopian Revolution: War in the Horn of Africa*, New Haven, CN – London 2009; Katsuyoshi Fukui – David Turton (eds.), *Warfare among East African Herders,* Osaka 1979; Andrew Hilton, *The Ethiopian Patriots: Forgotten Voices of the Italo–Abyssinian War 1935–41,* Chalford 2007; Dominique Jacquin-Berdal – Martin Plaut (eds.), *Unfinished Business: Ethiopia and Eritrea at War*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 2004; Harold Golden Marcus, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA – London 1994; Bradford G. Martin, "Mahdism, Muslim Clerics, and Holy Wars in Ethiopia, 1300–1600", in: *USCES* 91–100; Charles McClellan, "Observations on the Ethiopian Nation, its Nationalism and the Italo-Ethiopian War", *NEASt* 3, 1 (new ser.), 57–86; Merid Wolde Aregay, *Southern Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom, 1508–1708, with Special Reference to the Galla Migrations and their Consequences*, Ph.D. thesis, London School of Oriental and African Studies 1971; Id., "A Reappraisal of the Impact of Firearms in the History of Warfare in Ethiopia (c. 1500–1800)", *JES* 14, 1979, 98–99; Id., "Military Elites in Medieval Ethiopia", *ibid.* 30, 1, 1997, 31–74; MHasOr 39, 58f., 93, 100; PankBord; Richard Pankhurst, "The Ethiopian Army of Former Times", *EthObs* 7, 2, 1963, 118–41; Id., "The Effects of War on Ethiopia's History", *ibid.*, 143–63; Id., "A Brief Note on the Fascist Murder of the Monks and Deacons of Däbrä Libanos in May 1937", *Sociology-Ethnology Bulletin* 1, 3, 1994, 12–13; Id., "Italian Fascist War Crimes in Ethiopia: a History of their Discussion, from the League of Nations to the United Nations (1936–1949)", *NEASt* 6, 1–2, 1999, 83–140; PankSoc; Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. 1, London 1856, 55; Alberto Sbacchi, "Poison Gas and Atrocities in the Italo–Ethiopian War", in: Ruth B. Ben-Ghiat – Mia Fuller (eds.), *Italian Colonialism: a Reader*, New York 2002, 47–56; SerHist 93f.; Taddesse Berisso, "Warfare among the Guji-Oromo of Southern Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 309–24; TadTChurch 89–95, 136–41; Teferi Teclehaymanot, *The Ethiopian Feudal Army and its Wars, 1868–1936*, Ph.D. thesis, Kansas City State University 1971; Alessandro Triulzi, "The Past as Contested Terrain. Commemorating New Sites of Memory in War-torn Ethiopia", in: Preben Kaarsholm (ed.), *Violence, Political Culture and Development in Africa*, Oxford – Athens, OH – Pietermaritzburg 2006, 122–38; David Turton, "Warfare in the Lower Omo Valley, Southwestern Ethiopia: Reconciling Materialist and Political Explanations", in: Stephen P. Reyna – R.E. Downs (eds.), *Deadly Developments: Capitalism, States and War,* Amsterdam 1999, 133–52; Jean-Gaston Vanderheym, *Une Expédition avec le Négous Ménélik*, Paris 1896.

Jon G. Abbink

War of Liberation

The W.L. refers to the final period of Italian occupation. During the five years of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana rule over Ethiopia and Somalia, ↗resistance against Italian occupation mounted steadily. The last phase, known also as the East Africa Campaign, saw the decisive intervention of allied powers and is the main focus of this entry. It was part of the allied offensive against the Axis during ↗World War II.

The W.L. campaign fell under the British Middle East Command. The vast majority of the British allied forces involved were from British Commonwealth nations, including troops from the Sudan, ↗British Somaliland, British East Africa, the Indian Empire, South Africa, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and British West Africa (↗United Kingdom). In addition, there were Ethiopian irregular forces, Free French forces (cp. ↗Messmer) and Free Belgian forces. The Italian forces included Italian nationals, East African colonials (Eritreans, Ethiopians, and Somali *dubats*) and a small number of German volunteers (the "Compagnia Autocarrata Tedesca", i.e. German Motorized Company). The majority of the Italian forces were East African colonials led by Italian officers.

At the end of October 1940, because of the increasing Axis threat in the ↗Middle East, the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony ↗Eden convened a conference in ↗Khartoum. In attendance were Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, South African General Jan Smuts, the Commander-in-Chief of the Middle East Command, ↗Wavell, and senior military commanders in East Africa including Lieutenant-General Platt and Lieutenant-General ↗Cunningham. The general plan of attack was agreed upon at this conference (Wavell 1946). On 19 January 1941, British and Indian forces commanded by General Platt captured ↗Kassala and then advanced from Sudan into Italian-occupied Eritrea. The next day, Ḫaylä Śəllase, accompanied by Orde ↗Wingate, entered Goǧǧam, also from Sudan (↗Omedla). Four days later, and some 1,000–1,600 km to the south-east, British, East African and South African forces under General Cunningham launched a campaign from Kenya into ↗Italian Somaliland.

Italian forces had been demoralized by four years of Ethiopian Patriot military activity. Moreover, the Italian Central Command ("Comando Centrale") was planning for a war after 1942. In the summer of 1940, they were not prepared for a prolonged war or to occupy extensive areas of the African continent (however, they had occupied British Somaliland a short while earlier). As a result, the Italians were weaker than British estimates had predicted. On 2 February 1941, the Battle of ↗Kärän began. Italian troops managed to withstand repeated assaults by two British Indian Infantry Divisions. On 11 February 1941, General Cunningham's forces from Kenya invaded Italian Somaliland. On 24 February, his troops occupied Mogadishu and captured a sizeable quantity of military equipment and on 17 March they moved northward to ↗Ǧiǧiga. On 16 March, the Royal Navy recaptured British Somaliland. Meanwhile, allied forces from the west captured Kärän on 26 March and three days later allied troops entered ↗Harär.

On 1 April 1941, British forces occupied ↗Asmära and on the following day the British set up a provisory government structure in Asmära, the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration. Two days later, the ↗Gideon Force, commanded by Wingate, liberated ↗Däbrä Marqos. The next day, *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša arrived in Asmära with 7,000 troops and offered them to the British. At the same time, Amedeo di ↗Savoia, Duke of Aosta, left Addis Abäba and headed into the mountain stronghold of ↗Ambalage. On 6 April, South African troops liberated Addis Abäba and four days later the Emperor's army, though poorly armed and often lacking adequate supplies or air support, captured Däbrä Marqos. The Patriots, under the command of *ras* ↗Abbäbä Arägay, consolidated themselves around Addis Abäba.

On 5 May 1941, the Emperor returned to Ethiopia. On 19 May, the Duke of Aosta and 5,000 Italian troops surrendered at Ambalage. Shortly thereafter, Italian General Guglielmo ↗Nasi surrendered his forces at Gondär. Over the next few months, Ethiopian and allied forces undertook several "mopping up" campaigns. On 27 November, the last significant campaign ended with the fall of Gondär to the British and the Patriots. Ethiopia thus became the first country to be freed from Axis conquest.

During the last phase (1940–42) of the W.L., the Italians had deployed some 325,000 soldiers and officers in Ethiopia and Somalia. The allies numbered between 30,000 and 50,000 soldiers plus several thousand patriot forces. During the fighting, 15,211 troops from both sides were killed, 38,152 were wounded and 100,000 were captured by the allied forces and the Ethiopian patriots. Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase quickly reestablished his power and gradually distanced himself from his British allies, who had established a British Military Administration to administer Ethiopia (only in 1944 fully recognizing Ethiopia's sovereignty in an Ethiopian–British Treaty).

↗Italian war of 1935–36

Src.: ARCHIBALD WAVELL, "Official Despatch: Operations in East Africa November 1940–July 1941", *London Gazette* 37645, July 1946, 3527–99.
Lit.: MockWar xxxi–xxxiii; DAVID SHIRREEF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers*: *Wingate, Sandford, the Patriots and the Part They Played in the Liberation of Ethiopia*, London – New York 1995, 213ff.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Wäräda ↗Administrative division

Wäräñña ↗Wäldä Śəllase

Warder

W. is the capital town of both the W. administrative zone and the W. *wäräda* of the Somali Regional State (for location s. map for Wälwäl). This zone (392,377 inhabitants, CSA 2004) forms a wedge between the former Somaliland, to the north, and the former Somalia Italiana territories to the south-east.

40 km to the north of W. lies the ↗Wälwäl post where on 6 December 1934 a column of Ethiopian troops faced Italian *dubat* (i.e. armed irregular bands employed by the Italian *Regio Corpo Truppe Coloniali*). ↗Mussolini used this confrontation as a pretext to start the conquest of Ethiopia.

The 70 wells of W. were guarded by a small fort which belonged to the sultans of ↗Hobyo. During the Italian occupation W. was the head of the *Commissariato dell'Ogaden* (Guida). In 1955 Great Britain ceded the northern part of the W. region to Ethiopia as a part of the Hawd (s. ↗Ogaden: Hawd and Reserved Areas).

W. again became a post of the Ethiopian army which combated the Western Somali Liberation Front guerrilla.

Until the 1987-administrative reform W. was the capital of the Wälwäl and W. *awraǧǧa* – larger than the present zone – which was a division of the ↗Harär region, and from 1987 to 1991 a part of the Ogaden autonomous region. W., which still retains its military function, today provides administrative services. Therefore, its population has increased (17,558 inhabitants in CSA 2004) at the expense of the population of the *wäräda* which has decreased from 21,892 inhabitants in 1994 to 20,516 inhabitants in 2004.

Src.: CSA 2004; EMAtlas; *Guida* 609.
Lit.: DAVID D. LAITIN – SAID S. SAMATAR, *Somalia*: *Nation in Search of a State*, London 1987, 61; CSA 1998; JOHN H. SPENCER, *Ethiopia ay Bay*: *a Personal Account of the Haile Sellasie Years*, Algonac, MI 1987, 186f.

Alain Gascon

Wärǧih

W. (**ወርጂህ**, sp. variants: Warǧih, Wargeh, Wargar, Wegar) is an ethnic group first mentioned in the so-called Chronicle of ↗Šäwa (mostly dated to the 13th-cent.). The Chronicle states that the Amhara unsuccessfully attacked the W. in 1128 (Cerulli 1941: 18).

The W. herded cattle and camels in the lowlands east of the Awaš valley. They were already Muslims by that time. The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (MarAmdS 54ff., 184 and s. index) located both the W. and the Gabal nomads in this lowland region. ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I fought against the W. in the early 14th cent. as part of his expansion of the boundaries of Šäwa.

The W. maintained themselves over the centuries, but surprisingly do not seem to appear in the 16th-cent. ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*. By the 19th cent., the W. had become the dominant merchants throughout Šäwa, and traded into the southern regions such as the five Oromo ↗Gibe kingdoms of that period. These W. merchant activities were a key factor in the Islamization of these kingdoms between 1840 and 1870 (TrIslam 199).

In the late 19th cent., they were in the vicinity of Addis Abäba and said they had originated from Harär. They are described as "very fanatical Muslims" who worked as traders, traveling to Oromo areas. According to Mondon-Vidailhet, the W. distinguished themselves from another Muslim merchant group called the "Təgri" who lived more closely with the local sedentary population. The W. refused to interact with the "Təgri", including the refusal to eat meat killed by them (Mondon-Vidailhet 1900: 170). As late as the mid-20th cent., the W. who lived just south of Addis Abäba were still traders who were furthering the expansion of Islam among some of the ↗Gurage (Merid Wolde Aregay 1974: 270; TrIslam 186).

The relationship of the W. as traders with the ↗Ǧäbärti and the ↗Afkala is not clear, unless the W. were simply the earliest Muslim traders in the region, at least back to the 14th cent., and the Ǧäbärti came later. The Afkala were well known to have at least partially derived from the Ǧäbärti (MHasOr 138–42).

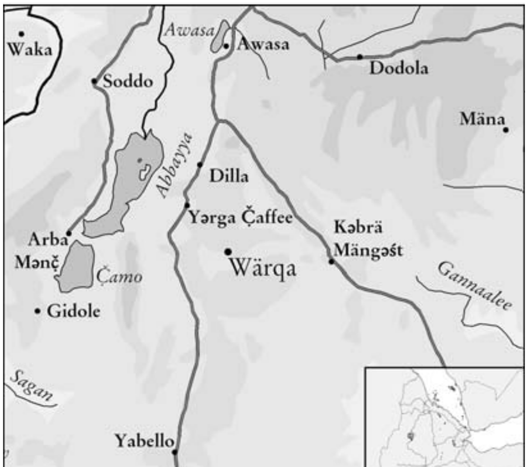
Src.: ENRICO CERULLI, "Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 3–36 (= CerIslam 207–43), here 10, 18; MarAmdS 54ff., 184 and s. index.
Lit.: HusIslam 36; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Population Movements as a Possible Factor in the Christian-Muslim Conflict of Medieval Ethiopia", in: EIKE HABERLAND (ed.), *Symposium Leo Frobenius*: *Perspectives of Contemporary African Studies*, Cologne 1974 (Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission, Seminar Report 25), 266–81, here 269f., 278; CASIMIR [FRANÇOIS MARIE] MONDON-VIDAILHET, "Les dialects éthiopiens du Gouraghe", *RevSem* 8, 1900, 168–75, 266–74, 370–77, here 169f.; TadTChurch 42f.; TrIslam 72, 186, 199.

James Quirin

Wärqa

W. (**ወርቃ**; 5° 58' N–38° 17' 38° E) is a small market town located 23 km east of Yərga Çaffee in the Kočəre *wäräda*, a division of the ↗Gideᵓo zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. Due to its low population it is not included in the Statistical Abstract list (2006). The other "towns" of the Kočəre *wäräda*, which is very rural and densely populated (469,6 inhabitants/km^2), are found along the main Dilla–Moyale road: Gädäb (9,023 inhabitants) not far from W. to the west, and further to the west Çäläqtu (7,944 inhabitants) and Fəśśəḥa Gännät (4,418 inhabitants).

W. is surrounded by a rich agricultural region where coffee and *ənsät* have been grown since peasants were forced by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Balča to do so (McClellan 1988). The place is situated on the highlands which separate the Lake ↗Çamo basin from the ↗Ganaalee river basin. Since the 1991-administrative reform W. borders on the Bore *wäräda* (inhabited by ↗Guǧǧi Oromo) of Oromiyaa.



Src.: CSA 2006; EMAtlas; *Guida* 559f.; CHARLES W. MCCLELLAN, *State Transformation and National Integration*: *Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895–1935*, East Lansing, MI 1988; P. FRANÇOIS AZAÏS – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie. Province du Harar en Éthiopie,* Paris 1931, 213–42.

Alain Gascon

Wärqənäh Ǝšäte

W.Ǝ. (**ወርቅነህ፡ እሸቴ**, also "*hakim* W.", "*azzaž* W.", "Dr. Charles Martin"; b. 1865, Gondär, d. 1952, Addis Abäba) was a statesman, diplomat, administrator and author. Ethiopia's first western trained physician, he significantly influenced modern ↗medicine, ↗education and economic development in the country.

He was found abandoned on the battlefield at ↗Mäqdäla in 1868 by a British officer who took him back to India, gave him his first name (Charles) and started his education. In 1882 he graduated from the Lahore Medical College and joined the Indian Medical Service in Burma where he served on and off from 1891 to 1919.

In 1899 W.Ǝ. returned to Ethiopia on the personal invitation of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. In 1902 and 1903 he served on two joint Ethio–British missions in the ↗Ogaden against ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan. From 1908 to 1913 he attended to Mənilək as a state-appointed doctor during the monarch's last medical crisis. His diary also keeps record of his medical service to *abunä* ↗Matewos, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu and ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I as well as many ordinary Ethiopians.

W.Ǝ.'s marriage to Qäṣälä Tullu, a member of ↗Gobäna Dači's family and a relative of ↗Zäwditu, Mänän and *ləǧ* Iyasu, significally increased W.Ǝ.'s influence at the court.

His service in Burma from 1913 to 1919 qualified him for an Indian Civil Service pension. Back in Ethiopia, he got closely associated with a group of progressive Ethiopians and put his hand to various projects in addition to his medical work: model farms, a flour mill, printing, road construction, liberation of slaves and a school for them once freed.

W.Ǝ. was appointed principal of the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School and wrote a textbook in world geography for its students. In the 1920s he was sent on numerous missions abroad to the U.S., Britain and to India. In 1930 he was named governor of ↗Çärçär, a model *awraǧǧa* where

Wärqənäh Ǝšäte (left), Princess Ṣäḥay Ḫaylä Śəllase I (middle) and the emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase on the day of their arrival in exile in Great Britain in May 1936; from *EthObs* 3, 2, 1959: 333

he had a reservoir built, piped water, built roads, bridges, a dispensary and founded a school.

In 1935 he became ambassador to the ↗United Kingdom. In London he played a key role in protesting the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and mobilizing British public opinion. His two eldest sons, Joseph and Benjamin, returned to Ethiopia to fight and were killed in the ↗Italian war of 1935–36.

On his return to Addis Abäba in 1942, W.Ǝ. retired from active political life.

Src.: *hakim* WÄRQƎNÄH ƎŠÄTE, **የዓለም፡ ጂኦግራፊ፡ በአማርኛ** (*Yäᶜaläm ǧiʾografi bäʾamarəñña*, 'World Geography in Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1920 A.M. [1927/28 A.D.].

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford 2002, 35–42; *EthObs* 3, 2, 1959, 333 (ill.).

Peter Garretson

Wärqənäh Gäbäyyähu

W.G. (**ወርቅነህ፡ ገበየሁ**; b. 1925, Gondär, d. 17 December 1960, Addis Abäba) was a military officer. Born to poor parents, he attended ↗Mənilək II Secondary School and later distinguished himself at an ↗Imperial Bodyguard training course. Between March 1952 and April 1953, captain W.G. served with distinction as the operations officer of the 2nd Qaññäw Battalion in Korea.

After returning to Ethiopia, W.G.'s career flourished. ↗Mängəśtu Nəway, his mentor and Commander at the Imperial Bodyguard, assigned him to security and intelligence work. His performance earned him a promotion to Major. In 1957, he visited ↗Japan on behalf of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I to assess trade prospects. In May 1959, W.G. became Assistant Minister for Security in the Ministry of the Interior and in December he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel and joined the Emperor's private cabinet as Deputy Chief of Staff.

Despite his rapid rise in the imperial government, W.G. grew critical of the government and considered his superiors to be corrupt, ignorant, incompetent and inefficient. Thus, in collaboration with other officers – including Generals Mängəśtu Nəway, Ṣəgge Dibu and ↗Gärmame Nəway – he conspired to overthrow Ḫaylä Śəllase (↗Coup d'etat 1960, s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82). He convinced Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase to support their cause and to assume leadership of the coup. The latter accepted and authorized the arrest of his father at the airport when he returned from his visit to Brazil. The Crown Prince would then depose the Emperor and declare the establishment of a popular government.

On 14 December 1960, W.G. and Mängəśtu Nəway ordered the arrest of nearly all Cabinet Ministers and other senior officials who were close to the Emperor. However, on 15 December 1960, the situation deteriorated for the Coup leaders as Mängəśtu Nəway failed to prepare his forces for battle and the loyal Ethiopian Army received reinforcements by air, rail and road. On 16 December, it had become evident that the coup had failed. W.G., however, refused to leave the capital.

Upon arriving in Addis Abäba, Ḫaylä Śəllase ordered an investigation and authorized the arrest of all those who directly or indirectly had participated in the Coup attempt with the exception of the Crown Prince. The following day, a despondent W.G., after shouting at his assailants that "Tewodros has taught me something", shot himself. The authorities hanged him and placed his body, together with those of other rebels, on display in Addis Abäba.

Lit.: BEREKET HABTE SELASSIE, *The Crown and the Pen: the Memoirs of a Lawyer Turned Rebel*, Trenton, NJ 2007, 142; ClapHS 120–23, 198f.; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: a New Political History*, New York 1965, 82f., 360f.; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, CA 1995, 167, 170.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Wärqitu

Wäyzäro W. (**ወርቂቱ**, full name Wärqitu Wädaǧo; fl. mid-19th cent.) was a female leader and warrior in ↗Wällo.

W. was one of the wives of *imām* ᶜAli "Abba Bulla" of the ↗Mammädočč dynasty which was the most powerful ruling family in Wällo at the beginning of the 19th cent. After the death of her husband in 1852, W. controlled the strategic area around *amba* ↗Mäqdäla, acting as regent for her young son Amäde ᶜAli.

After his coronation in 1855, ↗Tewodros II conducted several devastating campaigns against Wällo, establishing his headquarters at Mäqdäla. He captured W.'s son Amäde ᶜAli and made him a prisoner. W. played an active part in the resistance of Wällo to Tewodros, but she was hampered by her son's captivity and ensuing negotiations. When Tewodros asked her to hand over deserters in exchange for her son's safety, she had to refuse because she did not have the consent of the other chiefs of Wällo on whom she depended (Stern 1868:218).

In 1865, W. helped the young Mənilək (future ↗Mənilək II) to escape from captivity at Mäqdäla, by sending soldiers to escort him to Šäwa. In retaliation, Tewodros executed Amäde ᶜAli. The death of her son robbed W. of her basis for claiming overlordship of Wällo.

W.'s main rival was another woman leader, *wäyzäro* ↗Mästawät, from another branch of the Mammädočč. She was a widow of W.'s husband's nephew and rival *imām* ↗Libän Amäde, and acted as regent for her son Amäde Libän "Abba Waṭäw". W. and Mästawät competed with each other in an intense rivalry, each of them striving to unify the armies of Wällo.

After having taken refuge at ↗Ləčče in Šäwa, W. was helped by Mənilək in reciprocation for her earlier assistance to him in his escape from Mäqdäla. In 1867 Mənilək led a campaign in Wällo in order to have W. recognized as the province's legitimate leader. She was followed by a boy which was presented as her grandson (according to Blanc 1868:298). In reality he probably was the future Wällo leader Mäḥammäd ᶜAli (s. ↗Mikaʾel ᶜAli), actually her stepson, the son of another wife of her husband.

The date and circumstances of W.'s death remain obscure. Since she is mentioned neither in written nor oral sources referring to the period after 1868, her death may have occurred not much later after the ↗Napier expedition. Moreover, since no dramatic tradition of her disappearance from the political scene has survived, she probably died a natural death.

Src.: GueCopMen 102, 118; MonVidTheo 72; HENRY BLANC, *A Narrative of Captivity in Abyssinia …*, London 1868, 295–300; CLEMENS R. MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 368ff.; HENRY A. STERN, *The Captive Missionary*, London 1868, 213–20.
Lit.: ASNAKE ALI, *Aspects of the Political History of Wallo: 1872–1916*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1983, 4ff.; FEKADU BEGNA, *A Tentative History of Wallo: 1855–1908*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1972; HusIslam; CHRIS PROUTY – EUGENE ROSENFELD, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*, London 1981, 317.

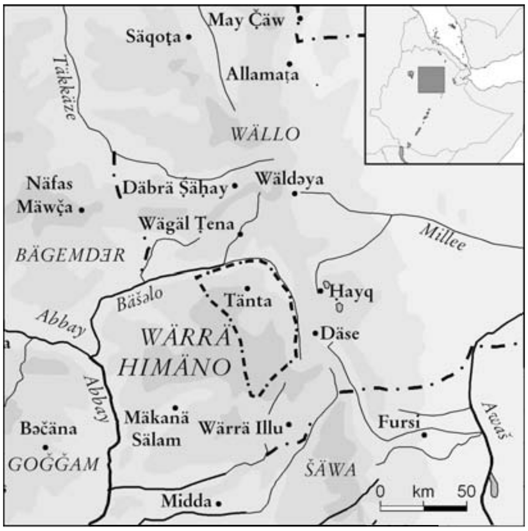
Eloi Ficquet

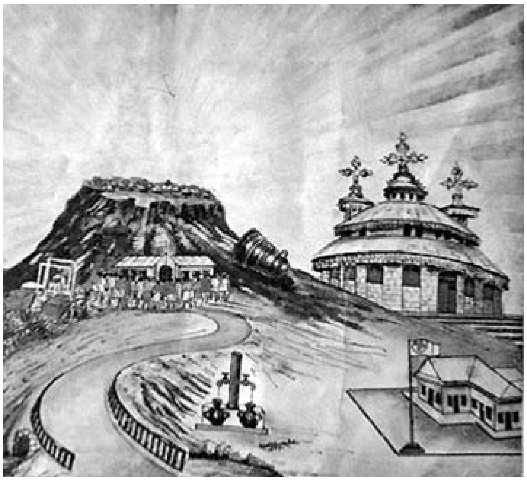
Wärr Day ↗Orma

Wärrä Himäno

W.H. (**ወረ፡ ሂመኖ**, Orom. sp.: Warra Himano) is a highland territory in southern ↗Wällo, which borders on Ṭala to the east, Gärado to the west and Bäšəlo to the north. W.H. appears in the first descriptions of Wällo in the middle of the 19th cent. It is mentioned as one of the *Säbat bet Wällo* ("Seven Houses of Wällo"), i.e. clans of ↗Oromo origin constituting the network of power relations in Wällo during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. While *wärrä* designates the 'household', there are two etymological assumptions explaining Himäno: it may either derive from the name of an Oromo ancestor called Hibano or from the Amharic word *haymanot* ('faith, religion') following a construction parallel to another toponym, ↗Wärrä Qallu ('house of the priest').

The concept of W.H. as a large territorial unit may be a late construction, probably after the territories of ↗Abbe Bet and Ali Bet had been unified under a new rule based on the expansion of Islam in the region. At the end of the 18th cent. W.H. was conquered by *šayḫ* Muḥammäd Abbaa Ǧibo, one of the prominent figures of the ↗Mammädočč ruling family who promoted Islam against divisions and warfare between local chiefdoms. In the first half of the 19th cent. W.H. remained the stronghold of the Mammädočč





Symbolic representation of the Wärrä Himäno landscape, with Mäqdäla in the centre (with the cannon "Sebastopol"), the church Tänta Mikaᵓel on the right, and a mosque on the left; from the cover of a publication of the *Association for the Restoration, Care and Improvement of the Ruins of the Holy and Historical Places of the Wärrä Himano Region*

imāms who dominated the political arena of Wällo. The town of ↗Tänta was their headquarters, as it was situated on the edge of a plateau which was at a strategic position overlooking Amba ↗Mäqdäla and the country beyond the Bäšəlo (Wadla, Dälanta, and Dawənt). In 1855 *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II conquered Wällo and settled his headquarters at Amba Mäqdäla. He waged several campaigns to reduce the resistance of the Wällo armies. These wars ravaged W.H. During the last decade of the 19th cent., under *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Ali, the influence of this territory progressively declined with the growth of ↗Wärrä Illu in the south of the region and the development of trade routes in the east which was boosted by the foundation of ↗Däse as a regional capital. During the second half of the 20th cent. W.H. constituted an *awrağğa* of Wällo province. After 1991, it disappeared as a territorial unit, being divided between three *wärädas* of South Wällo zone, Tänta *wäräda* (administrative centre: Ağebar), Mäqdäla *wäräda* (administrative centre: Maša) and Läggambo *wäräda* (administrative centre: Aqästa).

Src.: IsKrapf.

Lit.: ASNAKE ALI, *Aspects of the Political History of Wallo*: *1872–1916*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1983; **በወረ፡ ሂመኖ፡ አካባቢው፡ ቅዱሳንና፡ ታሪካዊ፡ ቦታዎች፡ እድሳት፡ የቅርጽ፡ እንክብካቤና፡ የልማት፡ ማኅበር** (*Bäwärrä Himäno akababiw qəddusanənna tarikawi botawočč əddəsat yäqərṣ ənkəbəkkabenna yälemat maḫbär yämitatäm*, 'Association for the Restoration, Care and Improvement of the Ruins of the Holy and Historical Places of the Wärrä Himäno Region') 1, 1, *Ḫədar* 1990 A.M. [November 1997], (ill.); BlunChr; DONALD CRUMMEY, "Cäcäho and the Politics of the Northern Wällo-Bägémder Border", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 1–9; ID., "The Violence of Tewodros", *ibid.* 9, 107–25; FEKADU BEGNA, *A Tentative History of Wallo*: *1855–1908*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1972; ELOI FICQUET, *Du barbare au mystique*: *Anthropologie historique des recompositions identitaires et religieuses dans le Wällo* (*Ethiopie centrale*), Ph.D. thesis, EHESS, Paris 2002; HusIslam; ZERGAW ASFERA, *Some Aspects of Historical Development in Amhara/Wällo* (*ca. 1700–1815*), B.A. thesis, Haile Selassie I University 1973.

Eloi Ficquet

Wärrä Illu

W.I. (**ወረ፡ ኢሉ**, Amh. also Wärrayəllu, Orom. sp.: Warra Illuu) is a town and a territory in southern ↗Wällo (for location s. map for Wəç̣ale). Etymologically, W.I. designated the area of settlement of the Illuu lineage (Orom.: *warra*) which was one of the groups composing the clan of the Walloo [Wällo] Oromo which occupied the region in the beginning of the 17th cent. The town of W.I. is located on a plateau at an altitude of 2,700 m A.S.L. Geographically, W.I. is a kind of natural checkpoint where the plateau is narrowing between two steep defiles, one of the upper ↗Wänč̣ət to the east, and the other of the upper Därame to the west. This configuration contributed to the development of an important regional marketplace, markets being held on Thursdays.

Due to its strategic position, the town of W.I. was founded as a royal camp and garrison (↗*Kätäma*) by *nəguś* ↗Mənilək [II] of Šäwa, around 1868. Immediately after his escape from custody in Mäqdäla, Mənilək fought to subjugate the insurrectionary territory of Wällo in order to protect the northern boundary of Šäwa against his Christian competitors. For this purpose, W.I. was strongly fortified. A description of the royal residence of W.I. in 1875 is given by the French traveller Lande (who accompanied Pierre Arnoux, Lande 1878): "The royal residence at Woreillou is located on a high plateau and is surrounded by large crenelated walls […]. These walls contain the palace of the king, the courthouse where he renders justice, vast stores and the housings necessary for the servants, always extremely numerous. At the highest point of the plateau, there is a gigantic olive-tree […].: it is an old idol of the Galla. Outside the enclosure, the army of more than forty thousand men, formed with her camping like a large city".

In the 1870s Mənilək frequently stayed at W.I., and this town played a great role in the system of power that he was building. *Wäyzäro* ↗Zäwditu, daughter of Mənilək, was born at W.I. in 1876. This birth was probably the reason of the rebellion of *wäyzäro* ↗Bafäna, Mənilək's first wife. As a consequence of this rebellion, W.I. was burnt in 1877 by Muḥammad ᶜAli (later *nəguś* ↗Mikaᵓel ᶜAli), and immediately rebuilt. After Mənilək became emperor and moved his capital south to Addis Abäba, W.I. declined somewhat in importance. In 1895 it became a supply dump, where large stocks of guns and cartridges were stored, serving as an organizing point for the Ethiopian army before the battle of ᶜAdwa.

Before its foundation as a town, the area of W.I. was part of the territory of ↗Läga Gora, under the rule of the Gatiročč family. Later, in the provincial administration of the modern Ethiopian state as the town of W.I. was essential in the power structure of Mənilək's state, it gave its name to a large group of territories, comprising the former independent chiefdoms of Läga Gora and ↗Lägä Hidda.

The size and the status of territory of W.I. were subject to many changes. In 1883, the territory around W.I. was given to Zäwditu by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV as a gift of marriage with his son ↗Arᵓaya Śəllase. As Zäwditu's private property this territory had a special status. After the coronation of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1930 it went under the authority of the governor of Wällo, Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän, but its administration remained quite distinct from that of the rest of Wällo.

After the reorganization of regional administration in 1942, it became an *awrağğa* of Wällo, comprising the *wäräda* of W.I. proper, Ğama and Lägä Hidda. Since 1991, it is a *wäräda* of South Wällo zone. According to the 1994 census, the town of W.I. was populated with 5,809 inhabitants, while the *wäräda* of W.I. was populated with 120,193. According to the first draft of the 2007 census, the population of the *wäräda* seems to have declined with 109,200 inhabitants.

Src.: GueCopMen I, 119, 185; *Guida* 400; LOUIS LANDE, "Un voyageur français dans l'Ethiopie méridionale", *Revue des deux mondes* 48, 15 décembre 1878, 877–903, here 890.

Lit.: ABBIBI HUSAIN, *The History of Warra Ilu with Particular Emphasis on the Town from its Foundation (1870/71) to 1941*, Addis Ababa University 1990.

Eloi Ficquet

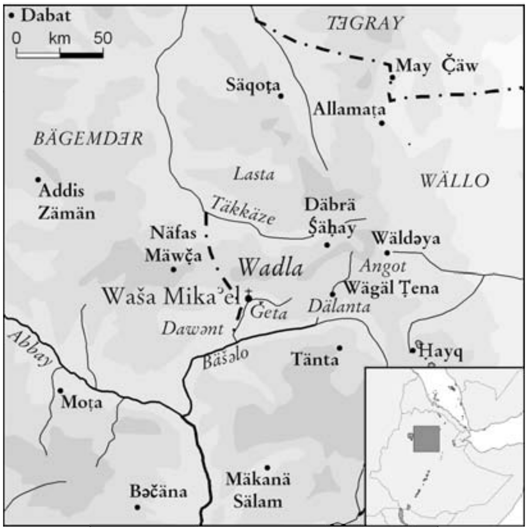
Wärrä Qallu ↗Qallu

Wärräsek ↗Yäğğu

Waša Mikaᵓel

W.M. (ዋሻ፡ ሚካኤል) is a rock-hewn church dedicated to the archangel Michael and located in the highlands of ↗Angot, ↗Wadla *wäräda* (Gašina), close to the gorge of the Ğeta River. According to a local tradition it was founded at the beginning of the 6th cent. by *abunä* ↗Muse. The place is not mentioned in any known historical source and remained unknown to the international scholarship until ten years ago.

The church is excavated into a hill situated in the centre of a valley. The ellipsoidal interior (ca. 10 m long, 10–12 m wide and 3–4.5 m high) is organized by four massive pillars (ca. 1.5 x 1.5 m) rising from the square base. The structure is prolonged to the east by a ca. 4 m deep apsidial sanctuary, hidden behind a monolithic wall, very thick but not reaching the ceiling. The wall has two openings: the central one covered by a massive arch reposing on the engaged capitals, and the southern one, square and very low. In the sanctuary, there is a modern *mänbärä* ↗*tabot* covered by a wooden baldachin. Three wooden poles at the front of the sanctuary are most probably the remains of an old wooden chancel. The west wall is divided in the middle by a large engaged pillar. The secondary arrangement of the interior added constructed walls (ca. 2 m high) between the first and the second pair of pillars (north-south axis), each supplied by a centrally placed door flanked by two windows, and each screened by hanging textiles (the wall between the first pair is partly destroyed). The church is accessible by three entries, two in the western façade and one close to



The rocky outcrop of Waša Mikaʾel, Wällo, church and compound; photo 2005, courtesy of Michael Gervers

the north-west corner. The light comes from three windows cut in the western wall, two of them just above the doors.

The concave southern and northern walls, as well as the western one, are covered with reliefs displaying hunters (some of them on a horseback) armed with bows and spears, along with rows of wild animals: ↗elephants, bears, antelopes, lions and ostriches. The sets on the southern and western walls bear traces of colour. Several carved and painted crosses are visible on the western wall above the doors and between the windows, as well as on the lower part of the first pair of pillars where they face the entry – obviously with an apotropaic function. A strange, quasi-human, sitting figure and a cross are carved on the southern face of the west-south pillar. The reliefs are difficult to date since no parallels for them have been found in Ethiopia but, taking into consideration the many carved crosses – which seem to be contemporary with the hunting scenes, – as well as the figure on the pillar, one may surmise that they do not predate the foundation of the church.

The interior is decorated with two sets of wall-↗paintings. The older, concentrated in the western part of the church, includes St. Mary with Child flanked by two angels and St. Michael saving souls from Hell on the western face of the first pair of the pillars (s. also Mercier 2002). On the southern side of the half pillar, St. Cyriacus (↗Qirqos) appears as an ↗equestrian saint. Between the windows of the western wall, a posthumous miracle of St. ↗George is shown (punishment of the general Euchios for putting the saint's shrine at Lydda on fire). The presence of this image may indicate that the church was once dedicated to this saint. Also on the western wall, between the half-pillar and the window, three historical figures are depicted: *ṣäware narge* Mäḥari Amlak (identified as a dignitary of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak; for the title, cp. CRDLib 187, 190f.), *śəyyum* Nəwayä Krəstos and the scribe Ḫer Amlak – the former two also represented in the ↗Gännätä Maryam church. All paintings are accompanied by inscriptions identifying the represented figures; some saintly figures are accompanied by supplications in the name of Mäḥari Amlak. These historical figures, as well as stylistic similarities to the murals in the churches of Gännätä Maryam and ↗Ǝmmäkina Mädḫane ʿAläm, along with the archaic type of script in the accompanying texts allow us to date the paintings to the end of the 13th cent.

Several undated commemorative inscriptions accompanied by drawings of crosses appear on the walls around the old paintings representing St. Mary and Michael.

Another set of paintings, probably from the 19th cent., represents: St. Mary with Child on the north-east pillar (facing west); a group of dancing ecclesiastics (facing south); St. Mercurius killing Julian the Apostate on the half-pillar (facing east). The aniconic decoration of the arch above the entry to the sanctuary probably dates to the same period.

The church owns a small collection of ↗manuscripts and wooden hand ↗crosses, a wooden chalice and a couple of brass shafted crosses (one of them a gift of *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu).

Src.: CRDLib 187, 190f.

Lit.: JACQUES MERCIER, "Peintures du XIIIe siècle dans une église de l'Angot (Éthiopie)", *AE* 18, 2002, 143–48.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Wäsän Ḫaylu

Wag šum W.Ḫ. (ወሰን፡ ኀይሉ; b. ca. 1915/16, Koram, Wag, d. November 1983) was a patriotic leader during the ↗War of Liberation. The son of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Käbbädä, as a young man he submitted to the Italians and was appointed by them governor of Dähna *wäräda*. In 1938, he defected from the Italians and joined his mother, *wäyzäro* Šäwanäš Abrəha, who had led the surviving followers of Ḫaylu Käbbädä to Qaʿlisa in Bägemdər beyond the ↗Täkkäze River to resist the Italians.

W.Ḫ. assisted his mother together with other patriotic leaders in consolidating attacks against

Funeral monument in the form of the rock-hewn church St. George in Lalibäla on the grave of *wag šum* Wäsän Ḫaylu, graveyard of the Trinity Cathedral, Addis Abäba; photo August 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Italian positions. With the return of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I to Goǧǧam in 1941, W.Ḫ. travelled to Goǧǧam to meet him while the patriots of ↗Wag went to liberate their region. In 1941 he was appointed Colonel and confirmed *wag šum* over his traditional area, Wag. However, when Wag was placed under the Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase in Däse in 1949/50, *wag šum* W.Ḫ. vehemently opposed this administrative reform and went to the capital to appeal to the Emperor against the decision. Before this, the *wag šum* had paid their tribute directly to the central court, and with this decision became tributary to the governor of ↗Wällo in Däse. However, his appeal remained futile. A few years later he was removed and *wag šum* Admasu appointed in his place.

In 1951 W.Ḫ. was appointed ambassador to Greece, and to Jordan in 1967. In March 1957 he was appointed President of the Chamber of Deputies, and in December of the same year as an advisor in the Chamber of ↗Senate. In 1971 he became a member of the ↗Imperial Crown Council.

Lit.: *Banderaččən*, 25 Miyaziya 1933 A.M. [3 May 1941 A.D.]; ANGELO DEL BOCA, *The Ethiopian War, 1935–1941,* Chicago, IL 1969, 213; GÄRIMA TAFFÄRÄ, **ጎንደሬ፡ በጋሻው** (*Gondäre Bägašaw*, 'The Gondäre with his Shield'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956 A.D.], 127, 260; MockWar 378; WUDU TAFETE, "Dajjazmach Haylu Kabbada and the Patriotic Resistance Movement in Wag, 1935–41", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 105–08.

Wudu Tafete Kassu

Wäsän Sägäd

Ras W.S. (**ወሰን፡ ሰገድ**, b. probably in the 1470s, d. 29 July 1531, B-w-sāt, ↗Fäṭägar; KrLebD 13 [text]; s.a. BassHist 170 [text]) was a powerful noble. We possess no data about his ancestors, but his family clearly had its roots in Ethiopia's south-east, bordering on Muslim ↗ᶜAdal. While the sources associate W.S. overwhelmingly with ↗Däwaro, where he is also reported to have commissioned the building of two splendid churches (BassHist 118, 131, 271 [text]), his brother Wänag Žan under *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod and the early part of the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl was influential in neighbouring ↗Bale and for some time even held the governorship. Moreover, the rise of both brothers to high office in the Christian empire suggests that they were born into an already prominent family.

Both W.S. and Wänag Žan made very different use of their power and position. W.S. was staunchly loyal to the Christian empire whilst Wänag Žan twice betrayed the trust put in him, defected to ᶜAdal, converted to Islam and tried to facilitate a Muslim conquest of Bale. Yet both attempts backfired, and after his first act of treason (which probably took place in the early 1500s), he was captured and brought before ↗Naᶜod. Thanks to W.S.'s intercession Wänag was pardoned and soon, fully rehabilitated, was (again?) made governor of Bale.

Highly esteemed by the Emperor, W.S. was Naᶜod's ↗*wazīr* (BassHist 92 [text]). When the latter died in 1508 and his young son Ləbnä Dəngəl followed him on the throne, W.S. became a leading member of the court council which governed the empire during Ləbnä Dəngəl's minority, up to around 1516 (the so-called "History of Ləbnä Dəngəl" calls W.S. the second in rank in the empire; KrLebD 3 [text]).

W.S. remained highly influential after Ləbnä Dəngəl's coming of age, when he held the title of *gra bitwäddäd* ('*bitwäddäd* of the Left') and was thus one of the empire's highest dignitaries (CRAxum 29f., charters nos. 26 and 27 [text]). Though formally only his equal, it appears that in practice he even ranked higher than his right-hand counterpart ↗Ǝslam Sägäd since Francisco ↗Alvares terms him "the great Betudete" (BeckHuntAlvar 377; Alvares never mentions W.S. by name though contextually the term can be assumed to refer to W.S.).

W.S., however, lost the dignity of *ras bitwäddäd* in late 1524 when Ləbnä Dəngəl in a surprise reshuffle of several leading state offices (cp. ↗Robel,

↗Ros Näbiyat) not only stripped W.S. of his rank, but banished him to a remote *amba*. Ləbnä Dəngəl's demotions and new appointments were motivated by his desire, following the deaths of the two matriarchs ↗Naᶜod Mogäsa and ↗Ǝleni shortly before, to rid himself of an "old guard" closely associated with them. His additional severe punishment of W.S. however had personal reasons: over many years W.S. had entertained an amorous affair with Ləbnä Dəngəl's mother Naᶜod Mogäsa, a fact which the young monarch apparently strongly resented and on which he now, after his mother's death, felt free to act.

Yet after a period of three years at most, Ləbnä Dəngəl was compelled to reinstate W.S. on the the grounds of the latter's popularity at court as well as among the people (BeckHuntAlvar 430–34). W.S. was not fully rehabilitated though. He never again became *ras bitwäddäd*, but had to content himself with the title of *ras* only.

W.S.'s loyalty to the Christian empire remained, however, unaffected by this experience and during the *ǧihād* which ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") launched in 1529 he devotedly fought for the Christian cause (BassHist 142f., 154f. [text]). Moreover, he was particularly concerned with Ləbnä Dəngəl's personal safety and well-being in the unfolding war (ibid. 134–37, 142f., 153ff. [text]). It was this very concern which motivated him to go on the campaign that turned out to be his last (ibid. 143, 155, 159f., 167 [text]).

W.S.'s death in the battle of B-w-sāt in ↗Fäṭägar on 29 July 1531 (ibid. 165–70 [text]; KrLebD 13 [text]) marked a turning point in the *ǧihād*. Thereafter Christian morale in central Ethiopia largely collapsed, with several leaders defecting to the Muslim side (↗ᶜUṯmān b. Sulaymān), large territories surrendering to the Muslim armies, and their populations converting to Islam (BassHist 175f. [text]). Ləbnä Dəngəl himself was so panicked by the news of W.S.'s death that he immediatly left his *məkram* in southern ↗Wäǧ and hurriedly marched to the supposedly safe province of Amhara (ibid. 188f. [text]).

W.S. had an unnamed son by Naᶜod Mogäsa and his other documented relatives are: a brother Gərma (BassHist 169f. [text]); two sons called Baḥər Sägäd and Saf Sägäd (hypochoristically: Safo; ibid. 100f., 243, 270–74 [text]; BeckHuntAlvar 538ff.;HuntLand 43[ch. 29],);up to five more unnamed sons (BeckHuntAlvar 431); a paternal cousin Z-m-n-ǧān (BassHist 63 [text]; an Arabic reflex of an original Zämän Žan?). Wänag Žan had a documented son, S-y-mū, who in terms of treachery followed in his father's footsteps (ibid., e.g., 92ff. [text]).

Src.: BassÉt 14 (text) = 104 (tr.); BassHist 63, 92, 94, 100, 103, 118ff., 131f., 136, 142ff., 145-49, 151, 154, 160, 164–72, 174ff., 179, 181, 188, 240, 270–73, 280, 294 (text) = 127, 165, 167f., 175, 177, 194f., 197, 208f., 213f., 221, 227, 229ff., 234f., 237, 241f., 252, 256-64, 266ff., 271, 273, 281, 339, 367ff., 377, 390 (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 270, 273ff., 336f., 377f., 425–34, 458, 538ff., 553ff.; CRAxum 27, 29f. (text) = 30f., 34f. (tr.) (charters 21, 26–28); HuntLand 38, 41ff. (charters 21, 26–29); KrLebD 3, 13 (text) = 3f., 13.

Lit.: MARIE-LAURE DERAT, *Le domaine des rois éthiopiens* (*1270–1527*). *Espace, pouvoir et monachisme*, Paris 2003; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Who is Who in Ethiopia's Past, Part I: at the Court of Ase Lebna Dengel (1508–1540)", in: *NEASt* 6, 3, 1984, 47–53; MICHAEL KLEINER, "*Ras* Wäsän Säggäd, a Pre-Eminent Lord of Early 16th Century Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 16, 16–29.

Red.

Wäsän Sägäd

Märəd azmač W.S. (**ወሰን፡ ሰገድ**; baptismal name: Wäldä Giyorgis; horse name: "Abba Dama"; r. 1808–12/13, d. 1812/13) was a ruler of ↗Šäwa. W.S. was the son and successor of *märəd azmač* (later *ras*) ↗Asfa Wäsän of Šäwa and his first wife *wäyzäro* Atmočuno (BTafA 525). Asfä Wäsän also married a woman from ↗Mänz and had a son Iyoᵓas. Fearing the rivalry of Iyoᵓas for the throne, W.S. rebelled against his father. However, his rebellion lacked support; W.S was defeated and taken prisoner (GueCopMen 65). Later, Asfa Wäsän reconciled with his son, released him from captivity and declared him his official heir. He also made W.S. *abagäz* of Ǝfrata, ↗Gədəm, Qäwät and ↗Märḫabete, areas which Asfa Wäsän had previously conquered from the Oromo (GueCopMen 66). After the death of his father in 1808, W.S. chose ↗Qʷəndi, instead of the seats of his father, Däbrä Bərhan and ↗Ankobär, as his capital (BTafA 527; PankHist I, 189).

W.S. himself led several victorious military campaigns against the neighbouring territories and extended his realm far beyond the limits of his father's territory. Adhering to a policy of co-existence with Muslims and Oromo the motivation for his campaigns was not particularly religious (PankHist I, 189). Nevertheless, he is said to have captured ↗Angoläla from "the heathen" (HarAeth II, 128). Thus, he was able to strengthen Šäwan rule. Due to his tributary territories W.S. was able to acquire greater wealth than his predecessors and held many extravagant banquets. His wealth was also visible in his extensive capital Qʷəndi (CecZeila I, 243).

Already as *abägaz*, W.S. founded many churches. As *märəd azmač* he continued to found churches, such as ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase. W.S. also used his wealth to rebuild old churches, such as the church of ↗Täklä Haymanot at ↗Däbrä Libanos (BTafA 527; GueCopMen 67; AWTarik 99).

W.S. felt himself superior to the other nobles, therefore he had the people of Šäwa summoned at Angoläla and declared himself *ras.* He felt so powerful that he planned to march against ↗Gondär and *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa (BTafA 531). Together with *ras* Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray he fought against the ↗Wällo and ↗Yäǧǧu Oromo and prepared to head for Gondär (GueCopMen 68). Whether it was this over-estimation of his abilities or his tolerance towards Islam which aroused opposition against him cannot be said. Finally, W.S. was murdered at Qʷəndi by one on his slaves. He ruled only four years and he was buried in his mausoleum at Ankobär.

With his wife Zännäbä Wärq, a noblewoman from Mänz, he had two sons, Bäkʷəru (variant: Bäkəruye) *abägaz* in ↗Märḫabete and ↗Śahlä Śəlase, and four daughters (AWTarik 102; HarAeth II, 348). Though Śahlä Śəllase was the second born and only in his teens when his father died, he was proclaimed *ras* by his mother's powerful kinsmen (HarAeth III, 11).

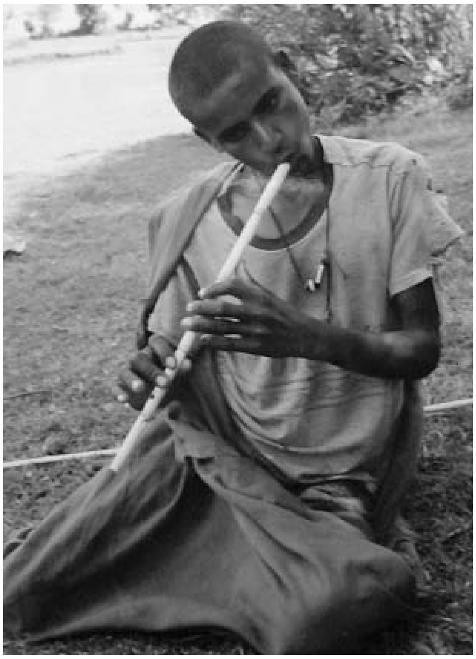
Src.: AWTarik 98–102; BTafA 525-33; CecZeila I, 241–433; GueCopMen I, 65–71; HarAeth II, 348, III, 9–13, 291f.; Paul Soleillet, *Voyages en Éthiopie*, Rouen 1886, 271f.

Lit.: AbPrince 149–52; EgeClass 31f.; Kofi Darkwah, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire,* London 1975, 16–20; PankHist I, 189ff.; StStud 110–14.

Sophia Dege

Wašənt

W. (**ዋሽንት**) is the most common wind ↗instrument found in Ethiopia. It is a bamboo flute, typically associated with shepherds and night watchmen. Like other Ethiopian musical instruments, it is known by different names throughout the country. The physical characteristics of the instrument vary as well, and it is rare to find two W. looking exactly the same. Although there are some inconsistencies in the literature about the W., it generally has the form of an oblique end-blown flute made of a three to five-node of length bamboo, with four finger-holes which are played by the second and fourth fingers of both hands, while the thumbs and third fingers are used to hold the instrument. The length of the hollowed bamboo varies between 35 and 70 cm. determining different ranges of the pitches produced. There is no specifically defined standard arrangement of distances between finger-holes, and therefore the notes produced may vary, but it is generally accepted that the W. produces a pentatonic scale.



Amhara shepherd playing *wašənt*, Andassa, Goǧǧam; photo 2003, courtesy of Katell Morand

Researchers have only recently approached systematic studies of the W. and of its secular repertoire, which may be performed in solo or accompanying voice and ↗*kərar*.

Lit.: Ashenafi Kebede, *The Music of Ethiopia*: *its Development and Cultural Setting*, Ph.D. thesis, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT 1971; Guglielmo Barblan, *Musiche e strumenti musicali dell'Africa orientale italiana*, Napoli 1941; François Marie Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet, "La musique éthiopienne", in: Albert Lavignac (ed.), *Encyclopédie de la musique et Dictionnaire du conservatoire*, Paris 1922, part 1, vol. 5, 3179–96 [repr. in: *AE* 19, 2003, 149–88]; Katell Morand, *Musique de bergers en pays Amhara* (*Andassa, Gojjam*), M.A. thesis, University of Paris 10, Nanterre 2004; Ead., "Chanter pour soi: la tïzïta du berger (Gojjam)", *AE* 23, 2007–2008, 45–59; Michael Powne, *Ethiopian Music. An Introduction*: *a Survey of Ecclesiastical and Secular Ethiopian Music*, London – New York – Toronto 1968; Kay Kaufman Shelemay – Cynthia Tse Kimberlin, "Ethiopia", in: *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*; Cynthia Tse Kimberlin, "The Music of Ethiopia", in: Elizabeth May (ed.), *Musics of Many Cultures*: *an Introduction*, Berkeley, CA 1980, 232–52; Tesfaye Lemma, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, Addis Ababa 1975; Zenebe Bekele, *Music in the Horn*: *a Preliminary Analytical Approach to the Study of Ethiopian Music*, Stockholm 1987.

Simone Tarsitani

Wäṭ ↗Food

Waṭāwīṭ

The term W. is loosely used to denote 19th-cent. ↗Beni Šangul aristocracy, W. refers to mixed descendants of Arab settlers and ↗Berta inhabitants of the trans-border region south of the ↗Abbay in north-western ↗Wälläga. The term is closely connected to the wider group of "freemen" locally called *Mayu*, possibly a contraction from the Arabic Banī Ummaya, which includes any foreigner of Arab origin who settled in the wider Berta-inhabited border region and intermarried with local women.

The term W. is to be distinguished from the term *ǧabalawīn* (Arab. for 'mountain dwellers', or 'people of the hills') which refers to descendants of earlier waves of Sudanese-Arab migrant communities from ↗Sinnār who came to settle in the region towards the end of ↗Funǧ rule mainly for trade and sporadic missionary activities. The Berta include both terms to denote the wider category of *Mayu* or 'freemen', the upper Arab-influenced stratum of traditional Berta society.

Like the Funǧ before them, the new migrants settled among the Berta, intermarried with the region's ruling families, and by the mid-19th cent. had taken power in their hands. The mixed descendants of these Arab settlers and Berta inhabitants, who came to speak the region's language as their own, and ruled over it, were termed by subsequent Sudanese Arabs as W. (Sg. *waṭwaṭi*, from Ar. *waṭwaṭ*, 'bat') because their language (Berta) sounded to them 'like a bat in flight'.

The term has a pejorative connotation in the region and is rarely used by the Berta-speaking Arab descendants who prefer to call themselves 'Arab' to emphasize their 'pure' origin and who adamantly claim the word W. comes from the Arab *waṭan* ('homeland') to mean 'true people of the land' where they had settled.

↗Ḫʷaǧali

Lit.: ATIEB AHMED DAFALLAH, *Sheikh Khojele al-Hassan and Bela-Shangul (1825–1938)*, 4th year student essay, Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Ababa 1973; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949, s. index; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI – ATIEB AHMED DAFALLAH – MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, "Some Notes on the Ethiopian Bertha and Their Language", *Annali IUO* 36, 1976, 1–23; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy: Prelude to the History of a No-Man's Land: Belā Shangul, Wallaggā, Ethiopia (ca. 1800–1898)*, Napoli 1981.

Alessandro Triulzi

Water

Hydrography

Ethiopia is the W. tower of north-eastern Africa. The general direction of flow of the rivers, as dictated by topography, is away from the Rift System Escarpment, towards the Indian Ocean in the south-east and towards the ↗Nile in the west. Only short and intermittent streams flow into the Red Sea. Rivers flowing through the ↗Rift Valley form closed endoreic basins (table 2). Most of them are occupied by lakes (↗Čamo, ↗Abbayya, ↗Awasa, ↗Abiyata, ↗Šala, ↗Langano, ↗Zʷay, Beseka). Crater lakes (Bišoftu [↗Däbra Zäyt; ↗*Hoora*], Dändi, ↗Wänči, ↗Ḥayq) and lakes made by lava flows (↗Ṭana, Ašänge) are common on the highlands (table 3). Ethiopia, through the ↗Abbay and the ↗Aṭbara basins (only 20 % of Ethiopian territory), contributes 86 % of the W. of the Nile at Aswan (more if the ↗Baro and its tributaries which flow into the White Nile are added). The ↗Wabi Šäbälle and its tributaries (the Fäfän) flow through the dry plateaux of Ogaden and enter Somalia where its course, being obstructed by dunes, runs for another 400 km parallel to the coast of the Indian Ocean up to the mouth of the Juba (↗Wäyb). The ↗Gänale River, receiving considerable W. from its major tributaries, the Dawa and the Wäyb, flows through the arid regions of Ethiopia and Somalia to spill into the Indian Ocean. The Awaš River course follows the Rift Valley toward the Gulf of Taǧūra but divides into an inland delta branches of which spill into salt lakes such as lake Abhé. The ↗Bilate rises from the Gurage mountains and runs into Lake Abbayya. The ↗Omo-↗Gibe and its affluents which originate in the highlands to the north of Ǧimma flow southward to fill Lake ↗Turkana.

Table 1: Length (in km) of major rivers in Ethiopia (CSA 2004: 5)

Rivers	Total	Inside Ethiopia	Outside Ethiopia
Abbay	1,450	800	650
Wabi Šäbälle	1,130	1,000	130
Gänale	858	480	378
Awaš	1,200	1,200	0
Omo	760	760	0
Täkkäze	608	608	0
Märäb	440	440	0
Baro	277	277	0
Angäräb	220	220	0

Table 2: Approximate size and depth of major lakes in Ethiopia (CSA 2004: 5)

Lakes	**altitude (m)**	**max. depth (m)**	**area (km²)**	**width (km)**	**length (km)**
Abbayya	1,268	13	1,160	20	60
Abiyata	1,573	14	205	15	17
Ašänge	2,409	25	20	4	5
Awasa	1,708	10	129	9	16
Bišoftu	–	85	–	–	–
Camo	1,235	10	551	22	26
Ḥayq	2,030	23	35	5	7
Qoqa	–	9	250	15	20
Langano	1,585	46	230	16	18
Šala	1,567	250	409	12	28
Ṭana	1,840	9	3600	60	70
Zʷay	1,846	4	434	20	25

The highlands, from which the streams flow, are humid and rugged; the surrounding lowlands, into which the rivers flow, are arid and relatively flat. Theses conditions encourage rapid run-off, low retention in soil layers, and soil erosion on the highlands; and the flood plains of the streams are flooded every rainy season. Flood and flood damage in the lowlands are common annual phenomena. Considerable risk to loose property and crops exists on the flood plains in the highlands during the rainy season. Seasonal variation of stream flow in the basins reflects the seasonality of rainfall (↗Climate). The shape of the stream hydrographs resembles the pattern of rainfall distribution at the representative climatic stations, the month of peak stream-flow coming just after the rainiest month. Most of the rivers which are flow in deep valleys and canyons are interrupted by falls and rapids. One can notice caverns, underground rivers, dry valleys and resurgences in the Bale karst region (↗Soof Omar). Only the Baro is navigable up to Gambela during the rainy season. There is considerable potential for the development of ↗irrigation facilities in the lower valleys and in the flood plains as was expected in the middle and lower Awaš valley when the Imperial Government established the Awash Valley Authority (AVA). For the time being, rivers seem to be becoming increasingly important for the production of hydro-electricity (Awaš [↗Qoqa], Finčaa, Täkkäze, Bäläs, Gəlgəl Gibe).

Rainfall flows through the soils and percolates through permeable rocks of either volcanic (basalt) or sedimentary (limestone) layers and also down through alluvial deposits. Superficial or deep piedmont aquifers supply W. to numerous springs (**ምንጭ**, *mənč̣*). Deep mineralized hot W. comes back up to the surface along tectonic fault-lines. One can observe a great number of thermal springs which Ethiopians regard traditionally as holy places (↗*Ṣäbäl*). Cattle are driven to take mineralized W. (**አምቦ**, *ambo*). Since the Italian occupation the Ambo-Sänqalle (West-Šäwa) mineral W., at first carbonated, has been bottled and sold all over Ethiopia with the exception of Harär where Baabbillee W. has replaced it. In Eritrea *Ailet* mineral W. is drunk. In Ethiopia since 1991 new mineral springs have come into operation around of the capital and the main regional towns. Inspite of abundant W. resources only 18 % of the rural population and 70 % of the urban population in Ethiopia had access to drinking W. in 1998 according to the World Bank (Frérot 1999). The rapid advance of industrialization and ↗urbanization has brought about severe W. pollution in the rivers mainly downstream of Addis Abäba.

Table 3: Streamflow in selected drainage basin (Daniel 1977: 32)

Basin	area (km²)	discharge (m³/sec)	runoff (mm)	rainfall (mm)	runoff (% of rainfall)
Awaš	7,723	40.33	164.63	900	18.29
Mille	4,350	6.91	50.1	500	10.02
Angär	4,349	64.78	469.74	1,500	31.32
Bäläs	3,520	35.98	322.32	1,200	26.86
Mäqi	2,433	9.8	126.98	900	14.11
Gəlgəl Gibe	1,600	53.32	1,051	1,500	70.07

Src.: CSA 2004; DANIEL GAMACHU, *Aspects of Climate and Water Budget in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1977; MesfGeogr 52–66; EMAtlas.

Lit.: ANNE-MARIE FRÉROT, *Les grandes villes d'Afrique*, Paris 1999, 1–81; JEAN GALLAIS, "Sécheresse, famine, état: le cas de l'Éthiopie", *Hérodote* 39, 1985, 60–87; ID., *Une géographie politique de l'Éthiopie. Le poids de l'État*, Paris 1989, 51–58; ALAIN GASCON, "Les enjeux des aménagements hydro-agricoles en Éthiopie et en Érythrée", *Les Cahiers de la Recherche-Développement* 38, 1994, 33–48; ID., "Un don du Nil, un don de l'Éthiopie", in: HERVÉ DE CHARETTE, *Les enjeux méditerranéens*: *l'eau entre guerre et paix*, Paris 2004, 73–85; GasEth; TESFAYE TAFESSE, *The Nile Question*: *Hydropolitics, Legal Wrangling, Modus Vivendi and Perspectives*, Münster 2001 (Geographie 11).

Alain Gascon

Cultural significance

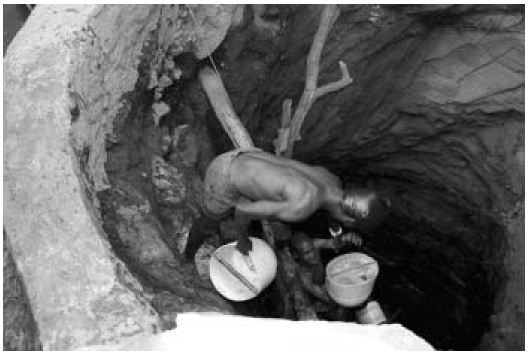
The symbolic significance of W. (Amh.: **ውኃ**, *wəha*; Tgr.: **ማይ**, *may*; Orom.: *bišaan*) is commonly associated with death and rebirth, purification and healing. This universal symbolism, which certainly existed in Ethiopia prior to the advent of the monotheistic religions, is given another layer of meanings in the specific teachings of each faith through association with, e.g., the creation, the Noah's Flood, the crossing of the ↗Red Sea, the stream of Zämzäm in ↗Mecca and the ↗baptism of Christ, etc. (Eliade 1952: 151–60).

An important component of the cultural symbolism of W. is the association of wells and springs with ↗spirits. In ↗Käfa a belief in W. spirits called ↗*eqo* exists, the Amhara folk-religion knows the *aganənt* ↗spirits (s. also ↗Demons) of the ↗Awaš River (Levine 1974: 48), and the ↗Kəmant worshipped *qole* spirits associated with ↗trees and springs (Gamst 1969: 30).

Although it is difficult to prove that the importance of a certain well or spring was retained when people converted, a number of early churches of northern Ethiopia can be considered as being located at the sites of pre-Christian sacred springs. At ↗Däbrä Damo, for example, it is alleged that the cisterns were at one time sites of a pre-Christian cult. There is, moreover, another wide-spread symbolism present here: dew which drips from the rock of the cave of the founder of the monastery is held to have healing powers, a common theme in Ethiopia (Hein – Kleidt 1998: 95; Matthews – Mordini 1959; cp., e.g., ↗Libanos). Other churches associated with holy springs (↗*Ṣäbäl*) include, e.g., Maryam Həbəᵓto, Tämben (Buxton 1971), Däbrä Saläm Aṣbidära, where the W. source has been dammed to form a rudimentary baptismal pool, Maryam Abaᵓo, Dära and May Bäläs (Plant 1985:109f., 193). In time such springs became attached to the name of the patron saint or founder of the church (↗Healers; ↗Medicine, traditional).

Legend has it that the church of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon was founded in an area, formerly a lake bed, that was miraculously drained by God in the era of kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa (MHAksum 209). There are at least 72 good quality springs in the area, some of which have curative properties. At a small rock-shelter site some five kilometres to the north-west of Aksum (Bäᶜatti Nəbayti), two small fissures in the rock surface seep with water even in the dry season. Folk belief holds that these W. may cure eye infections (Finneran 2000).

↗Lalibäla is said to be modelled on the sacred geography of ↗Jerusalem, even down to a Golgotha and a River Jordan (Gəᶜəz: *Yordanos*; Heldman 1992). W. symbolism in this region is also present in the form of a large number of *ṣäbäl* in the surrounding countryside. Holy W. is often the focus of ↗pilgrimage. ↗Zəkʷala, one of the best known pilgrimage sites, consists of a volcanic crater lake, and a church dedicated to its founding saint *abba* ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus.



Boorana "singing well" near Dublok, with water being brought up by a chain of men; photo 2005, courtesy of Chikage Oba-Smidt

Apart from the Christian associations, W. is known to adherents of ↗Islam and of traditional ↗religions as having powers to aid fertility (Pankhurst 1991). At ↗Faraqasa (s. also ↗Momina [in EAE vol. 5]), Islamic pilgrims gather at a spot where there are eight holy springs, although seven of them are actually dedicated to Christian saints (Pankhurst 1994). According to some traditions these W. are associated with the W. of Zämzäm in Mecca. Similar traditions that connect ↗Oromo traditions of sacred pools and springs with Meccan traditions are found in association with the shrine of ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn.

Apart from taking W., venerating the saint and (even for some Christians) placating the ↗*zar* and tree spirits, there is also the *fačasa* ritual, a fertility rite which consists of gathering marsh grass *qeṭema*, washing it in the W. of the lake, and then brushing its foliage over women to aid conception.

The use of W. for healing is not limited to its presence at a fixed geographic location. Pilgrims may also take holy W. with them to bring it to others. Nor was this strictly speaking limited to baptismal W. As several hagiographic texts indicate the recitation of a prayer, the washing of a cross could all render the W. efficacious (KapMon 84f.). Immersion in W. (*ṭəmqät*) and sprinkling (*aṭämmäqä*) of a possessed person with holy W. are considered efficacious means of exorcism. A baptistery has been attached to churches from the Aksumite period onward. New born boys (40th day) and girls (80th day) are baptized by having holy W. poured upon

(↗Baptism). The pouring with W. also plays a central role as part of the ritual of ↗Ṭəmqät.

One of the most interesting elements of W. symbolism in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church context is found in the celebration of Ṭəmqät. The ↗*tabot* is taken to a body of W. where it remains overnight. The following morning the congregation receives a blessing and are doused with holy W. If the W. source is large enough, a mass immersion takes place (Rey 1927:155; Walker 1933:82; SerHist 271; BeckHuntAlvar 345f.).

Among the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel the child is immersed and the mother purified on the 40th or 80th day after birth. This is accompanied by the reading of the ↗*Ardəʾət* with passages relating the story of the Red Sea and is thus associated with ancient Biblical narrative. In addition Betä Ǝsraʾel villages must be situated near running W. to permit purification particularly of menstruating women (↗Menstruation). Indeed so common are their immersions that they are said to "smell of W.".

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 345f.; HarAeth; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia, Being Notes Collected during Three Years Residence and Travel in that Country*, London 1854.

Lit.: DAVID RODEN BUXTON, "The Rock-hewn and other Medieval Churches of Tigray Province, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 33–100; MIRCEA ELIADE, *Images et Symboles*, Paris 1952; NIALL FINNERAN, "Excavations at the LSA site of Baahti Nebait, Aksum, Northern Ethiopia 1997", *Azania* 35, 2000, 53–74; ID., "Holy Waters: Pre-Christian and Christian Water Association in Ethiopia. An Archaeological Perspective", in: TERJE OESTIGAARD (ed.), *Water, Culture and Identity: Comparing Past and Present Traditions in the Nile Basin Region*, Bergen 2009, 165–87; FREDERICK C. GAMST, *The Qemant: a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia,* New York 1969; EWALD HEIN – BRIGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia – Christian Africa: Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1998; MARILYN HELDMAN, "Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 3, 1992, 222–40; DONALD NATHAN LEVINE, *Greater Ethiopia: the Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society,* Chicago, IL 1974; DEREK H. MATTHEWS – ANTONIO MORDINI, "The Monastery of Debra Damo, Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 97, 1959, 1–58; MHAksum; ALULA PANKHURST, "Reflection on Pilgrimages in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 12, 933–53; ID., "Field Trip to Mount Zeqwala, 14–15 October 1991", *Sociology, Ethnology Bulletin* 1, 1, 1991, 5–10; ID., "Debra Libanos: Pilgrimages Past and Present", *Sociology, Ethnology Bulletin* 1, 3, 1994, 14–36; RUTH PLANT, *The Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985; CHARLES FERNAND REY, *In the Country of the Blue Nile*, London 1927; SerHist; TriIslam 253–56; CRAVEN HOWELL WALKER, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933; KapMon 84f.

Niall Finneran – Steven Kaplan

Waugh, Evelyn

W. (b. 28 October 1903, Hampstead, London, d. 10 April 1966, Combe Florey, Somerset) was a British writer and journalist. After studying history at Hertford College in Oxford he was employed briefly as a teacher in Wales. Working as a journalist he wrote his first novel *Decline and Fall* in 1928 followed, in 1930, by *Vile Bodies*.

In the 1930s, W. traveled extensively around the world: in Europe, the Near East, Africa, North and South America. He went to Ethiopia as a correspondent of *The Times* for the coronation of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən in 1930 (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). This first visit, apart from the travelogue *Remote People*, yielded his third novel, *Black Mischief* (1932), which helped to establish W.'s reputation as a master satirist. Although it is set in a fictional African state it clearly refers to Ethiopia and is a satire on Ḫaylä Śəllase I's efforts to modernize the country.

In 1935 W. was again sent to Ethiopia as a war reporter of the *Daily Mail* to cover the Italian invasion (↗Italian war 1935–36). As a result of it he wrote *Waugh in Abyssinia* (1936) where he documents Ethiopia's fall and also hints at Britain's apparent idleness in averting it. A thinly veiled Ethiopia also features in his novel *Scoop* (1938), a satire of sensational journalism and foreign correspondence, which was based on his own experience in Ethiopia. A compilation of the passages W. wished to preserve from his travel books was published in 1946 under the title *When the Going was Good*, which contains two chapters on Ethiopia: "A Coronation in 1930" and "A War in 1935".

In his early 30s., W. converted to Catholicism and became a vivid opponent of liberal trends within the Church. He was also a friend of the Jesuit Philip Caraman, whom he had been introduced to by Martin D'Arcy, Caraman's fellow in religion and philosopher (Rockett 2004:54, 107, 137, 175).

Src.: EVELYN WAUGH, "The Throne of Ethiopia, Tafari as King of Kings, Personal Triumph", *The Times*, 17 October 1930, 15–16; ID., "The Abyssinian Coronation, Duke of Gloucester at Jibuti", *ibid.*, 27 October 1930, 12; ID., "The Abyssinian Coronation, Duke of Gloucester's Arrival", *ibid.*, 29 October 1930, 13; ID., "Duke of Gloucester in Abyssinia, Presents to the Emperor", *ibid.*, 31 October 1930, 14; ID., "The Statue of Menelik", *ibid.*, 3 November 1930, 12; ID., "Emperor of Ethiopia, The Coronation Ceremony", *ibid.*, 4 November 1930, 13; ID., "Coronation Banquet in Abyssinia, 30,000 Guests", *ibid.*, 5 November 1930, 13; ID., "Emperor's Procession in Addis Ababa", *ibid.*, 6 November 1930, 13; ID., "The Abyssinian Festivities, Emperor's Picnic Party", *ibid.*, 7 November 1930, 13; ID., "Review at Addis Ababa, Capering Military bards", *ibid.*, 8 November 1930, 11; ID., "The Abyssinian Celebrations", *ibid.*, 10 November 1930, 11; ID., "End of Abyssinian Celebrations", *ibid.*, 13 November 1930, 13; ID., "Ethiopia Today, Romance and Reality, Behind the Scenes at Addis Ababa", *ibid.*, 22 December 1930, 13–14; ID., *Remote People*, London 1931; ID., *Black*

Mischief, London 1932; ID., *Waugh in Abyssinia*, London 1936 [repr. Boston 2002]; ID., *Scoop*, London 1938; ID., *When the Going was Good*, London 1946.

Lit.: SELINA HASTINGS, *Evelyn Waugh: a Biography*, Boston, MA 1994 (Index); CHARLES LINCK, "Works of Evelyn Waugh, 1910 to 1930", in: *Twentieth Century Literature* 10, 1, New York 1964, 19–25; CHRISTOPHER SYKES, *Evelyn Waugh*, London 1975; CHARLOTTE MOSLEY (ed.), *The Letters of Nancy Mitford and Evelyn Waugh*, Boston, MA 1997; JUNE ROCKETT, *A Gentle Jesuit: Philip Caraman, SJ, 1911–1998*, Leominster 2004, 54, 107, 137, 175.

Ewa Wolk

Wavell, Archibald Percival

W. (1st Earl Wavell, 1st Viscount Keren of Eritrea and of Winchester; b. 5 May 1883, Colchester, d. 24 May 1950, London) was a British general. The son of Archibald Graham Wavell, a major-general in the British Army, he studied at Winchester College and Sandhurst. He served in the Boer war and in World War I.

In July 1939, W. was named as General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of Middle East Command, being also responsible for the war in Somalia. In November 1940 he went to ↗Khartoum, accompanying Anthony ↗Eden, where the two forced the Sudanese governor-general Huddleston and Major-General William Platt of the Sudan Defence Force to concede a decisive role in the war against the Italians to *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, who was then residing in Khartoum. W. then also arranged the appointment of Colonel Orde ↗Wingate as Ḫaylä Śəllase's staff officer.

By February 1941, W.'s Western Desert Force had destroyed the Italian Tenth Army at Cyrenaica and from January to May 1941 W. led a victorious offensive against ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, mainly relying on his 4th Indian Division. After the decisive Battle of ↗Kärän in February/March, W. was created "Viscount Keren of Eritrea and of Winchester" (later also "Viscount of Cyrenaica and of Winchester"). As commander-in-chief, he was also responsible for the Occupied Enemy's Territories Administration (OETA), active in the colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland; in this function he supported the idea that the OETA should be extended over all of Ethiopia. Eden, however, stated that Ḫaylä Śəllase should be immediately placed back on the throne, following the Italians' surrender in April. Ethiopia then went under a de facto military protectorate of the British War Office, with W.'s deputy political officer for Ethiopia Brigadier Maurice S. Lush and W.'s chief political officer Sir Philip Mitchell exercising control over all administrative and political acts of the Emperor. Later, this status was defined, after discussions involving W. and Sir Philip, through the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement and Military Convention of 31 January 1942 (cp. Spencer 1984: 97ff.; ↗United Kingdom, relations with).

W.'s later operations against the Germans in North Africa and the Japanese in Southeast Asia were largely unsuccessful. In 1943, he was promoted field marshall and then appointed viceroy of India (1943–47). W. was made an Earl in 1947. Later, a street was named after him in ↗Addis Abäba.

Src.: ALAN MOOREHEAD, *African Trilogy, Comprising Mediterranean front, a Year of Battle, the End in Africa: a Personal Account of the Three Year's Struggle against the Axis of the Middle East & North Africa, 1940–43*, foreword by Field-Marshall Viscount WAVELL, London 1944; ARCHIBALD WAVELL, *Wavell: the Viceroy's Journal*, London 1973.

Lit.: IAN BECKETT, "Wavell: Field Marshal Earl Wavell", in: JOHN KEEGAN (ed.), *Churchill's Generals*, London 1991, 70, 80f., 87; JOHN CONNELL, *Wavell, Supreme Commander, 1941–1943*, London 1969; MICHAEL GLOVER, *An Improvised War, the Ethiopian Campaign, 1940–41*, London – New York 1987; RENÉ KRAUS, *Men around Churchill*, New York 1941; RONALD LEWIN, *The Chief: Field Marshall Lord Wavell, Commander-in-Chief and Viceroy, 1939–1947*, London 1980; MockWar, index; JOHN H. SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay, a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac, MI 1984, 90, 94–97.

Wolbert Smidt

Wax and Gold ↗Sämənna wärq

Wäyb

The W. (**ወይብ**, or Wabi Gestro) River, which is more than 500 km long, originates on the northern flank of the ↗Bale Mountains at ca. 3,800 m A.S.L. (for location s. map for Soof Omar). It runs northward on cenozoic basalt plateaux and then, north of Dinšo, it bends south-eastward, following a mountainous ridge which separates it from the ↗Wabi Šäbälle basin. The river flows further down in a deep gorge carved into lower mesozoic karstic calcareous sediments. It disappears into the ↗Soof Omar caves (1,300 m A.S.L.) for more than 10 km. East of Magalo, where the W. enters the cenozoic Ogaden soft sedimentary series (gypsum), its valley becomes wider. It is flooded during summer rains. Many small left bank tributaries flow into the W. It starts at a height of 650 m A.S.L. in Mälka Gurra to 221 m A.S.L. in Dolo.

The upper W. valley is covered with forests. It forms part of the Bale ↗National Park which is surrounded by ↗Arsi Oromo agriculturists and cattle-keepers. Between Mälka Gurra and El Mädo (Ceel Medo), it is the realm of Somali cattle-breeders. The lower valley belongs to the Afder zone, a division of the Somali Region. The W. River flows into the ↗Ganaalee River ca. 20 km north of Dolo on the Ethio-Somali border. With the Dawa River joining the W. from the west, the Ganaalee River, now called Juba, runs trough southern Somalia to flow into the Indian Ocean near Kismaayo (Guida 585).

Src.: CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana, scala 1:1 000 000*, n° 4, Milano (no date); CSA *Statistical Abstract 2007*, Addis Ababa, December 2006 ; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AGENCY, *Ethiopia, scale 1:2 000 000*, Addis Ababa 1986; EMAtlas; *Guida* 464–68, 470, 585, 594; CHRIS HILLMAN – SHEILA HILLMAN, *Bale*: *Highland Wilderness*, Addis Ababa 2001; KNOW HOW REISEN, *Horn von Afrika, Maßstab*: *1/1 800 000*, Bielefeld ^{2}2006; MesfAtlas 47, 52–55.

Alain Gascon

Wäyna Däga

The W.D. (**ወይና ፡ ደጋ**) is the moderate, semi-arid to humid agro-↗ecological zone, lying between the warm, predominantly semi-arid ↗*q*^{w}*älla* and the cool and mostly sub-humid *däga*. The surface, its agro-ecological potential, as well as the number of inhabitants and economic activity of W.D. make it the most important zone of the Ethiopian highlands. However, the following scientific description of the W.D. does not coincide with the subjective definition of the many peasants who live there (Mesfin Wolde Mariam 1991:33f.).

The upper limit of the W.D. lies between about 2,400 to 2,600 m A.S.L. Depending on temperature and rainfall patterns the lower limit lies between 1,600 and 1,800 m A.S.L. from the north-eastern to the south-eastern highlands and reaches 1,200 m A.S.L. in north-western and south-western Ethiopia; west of Addis Abäba even 800 m A.S.L. is possible (Hurni 1995a).

Mean annual temperatures typically range from 18 to 20 degrees, in the western and, in the south-western highlands from 20 to 25 degrees. Mean annual rainfall varies widely from about 300 to 2,200 mm. Therefore the zone can be divided into three different sub-zones: (1) Dry W.D., with an annual rainfall of 300 to 900 mm, a short rainy season and low but intensive rainfall, typical of the northern and Eritrean highlands and in lower parts of the southern and eastern highlands. (2) Moist W.D., with an annual rainfall of 900 to 1,400 mm, a fair rainy season and intensive rainfall being typical of the north-western, central and south-western to eastern highlands. (3) Wet W.D., with an annual rainfall of 1,400 to 2,200 mm, an extended rainy season, relatively high temperatures mainly in the western and south-western highlands.

The natural vegetation has a very great diversity, depending on ↗climate and soil characteristics. Due to human activity the natural vegetation and particularly the forests are very discontinuous; in many cases they have been modified by human activity for hundreds and even thousands of years. Friis (1992:27) presumed that "even before historical time […] complex mosaics with patches of forests, bushland and woodland" were intermingled. The following floristic forest types and developments can be said to typify the three sub-zones: (1) Dry W.D.: dry single-dominant Afro-montane forest with *Juniperus procera* in the canopy and *Olea europaea* subspecies *cuspidata* in the understorey, and the transition between this and East African evergreen and semi-evergreen bushland and thicket. Historical travel reports and photographs show that ↗forests have been almost inexistent in this sub-zone since at least the mid-19th cent. Today, a few trees (including ↗Eucalyptus) and plantations can be found here and there; (2) moist W.D.: undifferentiated Afro-montane forest, including various types of upland forest with *Podocarpus*. Since at least the 19th cent. forests have been heavily reduced and are found in only a few areas; trees are common but not numerous. Since the beginning of the 20th cent. Eucalyptus plantations have spread, particularly in and around urban areas; (3) wet W.D.: broad-leaved Afro-montane rain forest, still exists in many regions, but deforestation has been a serious problem for decades (Friis 1992; Hurni 1995b; Ritler 2003).

Soils vary from sandy to silty in the dry sub-zone, to loams, black clay and red clay in the wet W.D. Their fertility generally ranges from fair to excellent. Soil erosion is very common, but has diverse forms, depending on the amount and intensity of the rain, soil type, topography, land-cover and land-use. In many parts of the land effective methods of soil conservation including water management have been developed or re-established, particularly since the 1970s.

Traditionally population density of the W.D. was (and still is) relatively high due to good to excellent climatic conditions for intensive agriculture. On the other hand, throughout history, this zone was particularly exposed to devastation by military campaigns and marauding troops, but also to natural catastrophes such as ↗locust invasions etc.

The most important crops are ↗*ṭef* (grown in all sub-zones), ↗maize, barley, ↗coffee (moist and wet sub-zones) and ↗*ənsät* (wet sub-zone). A broad variety of cereals and vegetables are grown especially in the moist and wet sub-zones. Traditionally two different agricultural systems have established themselves (Westphal 1975): (1) The seed-farming complex: Characteristic of this system is the reproduction of nearly all crops by seed (mainly cereals, pulses, oil crops). Today the most important type here is the grain-↗plough (alias ox-plough) complex. It fully dominates the agriculture of the central and northern highlands (mostly dry to moist W.D.), a situation which has strong connections with the historical Amhara expansion from north to south and the shift in many Oromo regions from ↗pastoralism to this system. The similar ↗sorghum-plough complex of the eastern highlands was established only by the end of the 19th cent. In several southern regions the hoe is the predominant tool in seed farming. (2) The *ənsät*-planting complex: being a perennial tuber, *ənsät* is the characteristic plant of a horticultural complex with various crops. However, it requires relatively high temperatures and humidity and is thus restricted to south-western Ethiopia (wet W.D.).

In the last decades, particularly near towns and along important roads in the W.D., demand for agricultural products on the part of the fast growing urban population and the world market led to intensified and market-oriented agriculture and livestock production.

Lit.: EMAtlas; IB FRIIS, "Forests and Forest Trees of Northeast Tropical Africa: their Natural Habitats and Distribution Patterns in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia", *Kew Bulletin Additional Series* 15, London 1992, i–iv, 1–396 (Lit.); HANS HURNI, *Ethiopia, Agroecological Belts: Scale 1:1,000,000,* 3 sheets, ed. by SOIL CONSERVATION RESEARCH PROGRAMM (SCRP), Addis Ababa – Bern 1995a; HANS HURNI, *Soil Conservation in Ethiopia: Guidelines for Development Agents*, Addis Ababa 1995b (reprint); JAMES C. MCCANN, *People of the Plow: an Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800–1990,* Madison, WI – London 1995 (Lit.); MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *Suffering under God's Environment: a Vertical Study of the Predicament of Peasants in North-Central Ethiopia,* Bern – Marceline 1991 (Lit.); ALFONS RITLER, *Forest, Land Use and Landscape of Central and Northern Ethiopia, 1865–1930,* Bern 2003 (Geographica Bernensia, African Studies Series 19) [Lit.]; EGBERT WESTPHAL – J.M.C. WESTPHAL-STEVENS, *Agricultural Systems in Ethiopia,* Wageningen 1975 (Agricultural Research Reports) [Lit.].

Alfons Ritler

Wäyna Däga

As a place name, W.D. (ወይና፡ ደጋ; or Wäyna Dägᶜa) is used to designate a district in ↗Ǝnfraz, Bägemdər, north-east of Lake Ṭana (cp. ↗Libo).

A fertile region inhabited by the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel, W.D. was chosen by Gäbrä Iyäsus for his monastery of ↗Däbrä San in the mid-14th cent.

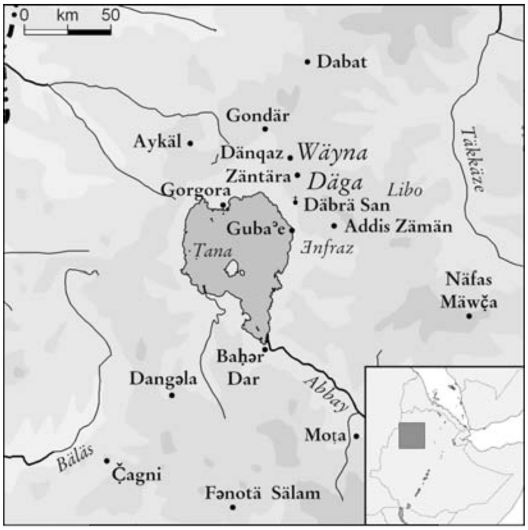
It was also in W.D. or, more precisely, at Zäntära (variants Zantära, Zäntera, Zäntəra), at the place today called Grañ Bär (12° 26' N, 37° 37' E), that the troops of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos ultimately defeated the army of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), killing the latter on 21 February 1543.

In 1577, ↗Śärṣa Dəngəl defeated the Oromo in W.D. Later he had several clashes with the local Betä Ǝsraᵓel population there. He took residence at ↗Gubaᵓe, somewhat south of W.D.

In the 1620s, Däbsan (i.e. Däbrä San) in W.D. became the residence of the Portuguese Patriarch ↗Mendes, chosen for reasons of its good climate and its proximity to the royal establishments at Gubaᵓe and ↗Dänqäz and to the Portuguese settlements of ↗Gorgora.

In 1632 W.D. witnessed a decisive battle between *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and ↗Mälkəᵓa Krəstos, the pretender to the throne from Ǝmäkina. The rebel army was defeated, *wag šum* ↗Rətuᶜa Amlak and Bəḫano Ḫayal were killed and Mälkəᵓa Krəstos himself had to flee.

In 1771, one of the important fights of the *Zämänä mäsafənt* took place in W.D. when the united forces of Šäwan nobility defeated the army of *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul in the battle of ↗Sarbakusa, just a couple kilometres away from Grañ Bär.



With the centre of power moving away from the Ṭana shores, the importance of W.D. declined, and sources only sporadically mention the location when listing the taxes collected or giving details on travel routes of the monarchs, such as the remark on the area being plundered *en passant* by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros in 1867. Traditions collected by Antoine d'Abbadie in the 19th cent. still speak of W.D. as one of the camps of the semi-legendary 7th-cent. king Dəgnağan (s. Conti Rossini 1917: 706, cp. TadTChurch 35).

Src.: ChTana 186; BassÉt I, 334, 342, II, 106 [fol. 9, n. 186]; BegCron 29f.; BecRASO V, 324, VIII, 180f.; DombrChr 173f. (tr.); GueCopMen 306, s. index; MonVidTheo 34 (text) = 43 (tr.); PerChron 33, 36f., 58, 77, 97 (text), n. 375 (Wäyna Däg^{c}a); 62, 79, 93 (text), nn. 451, 522 (Grañ Bär, Zäntəra); CRHist 62, 67 (tr.); MahZekr 149; MIGUEL DE CASTANHOSO, *Die Heldentaten des Dom Christoph da Gama in Abessinien*, tr. by ENNO LITTMANN, Berlin 1907, 72, 77, 121ff.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell'ecciaghie Filpos", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 36, 1917, 699–718, here 706f.; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia di Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 2, 1893, 579–605, here 586f. (repr. Roma 1893, here 8f.).

Lit.: BTafA, s. index; TadTChurch 35; HuntGeogr 135, 142, 144f., 168, 172, 174, 180, 182; PankHist I, 94–101, esp. 96.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

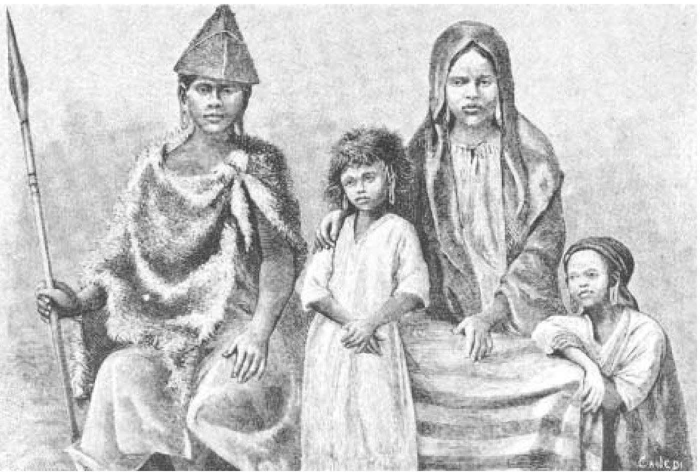
Wäyṭo

The W. (**ወይጦ**) are a small indigenous group of people in north-western Ethiopia living among the ↗Amhara. According to the 1984 census they number 3,816 while the 1994 census indicates only 1,515, probably due to a redefinition of their ethnicity. Zerihun Abebe's research in 2001 shows that in ↗Baḥər Dar alone there are 1,500 W. The W. used to live in scattered settlements along the shores of Lake ↗Ṭana (for a list of W. villages s. Grottanelli 1939: 180) and further inland in Aläfa, ↗Dämbəya, ↗Fogära and Baḥər Dar. Since the 1970s a greater number of W. migrated to Baḥər Dar due to the increasing insecurity of settlement and livelihood on their traditional land. They occupy the outskirts of the town and are continually displaced whenever the land is needed for construction work or business purposes. The W. mostly dwell in fringe settlements on lands which are considered useless or uninhabitable by the majority population.

The ethnic status of the W. has been debated in the literature; while some understood them as a originally distinct ethnic group others viewed them as a primarily social group (cp. Simoons 1960: 49). According to Grottanelli (1939: 170), who also speculates about a possible "Nilotic" origin, the W. were formed by originally unrelated clans that were segregated from society to form a distinct social group. The W. are mostly discussed with reference to other ↗"marginalized groups", such as the ↗Manǧo in Käfa, the ↗"Fuga" in southern Central Ethiopia and the ↗ *Waata* among the Oromo. Together with them they were often understood as people who "survive[d] as endogamous pariah castes of hunters living in a partly dependent and partly symbiotic relationship with their dominant neighbours, whose language they speak" (Murdock 1959: 59; cp. also Grottanelli 1939: 170). Cerulli (CerFolk) identified the W. as an element of "a low-caste of hunters" often called *Waata* (cp. also CRStor I, 73, 199). Their occupation as hunters according to Cerulli "signifies a cultural stage characteristic of primitive people". However, such hypotheses have been largely criticized by latter studies which show that the various marginalized minority groups including the W. are not generally distinct in their origin nor can they appropriately be defined as caste groups (Teshale Tibebu 1995; Pankhurst 1999; for a recent more general debate cp. also Amborn 1990).

There are no records of a distinct W. language, apart from an observation reported by Bruce (BruNile, vol. 3, 403); however, linguists and ethno-historians agree that the W. once spoke a language different from Amharic. Most oral traditions of both the W. and Amhara depict the former as a "first people" who migrated into the Lake Ṭana region. The W. myth represents them as migrants from ancient Israel and the first inhabitants of the Lake. Like many other marginalized groups in Ethiopia the W. also have a myth relating that they were formerly more powerful but loose their status due to a curse (CerFolk; for a variant of the legend cp. Grottanelli 1939: 177). Ethno-historical and linguistic studies suggest that the W. originally belonged to the indigenous ↗ Agäw people and spoke an Agäw language before they adopted Amharic and became amharized, without being accepted as Amhara.

The traditional W. practised a foraging economy and subsisted, until the 1950s, from ↗hippopotamus ↗hunting, ↗fishing, some agriculture and the collection of roots and reed pith found along the shores of Lake Ṭana. Their knowledge of boat building and navigation made them useful to the Amhara for whom they provide with ferry services. They gather papyrus reed, form bundles and tie them to make ↗ *tank*^{w}*a*-boats. W. *tank*^{w}*a* were the main means of transportation in



A Wäyṭo family in a 19th-cent. depiction; from MasMis 9

the Lake region (cp. Grottanelli 1939: 190f., 197f., 204–19). However, the appropriation of ferrying by the non-W., the introduction of motor boats and increasing urbanization have made the W. traditional livelihood difficult to maintain. European traders acquiring hippopotamus tusks since the early 1900s decreased the number of hippopotamus. By the late 1960s the W. changed to a non-foraging economy and adopted diversified means of livelihood. The women produce ↗basketry (*mäsob, agälgəl*) from a variety of Ṭana swamp grass for sale, while the men weave papyrus reed into fences, mats and thatch for temporary shelters. They also mine and hammer flat lava stones into grindstones (*wäfčo*) for the local market. Some W. are in paid employment while others are peasants and casual labourers.

The W. are no more eating hippopotamus. However, past food habit marks the boundary between W. and non-W. They are stigmatized as "impure" by those who culturally consider hippopotamus as not edible. They are also perceived as a "pleasure seeking and drink enjoying" people having "less attention" to property and wealth. Until the 1960s W. rarely practised agriculture.

The W. had long been islamized by a Sufi *šayḫ* from Wällo and identify themselves as Muslims. They belong to Mālikite *maḏhab* (↗Mālikism). However, the Muslim identity of most W. is not fully accepted by other Muslims. During the socialist regime the status of the W. appears to have improved. A few were employed in the Baḥər Dar textile factory. Membership of non-W. formal and informal associations became relatively open to them. They joined burial associations (↗*Ǝddər*) and were also "allowed" to bury their dead in the same graveyard as other Muslims.

However, even in the early 2000s they remained a "marginalized group" in social and political terms. Other Muslims do not usually consider them as proper marriage partners. The W. therefore remained a largely endogamous group. Likewise, the W. village-Mosque in Baḥər Dar is not considered as a proper place for prayer by non-W. co-religionists. W. local religious practice of venerating *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn (*Nurhussen*) and their "patron saint", known as *šayḫ* Abnaz, is not recognized by other Muslims. In particular, *Abnaz* is an annual feast comprising a conscious involvement of almost every W. household head and practised at the mouth of the Nile River. It involves worshipping the guardian spirit called *Gəyon* to promote W. well-being.

In political terms the status of the W. has remained weak. Even though, since 1991, group right-based political recognition has been introduced into Ethiopia, this applies only to the larger groups, while the W. and similar former hunter-gatherers lack any meaningful political representation.

Src.: BruNile, vol. 3, 403; CerFolk 9–228; MARCEL COHEN, *Nouvelles études d'Ethiopien méridional*, Paris 1939 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 275), 359; CRStor I, 73, 149; *aläqa* TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM, **የኢትዮጵያ፡ ህዝብ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityopia həzb tarik*, 'History of the Ethiopian People'), ed., tr. by GROVER HUDSON – TEKESTE NEGASH, Uppsala 1987.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Handwerkern und Spezialisten in südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990; ChTana 92ff.; FREDERICK CHARLES GAMST, "Wäyto Ways: Change from Hunting to Peasant Life", in: *PICES* 5b, 233–38; ID., "Wäyto", in: RICHARD V. WEEKS (ed.), *Muslim People: a World Ethnographic Survey*, Westport, CT 1984; VINIGI L. GROTTANELLI, *Missione di Studio al Lago Tana*, vol. 2: *Ricerche geografiche e economiche sulle populazioni*, Roma 1939, 169–212 (ch. 7: "Gli Uoito")[Lit.]; MasMis 9; GEORGE PETER MURDOCK, *Africa: its People and their Cultural History,* New York 1959; ALULA PANKHURST, "Caste in Africa: the Evidence from South-Western Ethiopia Reconsidered", *Africa* (London) 69, 4, 1999, 485–509; FREDERICK JOHN SIMOONS, *Northwest Ethiopia: People and Economy*, Madison, WI 1960; TECLEHAIMANOT GEBRESELASSIE, *The Wäyto of Lake Tana: an Ethno History*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1984; TESHALE TIBEBU, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia 1896–1974,* Trenton, NJ

1995; ZERIHUN ABEBE, *Minority Identity and Ethnic Politics in Ethiopia: the Case of the Wäyto in Lake Tana Area*, M. phil. thesis, University of Tromsø, Norway 2001.

Zerihun Abebe

Wäyyanä

The term W. (**ወያነ**) means ‘revolt’ or ‘rebellion’ in Təgrəñña. W. originally means the 1943 revolt against the central government in southern and eastern ↗Təgray, and refers to the participants in this revolt. In order to distinguish it from the revolt led by the ↗Tigray People’s Liberation Front, who are also popularly known as “W.”, the 1943 revolt is today also known as “*qädamay* W.” (‘first W.’).

The 1943 W. represents one of the largest revolts against the imperial government. It spread throughout large parts of southern and eastern Təgray, such as ↗Mäq̱älä, ↗Kələttä Awləᶜalo, ↗Tämben, ↗Ǝndärta, Samre, Ḥənṭalo (↗Anṭalo) and Alağe. More than 20,000 participants attacked military camps and then occupied the provincial capital of Mäq̱älä. Following this, the military, with the help from the British (cp. EAE, vol. 5 ↗British Military Administration of Ethiopia), ended the revolt and recaptured the territory which had been under W. control after a period of two months.

The W. occurred soon after the Italian withdrawal (↗War of Liberation, 1941) and the return of Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, which was accomplished with British assistance. During the decolonizing process, Təgray went through various transformations. Although *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša was appointed governor of Təgray by the central government, which was suspicious of the close relationship *ras* Śəyyum maintained with a British officer in Təgray and ordered him to report to Addis Abäba. This opened the way for internal changes within Təgray, organized by the central government. While sub-provincial and other local governors were Təgrayans, Mäq̱älä itself was controlled by Amhara officers, and a fundamental administrative reform of Təgray was effected by these officers during *ras* Śəyyum’s absence. The local administration, often based on strong local traditions of (self-)administration, was also changed under the new regime. Although the new local administrators appointed by the central government in 1941–42 were usually *mäsafənt* and *mäkʷannənt* (↗Aristocracy) from Təgray, some were sent to remote places, while others who returned to their former administrative positions encountered chaotic conditions, which were characteristic of the time following the Italian occupation. Often, they were not able to establish any order; the people suffered under social disorder, administrative incompetence, and the fear of a new repressive administration often led by Amhara administrators.

Before the W., two remarkable incidents occurred in southern Təgray: First, residents of ↗Waǧǧärat (Waǧǧərat) and ↗Rayya ᶜAzäbo raided (↗*Gaz*) the ᶜAfar soon after the Italian withdrawal causing social disorder in eastern Ethiopia from 1941 to 1942. Second was the ensuing conflict between the Təgrayan administration and the Waǧǧärat people, who were trying to keep their autonomy against the new provincial administration. The intention of the Təgray sub-provincial administrator of southern Təgray to govern and punish the Waǧǧärat for the *gaz* was foiled by a surprise attack by the Waǧǧärat in May 1943. The Waǧǧärat fought against the sub-provincial administration, led by *däǧǧazmač* ᶜAbbay Kaḥsay; they captured him and his subordinate local administrators, and killed some of his followers. Both incidents, especially the latter, highlight the social disorder and the lack of effective administration.

It was in this context that the seeds of the W. revolt were planted. The peasants gathered and discussed the problems affecting their daily lives, including bandit activity (↗*Šəfta*), administrative incompetence, and fear of the Amhara administration and military. Their mobilization expanded from the village level to the regional level when representatives of each village gathered at May Därhu, near Ḥənṭalo, to discuss their common problems.

This peasant mobilization was said to have been organized by *blatta* Ḫaylä Maryam, the son of a local administrator and rich farmer in Ǝndärta, and by other local leaders from the lower *mäkʷannənt* class and elders such as *baššay* Gugsa from Ḥənṭalo. Although *blatta* Ḫaylä Maryam is popularly believed to have been the leader of the W., modern historiography (Gebru Tareke 1996) mentions other leaders who were captured after the W. Some of these were from the same *mäkʷannənt* class as *blatta* Ḫaylä Maryam, and others were from the Təgrayan *mäsafənt* class. The participation of the latter is less recognized, even in Təgray. Some informants report a secret relationship between *blatta* Ḫaylä Maryam and those in the *mäsafənt* class (Maki, in preparation).

The W. revolt started in August 1943. Although the immediate cause of the revolt remains unknown, the indirect cause was the Waǧǧärat victory over the sub-provincial administration in May 1943. It is said that, before the outbreak of the revolt, the Təgrayan self-administration and the return of *ras* Śəyyum represented the goals of the populace. The W. participants attacked the imperial military camps in Kʷiḥa and Ǝndayäsus, located in Ǝndärta, and after overrunning both camps, captured the provincial capital, Mäq̱älä. The W. targets were, primarily, military camps and administrative offices used by officers of the central government, i.e. mainly Amhara. Most administrative personnel and military officers escaped to northern Tigray.

The W. kept Mäq̱älä for a period of time but were soon confronted by the imperial military sent by the central government to suppress the revolt. The most serious battle occurred around Amba Alagi (↗Ambalage), near the mountain, in late September 1943; this battle pitted the W. against the imperial military, supported by the British Military Mission in Ethiopia. The army was led by *ras* ↗Abbäbä Arägay and ↗Abbäbä Damṭaw. Finally, the Emperor asked the British military to use aircraft to bomb the W. rebels, leading to the final defeat of the W. The area targeted for bombing ranged from Amba Alagi to Mäq̱älä. Although neither death toll nore numbers of injured exist, it is known that the final bombing of Mäq̱älä hit the market and caused many civilian deaths, including women and children. The W. were broken by the bombing, and the imperial military proceeded to Mäq̱älä and reoccupied it in October. This operation led to the death of 1 and the injury of 2 British officers, and to 200 dead, 375 injured and 33 missing from the imperial military.

After the W. had been suppressed, *ras* Abbäbä Arägay, who had been directing the operation, was appointed provincial governor of Təgray and served until 1947. Under his administration, a centralized administration was established and led by an Amhara officer. The imperial army searched for the leaders of the W., and 18 members were captured, including the daughter of *ras* Śəyyum and other *mäsafənt*, and sent to Addis Abäba. *Däǧǧazmač* Mängäša Śəyyum, the son of *ras* Śəyyum, who remained in Mäq̱älä during the W. and whose participation in the revolt was never substantiated, was sentenced to death by the Emperor, although he was later pardoned. The peasants were disarmed and some were forced to pay compensations. Even more effective than such punishments, however, was the influx of soldiers into the villages. The military took control in the villages and subjected the peasant class into serfdom. *Blatta* Ḫaylä Maryam escaped to the ᶜAfar soon after the W. failed and was captured only in 1947. He was sent to Ǧinka with his family and was not allowed to return to Təgray until the 1970s. Most of the other *mäkʷannənt* leaders were detained in Addis Abäba for several years and later permitted to return to Təgray. *Baššay* Gugsa, like *blatta* Ḫaylä Maryam, was not allowed to return to Təgray and was later appointed to serve as the local administrator in the Oromo region.

A monument commemorating the 'first Wäyyanä' and the ᶜ*aräna* assembly held at May Därhu; ᶜAddigədom market, Təgray; photo 2003, courtesy of the author

Although the W. is generally seen in modern historiography as a peasant revolt against a central government, the participation of the *mäsafənt* Təgrayans, the local ruling class, should be examined. However, even with *mäsafənt* participation, the determination of the peasants to change their lives through the assembly held in May Därhu and the revolt against the central government was of crucial importance for the W.

A number of complex factors contributed to the dissatisfaction, distrust and anxiety with which the new administration and the central government were viewed. *Mäsafənt* participation stands for the general reaction of the Təgrayans against the radical political reforms instigated by the central government.

Lit.: GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia. Power and Protest: Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge – New York 1996.; PATRICK GILKES, *The Dying Lion: Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia*, London 1975; MOMOKA MAKI, "The Wayyane in Tigray and the Reconstruction of the Ethiopian Government in the 1940's", in: *PICES* 16 [online], 655–663.

Momoka Maki

Wäyzäro

W. (**ወይዘሮ**) in modern Amharic and Təgrəñña is a form of address for married women equal to the English "Mrs.". The term **ወይዘሪት** (*wäyzärit*), used in both languages for unmarried women, is less widespread.

The term seems to have been originally applied to both female and male members of the royal family. It appears in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob referring to the daughters of the Emperor as well as to men of royal blood (PerrZarY 94, 98). In the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣa Dəngəl (1563–97) the term is used to indicate women of Solomonic descent (CRHist 191). However, according to Manoel de ↗Almeida, the term was used for men and women of royal descent alike (BeckHuntAlm 57). The same missionary observed that although the real kinship between a W. and the Emperor may be quite distant, still the female W. were considered sisters and daughters of the Emperor, and they therefore never married a male W. (ibid. 71).

The chronicler ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis (ca. 1850–1915) used the term with two meanings: as a designation for women of royal descent (BTafA 721) and as an equivalent to *ras* ↗*bitwäddäd* (ibid. 697); for instance, *ras bitwäddäd* ↗Yämanä Krəstos is mentioned as W. of Ṭäqʷan (ibid. 213). The emergence of the latter meaning is most probably due to contamination with the term *wäzir* (**ወዚር**), an obvious borrowing from the Arabic ↗*wazīr* (ibid. 988). Both words had the same plural form – **ወይዛዝር**, *wäyzazər*, **ወይዛዝሮች**, *wäyzazəročč* (ibid. 378). The abstract noun, **ወይዘሮነት** (*wäyzäronnät*), used by Aṣmä Giyorgis to mean the 'state of being *wäzir*' (ibid. 526f., 988), nowadays means the 'state of being married' (cp. KaneDic 1561).

As a term to describe the nobility or a military rank W. has not survived. It is not clear when the "devaluation" of the term (similar to that of ↗*Ato* for "Mr." in Amharic and Təgrəñña) took place, and when W. became limited to married women. In the Chronicle of ↗Mənilək II it is still applied to women of noble descent only (cp. GueCopMen vol. 1, 73, n. 7) and to ladies of the court (Smidt 2005: 35). Its use in a modern sense is noted already in ↗Isenberg (1841: 150). The term, however, preserved its association with an elevated social status even into the 20th cent. (s. BaetDic 778f.). It is unclear when *wäyzärit* came into use (registered in DTWDic 430; on its particular plural form s. Vycichl 1957).

Src.: BaetDic 778f.; BeckHuntAlm 57, 71, 101; BTafA 378, 679, 721, 988; CRHist 191; DTWDic 430; GueCopMen vol. 1, 73, n. 7; GuiVoc 588; CHARLES WILLIAM ISENBERG, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, London 1841, 150; KaneDic 1561; PerZarY 94, 98; THMDic 951.

Lit.: BassÉt II, 157, n. 194; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Verbindungen der Familie Ustinov nach Äthiopien", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 29–47, here 35; WERNER VYCICHL, "Trois notes de linguistique amharique", *AE* 2, 1957, 167–76, here 174ff.

Maria Bulakh – Alexander Meckelburg

Wazema

W. (**ዋዜማ**) is a type of "full-verse" (*mulu bet*) ↗*qəne* always sung in ↗*araray* mode of chanting.

Three sub-types of W. are distinguished: long (*räğğəm*), with five verses (*bet*), middle (*mähakkäläña*) with three *bet*, and short (*aç̣č̣ər*) with two *bet*.

W. is also the name of the Office of Solemn Vespers, during which four *qəne* hymns are executed. Three of long W. are to be chanted after (or in-between, s. VelMe II, 65 and below) each Vesperal Ps: 23/24, 92/93 (except for Betä Ləḥem school), and 140/141. The fourth hymn, performed after *Yətbaräk* (the ↗*Dəggʷa* element that accompanies Dan 3: 52–56), can be either another long W. or ↗*śəllase* (six *bet*), or ↗*zäyəʾəze* (five *bet*), depending on the chanting mode of *Yətbaräk*: long W. if it is ↗*araray*, *zäyəʾəze* if it is ↗*Gəʿəz*, and *śəllase* if the mode was ↗*əzəl*. If *Yətbaräk* (*Dəggʷa*) has a *məlṭan*, no *qəne* is needed (Yəḫeyyəs Wärqe 1967/68: 17f.; VelMe II, 299; Elyas Abrəha 1996/97: 12f.).

According to Admasu Ğämbäre (1970/71: 19), long W. has five *bet* because it is sung interpolating immediately after five lines of the abovementioned psalms. According to other traditional scholars (Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase 1926/27: 6; Yəḫeyyəs Wärqe 1967/68: 17; HabTent 177), the long W. is performed after the complete psalms (cp. also VelMe II, 299). In fact, these three psalms are first executed with their respective *Dəggʷa* antiphon (HabUff 217f.).

The W. is used also in the ↗*Mäwäddəs* Sunday office. The long W. is employed in the *Mäwäddəs* with Ps 92/93, the short W. with Ps 44/45, but only during ↗Lent; middle W. with Ps 49/50. The W. is never composed when a psalm finishes with a *məlṭan.*

The traditional scholars ascribe symbolical meaning to W.: the five lines of the long W. are seen as the symbol of the five "pillars of mysteries" (↗*Amməstu aᶜəmadä məśṭir*), the two lines of the short W. are seen as the symbol of the two natures of Christ.

Src.: ADMASU ǦÄMBÄRE, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ፡** (**ዝክረ፡ ሊቃውንት**) (*Mäṣḥafä qəne* [*zəkrä liqawənt*], 'The Book of the *Qəne* [The Memory of the Scholars]'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; CRAbb; *mämhər* ELYAS ABRƎHA, **ይትበሃል፡ ዘጎንደር፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ማኅሌት** (*Yətbähal zägondär zäwəʾtu śərʾatä maḫlet*, 'The Celebration of the Divine Office in the Tradition of Gondär'), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D]; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **መጽሐፈ፡ ቅኔ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne*, 'The Book of the Q.'), Addis Ababa 1918 A.M. [1926/27 A.D.]; *mämhər* YƎḪEYYƎS WÄRQE, **ንባብ፡ ወትርጓሜ፡ ዘቅኔያት፤ አዕማደ፡ ምስጢራት** (*Nəbab wä-tərgʷame zäqəneyat*; *aᶜmadä məsṭirat*, 'Text and Interpretation of the Qəne. The Pillars of Mysteries'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.].

Lit.: ALEMAYYEHU MOGES, "Language Teaching and Curricula in Traditional Education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *The Ethiopian Journal of Education* 4, 1, 1973, 87–114; ENRICO CERULLI, "Inni della Chiesa Abissina", *RSO* 12, 1929–30, 361–407; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di alcuni inni abissini", *ibid.* 1, 1907, 217–20; ÉRIC GODET, "La métrique du qənē guèze", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 117–203; HabTent 177; HabUff 215f.; VelMe II 64f., 299.

Habtemichael Kidane

Wazena s. vol. 5

Wazīr

W. (Arab. وزير, pl. *wuzarāʾ*) is a high-level minister of a ruler with whom he collaborates in governing the subjects in a theoretically subordinate rank but very often in a *de facto* leading position (for a general history and assessment of the title and corresponding functions and institutions s. Zaman et al. in *EI*^{2}).

In Islamic Ethiopia one may surmise that W. were in charge of various offices of the Islamic states since their first appearance. It is clear from the local written sources that at least since the 16th cent., the role of W. was administrative and political. E.g., W. was the title of Ḥāmid b. *sulṭān* Nāṣir who ruled ↗Harär on behalf of his brother *sulṭān* ↗Muḥammad b. Naṣīr when the latter went to fight ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl in 1572–73 (s. Cerulli 1931: 54, 60). The title also normally had a strong military dimension. It was thus borne by officers of the Muslim troops who were at the head of the main sections of the army and were directly involved in battles and fights. During the tumultuous period of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī W. were among the leaders of the Muslim army, e.g., the famous W. ᶜAddole [ᶜAdlī] (BassHist I, 17 and *passim*; II, 38 and n. 4 and *passim*; cf. also Cuoq 1981: 230f.) and W. (formerly *Kušəm garäd*) ↗Nūr b. Ibrāhīm (BassHist I, 23, II, 49f. and n. 2 and *passim*).

Moreover, Ethiopian W. were apparently able to use their influential political and military position not only to climb the hierarchical structure of the state but also to rebel and usurp the supreme leadership.

In 1577, when ↗Muḥammad Gāsā I b. Ibrāhīm moved his capital to Awsa, he appointed his brother ↗Muḥammad Gāsā II b. Ibrāhīm W. to govern Harär in his name; in 1584 Muḥammad Gāsā II became *imām* of Awsa himself (Cerulli 1931: 70, 74). In 1585, W. ᶜAbbās b. *kabīr* Muḥammad of Bale, whom Muḥammad Gāsā II had appointed commander in chief of the army, rebelled and managed to rule alone for almost six months before being defeated and killed (Cerulli 1931: 71, 75f.). In 1589 W. ᶜAbbās b. Abūn, nephew of *imām* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm and father of Ṭalḥa who had ruled Harär in 1569–71, was chosen to rule Awsa but was deposed only after two months (Cerulli 1931: 54, 64, 68, 77, 80). Finally, ᶜAlī b. Dāʾūd, the founder of the dynasty of *amīrs* who ruled Harär since 1647, was previously W. of *amīr* Ṣadīq and successfully exploited his rank to seize power himself (Cerulli 1942: 6).

Src.: BassHist I, 17, 23, II, 38, 49f. and *passim*; ENRICO CERULLI, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6^a, 4, 1931, 39–101, here 54, 64, 70f. [text] = 60, 68, 74–77, 80 [tr.] (repr. in: *CerIslam* 135–206, here 154, 167, 174ff. [text] = 161f., 171, 180–83, 186 [tr.]); ID., "Gli emiri di Harar dal secolo XVI alla conquista egiziana (1875)", *RSE* 2, 1942, 2–18 here 6 (repr. *ibid.* 365–82, here 369).

Lit.: JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'Islam en Ethiopie des origines au XVI*^{e} *siècle*, Paris 1981, here 230f.; MUHAMMAD QASIM ZAMAN et al., "Wazīr" in: *EI*^{2} vol. 11, 201–14.

Alessandro Gori

Weavers and weaving

The cultivation of ↗cotton in Nubia can be attested from 2500 B.C. on (Radiocarbon dating, Gosh 1964:66). From an ↗inscription of king

↗ᶜEzana, dating to the mid-4th cent., it is known that he seized cotton from the ↗Noba (RIÉ I, 189.28). The exact date of the domestication of cotton in Ethiopia, as well as its further processing into textiles, however cannot be given. Previous to this date the demand for textiles by members of the church (e.g. ↗Mägarăǧa) and the wealthier classes was met through the importation of various qualities of cloth from points between Arabia and India (s. ↗Trade). There is no evidence of the weaving of garments made of linen, or of other vegetable fibres such as ↗*ənsät*, although either of these may have been employed. No textile remains, such as ↗wool or ↗silk, or signs of weaving are known from the excavations at ↗Aksum. In fact, the only possible indication of apparel was a small piece of ↗leather.

The pit-treadle double-shafted loom

Weaving in Ethiopia today is carried out almost entirely on a mechanism known as the pit-treadle double-shafted loom, specialized for weaving cotton. Characteristically, the treadles are suspended in a hole in the ground. The W. sits on the edge of the pit with his legs inside so that his feet can operate the treadles.

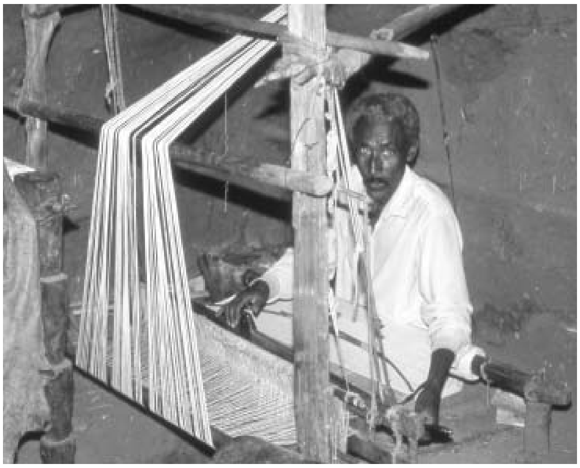
The origin of this loom in Ethiopia is uncertain, although numerous writers have noted how closely it parallels the Hindu loom, and some suggest that the technology is the result of direct importation from the Indian subcontinent. Possibly as early as the first centuries of the Christian era, this loom spread westward via Afghanistan and Persia to Arabia and the Near East. In addition, the nomenclature attached to cloth and the most widely used forms of woven highland ↗clothing can be traced to Arabic.

The specific characteristics of the Ethiopian loom are its sturdy frame, the width of the comb and consequently of the cloth produced, and the depth of the pit. In addition to the exceptional width of the material produced, up to 90 cm, the ornamental woven designs are unique to the continent. Again, the technical association of the loom with cotton would also argue in favour of a simultaneous development with the introduction of the loom and cotton growing and weaving to the Ethiopian highlands. There is reason to believe that the diffusion of weaving outside the highland market towns and areas of cotton procution is a relatively recent development.

Weavers and weaving

Traditionally weaving was men's work. Until the time of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II the ↗Amhara left weaving to the Muslims and the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel. Mənilək, for the first time, encouraged Christians to weave. His efforts were largely unsuccessful, in part because of the availability of cheap imported *šamma* and in part undoubtedly because of the contempt in which the W.'s craft, among others, has traditionally been held in Ethiopia. The reason for this contempt is not clear, but it is of long standing and common to many cultures. There is a recognized prejudice in Ethiopia which favours above all the ownership and cultivation of land; accordingly W. are valued less but not to the extent that they can be regarded as ↗marginalized people (s. EAE vol. 5; s. also ↗Handicrafts). In the lowlands there are many who own land and who weave on a part time basis, thus avoiding the opprobrium generally associated with the craft. For these people, weaving is a secondary source of income and if the demand changes so might their supplementary occupation. Weaving used to be an important source of income for the ↗Gideʾo, but many have given it up and gone into the more lucrative business of coffee growing. In ↗Konso W. are organized together with other craftsmen and traders in the economial powerful guild-like ↗*fulḍo* association.

Another reason may derive from the religious discrimination which serves to separate Orthodox Christian society from that of Muslims and the Betä Ǝsraʾel. Unsubstantiated as it may be, the hypothesis is that weaving, on the pit-treadle loom at least, may



Betä Ǝsraʾel weaver, Getanäh Čekol, in Wäläqa, Gondar; photo 1982, courtesy of the author well have been introduced by Muslims, who, as traders and husbandmen, may also have been responsible for providing the Horn of Africa with cotton cloth, the loom, and the knowledge of cotton cultivation; and therefore occupying the whole industry.

Nowadays, Ethiopia endeavours to attract foreign companies to invest in its national textile industry. This counteracts external competitors in business such as China, who endanger modern as well as traditional textile production in Ethiopia.

Src.: Amalanandana Ghosh, *Indian Archaeology 1961–62: a Review*, New Dehli 1964, 66–70; LefAbyss III, 244f.; Enno Littmann, "Äthiopische Inschriften", in: *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia: Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Feier des 250jährigen Bestehens der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 2, 1, Berlin 1950, 97–127; RIÉ I, 189.28.

Lit.: Hermann Amborn, *Differenzierung und Integration*, München 1990, 156–212; Robert Bertram Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles, Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest*, Beirut 1972, 242–63; Renee Boser-Sarivaxévanis, *Les tissus de l'Afrique Occidentale*, Basel 1972 (Basler Beiträge zur Ethnologie 13), 127f.; Witold Kazimierz Brzuski, "Arabic Loanwords in Amharic connected with Textiles, Leather Products and Jewellery", *Africana Bulletin* 20, 1974, 63–71; Dexter Burley, "The Despised Weavers of Addis Abeba", in: *PICES* 5b, 145–49; Michael Gervers, "Shamma, Gábi, and Kamis: Traditional Cotton Costume in Ethiopia", *Rotunda* 16, 1983, 38–44; Id., "Cotton and Cotton Weaving in Meroitic Nubia and Medieval Ethiopia", *Textile History* 21, 1990, 13–30; Id., "The Portuguese Import of Luxury Textiles to Ethiopia in the 16th and 17th Centuries and their Subsequent Artistic Influence", in: *PICEA* 5, 121–34; Margrethe Hald, "Vaevning over Gruber", *Kuml* 13, 1963, 102–06; Richard Thomas Jackson – Timothy Peter James Russell, *Report of the Oxford University Expedition to the Gamu Highlands of Southern Ethiopia, 1968*, Oxford 1969, 51; Detlev Karsten, *The Economics of Handicrafts in Traditional Societies: an Investigation in Sidamo and Gamu Gofa Province, Southern Ethiopia*, Munich 1972, 109, 113f., 116; André Leroi-Gourhan, *L'Homme et la matière*, Paris 1943, 306; Judith Olmstead, "Ethiopia's Artful Weavers", *National Geographic Magazine* 143, 1, 1973, 125–41; Wilhelm Rau, *Weben und Flechten im Vedischen Indien*, Mainz 1971, 23; Ernst Friedrich Rohrer, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur der Amhara*, Bern 1932, 52, 167; H. Ling Roth, *Studies in Primitive Looms*, Halifax ^{3}1950, 62; Raymond Aaron Silverman, *Ethiopia: Traditions in Creativity*, Seattle, WA 1999, s. index; George Watt, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, 6 vols., Delhi 1972, vol. 2, 597f.

Michael Gervers

Wəbe Aṭnaf Sägäd

Däǧǧazmač W. (**ውቤ፡ አጥናፍ፡ ሰገድ**, "horse name" Abba Tadäg; d. 1912/13) was a respected warrior of the time of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, best known as the third husband of the Emperor's daughter ↗Zäwditu. He was the brother of *däǧǧazmač* (later *ləᶜul ras*) ↗Ləᶜul Sägäd and *liqä mäkʷas* Abbäbä Aṭnaf Sägäd.

W. already had the rank of *qäññazmač* in 1877 when he fought on the side of Mənilək against the Təgrayan troops of ↗Yoḥannəs IV (GueCopMen 143).

Zäwditu, widowed from ↗Arᵓaya Śəllase in 1888, was first given to Gʷangul Zägʷe. They were divorced in 1891, and Zäwditu married W.

W.'s home base was in ↗Mäč̣č̣a (GueCopMen 349). With Zäwditu, he moved to Addis Abäba, where they lived in the district now called Wəbe Bäräha.

Zäwditu divorced W. to marry her last husband, *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu's nephew and protegée, *däǧǧazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Gugsa Wäle, in 1900/01.

W. kept his title upon the divorce and was given governorship of Gola, around ↗Ankobär. His privileged position is indicated by the fact that in 1903, during the festive procession organized by Mənilək to celebrate the seventh anniversary of the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, W. was invited to participate in the parade. He led a force of nine thousand rifles.

W. was the father of *liqä mäkʷas* (later *bitwäddäd*) ↗Mängäša Wəbe, who was active during *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign.

Src.: BTafA s. index; GebMolIyas 511, 543; Märsəᶜe Hazän Wäldä Qirqos, **የዘመን፡ ታሪክ፡ ትዝታዬ፡ በዳግማዊ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ዘመነ፡ መንግሥት** (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətayye bädagmawi Mənilək zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memory of the History of the Time during the Reign of Mənilək II'), Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2002/03 A.D.], 44; GueCopMen 143, 349, 406 n. 6, 487 n. 5, 504 n. 3; MahHorse 270; George Montandon, *Au pays Ghimirra: récit de mon voyage à travers le massif éthiopien (1909–1911)*, Paris 1913, here 286.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam

Däǧǧazmač W. (**ውቤ፡ ኀይለ፡ ማርያም**, baptismal name: Kidanä Maryam, "horse name" Abba Mare; b. ca. 1799, d. 1867, Mäqdäla) was one of the major Ethiopian lords of the second half of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. He was the son of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Gäbre of ↗Səmen and *wäyzäro* Məntaye of ↗Ǧan Amora. Ḫaylä Maryam had built up a strong political centre in Səmen. In 1826, shortly before his death, he sent the young W. to conquer ↗Ṣägäde and ↗Wälqayt (CRNuov 369f.), a task which W. apparently completed successfully. As his successor, Ḫaylä Maryam appointed his son ↗Märso, a half-brother of W., born from Ḫaylä Maryam's legal wife, *wäyzäro* Ḫirut, daughter of

↗Gugsa Märsa. W. challenged his brother's succession, and before the year was out he prevailed, concentrating power over Ḫaylä Maryam's realm in his own hands.

W. was to spend much of his career warding off domination by the Wärräsek rulers of ↗Däbrä Tabor. In 1827, the year after his succession, *ras* ↗Yəmam separated Wägära from W.'s realm and gave it to *däǧǧazmač* ↗Maru of Dämbəya. W. resisted this action but lost. Nevertheless, he was pardoned and preserved his governorship. In that same year, W. joined Yəmam in fighting against Maru and ↗Goššu Zäwde of Goǧǧam (CRNuov 370ff.).

To strengthen his hand against the Wärräsek, and perhaps favouring the idea of a coalition of Christian rulers against these "pagans", W. entered into an alliance with *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of Təgray, and married his daughter Dənqe (Dənqitu). This step was, however, punished by ↗Marəyye Gugsa, the successor of Yəmam, who ravaged Səmen and defeated W. in June 1830 (CRReal §§54–55; CRNuov 375). Angered that Säbagadis had not come to support him, W. switched alliances, joining Marəyye in 1831. Säbagadis invaded Səmen and appointed Märso Ḫaylä Maryam in W.'s place, but was himself defeated in 1831 in the battle of ↗May Ǝslamay, and killed. W. profited from the situation: having crushed Säbagadis's sons, by 1835 he consolidated control over the entire Təgray (cp. RubInd 94), and could keep it despite rebellions and the fact that he himself was not from Təgray (cp. ↗Arʾaya Śəllase Dəmṣu) and that he was hated for his cruel and cunning character.

In 1835, in a move designed to serve his own political ambitions in addition to the spiritual needs of Ethiopia's Christians, W. made his first attempt to bring a new metropolitan from ↗Egypt (RubInd 68; AbPrince 101), the office being vacant following the death of *abunä* ↗Qerəllos ca. 1828. Internationally, Ethiopia's position appeared to be deteriorating, because of the threat of Egyptian expansion, which brought tension to the Sudanese borderlands. In 1835 W. rebuffed an Egyptian raid into the lowlands of Wälqayt (AbPrince 101). The Egyptians began to scale down their activities in 1836 (RubInd 69f.), and, in 1837, following a defeat at the hands of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kənfu Ḫaylu they scaled them down still further.

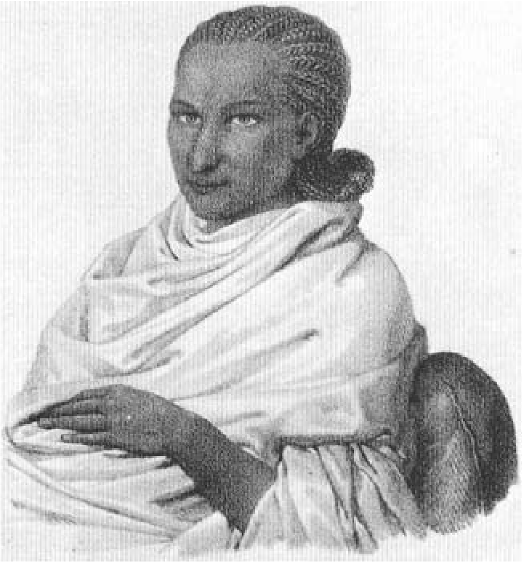
In 1830 Protestant missionaries belonging to the Anglican ↗Church Missionary Society (CMS) started what proved to be a continuous presence of Europeans in Ethiopia. W. tried to use the CMS missionaries to make contact with European powers. He expressed a particular interest in obtaining craftsmen and military technology and sought assistance in resisting the extension of Turko-Egyptian power into ↗Red Sea coastal lands over which he claimed suverainty. He wrote to Louis Philippe of ↗France (cp. ↗Lefebvre) and to Queen Victoria and, later, to Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte (RubActa I, nos. 32, 88, 132, 143; cp. 39; Appleyard et al. 1985, no. 25). Following an abortive attempt, in 1841, to send a letter to Queen Victoria (Appleyard et al. 1985, no. 11 = RubActa I, no. 38), W. wrote again in 1849, helped by the British consul, Walter ↗Plowden (s. Appleyard et al. 1985, no. 12 = RubActa I, 121), and again in 1852, together with *ras* Ali (Appleyard et al. 1985, no. 25).

The CMS representatives roused strong opposition from the Ethiopian Orthodox clergy and W. expelled them in 1838 (RubInd 75f.; cp. ↗Isenberg; ↗Krapf). Their place was quickly filled by Catholic missionaries, notably De ↗Jacobis, whom W. cultivated. The Catholics promoted the influence of France, despite the persistent coolness of the French government towards contact with Ethiopia. By chance, W. received a small number of French fire-arms in 1843 (RubInd 104).

In the early 1840s, W. made a second, this time successful, attempt to acquire a new metropolitan, *abunä* ↗Sälama III, from Alexandria. At about this time he apparently also explored the possibility of manufacturing cannons in Ethiopia (RubActa I, no. 37), and may also have created the paraphernalia with which he would declare himself *nəguś* (CrumLand 160). Sälama's presence strengthened W. in his looming conflict with the new Wärräsek Yäǧǧu ruler, *ras* ↗Ali Alula. The metropolitan arrived towards the end of 1840 and in February 1841, W., now allied with Bərru Goššu of Goggam and *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs III marched on Däbrä Tabor (CRNuov 380, 381; RubInd 94). Despite Sälama's excommunication of Ali, the latter overcame an initial setback to emerge victorious (RubInd 94). Sälama was transferred to Gondär and W., retaining his control over northern Ethiopia, slowly re-built his relations with Ali.

In the meantime, tension mounted in the coastal region and, in 1844, the Egyptians replaced the Ottomans. The Egyptians wanted control of ↗Sawākin and Massawa, which was formally granted by the Ottoman *sulṭān* in 1846 (RubInd 116). Egyptian penetration into W.'s territory was answered by W. raiding ↗Bogos and the lowland towards ↗Kassala. In 1847 Ḥərgigo came under the control of the Egyptians, who installed their own governor (RubInd 117; cp. RubActa I, no. 98). W. had looked to the European powers for help in dealing with the Ottomans and the Egyptians, but was deeply disappointed by the French, who, represented by their consul, Alexandre Degoutin, provided no help in solving the problem. This feeling was aggravated two years later by the failure of a treaty prepared by Degoutin's successor Eugène Rolland (RubActa I, no. 131). The treaty would have granted the French a vague "protectorate" over Ethiopia's coastal lands in return for one thousand muskets and two cannons, but became a dead letter when the French failed to ratify it (RubInd 109–14, 125ff.). Accompanying these diplomatic frustrations were the expulsions from W.'s territory of the two Catholic missionaries, Guglielmo ↗Massaja and Giustino De ↗Jacobis. Massaja was a bishop, who ordained some of De Jacobis's disciples to the priesthood. Learning this, *abunä* Sälama, again in Təgray, having been expelled from Gondär in 1846, issued an anathema, which led to Massaja's expulsion in 1847. The expulsion of De Jacobis followed in 1848 (CrumMis 69f.). In 1849, W. troops attacked Ḥərgigo and looted Catholic settlements, esp. ↗Əmkullu, where the French consul had his house. W. had equal grounds for dissatisfaction with the British, who, in 1849 responded unfavourably to W.'s letter of that year (s. Appleyard et al. 1985: 73f. no. 15; RubInd 128).

Meanwhile, the domestic political scene was being transformed by the challenge to *ras* Ali from *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu (the future *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II). Throughout the wars, which accompanied the rise of Kaśa, W. remained loyal to Ali. After Ali's defeat by Kaśa in 1854, W. agreed to pay tribute to the latter, but Kaśa demanded surrender. W.'s refusal led, in February 1855, to the battle of ↗Däräsge, W.'s residence in Səmen. W. lost this battle, and his son Əšäte was killed (CrNuov 409f.). Kaśa immediately had himself crowned as *nəguśä nägäśt* in the church of ↗Däräsge Maryam. This church was W.'s principal foundation and had been built for him some years before by his European followers, ↗Schimper and ↗Zander.



The only known portrait of Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of Səmen and Təgray, from LefAbyss I, 228, plates, *Portraits* no. 2 (right)

W.'s life was spared, but he spent the rest of it as a prisoner at ↗Mäqdäla, where he died in 1867. After this defeat, his nephew ↗Nəguśe claimed to be his political heir and established himself for some time as a "counter-king", again cultivating French support (CrumMis 101–10). Tewodros II married W.'s daughter ↗Ṭəru Wärq, born to him by *wäyzäro* Laqiye (cp. Appleyard et al. 1985, nos. 28–29) and his lineage retained its political importance. He had three wives: Yäwärqwəha, Yäwärqmaru and Dənqənäš Säbagadis. One of his brothers was ↗Bəṭul Ḫaylä Maryam, whose lineage played a central role in early 20th cent. Ethiopian politics.

Src.: DAVID L. APPLEYARD et al. (ed., tr.), *Letters from Ethiopian Rulers* (*Early and Mid-nineteenth Century*), Oxford 1985 (Oriental Documents 9); BTafA 441ff., 451ff., 988, s. index; DONALD CRUMMEY – GETATCHEW HAILE, "*Abunä* Sälama. Metropolitan of Ethiopia, 1841–1867: a New Geʿez Biography", *JES* 37, 1, 2004, 5–40; CRReal s. index; CRNuov s. index; GueCopMen 197f., s. index; LefAbyss I, 228, ill. [plates, *Portraits* no. 2 (right)]; ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869, 53, 55, 64, 66, 72; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*: *Being Notes Collected During Three Year's Residence and Travels in that Country*, London 1853, vol. 1, 181–95; RubActa I, xx; nos. 32, 37–38, 43, 82, 87–88, 98, 120–21, 131–33, 143, 159–60, 165, 173, s. index; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country with an Account of a Mission to Ras Ali in 1848*, London 1868 [repr. 1972], esp. 379–90.

Lit.: AbPrince s. index; CrumLand 153f., 157, 160, s. index; CrumMis s. index; RubInd, passim; RubTew s. index; TADDESE BEYENE – RICHARD PANKHURST –

SHIFERAW BEKELE (eds.), *Kasa and Kasa*: *Papers on the Lives, Times and Images of Téwodros II and Yohannes IV* (*1855–1889*), Addis Ababa 1990; TSTarik IV, 408–13, 423–29; ZEWDE GABRE SELLASIE, “Webé”, in: *EncAfr* 146f.

Denis Nosnitsin

Wəč̣ale

W. (**ውጫሌ**, 1,800 m A.S.L.) is the capital of the ↗Ambassäl *wäräda* of South-Wällo zone, Amara *kəlləl*. It is located on the Däse-Wäldəya road in the upper valley of the ↗Millee, a tributary of the Awaš River, and is overlooked in the west by the mountainous edge (3,200 m A.S.L.) of the highlands which separate the plateau from the ↗Abbay River basin.

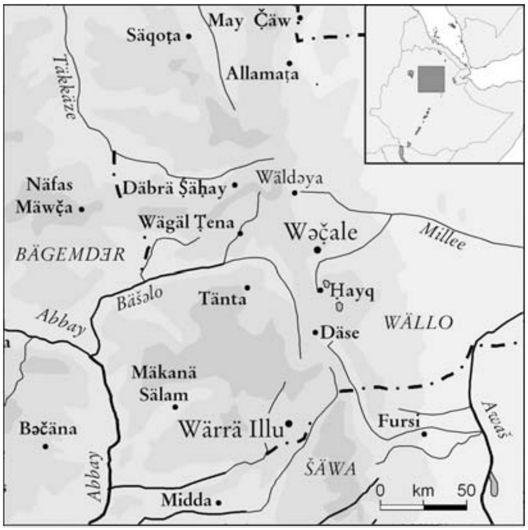
The W. area became known internationally when on 2 May 1889 the ↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce, the “W. Treaty”, was signed here (↗Treaties and conventions, s. EAE vol. 5). The foundation and the expansion of W. town are relatively recent; in 1938 the Italian *Guida* and maps only mention an inhabited area called Ambassäl and W. as the name of an Oromo group.

The Wällo famines of the 1970s and 1980s impeded the growth of the town: in the 1984 census there were 703 inhabitants but 3,934 inhabitants by the time of the 1994 census. According to recent estimations its population is 6,505 inhabitants (CSA 2004) or 7,134 inhabitants, probably due to the increase of traffic on the Addis Abäba–Mäqälä highway. Today’s W. has a few shops and public services (mainly schools).

Src.: CSA 1984; CSA 1998; CSA 2000; CSA 2004; CSA 2008; CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell’Africa Orientale Italiana, scala 1:1 000 000*, Carta n° 2, Milano n.d.; EMAtlas; *Guida* 320.

Lit.: DESSALEGN RAHMATO, *Famine and Survival Strategies*: *a Case Study from Northeast Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1991, 38f., 47–114; MESFIN WOLDE MARIAM, *Suffering under Gods’ Environment. A Vertical Study of the Predicament of Peasants in North-Central Ethiopia*, Bern 1991, 27, 29, 56, 92, 113.

Alain Gascon



Wəddase amlak

The W.a. (**ውዳሴ፡ አምላክ**, ‘Praise of God’) is a collection of ↗prayers meant exclusively for personal devotion.

The W.a. is divided into seven sections, one for each day of the week. Each section starts with a reference to a Church father and ends with a doxology. Monday’s prayer is ascribed to ↗Basil of Caesarea. Tuesday’s and Wednesday’s prayers are said to be taken from homilies of ↗Efrem the Syrian. Thursday starts with the words of John Saba (s. ↗*Arägawi Mänfäsawi*), and ↗Pachomius is mentioned later on in the text. Friday’s prayer is attributed to ↗Shenute. Saturday’s prayer comes from Coptic hymns ascribed to ↗Athanasius of Alexandria. Sunday’s prayer is linked to writings of ↗Cyril of Alexandria. The names of the Church Fathers are most probably pseudonymous, and should be regarded as such unless further studies prove the contrary.

The W.a. abounds in parallel, repetitive, or rhythmic prayers like **ስብሐት፡ ለከ** …፤ **ስብሐት፡ ለከ** … (*Səbḥat läkä* …; *Səbḥat läkä* …, ‘Praise be to You …; Praise be to You …;’) or **መሐረኒ፡ ኦእግዚእየ** …፤ **መሐረኒ፡ ኦእግዚእየ** … (*Mäḥaränni oʾəgziʾəyä* …; *Mäḥaränni oʾəgziʾəyä* …, ‘Have mercy upon me, Oh my Lord …; Have mercy upon me, Oh my Lord …’). Unlike such compositions as, e.g., ↗*Arganonä Maryam*, the W.a. has very few metaphors and symbols, whereas comparisons with Biblical events and figures are plentiful.

God is portrayed as merciful Creator; his wrath is far away and forgiveness abundant. This is accompanied by Biblical references. Many prayers are also addressed to Jesus, with the use of many epithets, such as the “tree of life”, “sweet fruit”, “comforter of monks”, etc.

The prayers contain praises, but also petitions and implorations (cp. ↗Litanies; ↗*Məḥəlla*). The petitions refer to different N.T. figures mainly in conjunction with requesting the mercy of Jesus.

Monks and ecclesiastics may replace the W.a. with more fitting prayers, e.g. ↗*Askema*, W.a. being the choice of the laymen.

The dating of the W.a. is difficult. Some abrupt changes such as the sudden shift from "I" to "we", or from "God" to "Mary" in Friday's prayer could support the hypothesis of a compilation.

The W.a. has not been studied thoroughly by scholars. Zanetti (1995: 92 n. 95) identified the Arabic and the Syriac versions of the W.a. and hypothesizes that the Arabic text, entitled *Al-kitāb al-muḫtar min ṭalabāt al-abrār* ('The Chosen Book [made] from the Biddings of the Just') and possibly composed in Egypt, is the *Vorlage*. A comparison of the Ethiopic text with the Arabic and the Syriac ones remains a desideratum. One should speak of a compilation rather than of a composition. The earliest manuscripts date to 16th–17th cent.: EMML no. 8153, BN éth. 89, Princeton Garrett Ethiopic 40.

Src.: EMML nos. 1432, 8153 [not catalogued]; CRAbb 131, no. 99 [ms. Abbadie 198]; ZotBNat 89f., ms. Éth. 89; SixDeu 199, no. 79 [ms. So 153 UB Bonn]; ms. Princeton Garrett Ethiopic 40; LöfUpp 43–44, no. 14; **ውዳሴ፡ አምላክ** (*Wəddase amlak*, 'Praise of God' [in Amh.]), Addis Abäba 1991.

Lit.: EMML IV, 519f.; Sylvain Grébaut, "Les manuscrits éthiopiens de M.É. Delorme: **ውዳሴ፡ አምላክ።** Weddâsê 'Amlâk. Prières pour châque jour de la semaine", *ROC* 2e sér. 7 [17], 1912, 128–32; Ugo Zanetti, "Bohairic Liturgical Manuscripts", *OrChrP* 61, 1995, 65–94, here 92 n. 95.

Daniel Assefa

Wəddase Maryam

W.M. (**ውዳሴ፡ ማርያም**, 'Praise of Mary') is the short title of a famous office of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC), the complete title of which is **ውዳሴ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ** (*Wəddase əgzəᵓtənä Maryam dəngəl wäladitä amlak*, 'Praise of our Lady Mary, the virgin genitrix of God'), one of the three offices for St. ↗Mary, the other being the ↗*Anqäṣä bərhan* and ↗*Argänonä Maryam*.

W.M. consists of blessings and praise of the Mother of God and intercessions to her. It is divided into seven parts for each weekday. In some manuscripts, the lection for Sunday is the first, in others the lection for Monday, but this difference does not constitute two textual traditions.

Ethiopian tradition attributes the W.M. to ↗Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373) or to a Simeon the Potter (Syr. *qūqāyā*, Gəᶜəz *läbḥawi*), a Syrian poet of the 5th/6th cent., and claims that it was introduced into Ethiopia already in Aksumite times (Cowley 1980: 43). In the Acts of St. ↗Yared, the two persons are confused as Ephrem the Potter (*Efrem läbḥawi*, cf. CerMaria 296). These ascriptions are hardly tenable. Although the style resembles hymns of Ephrem to a certain degree, and also the "Potter-Songs", no possible *Vorlage* in Ephrem's extant works has been identified, and also in the Syriac songs attributed to Simeon (*qūqāyāṯā*, 'Potter-Songs') only some similarities can be found. Sources of the W.M. can be found in a famous Coptic *Theotokion*, extant in a Bohairic version (O'Leary 1950). In the *Theotokia* influence of Ephrem's hymns as well as Greek and Byzantine models can be traced. From the Coptic *Theotokion*, an Arabic translation must have been made. The Arabic version became the source of the Ethiopic W.M. It was probably translated in the second half of the 14th cent. by *abba* ↗Sälama the Translator, or on his behalf. That a non-extant Arabic intermediary must have existed is proved by several inconsistencies in the Ethiopic text that can only be explained by translation mistakes from an Arabic text (GrohHymn 10).

The W.M. became very popular. Manuscripts of the W.M. abound and can be found in all libraries. In many manuscripts and prints (e.g., Aśmära 1956), it is included in the appendices of the ↗Psalter, together with the Biblical canticles, the *Anqäṣä bərhan*, etc. The W.M. was also included in the second part of the ↗*Məᶜəraf* (VelMe I, 76–91 = II, 286–96). There is an ↗*andəmta* commentary on the W.M., because it is an obligatory part of the teaching in the ↗*mäṣḥaf bet*.

The importance of the W.M. for the EOTC can hardly be exaggerated. It became influential also for other liturgies such as the ↗Anaphora of Ps.-Cyriacus of Behnesa (Böll 1998: 19–24), the *Wəddase wägənay läᵓəmmä Adonay* ('Praise and Thank for the Mother of the Lord'), which is based on it and the *Arganonä Maryam*.

Src.: Karl Fries (ed., tr.), **ውዳሴ፡ ማርያም**. *Weddâsê Mârjâm. Ein äthiopischer Lobgesang an Maria*, Leipzig 1892; Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (tr.), *Legends of Our Lady Mary the Perpetual Virgin and Her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1922, 279–96; VelMe I, 76–91 (ed.) = II, 286–96 (French tr.); **መዝሙራት፡ ዘዳዊት፤ ስብሐታተ፡ ሙሴ፡ ወዘነቢያት፤ መኃልያተ፡ ሰሎምን፤ ሰአሊ፡ ለነ፡ ማርያም፤ ውዳሴ፡ ማርያም፡ ምስለ፡ አንቀጸ፡ ብርሃን** (*Mäzmurat zädawit, Səbḥatatä Muse wäzänäbiyyat, Mäḫaləyatä Sälomon, Säᵓali länä Maryam, Wəddase Maryam məslä Anqäṣä bərhan* [etc.], 'Psalms of David, the Glories of Moses and the Prophets, the Songs of Solomon, Pray for us Mary, Praise of Mary with the Gate of the Light … [etc.]'), Aśmära 1956 A.M. [1964 A.D.], 434–67.

Lit.: GrohHymn 9–18; Sebastian Euringer, "Der mutmaßliche Verfasser der koptischen Theotokien und des äthiopischen Weddâsê Mârjâm", *OrChr* N.S. 1, 1911, 215–26; CerMaria 290–300; De Lacy O'Leary, "The Coptic Theotokia", in: *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing*

Crum, Washington, DC 1950, 417–20; GuiSLett 30f.; Emile Maher Ishaq, "Theotokion", in: *CE* vol. 7, 2254–55; Verena Böll, *'Unsere Herrin Maria': Die traditionelle äthiopische Exegese der Marienanaphora des Cyriacus von Behnesa*, Wiesbaden 1998 (AeF 48), s. index; Roger Wenman Cowley, "Patristic Introduction in the Ethiopian Andemta Commentary Tradition", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 29, 1980, 39–49.

Stefan Weninger

Wəddase mäsqäl

The W.m. (**ውዳሴ፡ መስቀል**, 'Praise of the Cross') is a hymnological composition (↗Hymns), attributed, according to well-established tradition, to the 15th-cent. *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla. The tradition is supported by the fact that the list of Giyorgis's works included in his Acts does mention the W.m. (Colin 1987: 22 [text]), as well as by the author's interest in the subject of the Cross, as illustrated by some passages in his *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśtir* (YaqMist I, 8 [text]).

The only extant witness of the W.m. known so far is the 16th-cent. ms. EMML 5041. The style of the text is similar to that of other works by Giyorgis of Sägla, esp. such as the ↗*Arganonä Maryam*, ↗*Ḫoḫətä bərhan* and ↗*Ǝnzirä səbḥat*. Interestingly, on fol. 32v the author uses the word **መጻዕርት** (*mäṣa^{c}ərt*, 'tortures'), otherwise only registered in the *Mäṣḥafä məśtir* (YaqMist I, 46 [text], cp. DillmLex 1304).

The W.m. begins with the usual opening prayer to the Cross composed as a rhyming hymn (fol. 5r), which is followed by a composition that alternates between simple prose and litany (fol. 5r–v).

Giyorgis's understanding of what the Cross and Christ's death on it mean to the Church and his symbolic interpretations of the event are presented in his usual eloquent language. E.g., he compares the Cross with "a dowry for the bride (i.e. the Christian Church) and a certificate of divorce for the one you left in the synagogue (i.e. ↗Judaism)" (fol. 53v).

The frequently employed word **ዕፅ** (^{c}*əṣ́*, lit. 'wood', 'tree', 'plant', 'herb') is a challenge to translate. Using only one of the English equivalents, e.g., 'wood', since it is often used in the phrase **ዕፀ፡ መስቀል** (^{c}*əṣ́ä mäsqäl*, 'wood of the Cross'), would cause the author's message to be lost because the word ^{c}*əṣ́* in different contexts signifies all four meanings. The option of alternating the English equivalents would be truer to the author's message, but results in inconsistency and in the loss of some of the beauty of the author's language.

The W.m. does not contain a discussion of Christological controversies as many other works by Giyorgis. It only presents a succinct and precise description of the ↗*Täwaḥədo* doctrine; opposing it to the teachings of ↗Nestorius and Eutyches. The formula of the W.m. (fol. 25r: "You [Christ] are our high priest anointed by the Father with the Holy Spirit") may have been used by the later followers of the ↗*Qəbat* (cp. Getatchew Haile 1990: vii–xiv).

The fact that the author used the phrase **ዕፀ፡ ኢሎቄ** (^{c}*əṣ́ä iloqe*, fol. 66v) for what in the Bible of today is rendered as **ሐረገ፡ ወይን** (*ḥarägä wäyn*, Gen 14:3) might suggest that the author's version of the Bible differs from the textus receptus. There are other such examples where the words in his biblical quotations differ from those in the Bible we use.

As a prayer book intended for daily prayer like the ↗*Wəddase Maryam* and his *Arganonä Maryam*, the W.m. is divided into the days of the week, and concludes, interestingly, just as his *Arganonä Maryam* does, with a solicitation of the blessings of the saints, from Adam to the present Christian community and a greeting (*sälam*) of 15 lines (fol. 75v).

Src.: Gérard Colin, *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Lovanii 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]), 22 (text) = 16 (tr.); DillmLex col. 1304; EMML no. 5041; Getatchew Haile, *The Faith* of *the Unctionists in the Ethiopian Church* (*Haymanot Mäsiḥawit*), Louvain 1990 (CSCO 517, 518 [SAe 91,92]), vii–xiv; LesCDic 544; YaqMist I, 8, 46 (text) = 5, 30 (tr.).

Getatchew Haile

Wəddase sämayawəyan wämədrawəyan

↗Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä

Wedding(s)

Throughout Ethiopia ↗marriages are made official and valid in the eyes of the surrounding society through a series of W. rituals. While the specifics of these acts vary widely from culture to culture, there are also certain widespread common features. As the rules of endogamy/exogamy and betrothal as well as types of marriages and W. in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church are treated in the articles "Marriage" and ↗Matrimony of this Encyclopaedia, this article focuses upon "traditional" forms of the W. ceremony itself which often no longer hold. In practice many elements of betrothal, particularly the giving and receiving of either bridewealth or dowry continue into the ceremony. (For "modern" W. popular in urban Ethiopia and the Diaspora s. Otnes – Pleck 2003.)

Although all arrangements between the families have usually been concluded before the W. ceremony begins, there are often rituals in which the handover of the bride is acted out either as a negotiation, ruse or capture. (The latter, in which the bride may be physically carried to her new home, is to be distinguished from actual cases of bride capture.) In a fashion reminiscent of the Biblical story of Rachel and Leah, the bride may at times be hidden among other girls of her age, secluded or kept behind a curtain. The groom or his representative must determine who is the true bride. Among ↗Amhara and ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel the **ሚዜ** (*mize*, 'best man') requests the bride from her father and only after some play-acting of refusal is allowed to take her to her groom (Shack 1974:33). Among the ↗Gurage the groom can only take his bride to his village, after his friends have bested hers in a ↗song duel (s. below).

Bride and groom are usually accompanied not only by family members, but also by friends and age-mates, who play a prominent part in the proceedings. Often these can be seen as the dramatization of a "battle" over the bride with sides being taken based on locality and/or gender. Among the Amhara and ↗Tǝgrǝññā-speakers, the groom spends the night before the W. with his best men, and does not participate in the pre-W. feast. These best men are sworn to protect the bride in her new home. A **ደንገጡር** (*dängäṭur*, 'bridesmaid') accompanies her to the groom's house. Among the ↗Kǝmant, the groom travels to the bride's homestead accompanied by his kin and eight fictive siblings. The oldest of these acts as his advisor, the youngest serves food and drink to the bride at the W. Here as well, the *mize* pledge to treat her (and the groom) as kin.

In southern Tǝgray the groom's age-mates bearing ↗shields and ↗spears used to accompany him to his bride's village where they broke into song. At the entrance to the village, they were met by young girls who confronted them and a "song duel" ensued. In some cases, young men from the village also appeared and staged a mock battle. Here too, the groom's mates took an oath to protect the bride. Young women from the groom's village greet the bride when she comes to her new home and the groom's companions remain for as long as a month. In ↗Ǝndärta, the groom is met along the way as he returns to his village with his bride and is obliged to perform a dance for women from his bride's village. In ↗Harär, it is the obligation of the groom's friends to symbolically guard the bride after she is brought to his homestead. His 'best man' *(mǝhis mäläq)* accompanies him when he goes to his parents' blessing.

Singing plays a major role in Ethiopian W. rituals. Among the Amhara the *mize* spend much of the morning after the W., singing ↗songs on the groom's behalf and acquiring ↗gifts of money, clothing and livestock for the couple. As was already noted, in some parts of southern Tǝgre the groom's age-mates and young girls from the bride's village engage is a song duel and when the bride reaches the groom's village girls from there "greet" her with vituperative songs. Such song duels are also common among the Gurage where close friends of the bride and of the groom compete in singing the praises of their clan through both traditional and impromptu verses. Among the Kǝmant, the groom sings war songs in return for payments, which appear to be vestiges of bridewealth. Songs of war and bravery are also sung as the *mize* bring the bride to the groom's homestead.

Among some Oromo groups, the bride's departure from her home is accompanied by songs which mourn her departure and instruct her regarding the duties of a wife including cleaning her husband's clothes, preparing and serving food, personal hygiene and refraining from gossip. Among the eastern Oromo songs celebrating the bride's purity are sung on the night of her arrival in her husband's village. In Harär, her friends follow behind the marriage procession, singing praise songs.

In cases in which particular importance is attached to the pre-marital virginity of the bride, the consummation of the marriage and her "deflowering" is an integral part of the W. ritual. Thus many Christian groups, including the Amhara prefer Sunday after nightfall for a W. To marry on Saturday would mean that the couple could not consummate their marriage that night, but only on Sunday evening since a husband cannot sleep with his virgin bride on Sunday. W. are also not scheduled for the period of fast days, particularly ↗Lent, and in the rainy season although in the latter case this is more a matter of logistics than piety connected to consummation. The blood-stained sheet displayed on her W. night, which proves both her virginity and

Wedding of Princess Ǝǧǧəgayyähu Asfa Wäsän with *däǧǧazmač* Fəqre Śəllase Habtä Maryam; photo from the collection of the IES

her husband's virility assume considerable importance. Reminick (1976:754) notes no less than 25 Amharic terms for defloration of a bride. If the groom is unable to overcome his bride alone one of his *mize* may assist in restraining her or even perform the act himself. According to some reports from Ǝndärta, the groom's chief friend (Tgn.: ዐርኪ፡ ርእሲ, *ʿarki rəʾəsi)* may remain in the hut "so the bride will not be afraid". In Harär, his role is to guard against the intrusion of outsiders. In many such regions a woman who is diagnosed not to be a virgin is returned to her parents. Among the eastern Oromo, the bride's purity is publicly announced on the day of her W. Today, the premium placed on bridal virginity has largely declined, especially in urban areas among the educated youth and many others.

↗Blood either symbolic or real often plays an important role in W. rituals. In some cases it is clearly an allusion to the issue of virginity. Thus the Betä Ǝsraʾel groom wears red and white coloured thread around his forehead during the W. ceremony. If it is discovered that his bride is not a virgin, he removes it and the marriage is annulled. The display of the 'blood cloth' (*nay däm čärqi*) or even its presentation to the bride's parents clearly has a similar import. However, the *rako* ('sacrifice') performed by the Šäwan Oromo, in which the groom slaughters an ox and her brother smears its blood on her belly and pudenda appears to be concerned not only with her virginity but with the newly formed ↗kinship links. Similarly among some eastern Oromo, the groom would pour blood from a sacrifice over the bride's breast and right foot, his own forehead and the centre post of the house. Here, and in the ↗Beni ʿAmər custom of marking the marriage house with blood (today red dye), the custom seems to be connected to "blood-ties" of kinship.

Feasting and other forms of commensality are yet another widespread feature of W. In this context it is useful to take note of situations in which the bride and groom do not eat together until after the W. ceremony is completed (Shack 1974:33, 85). This act is deeply ritualized in the bride and groom's participation in the ↗Eucharist while being wrapped into a single large garment. Among the ↗Konso (Hallpike 1972: 113), the feast is, in fact the only W. ritual, and the bride's family does not participate. Among most groups W. are a time for exorbitant feasting often far beyond the means of the families involved, in which each attempts to exceed its neighbours in generosity and the display of wealth. In addition and sometimes in lieu of gifts for the couple, guests may bring food and drink, including alcohol to be drunk and animals to be slaughtered.

As with other rites of passage (↗Birth, ↗Burial), Ethiopian W. have not been the subject of sufficient detailed ethnographic analysis (as opposed to description) or comparative study.

Src.: HuntGal; Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, London ^{2}1868, 255–68;

Lit.: CerPeople; Frederick C. Gamst, *The Qemant*: *a Pagan-Hebraic Peasantry of Ethiopia*, New York 1969, 110; Marcel Griaule, "Mythes, croyances et coutumes du Bégamder (Abyssinie)", *JA* 212, 1928, 87–97; Haile Michael Misginna, "Betrothal and Marriage Customs in Endarta", *University College of Addis Ababa, Ethnological Society Bulletin* 8, 1959, 49–61; Cele C. Otnes – Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Cinderella Dreams*: *the Allure of the Lavish Wedding*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA – London 2003, 219–27; Ronald A. Reminick, "The Symbolic Significance of Ceremonial Defloration among the Amhara of Ethiopia", *American Ethnologist* 3, 4, 1976, 751–63; William Alfred Shack, *The Central Ethiopians*: *Amhara, Tigriňa and Related Peoples*, London 1974 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa. North-eastern Africa 4); LewPeople 110ff., 138, 169f'; Craven Howell Walker, *The Abyssinian at Home*, London 1933, 23–41.

Steven Kaplan

Wədəm Räᶜad

Aṣe W.R. (**ውድም፡ ረዐድ**, also Wəd[d]əm Arᶜad; r. 1299–1314) was a son of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak and thus a brother of his predecessor on the throne *aṣe* ↗Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon. He was succeeded by ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon.

W.R.'s period of reign was relatively long, but there is little information on these years. However, they must have been far from peaceful. Taddesse Tamrat suggested that W.R. encountered some difficulties in Təgray, because in a land grant the *śəyyum* of ↗Ǝndärta referred to this province as his own kingdom (*mängəśtəyä*, CRDLib 199, l. 3; TadTChurch 73). Yet, in that document there is no indication as to the *śəyyum*'s failing to recognize the king's authority: on the contrary, W.R. is mentioned explicitly.

The attribution to the first year of W.R.'s reign of an agreement between the Christian king and *šayḫ* Muḥammad Abū ᶜAbdallāh (cp. TadTChurch 130) seems to be more convincing. According to the Coptic historiographer al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Fadāᵓil, W.R. succeeded, through a political intervention, in preventing a war with the *šayḫ*, who finally acknowledged the sovereignty of the Emperor, and received in exchange a region where he was authorized to settle with his followers (ed. Blochet 1929: 56ff.).

An indication concerning the problems W.R. had to face is related to ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos. From the documents preserved in the Gospel of ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa (EMML no. 1832, fol. 25), it is clear that W.R. withdrew royal support from this monastic community, for he confiscated its land. The reasons for that are not given, but Däbrä Ḥayq's close relationship with both W.R.'s predecessor (Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon) and successor (ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon), may point here to a power struggle.

The Chronicle of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon mentions his opposition to queen Žan Mängäśa, W.R.'s wife (MarAmdS 54f. and n. 1). The Acts of ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓel also allude to a conflict between this saint and ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon concerning W.R.'s marriage. According to this source, ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon claimed to be not a son but a nephew of W.R., his real father being Qədmä Sägädä, another son of Yəkunno Amlak (Conti Rossini 1905: 20). In the Acts of ↗Filəp̣p̣os of Däbrä Libanos, however, ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon only insists that W.R.'s wife was not his mother (Turaiev 1908: 209). This controversy may be another indication of the acute succession struggle after W.R.'s death.

Western sources mention W.R. in connection with the famous *Letter* of ↗Prester John; and record an embassy he sent to the "king of Spain" in 1310 ca., which passed through Genoa (↗Italy), and was thereby instrumental to fostering the actual knowledge of Ethiopia in contemporary Europe (s. Fiaccadori 2009: 29).

Src.: Carlo Conti Rossini, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta s. Baṣalota Mikāᵓēl et s. Anorewos* (*seu Acta s. Honorii*), Louvain 1905 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe 11, 12]), 20 (text) = 29f. (tr.); CRDLib 199; BassÉt I, 10 (text) = II, 99 (tr.); BégCron 5; DombrChr 153 (tr.); EMML no. 1832; FotiCr 91; MarAmdS 54f., n. 1; Moufazzal Ibn Abil-Fazaïl, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, ed., tr. by Edgar Blochet, Paris 1929 (PO 20, 1), 56ff.; Borissus Turaiev (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, II. *Acta s. Aaronis et Philippi*, Louvain 1908 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 209 (text) = 188 (tr.).

Lit.: Enrico Cerulli, "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 3, 1943, 272–94 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80], here 281–84; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Venezia, l'Europa e l'Etiopia", in: Giuseppe Barbieri – Gianfranco Fiaccadori (eds.), *Nigra sum sed formosa. Sacro e bellezza dell'Etiopia cristiana (Venezia, Ca' Foscari, 13 marzo–10 maggio 2009)*, Vicenza 2009, (26) 27–48, here 29; Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Däbrä Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 92f., 95; TadTChurch 72f., 130ff., 173, 178; Id., "Problems of Royal Succession in 15th Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 503ff.

Marie-Laure Derat

Weedduu

W. (lit.: 'praise') is a panegyric genre of the ↗Oromo oral arts (↗Oromo [oral] literature). It is the generic name for folksongs (↗Songs) that are used to praise Man and objects. An Oromo mother praises her god for giving her a baby with the *weedduu/sossoba daaᵓimmanii* (i.e. lullaby), the cattle keeper praises his cattle and the God that made him the possessor of cattle through *weedduu loowwanii* (i.e. cattle praising songs). The adherents of the Oromo traditional ↗religion praise ↗Waaqa with W. Likewise, the followers of Islamic ↗holy men use the genre to express their feelings and beliefs; thus among the ↗Arsi of ↗Bale there are a wide variety of W. said in praise of ↗Soof Omar and *šayḫ* Ibrāhīm. Similarly, a lover expresses his/her admiration and glorification of the beauty and character of his/her beloved through *weedduu ǧaalala* ('love songs').

W. also function to account for the social and historical realities of the world. Like modern songs, the W. carry various messages. The multiplicity and dynamism of the messages embedded in a W. can be accounted for through critical discourse analysis. For instance, the Oromo women say W. when they are engaged in time-consuming chores such as grinding cereals, churning milk and cementing floors. In such a situation, the primary role of the W. is to ease the pain caused by the drudgery. However, practical usage shows that Oromo women use the same oral art to offer social and political comment. They use it, for instance, to express their acceptance or repudiation of their social role and position in the family and society. A good example of the use of W. as a means to comment on the sociopolitical and cultural lives of a society is found in ↗Boorana. The Boorana women used a W. version called *karrile* to disapprove of or to reject the injustices men impose on them individually or in groups (AsmGada). *Karrile* is also used to admire the political and military achievements of members of the society.

A lullaby can carry multiple meanings (for an Arsi lullaby s. Jeylan Woliye Hussein 2004); one is that Oromo parents, particularly mothers, find social, economic and psychological empowerment in their children. The other meaning of the lullaby is the different values the Oromo society sees in male and female children, particularly the belief that males are superior. The lullaby can be used under different social and psychological circumstances. It may be used by a mother who is proud of bearing sons in order to irritate those whom she thinks are conniving against her. Again, one can use the same lullaby as an advice for parents/mothers who do not have male children so that they may think of having some either through natural birth or through ↗*guddifačaa*. The lullaby also potentially expresses regret for a woman who wants to lament her "failure" to give birth to a son.

Lit.: Jeylan Woliye Hussein, "A Cultural Representation of Women in the Oromo Society", *African Study Monographs* 25, 3, 2004, 103–47; AsmGada.

Jeylan Woliye Hussein

Weinzinger, Erich Karl Wilhelm

W. (b. 31 July 1888, Vienna, d. 17 August 1960, Vienna) was an Austrian consular official, publisher and businessman. He was a son of Carl Hallasch and Berta Weinzinger. He attended school in Krems, Austria, and Zurich. W. studied at the École des Langues Orientales in Paris in 1908/1909 and at the École des Sciences Politiques. Spending 1909/1910 in Harär he became a friend and teacher of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), who later was to promote his career.

In 1911/12 W. was employed at the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Constantinople; and then moved to Zurich in 1912, where he published a journal for the consular service, and worked at the Turkish Consulate in Zurich. In the same year he married his first wife Margit Comentinger from whom he was divorced in 1952.

In 1917, he offered his services as expert on Ethiopia to the Imperial German Foreign Office. After ↗World War I W. returned to Ethiopia as director of the Trieste-based company "Agrumaria". He was honorary consul of Austria in Addis Abäba from 1 July 1924 to 20 October 1927. In 1926, W. started to publish the only international newspaper on Ethiopia, *Correspondence d'Ethiopie*, published in Vienna, Hannover and Paris, carrying articles on Ethiopia in English, German and French. In 1927 W. resigned his post as Austrian honorary consul and became press advisor to the Ethiopian Government, a post he held until the end of 1930; at the same time he was also writing "anti-British" articles for French newspapers like *Éclaireur du Soir*. After 1930 he lived in Zurich, Vienna and Addis Abäba. In 1932 he returned to Vienna as journalist and in 1935 moved to Athens. In ↗World War II W. apparently worked for the German intelligence service in Jerusalem, until he was deported to Kenya by British authorities after the Nazi-inspired failed coup d'état by Rashid al-Gailani in Baghdad; in Kenya he had to work on a plantation. He reentered Ethiopia in 1946 and lived as businessman in Addis Abäba where he also married his second wife Maria in 1956. He stayed in Ethiopia until 1960.

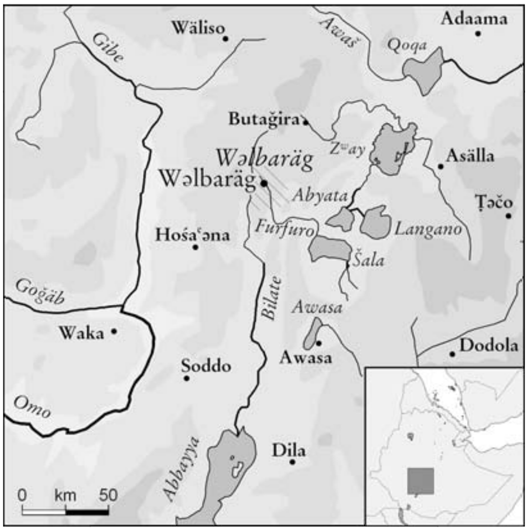
Src.: Austrian State Archive; Municipal and Provincial Archive of Vienna/estate proceedings Weinzinger; "Etudes sur le Guragié par Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet", Vienna 1913; *Rundschau des Auswärtigen Dienstes. Erstes Fachblatt für Konsularwesen und den diplomatischen Dienst aller Staaten*, Zürich – Bern; *Correspondence d'Ethiopie*.

Lit.: Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopia and Austria: a History of their Relations*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 35); Rudolf Agstner, "The Relations between Austria and Ethiopia 1850–2007", *Austrian Embassy Addis Abeba Occasional Paper* 3, 2007, 3–89.

Rudolf Agstner

Wəlbaräg

The name W. (**ውልባረግ**, Wulbaräg, Hulbaräg, Ulbaräg; in the literature also Urbarag, Ulbaraga, Urbaragh, Urbarak, Oulbaragué) designates an



area and a little town situated in today's Daloča *wäräda* of Səlṭe *zone*. W. is also an alternative name of the Mälga sub-group of Səlṭe (↗Səlṭi). Linguists named the southernmost variant of the Səlṭi language, which is very similar to the ↗Ǝnnäqor variant, "Ulbarag".

In the genealogies of most subunits the W. or Mälga are traced back to Mälgageᵓlo and his alleged forefather *šayḫ* ↗Abādir ʿUmar ar-Riḍā. It is also claimed that Mälgageᵓlo was a father-in-law of the Səlṭi ancestor *ḥağği* Aliye. Another important ancestor is *imām* Side (↗Śidi) who links the Mälga with their traditional allies, the ↗Allaaba. Oral tradition claims that Mälgageᵓlo was a smith (*qurqura*). However, the Mälga traditionally were agriculturists, and to some extend pastoralists, while iron work was done by non-Mälga.

After their 16th-cent. migration from ↗Čärčär into former ↗Wäğ, the W. reached the Gurage highlands. They settled there, until at the end of the 18th cent. population pressure forced them to leave. Constantly in conflict with the pastoralist groups of ↗Libido, ↗Arsi and Šaašoogo ↗Hadiyya, they established, during the 19th cent., their territory in today's W. After the Ethiopian conquest they, together with other Səlṭi-speakers, expanded further into the historical districts of Sankura and southern Ṭora.

W. town is situated at the crossroads of important trade routes from Šäwa and Arsi to ↗Kambaata and ↗Wälaytta as well as, along the River Bilate, to the former Sidamo province. Merchants from W. were known for the trade in slaves and in coffee. The *kätäma* of W. was established in 1896 by *däǧǧazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Abatä Bʷayaläw at a ford of the Furfuro River where *balabbat* Šafi Awwäl already had founded the market of Kerate.

Src.: fieldnotes of the author, Səlṭe, 2003, 2004, 2005; AbbGeogr 93, 155f.; Antonio Cecchi, *Fünf Jahre in Ost-Afrika*, 1888, 123f.; Leopold Traversi, *Viaggi negli arussi, guraghi, ecc., con alcuni schizzi ed una carta*, Roma 1887, 123f., Montagu Sinclair Wellby, *Twixt Sirdar & Menelik. An Account of a Year's Expedition from Zeila to Cairo through Unknown Abyssinia*, London – New York 1901, 136ff.

Lit.: BrHad 118f., 124, 179, 183–94 [Lit.]; Dirk Bustorf, "*Aṣe* Zäᵓra Yaʿəqobs Kinder. Spuren der Vorbevölkerung von Səlṭe-Land", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 23–48; Id., *Die Səlṭe. Geschichte, Geschichtserzählung und Geschichtsbewusstsein eines muslimischen Volkes im südlichen Zentral-Äthiopien*, Ph.D. thesis, University Hamburg 2009 [Lit.]; Id., "*Imam* Sugato Zäyni: a War-lord of the Selt'é Gogot", in: *PICES* 16, 70–81; Ma koto Nishi, "Making and Unmaking of the National-State and Ethnicity in Modern Ethiopia: a Study on the History of the Silte People", *African Study Monographs, Supplementary Issue* 29, 2005, 157–68.

Dirk Bustorf

Wəllağ

The term W. (ውላጅ) refers to the half-caste offspring of a highland Ethiopian and one of the black-skinned peoples of the western lowlands known to the highlanders as ↗*šanqəlla*. During the 17th and 18th cent., W. designated regiments of half-caste soldiers armed with bows and arrows, lances, and firearms who served as personal guards of the emperors in ↗Gondär. Units of W. soldiers are first mentioned in 1689 when they accompanied *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I on a military campaign, but they probably existed well before then as the number of half-castes grew when slaving (↗Slavery) increased along the western borderland beginning in the early 17th cent.

The chronicles have little to say about them until the early 18th cent., by which time the W. had become a veritable praetorian guard deeply involved in royal successions. In 1716 and again in 1721, they thwarted the plans of high-ranking nobles to select the next candidate for the throne. In control of the castle grounds, they proclaimed their own candidates and won over the populace of Gondär to their nominations (↗Dawit in 1716 and ↗Bäkaffa in 1721).

By the early 1720s, however, the W. had become insolent and were notorious for murder, rape and rapine in Gondär. When in May 1723 they were allegedly involved in a plot to murder Bäkaffa (BruNile II, 600), the Emperor banished them from Gondär. When the W. decided to return in defiance of his orders, Bäkaffa sent loyal ↗Oromo regiments who massacred almost all of them, much to the relief of the people of Gondär. According to James ↗Bruce, this was the end of the W. guard units, and, indeed, they are not mentioned hereafter in the chronicles. But as Bruce makes clear, black soldiers still served as royal guards in the later 18th cent., e.g., a 300-strong "black horse" regiment. Many probably were half-caste W., but by then royal guard units were no longer known by that name.

↗Army

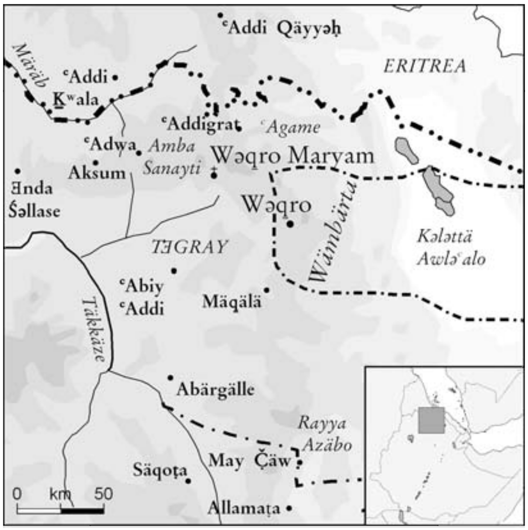
Src.: BassÉt II, 190–93, 198; BegCron 96f., 103ff.; BruNile II, 551f., 558, 571–76, 591–94, 600; III, 228, 266, 310; IV, 260–63; DombrChr 261f. (tr.), 270f., 276; GuiIohan 134, 292ff., 303f. (tr.); GuiVoc 559.

LaVerle B. Berry

Wəq̱ro

W. (**ውቕሮ**, also **ውቅሮ** Wəqro, related to the Ethio-Semitic root *wäqärä* [Təgr. *wäq̱ärä*] 'to carve, to hew', i.e. 'rock-hewn [church]') is a roadside town (13° 48' N, 39° 36' E; 26,131 inhabitants in 2004, s. CSA 2004) and administrative centre in the Eastern Təgray Zone, on the route connecting ↗Mäq̱älä with ↗^{c}Addigrat. Historically it belonged to ↗Ṣ́əraʾ province. W. lies on the ancient eastern Təgrayan trade route linking the ↗Red Sea via Akkälä Guzay, ^{c}Agamä with inner Ethiopia (Lasta). Approximately half of the inhabitants are Orthodox Christians, with a small Catholic minority, and half are Muslims.

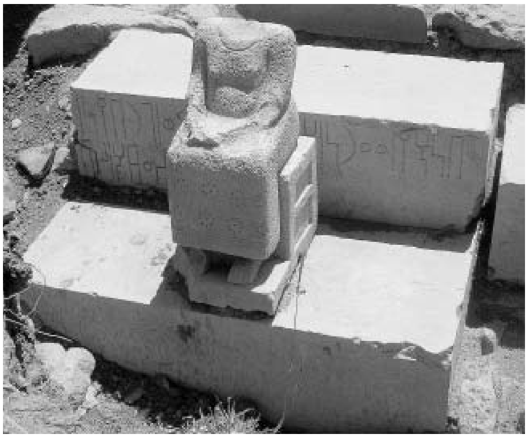
Historically, W. belonged to the originally larger ↗Dängolo village; W. was only the toponym used for the rural area surrounding the medieval rock-hewn church of Č̣ärqos Wəq̱ro, which is situated above the River Gudbaḥri. The church is also called Ǝnda Č̣ərqos [locally, Č̣ärqos] or, seldom, Č̣ərqos [Č̣ärqos] Maryam, referring to both of its most important *tabots* (Amh. Wəqro Qirqos; on this church, cf. Dängolo).



After an asphalt street was built in the 1930s, passing nearby the church, this area quickly developed into a town, which took the name of W. It was administratively separated from Dängolo village, with the *qalay* Ṭäli (or *gäräb* W.), which irrigates the surrounding fields, serving as the boundary. In the period of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana W. became the administrative centre of the Italian Residenza; later in Ḫaylä Śəllase's time it served as the administrative centre of ↗Kələttä Awla^{c}əlo *awraǧǧa* and today of Wəq̱ro *wäräda*. In the 1990s, industrial enterprises, including a tannery, were established there. It is also the seat of a Catholic mission that manages a school.

In older sources, the toponym W. appears repeatedly; in some cases it may refer to Č̣ärqos Wəq̱ro with its *g^{w}əlt* lands, in others it may mean other areas such as Wəq̱ro Märay near Aksum, ↗Wəq̱ro Maryam or others. The Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum, for example, testifies to the pur-ported donation of W. "in ↗Säḥart" (i.e., rather in Ǝndärta) by the Aksumite ruler ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl in favour of ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima (CRAxum 21 [tr.], no. 3), the donation of "Däbr Ǝnda W." by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Ya^{c}əqob in favour of *abba* Iyosyas (ibid. 29, no. 18), and the endowment to the church of "W. Kidanä məḥrät" by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis for his own commemoration (ibid. 71, no. 83). The Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos reports that he was defeated by the Oromo at the battle of W. in December 1607 (PerChron, ch. 117, 119).

According to Eritrean oral traditions collected by Kolmodin (KolTrad I, 20, II, 16, 251), W. "in Ḥaḥaylä" is the ancient place of origin of several Təgrəñña subgroups who migrated to Eritrea (Kälkälti, Wäq̱ärti and Šəlälä; cp. also Conti Rossini 1942: 162, 189, nn. 12–13). Nowadays' local oral tradition reports that the church had been burnt either by the 16th cent. ruler ↗Ga^{c}əwa (popularly, but erroneously identified with the 10th cent. queen "Gudit" or ↗Esato) or by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Lepage – Mercier 2005: 87; Smidt 2009: 135). Ga^{c}əwa is said to have been killed "by God" in punishment for her deeds near W. Local tradition locates her grave, called Ga^{c}əwa Mäq̱abər ('grave of Ga^{c}əwa'), on a



Ethio-Sabaic figurine as discovered in December 2007 in the site Mäq̱abər Ga^{c}əwa, Wəq̱ro district; photo 2008, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

ruin hill in the area of the village ^{c}Addi Akawəḥ in the south-western outskirts of W. (also ^{c}Addi Kawəḥ, s. Godet 1977:35).

An excavation of Ga^{c}əwa Mäq̱abər, initiated by the Tigray Tourism and Culture Commission (TCC) in 2007, unearthed not the grave of this ruler, but several much more ancient, partially inscribed, objects; this was followed by excavations directed by the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) and the University of Jena in collaboration with the TCC starting from October 2008, revealing an Ethio-Sabaic temple. In 2009 more ancient structures of another building under that temple were found. The findings of 2007 included five, partially fragmentary, Ethio-Sabaic inscriptions of about the 6th to 8th cent. B.C., which makes W. one of the most important Ethio-Sabaic sites in north-eastern Africa. In the centre of the temple there is a libation altar, still in situ, with a fine inscription mentioning the name of a king, and linked to the cult of ↗Almaqah. In addition, a female statue (of the same type as the one of ↗^{c}Addi Gälämo, and also resembling the one of ↗Ḥawəlti), fragments of copper alloy work, votive figurines, incense burners, miniature vessels, and potsherds were found. The excavations showed that in a later period, a part of the then already half-buried temple was used for another local pre-Christian cult.

In addition, the church of Abba Gärima ^{c}Addi Akawəḥ, situated on the site of an alleged former palace of *aṣe* ↗^{c}Amdä Ṣəyon on the adjacent hill, keeps three Ethio-Sabaic altars with inscriptions linked with the kingdom of ↗D^{c}MT (in the 1970s only two were known, s. Godet 1977:35). The area south and south-west of W. hosts a number of ruin hills, which have yet not been excavated.

The existence of a high-quality fragmentary Cufic Arabic inscription of around the 10th cent., which seems to have belonged to a representative Muslim building, possibly a mosque or a minaret, is seemingly the earliest material witness to Islamic presence along the trade route of W. after the end of the Aksumite kingdom (Smidt 2009). The inscription is kept at Č̣ärqos Wəq̱ro (↗Inscriptions, Arabic).

Src.: Carlo Conti Rossini, *Proverbi tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942 (Collezione scientifica e documentaria dell'Africa italiana 5), here 162, 189, nn. 12–13; CRAxum 21, 29, 71 (docs. nos. 3, 18, 83); CSA 2004; HuntLand 30, 36, 73; KolTrad I–II; PerChron, ch. 117, 119; interviews with priests of Č̣ärqos Wəq̱ro, July 2004; priests of Abba Gärima ^{c}Addi Akawəḥ, March 2008.

Lit.: CRStor 311; Eric Godet, "Repertoire de sites pré-axoumites et axoumites du Tigré (Ethiopie)", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 19–58, here 35 (Lit.); *Guida* 300; Paul Henze, *Ethiopian Journeys, Travels in Ethiopia 1969-72*, London 1977, 70–74 (fig. 7 church plan); Claude Lepage – Jacques Mercier, *Églises historiques du Tigray, Art éthiopien*, Addis Abeba 2005, 86–89; Norbert Nebes, "Die Inschriften aus dem 'Almaqah-Tempel in ^{c}Addi 'Akaweḥ", *Zeitschrift für Orientarchäologie* 3, 2010, in preparation; Wolbert Smidt, "Eine weitere arabische Inschrift von der osttigrayischen Handelsroute: Hinweis auf eine muslimische Kultstätte in der 'dunklen Periode'?", *Aethiopica* 12, 2009, 126–35; Teweldemedhin Josief, *The Monolithic Churches of Tigray*, Addis Ababa 1970, 22, 54; Pawel Wolf – Ulrike Nowotnick, "The 'Almaqah Temple of Meqaber Ga'ewa near Wuqro (Tigray, Ethiopia)", in: Janet Starkey (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, vol. 40: *Papers from the Forty-third Meeting of the Seminar for Arabian Studies held in London, 23–25 July 2009*, Oxford 2010, 367–80.

Wolbert Smidt

Wəq̱ro Maryam

W.M. (**ውቅሮ፡ ማርያም**, also Wəqro Maryam Näbälät) is a monastic church at the foot of ↗Amba Sänayti (↗Təgray), on the western bank of the River Wär^{c}i (for location s. map for Wəq̱ro).

The main part of the church is square (9.5 x 9.5 m), extended by a roomy narthex in the front and prolonged eastwards by a sanctuary making the whole structure ca. 21 m long. The church is excavated along the face of the rock which serves as its southern façade. The façade, with two windows and three pairs of doors, is not decorated.

The interior, divided into three aisles (the central nave being 8.5 m high, the aisles ca. 5.5 m) and three unequally large bays is hewn with great precision and displays several elaborate architectonic details. The space is organized by two pairs of square pillars and corresponding pilasters which mark the division into bays on the walls. All supporting elements have bracket capitals topped by flat projections and are connected by arches, with the exception of the first and the second bay of the central nave. That section, with a very high wall which rises above the pillars, is unified by an "Aksumite" frieze running around its four sides. A cruciform window is cut in the eastern wall between the second and third bay. In the north-east corner of the northern aisle, there is a stone platform (ca. 0.8 m high) with a square opening above, leading to a large chamber, presently used for storage. In the front of the platform there seems to be a crypt, its entry covered by a piece of wood.

The central part of the church has a carved ceiling of two types, both imitating wooden roofing: with cross-patterns, and with a cupola. Bosses of different forms are carved in the centre of the crosses and at the apex of many arches. Spandrels are decorated with carved rosettes.

The sanctuary rises by three steps above the level of the nave and consists of two square rooms communicating by a doorway. The larger, on the axis of the central nave, opens to the latter though a decorated arch and houses a large *mänbärä* ↗*tabot* covered by a canopy. On the ceiling, a cupola in the centre is encircled by four squares with crosses and by four small cupolas. The second room is placed on the axis of the northern aisle from which it is screened by a wall; it is connected to the aisle by an arched opening. Inside, there is a monolithic cubic *mänbärä tabot*.

The narthex is divided by two cruciform pillars, joined by a double arch with an unsupported median. In the middle of the western wall there is an elevated niche, possibly a place for an honourable seat, from which – through the door and the central nave – it is possible to see the opening to the sanctuary and, if it is not screened, the main *mänbärä tabot*. There is also an opening in the northern wall which leads to a short ambulatory and through it to the first bay of the northern aisle. The ceiling is decorated with cupolas and crosses. A finely carved frieze of Aksumite type runs round the southern, western and northern walls.

Wall-↗paintings on canvas, dating to the 20th cent. but painted in the tradition of the second Gondärine style, are glued to the walls in the narthex and in the central part of the church. They show the Passion, some Marian scenes and figures of popular Ethiopian saints.

To the left of the church, there is a chapel dedicated to St. George. It is hewn on the level of the roof of the northern aisle and is accessible by a ladder. The interior with a low flat ceiling is divided into two unequal parts by a short pillar supporting a double arch. Two windows at floor level open to the main church, one to the northern aisle and the other to the central nave.

The whole complex seems to have been excavated over a longer period of time. Scholars have suggested dating ranging from the late 12th cent. (Buxton 1947) to mid-15th cent. (Lepage – Mercier 2005).

Two iron shaft crosses from the 15th or 16th cent. are kept in the ↗*ᶜəqa bet*, along with two 19th-cent. illuminated manuscripts: the Four Gospels and a copy of the ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel.*

Src.: Manoel Barradas, *Tractatus Tres Historico-geographici* (*1634*): a *Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account on Tigray, Ethiopia*, tr. by Elizabet Filleul, ed. by Richard Pankhurst, Wiesbaden 1996 (AeF 43), 153; Camillo Beccari, *Il Tigré descritto da un missionario Gesuita del sec. XVII*, Roma 1912, 137.

Lit.: David Buxton, "The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 92, 1947, 1–42, here 33; Id., "The Rock-Hewn and Other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province, Ethiopia", *Archaelologia* 103, 1971, 33–100, here 49–52; Id. – Ruth Plant, "Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province", *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–268, here 236f.; Emmanuel Fritsch – Michael Gervers, "Pastophoria and Altars: Interaction in Ethiopian Liturgy and Church Architecture", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 7–52, here 38; Claude Lepage – Jacques Mercier, *Art Éthiopien. Les églises historiques du Tigray*, Paris 2005, 160–63; Antonio Mordini, "La chiesa ipogea di Ucro (Amba Seneiti) nel Tigrai", *Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 2, 1939, 517–26; Id., "L'église rupestre de Wugro Mariam", *L'Éthiopie d'aujourd'hui*, Addis Ababa, novembre-decembre 1962, 27–34; David Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*, New Haven – London 2009, 101–04; Ruth Plant, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia,* Worcester 1985, 76–79.

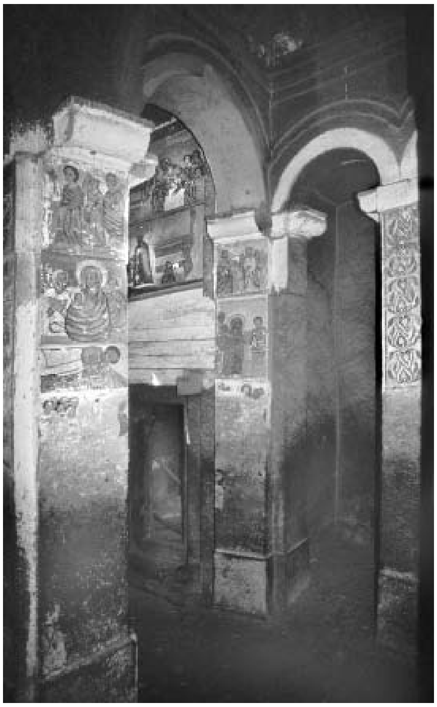
Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Wəqro Mäsqäl

The monolithic church of W.M. (**ውቅሮ፡ መስቀል**, also called Ǝnda Mäsqäl), dedicated to the Holy Cross, is situated in ↗Wag, south-east of ↗Säqoṭa (for location s. map for Wag). It bears a similarity to such rock-hewn churches as Betä Maryam, Amanuʾel and Libanos in ↗Lalibäla and Giyorgis in ↗Zoz Amba. Until the late 19th cent., the church served as a burial place for the rulers of the historical province (↗*Wag šum*).

Excavated in reddish volcanic tuff, W.M. is accessible through a constructed gatehouse which closes a narrow passage leading to the south-west corner of the church.

The structure (ca. 8.5 x 11.5 m) is encircled by a court. The hillside joining the building in the west at roof level provides a covered vestibule in the front of the western façade. Four stepped platforms lead to the main western door, flanked by two blind windows decorated with the motif of a double key-hole. There are two other entrances, from the south and from the north, the latter with a monolithic, poorly preserved porch.


Wəqro Mäsqäl, interior: view towards south-west corner; on the pillars the 18th-cent. murals depicting "the Story of Mary"; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The façades are divided vertically by broad pilasters (west and east into three sections, south and north into five). Horizontal string courses on the south-east and north sides imitate the Aksumite alternating timber-stone wall construction. Windows are placed within the sections marked by the pilasters. On the south façade, the upper windows are open and rounded at the top, the lower ones are blind and imitate Aksumite ↗architecture. The open central window on the east façade is a secondary addition; the original arrangement was limited to the "Aksumite" open windows in the lower row. The north façade has only the "Aksumite" blind windows in the lower level. The flat thick rock of the roof is covered by layers of stone tiles – an attempt to stop the deterioration of the ceilings.

The interior arrangement is of the cross-in-square type (↗Church buildings). Three square rooms form the eastern part, each with one window: the sanctuary, which opens to the nave, and the two *pastophoria,* screened from the aisles by walls but communicating with the sanctuary by door openings. The ceiling over the sanctuary imitates a ribbed dome. The walls above the doors to the *pastophoria* are decorated with large carved crosses of *lignum vitae* type. Such arrangement of the sanctuary and the absence of monolithic altars may suggest that the church was excavated at the end of the 13th cent. or in the early 14th cent.

The central part is divided by four cruciform pillars, the first pair rising from a large plinth. The pillars and slightly projecting pilasters, which articulate the division of the bays and correspond in their placement to their exterior counterparts, have bracket capitals and are connected by arches. The horizontal division, marked by tripartite courses, equally corresponds to the exterior decoration. A similar but five-partite course runs at the level of the capitals on the north and north-east walls. The ceiling compartments of the nave are decorated with differently designed crosses in bold relief which recall the vaulting beams of constructed buildings. The ceiling of the south aisle is flat and covered with simple relief crosses; in the north, the ceiling is flat and not decorated.

The western part is composed of a vestibule which opens through a double arch to the nave and two side-rooms, one with the door to the south aisle and another with the door to the vestibule. Until recently, coffins of some Wag nobles were kept there (they have been now moved to a hewn chamber off the church compound). The funeral character of the church is also witnessed by the two-chamber crypt with the opening at the front of sanctuary.

The western façade is decorated with three sets of ↗paintings from different periods, all executed on primed canvas glued to the wall. They are damaged (especially their southern part) despite a protecting wall constructed in the south-west corner of the church. The oldest set is from the 17th cent. and represents the early phase of the First Gondärine school. Above the door, St. ↗Mary with Child flanked by four archangels is depicted. On the right-hand pilaster, the Annunciation based on an apocryphon is placed, with Gabriel represented as an old man. On the wall further to the right there is an unidentifiable, probably eschatological scene at the top, and St. George slaying the dragon below. In the upper left corner, four ↗Zagʷe kings on horseback are depicted, ↗Yəmrəhannä Krəstos, ↗Ḥarbay, ↗Lalibäla and ↗Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab. The remaining representations are gathered around the false window which itself is adorned with painted ornament: inside, there are the Sun and the Moon, with the monk Śärṣ́ä Ləʿul, the superior of Däbrä Sərem, and *abba* Ṣəge Dəngəl underneath; on the right, the Sacrifice of Abraham; on the left, Julitta and Cyriacus (↗Qirqos) and an anonymous ecclesiastic.

The second set was executed in the 18th cent. in the Second Gondärine style. The images, placed in the central part of the façade, include the representations of the ↗*Maiestas Domini* and the ↗*Kidanä Məḥrät*, encircled by the 24 Heavenly Priests, and a half-figure Archangel Raphael glued to the door.

The third set, from the second half of the 19th cent., is placed below the Zagʷe kings and represents two scenes of the Passion, with *ras* ↗Bərru Gäbrä Mädḫən as supplicant.

The church interior is also decorated with wall-paintings on cloth. The set from the 18th cent., executed by the same painter as the *Maiestas* on the façade, represents the martyrdom of St. ↗George (15 scenes displayed on the northwest pillar and the north engaged pillar) and the story of St. Mary and the Holy Family's flight from Herod, based on the ↗*Nägärä Maryam* (ca. 30 scenes on the western wall above the southern chapel, on the wall between the south and central nave, on the south-west pillar and on the south engaged pillar). The floral decoration which covers the eastern sides of both painted pillars and the east side of the pillar dividing the porch and the naves belongs to the same set. The dedicatory inscription placed on the western wall below the first scenes of the Marian cycle indicates that the ↗donors of this set of paintings were *wag šum* ↗Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab (r. 1746–47) and his father Arʾaya Krəstos (↗Arʾayo).

From the second set, which once decorated the first pair of pillars, only the upper part has remained: on the south-east pillar, two cherubs and St. Mary talking to ↗Ephrem the Syrian; on the north-east pillar, a figure holding a book, probably a prophet.

The church claims to possess a large number of manuscripts, including documents related to the history of Wag and the Zagʷe dynasty.

Src.: GueCopMen 558; *Guida* 328; Achille Raffray, "Voyage en Abyssinie, à Zanzibar et aux pays de Ouanika", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris* 6, 10, 1875, 291–313, here 296f.; Id., *Afrique Orientale. Abyssinie*, Paris 1876, 194–97; Id., "Mission scientifique en Abyssinie et à Zanzibar", *Archives des missions scientifique et littéraire* 3, 4, 1877, 23–34, here 23f.; Gabriel Simon, *Voyage en Abyssinie et chez les Galla-Raias. L'Éthiopie, ses mœurs, ses traditions, le Négouss Johannès, les églises monolithes de Lalibéla*, Paris 1885, 334f., pl. IV.

Lit.: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, "The Wall-paintings in the Rock-cut Church Mäsqälä Krəstos, Wuqro near Sokota", *Africana Bulletin* 50, 2002, 20–39; Lino Bianchi-Barriviera, *Le chiese monolitiche di Lalibelà e altre nel Lasta-Uagh in Etiopia*, Roma 1957, 61–66; David Buxton, *Travels in Ethiopia*, London 1949, 174, figs. 126f.; Id., "Christian Antiquities in Northern Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 92, 1947, 1–42, here 32; Louis Findlay, *The Monolithic Churches of Lalibela*, Le Caire 1944, 27; Michael Gervers, "The Monolitic Church of Wuqro Masqal Kristos", *Africana Bulletin* 50, 2002, 99–113; Alessandro Augusto Monti Della Corte, *Lalibelà: le chiese ipogee e monolitiche e gli altri monumenti medievali del Lasta*, Roma 1940, 171–75, pl. XLI; David Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia. Fourth-Fourteenth Centuries*, New Haven, CT – London 2009, 107–10; Beatrice Playne, *Saint George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 12, 181; Roger Sauter, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 259f.; Stephen Wright, *The Heart of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1953 (typescript), 63f.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Wəq̱ro Qirqos ↗Dängolo; ↗Wəqro

Wərra Kidanä Məḥrät ↗Zäge

Western Galla Confederation

The W.G.C. (or "Western Galla Province") was a short-lived political entity founded in May 1936 by ↗Oromo leaders in western Ethiopia. They asked the British to accept a ↗League of Nations mandate over the western Oromo, based on respect of their autonomy and providing military protection. It encompassed territories from the Blue Nile in the north, the River Gudi in the east to Maği in the south (Hasselblatt 1982: 96). The term "↗Galla" was used in this case by the Oromo leaders themselves as it was perceived as the (in this case neutral) English translation of "Oromo"; modern historiography rather speaks of the Western Oromo Confederacy (Ezekiel Gebissa 2007).

After Italy had won the Battle of ↗May Č̣äw (↗Italian war 1935–36), remnants of the Ethiopian government retreated to ↗Gore in western Ethiopia and immediately tried to organize a functional administration of the last un-occupied territories. The local Oromo leaders, however, were looking for alternatives, wishing to preserve the traditional political autonomy of their territories. On

23 May 1936 the Oromo governor *däǧǧazmač* ↗Habtä Maryam of Wälläga sent messengers from ↗Naqamtee to British-administrated ↗Gambella, in order to negotiate a treaty on the "future relations" between the "Western Galla Province" (as the messengers called it) and the British Government. The delegation was led by *ləǧ* ↗Yəlma Däressa, acting as Habtä Maryam's and the other western Oromo leaders' plenipotentiary envoy.

The delegation started the negotiations in Gambella in June 1936, and several memorandums were sent to the British Government, with the suggestion that the western Oromo territories should be taken over by the British, or at least administered by them with a mandate of the League of Nations. These negotiations were kept secret from "the Amhara" (documents s. Hasselblatt 1982: 95ff.). The delegation informed Foreign Minister Anthony ↗Eden, that due to the breakdown of the Ethiopian government the western Oromo had formed a "Confederation" to govern themselves, and that a "provisional government" of "Western Galla" would be formed in Gore by Habtä Maryam. They underlined that the western Oromo had always preserved their autonomy within the Empire, were governed by their own dynasty and never militarily subdued "by ↗Šäwa", and that they had accepted Ethiopian domination only in order to enjoy military protection, which had disappeared now. British officials declared that their government would only become active in the region following an official request by the League, following which Yəlma urged for a British mandate by the League.

Simultaneously, Ethiopian government officials managed to establish a provisional government of Ethiopia in Gore, with the support of the British consul Erskine, with *bitwäddäd* ↗Wäldä Ṣadəq Goššu as its President, and *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase as his assistant and foreign minister (↗Resistance). According to a British report to the League of Nations Union in London (Hasselblatt 1982: 98f.) they managed to come to an agreement with the western Oromo leaders; this agreement stipulated that they would support the provisional administration, against the recognition of their autonomy, the possibility of an international mandate over their territories, and the abolition of discriminatory laws. In fact, taxes were then already only paid to the local Oromo leaders and not to the government officials any more.

However, in August "George" Ḫəruy, secretary of his father *blattengeta* ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, was sent as an Ethiopian envoy to the British Sudan to convince British officials not to recognize the W.G.C., "encompassing only small parts of western Ethiopia", and instead exclusively support the provisional government. Eden then still considered submitting the W.G.C. mandate question to the League (ibid. 104), but the provisional government in Gore continued to underline the futility of the W.G.C. initiative. When in September "Abyssinian" attacks against Oromo were discussed in the League, the Ethiopian delegation described the western Oromo initiative as a result of foreign interference and underlined the unity between the Ethiopian government and the Oromo (Hasselblatt 1992: 105).

The further development of the war finally made the W.G.C. obsolete, and its territory was included in the newly proclaimed ↗Africa Orientale Italiana.

Src.: Public Record Office, Kew, FO 371/20207, fol. 261–66/138–43, fol. 373/251ff.

Lit.: BZHist 166; EZEKIEL GEBISSA, "The Italian Invasion, the Ethiopian Empire, and Oromo Nationalism: the Significance of the Western Oromo Confederacy of 1936", *NEASt* 9, 3, 2007; GUNNAR HASSELBLATT, *Nächstes Jahr im Oromoland,* Stuttgart 1982, 94–106.

Wolbert Smidt

Wine

W. (Amh.: **ወይን፡ ጠጅ**, *wäyn ṭäǧǧ*, 'wine'; **ሀረግ**, *harägg*, 'grape, vine leaf'; Tgn.: **ወይኒ**, *wäyni*, 'vine', **ቪኖ**, *wino* [Ital.: *vino*], 'wine', **ነቢት**, *näbit*; Orom.: *wayinii*, 'vine') was known in Ethiopia already in Aksumite times (↗Aksum). The ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* records the limited import of grapes at ↗Adulis, and grape seeds have been identified at ancient Aksumite sites (Schoff 1912: 24; Phillipson 1998: 59). The existence of local viniculture may likewise be reflected in several Aksumite carvings (MHAksum 78; s. ill.), as well as in the tradition that the Aksumite king ↗Dəgnaǧan established his capital at a place called ↗Wäyna Däga (lit.: 'grape highlands'; SerHist 203; cp. Conti Rossini 1938: 444).

Awareness of grapes, and hence W., was later apparent in the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*, which commanded faithful Christians, after gathering their grapes, to leave some for the poor (Paulos Tzadua 1968: 85, 279). Specific reference to viniculture in Ethiopia comes in the 14th cent., when the Egyptian author Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī reports that black grapes were grown in ↗Ifat and nearby Abyssinian sultanates (UmMasGaud 10, 18). *Abba* ↗Gäbrä Iyäsus at around the same time reportedly estab-

Aksumite ivory plate with a carving showing a wine branch; Museum of Aksum; photo 2008, courtesy of Pawel Wolf

lished a vineyard at Däbsan, or ↗Ǝnfraz, east of Lake Ṭana (Conti Rossini 1938: 409–52). Later again *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam founded a church, apparently in ↗Gurage, which he provided with vines (HuntGeogr 148, 160). Grapes likewise find their place in Gəʿəz literature, for example in the Romance of ↗Alexander the Great, which tells of a bird carrying a magic branch of such fruit in its beak (Budge 1896: 269f.). Grape cultivation, by the early 16th cent., was fairly widely practiced. Alvares states that the principal vineyards, in the heart of the country, belonged to Ləbnä Dəngəl and to the Patriarch, *abunä* Marqos. Many monasteries, particularly in the north, however, also produced grapes, albeit in smaller quantities (BeckHuntAlvar 166f., 390).

Viniculture was, however, somewhat alien to the country's subsistence economy. Most of the population, farmers and pastoralists, did not grew vines, and were thus largely without access to W. Another problem was that vines needed constant care and protection – from robbers during periods of disorder, and at other times from birds and bees (MasMis, vol. 3, 39). A further difficulty was that the country lacked a bottling industry or other effective means of storing W. – which was in consequence available only seasonally, in January or February (BeckHuntAlvar 166f., 390; Pearce 1831: 236f.; Combes – Tamisier 1838, vol. 4, 84f.). Grape W. was therefore outclassed by ↗*ṭäǧǧ* made from ↗honey. This latter could be obtained at any season, with the result that *täǧǧ* could be produced, and drunk, throughout the year. The need of grape W. for the communion service was at the same time obviated by the widespread use of ↗Eucharist W. made from raisins, either local or imported.

Despite such limitations, grapes continued to be cultivated throughout the next few centuries, notably during the heyday of Gondär, at nearby Ǝnfraz, Därita and Qäroda (BruNile III, 335); and at several later towns, among them Č̣äläq̱ot in Təgray (Ferret – Galinier 1848: 134). New vines were also introduced at ʿAdwa by the German botanist Wilhelm ↗Schimper (1872: 485f.). Most of the country's vines were, however, ravaged around 1855 by a serious epidemic of the vine-louse Phylloxera (Heuglin 1874: 300f.; de Coursac 1926: 23).

Interest in W. nevertheless later revived. The founding of Addis Abäba in 1887 was followed by the establishment of French, Greek and other foreign shops selling imported wine. Mənilək and Ṭaytu were photographed drinking Bordeaux W. The first three modern vineyards were set up in the capital's vicinity in the early 20th cent. (ZerÉth 131).

Viniculture was further expanded during the Italian occupation and post-war period, when vines were planted in the Awaš area and at Gudär, near ↗Ambo. Ethiopian W. is currently produced for both the Ethiopian market and export. Today, the Ethiopian State Winery produces two red W., *Gouder* and *Dukam,* as well as a white W. by the name of *Crystal. Dukam*, another red W. is produced by the Awash Winery. Both wineries also make industrial honey W. (different from *ṭäǧǧ*).

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 166f., 390; BecRASO II, 249f.; BruNile vol. 3, 335; Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (ed., tr.), *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, 2 vols., London 1896; Edmond Combes – Maurice Tamisier, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, Paris 1838; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Note di agiografia etiopica (Abiya-Egzi', Arkaledes e Gabra-Iyasus)", *RSO* 17, 1938, 409–52; Pierre Victor

Adolphe Ferret – Joseph Germain Galinier, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, vol. 2, Paris 1848; Theodor von Heuglin, *Reise nach Abessinien*, Gotha 1874; HuntGeogr; MasMis; Nathaniel Pearce, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*, vol. 1, London 1831, 236f.; Wilhelm Schimper, "Mittheilungen aus einem Brief Dr. W. Schimper's an Herrn J.B. Balka in Prag", *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde* 7, 1872, 7, 485–86; Wilfred Harvey Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New York 1912; Paulos Tzadua, *The Fetha Nagast*: *the Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968; UmMasGaud; ZerÉth.

Lit.: Jacques de Coursac, *Le règne de Yohannès*, Romans 1926; Andrea Manzo, "Vines, Wine, ΑΡΓϒΡΟΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΡϒΣΟΜΑΤΑ. Remarks on some Sculptured Aksumite Decorations and their Ideological Meaning", *Annali IUO* 59, 1999 [2001], 347–67; MHAksum 78; Richard Pankhurst, "The History of Grapes, Vineyards and Wine in Ethiopia, Prior to the Italian Invasion", *JES* 39, 1–2, 2006, 35–54; David Phillipson, *Ancient Ethiopia. Aksum: its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998; SerHist 203.

Richard Pankhurst

Wingate, Orde Charles

W. (b. 26 February 1903, Naini Tal, India, d. 20 March 1944, in a plane crash near Bishenpur, India) was a British officer. Born to a military family, he attended Britain's Royal Military Academy from 1921 to 1923. At graduation, he received a gunnery officer's commission, and joined the Royal Garrison Artillery. In January 1926, W. received a place at the Army School of Equitation and subsequently enrolled in the London School of Oriental Studies (↗School of Oriental and African Studies) to study Arabic. From 1928 to 1933, he served in the Sudan Defence Force, where his primary duty was to patrol the Sudanese-Ethiopian border in search of slave traders and ivory poachers. Between 1936 and mid-1940 W. served in British intelligence in Palestine, where the Palestinian Arabs initiated their 1936–39 revolt against the British and the Jews. Wingate identified with the Zionist cause, and in 1938, with the blessing of his superiors, began training Jewish commandoes. By many he is still considered the first architect of the modern Israeli Defense Forces.

At a conference convened in Khartoum at the end of October 1940 British military commanders agreed with *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I on a plan of attack for Italian-occupied Ethiopia. Major W., who by then had the sympathy of Winston Churchill himself, was then called to Sudan by Archibald ↗Wavell, Commander-in-Chief of Middle East Command; he was to serve as a staff officer with the brief of liaising between William Platt's "Mission 101" and the Emperor. He arrived in Khartoum on 6 November 1940 with £1 million to spend.

Orde Wingate; photo courtesy of the IES (W-803)

In early December, W. formulated a plan for action in Ethiopia. He rejected the so-called Plan X, which had been drawn up by Daniel Arthur ↗Sandford, commander of "Mission 101", whereby the Emperor would return to Ethiopia at the head of a large Anglo-Ethiopian army. Instead, he devised a strategy whereby small groups of Ethiopian fighters would deploy throughout parts of the empire to conduct guerrilla operations against Italian forces (cf. MockWar 284f.).

The plan was approved by Wavell and at a base near Khartoum, W. received weapons, some 18,000 camels and several thousand camel drivers. The main force included a Sudanese battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Boustead, and an Ethiopian battalion commanded by Captain E.M. Boyle, who was soon sacked by W. on grounds of his poor performance. W. then organized ten guerrilla groups known as Operational Centres. Each force included a British officer, five British Non-Commissioned Officers, and 200 Ethiopian fighters who were divided into ten squads. W. named these soldiers the ↗Gideon Force, after the Biblical figure of Gideon. During the early stages of the campaign there was considerable tension between W., already perceived in the army as eccentric and ill tempered, and Sandford, his nominal commander.

In February 1941, W. commenced operations against Italian forces. Over the coming months, irregular Ethiopian forces known as Patriots (↗Resistance) also played an important role in the campaign by attacking Italian bases and their supply lines. Near the end of the allied campaign, the Gideon Force took the surrender of some 20,000 Italian soldiers under Colonel Maraventano. On 21 January 1941, Ḫaylä Śəllase accompanied by *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu and the Gideon Force crossed the frontier and raised the Ethiopian flag on Ethiopian soil.

With the end of the East African Campaign, on 4 June 1941, W. was removed from his command and his rank was reduced to that of major. He left for Cairo and wrote an official report extremely critical of his commanders, fellow officers, government officials and many others. W. was irritated that British authorities ignored his request for decorations for his men and obstructed his efforts to obtain back pay and other compensation for them.

During ↗World War II W. became famous as commander of the long-range jungle penetration Chindits Unit in Japanese-occupied Burma.

Lit.: PETER LESLIE, *Chapman-Andrews and the Emperor*, Barnsley 2005, 96f.; MockWar 280ff., 338, 340–53, 356–59 (index); DAVID SHIRREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers: Wingate, Sandford, the Patriots and the Part they Played in the Liberation of Ethiopia*, London – New York 1995, 65–141.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Winqvist, Karl

Reverend W., (b. 14 Oktober 1847 Smedstorp, Sweden, d. 6 December 1909, Bäläsa, Eritrea; previous surname Karlsson) was an important missionary, medical doctor and translator of Bible texts into Ethiopian Languages.

W. was ordained in Skara diocese in ↗Sweden and became a seamen's pastor in Grimsby, UK, from 1878 to 1879. After his medical studies in Edinburgh 1880–83, W. married the German Elsie Winqvist (née Hefter, 1863–1957), who was later to write their biography (1945). Together they started their service with the Swedish Evangelical Mission (↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen) in that part of Ethiopia which later became Eritrea. They worked from 1883–95 at ↗Ǝmkullu, in the Mission's centre, and from 1897–1909 in Bäläsa (10 km north of Asmära).

Besides his missionary work W. also worked as a medical doctor. His initial plan was to build a hospital in Ǝmkullu, but only a small clinic could be set up. Through his medical work he established not only friendly relations with the Muslim ↗Təgre lowlanders but in 1892 *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda entrusted to W. the treatment of wounded soldiers (ArEvang 292).

W. is famous for his efforts concerning the development of the ↗Təgre and ↗Təgrəñña languages. Together with local converts and missionaries he translated and edited several books of the ↗Bible and religious scripts. With ↗Dawit Amanuʾel and ↗Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən he translated the Gospel of St. Mark into Təgre in 1889; however, the latter claimed, that W. only "supervised" this work (ArEvang 337). The translation of the New Testament which W. achieved with the help of Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən and Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbru in 1909 had the greatest impact on the development of the literary language. Most of W.'s linguistic activities were in Təgrəñña, several of his works were published post-mortem supervised by his wife.

Elsie W. deserves closer examination, as she equalled, if not outshined, her husband's reputation. Before she got married, at the age of 19, she mastered the highest (medical) education, women could attain in the Germany of that time (cp. ArEvang 289). She grew up trilingual (German, French, English) and, while in Eritrea, she gained a profound knowledge of Təgre and Təgrəñña. After the death of her husband she stayed in Eritrea until 15 December 1935 when numerous Swedish missionaries were expelled from the then Italian colony (Arén 1999: 456f.). But she managed to travel to Eritrea several times in later years. The work of translating the whole Bible was continued by Elsie culminating in the publication of the complete Bible in 1956/57 which "several experts hailed for idiomatic accuracy and poetic beauty" (ArEvang 337; for another early translation of the Four Gospels carried out by W., Marqos Gərmay and Gäbrä Ewosṭatewos Zämikaʾel in 1910, cp. Agosṭinos Tädla 1994: 335).

Src.: AGOSṬINOS TÄDLA, *La lingua abissina.* **ቋንቋ፡ ሐበሻ** [*Qʷanqʷa ḥabäša*], Asmära 1994, 23, 299f., 302f., 317, et passim; ADOLF KOLMODIN, *Några minnen från min resa till Ost-Afrika 1908–1909*, Stockholm 1909, passim; ELSIE WINQVIST, *Med livet so insats*: *Läkaremissionen i Eritrea*, Stockholm 1945; EAD. – TÄWÄLDÄ MÄDḪƎN GÄBRÄ MÄDḪƎN – TÄWÄLDÄ MÄDḪƎN GÄBRU, **መጽሐፍ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሉይን፡ ሐዲሽን፡ ኪዳን** (*Mäṣḥaf qəddus, bəluyən ḥaddišən kidan*, 'The Holy Book, Old and New Testament'), Asmära – London 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.];

Karl Winqvist – Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən – Dawit Amanuᵓel, *Evangelium enligt Markus på Tigré-språket.* **ወንጌል፡ (ባህለቱ፡ ሽራት፡) ክም፡ ከትበዩ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ማርቆስ** (*Wängel* [*bahlätu bəššärat*] *kəm kätbäyu qəddus Marqos*, 'Gospel [i.e. Good News] that was Written by Saint Mark), Ǝmkullu 1889; Karl Winqvist, **ፊደል፡ ትግርኛ** (*Fidäl təgrəñña*, 'Təgrəñña Alphabet'), Asmära 1896; Id., **ካቴክስም** (*Katekəsəm*, 'Catechism'), Asmära 1899; Id., **ወንጌል፡ ቅዱስ፡ ናይ፡ ጐይታና፡ መድሐኒና፡ የሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ** (*Wängel qəddus nay gʷäytana mädḥanina Yäsus Krəstos*, 'The Four Gospels of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ'), Asmära 1900; Id., **ዛንታ፡ መጽሓፍ፡ ቅዱስ** (*Zanta mäṣḥaf qəddus,* 'Narrations of the Holy Book'), Asmära 1901, ^{2}1908, augmented ed. 1925; Id., **ኀጺር፡ ዛንታ፡ መጽሓፍ፡ ቅዱስ** (*Ḫaṣṣir zanta mäṣḥaf qəddus,* 'Short Narrations of the Holy Book'), Asmära 1907, ^{2}1924; Id., "En liten återblick på min 25-årige verksamhet som läkeremissionar" in: *Varde Ljus*, Stockholm 1909, 38–61; Karl Winqvist – Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən – Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbru, **ሐዲሽ፡ ኪዳን** (*Ḥaddiš kidan*, 'New Testament'), Asmära 1909, ^{2}1933; Id., **መጽሓፍ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዝመስረተ፡ ትምህርቲ፡ ክርስትና** (*Mäṣḥaf qəddus zəmäsrätä təmhərti krəstənna*, 'The Holy Book. The Fundamental Teaching of Christianity'), Asmära 1910; Id., **ትምህርቲ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Təmhərti haymanot krəstiyan,* 'Teaching of the Christian Faith'), Asmära 1912; Id., **ትምህርቲ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Təmhərti krəstiyan,* 'Teaching of Christianity'), Asmära 1922, ^{2}1934.

Lit.: Gustav Arén, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia: in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers 1898–1936*, Stockholm 1999, 35, 97, 187, 223, 250, 254, 456f.; ArEvang 289, 292, 337; Rosa Holmer, "Tewolde-Medhin Gebre-Medhin: Pastor – Educator – Linguist", *QSE* 6/7, 1986, 112–42, here 134ff.; Helene Fatima Idris, "Swedish Contributions to African Linguistics", *Africa and Asia* 3, 2003, 53–63; Jonas Iwarson – Alessandro Tron, *Notizie storiche e varie sulla Missione Evangelica Svedese dell'Eritrea, 1866–1916*, Asmara 1918 (Missione Evangelica Svedese); UllBibl 71.

Rainer Voigt

Wisdom Books, biblical

The W.B. follow upon the ↗Historical Books in the ↗Old Testament; they share the particularities of text development with the O.T. The W.B. included in the Gəᶜəz ↗Bible are: Job, Psalms, Canticles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach. All of them are transmitted in the Hebrew Bible, in the sequence: Ps, Job, Prov, (Ruth), Song, Ecc., Wis and the Canticles are transmitted only by the Greek Septuagint (LXX), in the sequence (cp. Rahlfs 1935: II, 1–489): Ps, Canticles, Ecc, Song, Job, Wis, Sir. Moreover, the LXX have also the Psalms of Solomon, which are not in the Gəᶜəz Bible (cp. *CAVT* no. 212). The Canticles of the LXX are 14: *First Song of Moses* (Ex 15,1–19); *Second Song of Moses* (Deut 32,1–43); *Prayer of Hannah* (1 Sam 2,1–10); *Prayer of Habakkuk* (Hab 3,2–19); *Prayer of Isaiah* (Is 26,9–20); *Prayer of Jonah* (Jon 2,3–10); *Prayer of the Three Holy Children* (Dan 3,26–45); *Song of the Three Holy Children* (Dan 3,52–88); *Magnificat* (Lk 1,46–55) and *Benedictus* (Lk 1,68–79); *Song of the vineyard* (Is 5,1–9); *Song of Ezechias* (Is 38,10–20); *Prayer of Manasse* (cp. *CAVT* no. 178); *Nunc dimittis* (Lk 2,29–32); *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (neither in the O.T. nor in the N.T., but cp. Lk 2,14). Ps and Canticles are found altogether in the Gəᶜəz *Mäzmurä Dawit*, in the sequence: *First Song of Moses* (Ex 15,1–19); *Second Song of Moses* (Deut 32,1–21); *Third Song of Moses* (Deut 32,22–43); *Prayer of Hannah* (1 Sam 2,1–10); *Song of Ezechias* (Is 38,10–20); *Prayer of Manasse* (also in Gəᶜəz, inserted at 2 Chr 33,13); *Prayer of Jonah* (Jon 2,3–10); *Prayer of Azariah* (Dan 3,26–45); *Song of the Three Holy Children* (Dan 3,52–88); *Prayer of Habakkuk* (Hab 3,2–19); *Prayer of Isaiah* (Is 26,9–20); *Magnificat* (Lk 1,46–55); *Benedictus* (Lk 1,68–79); *Nunc dimittis* (Lk 2,29–32).

Dillmann (1894: 114, followed by many others, cp., e.g., CRStor 223) supposed that the *subscriptio* dating to 678 A.D. in ms. BN Éth. 6 (ZotBNat 9f.) and others referred to the translation of Sir, where, moreover, God's name is rendered twice (Sir 31,8 and 37,21) with *Astar*, to be compared with the name of god ↗ᶜ*Astär* (cp. CRStor 141). Yet, the *subscriptio* to the purportedly last OT books translated into Gəᶜəz is highly problematic, and might either be wrong, or point to the copying of a manuscript in much later times (cp. Rahlfs 1965: 679ff.; CerLett 20).

The concept of W.B. is neither of the Hebrew Bible, where Ps, Prov, Job, Song and Ecc are part of the "Writings", nor of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, in the printed editions of which (cp. *Bəluy Kidan* 1981/82) the W.B. do not form a conceptual unity of their own, and – apart from Ps and Canticles – are included in the "Books of the Kings". In turn, Ps, Canticles and Song (plus such praises of Mary as *Wəddase Maryam* and similar) form altogether and by their own the *Mäzmurä Dawit* (↗Psalter), i.e. the most popular writing (usually, bound in one codex) of the whole ↗Gəᶜəz literature.

Moreover, Prov are traditionally subdivided in Prov 1–24 (*Məssale* or *Məssaləyatä Sälomon*, lit. 'Proverb' or 'Proverbs of Solomon'), and Prov 25–29 (*Tägśaṣä Sälomon*, 'Admonition of Solomon', cp. DillmLex 1152; Cowley 1988: 458f.); in some Ethio–Eritrean editions the two sections are printed separately with their traditional titles, in the sequence Job, Prov 1–24, Ecc, Song, Prov 25–29, Wis (cp., e.g., *Bəluy Kidan* 1981/82: 429–81 [*Mäṣḥafä Iyob*, 'Book of Job'], 483–520 [*Mäṣḥafä Məssale*, 'Book of Proverbs', i.e. Prov 1–24], 521–35 [*Mäṣḥafä Mäkbəb*, 'Book of the Ecclesiastes'], 536–44 [*Mäḫaləyä Sälomon*, 'Song of Solomon', i.e. Song], 545–53 [*Tägśaṣä Sälomon*, 'Admonition of Solomon', i.e. Prov 25–29], 554–82 [*Ṭəbäbä Sälomon*, 'Wisdom of Solomon']). The subdivision of Prov could account for the reckoning of five books "of Solomon the wise" (i.e. Prov 1–24, Prov 25–29, Ecc, Song, Wis) in one of the several Ethiopian ↗Bible canons of the ↗*Senodos* (cp. BauSen 280 [text]), that includes Ps, five books of Solomon, Sir, Job. Other Bible canons in the *Senodos* reckon quite differently: Job, Ecc, Ps, Prov, Sir, Song, Wis (each in one book, cp. *ibid.* 144f. [text]); Ps, Prov, Ecc, Song, Job (cp. *ibid.* 178 [text], the same in the Bible canon of the *Canons of the council of Laodikeia* in the archaic *Senodos*); Job, Ps, Prov, Ecc, Song, Wis, Sir (cp. *ibid.* 230 [text]).

W.B. make no exception to the urgent need of a critical edition of the Gəᶜəz Bible. Besides da Bassano's (1925) comprehensive edition, Sir (cp. also Ahlmark 1932–33) and Wis have been edited by Dillmann (1894), Job by Pereira (1905), Ecc by Mercer (1931, on which cp. Conti Rossini 1936: 515ff.), whereas Prov have been only examined in an unpublished dissertation (cp. Pilkington 1978). Ps, Canticles and Song (ed. by Gleave 1951, but cp. also Euringer 1900ff.) were usually published altogether in the *Mäzmurä Dawit* (for details on various editions, cp. Gleave 1951: xiii–xvii). Among the most important not yet used mss. cp., e.g., EMML no. 2080 (Prophetic Books, also including Prov [*Məssalyatä Sälomon* and *Tägśaṣä Sälomon*], Wis and Ecc, on which cp. Knibb 1995: 10), and Oslo – London, Schøyen M. 2073 (Psalms, Canticles, Song and *Mäzmurä Sälomon*), both of the 15th cent.

The fortune of the biblical W.B. in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church can be also appreciated from the number of Gəᶜəz commentaries (cp. Cowley 1988: 436f.), and Amharic ↗*andəmta*, both mss. and printed editions (cp. *ibid.* 458f.) on all the W.B. Of exceptional importance is the still unpublished Gəᶜəz version of Philo of Carpasia's commentary on Song 1.2–14a, preserved in the 14th/15th cent. ms. (*codex unicus*) Jerusalem JE 300 (Ethiopian Archbishop's private residence no. 119, cp. Isaac 1987: 67, no. JE300E; Cowley 1988: 437): in fact, besides the original Greek, the commentary was only known in a Latin version (on Philo of Carpasia in the Ethiopian tradition, cp. also Raineri – Tedros Abraha 2003; Voicu 2004). On Song cp. also Euringer (1936ff.).

Src.: AXEL L. AHLMARK, "Den etiopiska översättningen av Ben Sira. Tekstkritiskt behandlad. I. Kapp. 1–6 utg. av. K.V. Zetterstéen", *Le Monde Oriental* 26–27, 1932–33, 257–304; BauSen 144f., 178, 230, 280 [text]; ብሉይ፡ ኪዳን፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ነገሥት (*Bəluy kidan mäṣḥafä nägäśt*, 'Old Testament Book of the Kings'), ed. by *Maḫbärä ḥawaryat fəre haymanot*, Aśmära 1974 A.M. [1981/82 A.D.]; CAVT nos. 178, 212; ALBERT DIETRICH, [review of Gleave 1951], *ZDMG* 102, 1952, 153–54; AUGUSTUS DILLMANN (ed.), *Biblia Veteris Testamenti Aethiopica* … [vol. V] … *Libri Apocryphi, Baruch, Epistola Jeremiae, Tobith, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Sapientia, Esdrae Apocalypsis, Esdrae Graecus*, Berolini 1894; EMML no. 2080; SEBASTIAN EURINGER, *Die Auffassung des Hohenliedes bei den Abessiniern. Ein historisch-exegetischer Versuch*, Leipzig 1900; ID., "«Schöpferische Exegese» im äthiopischen Hohenliede", *Biblica* 17, 1936, 327–44, 479–500; *ibid.* 18, 1937, 107; *ibid.* 20, 1939, 27–37; ID., "Ein äthiopischer Scholienkommentar zum Hohenlied", *ibid.* 18, 1937, 257–76, 369–82; FRANCISCUS A BASSANO (ed.), *Vetus Testamentum cum antiquis codicibus necnon cum versionibus syriaca, graeca et arabica comparatum.* Vol. III. *Tobiae, Iudith, Esther, Iob, Psalmorum, Proverbiorum, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum, Sapientiae, Ecclesiastici*, Asmarae 1925; HENRY S. GEHMAN, [review of Mercer 1931], *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 52, 1932, 260–63; HUGH CRASWALL GLEAVE (ed.), *The Ethiopic Version of the Song of Songs*, London 1951; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, [review of Mercer 1931], *Aethiops* 4, 1931, 31–32; EPHRAIM ISAAC, "Shelf List of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Monasteries of the Ethiopian Patriarchate of Jerusalem", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987], 53–80; OSCAR LÖFGREN, [review of Mercer 1931], *Le Monde Oriental* 26–27, 1932–1933, 334–45; ENNO LITTMANN, [review of Mercer 1931], *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 36, 1933, 374–77; Oslo – London, The Schøyen Collection, M. 2073; SAMUEL ALFRED BROWNE MERCER (ed.), *The Ethiopic Text of the Book of Ecclesiastes*, London 1931 (The Oriental Research Series 6); MARC-ANTOINE VAN DEN OUDENRIJN, [review of Gleave 1951], *BiOr* 11, 1954, 78–80; FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed.), *Le livre de Job*, Paris 1905 (PO 2/5 [10]); H.A.A. PILKINGTON (ed.), *A Critical Edition of the Book of Proverbs in Ethiopic*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford 1978; ALFRED RAHLFS (ed.), *Septuaginta*, Stuttgart 1935; OSVALDO RAINERI – TEDROS ABRAHA, "Filone di Carpasia: un'omelia pasquale trasmessa in etiopico", in: VINCENZO RUGGERI – LUCA PIERALLI (eds.), *ΕΥΚΟΣΜΙΑ. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro) 2003, 377–98; ANTON SCHALL, [review of Gleave 1951], *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 49, 1954, 48–51; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, [review of Gleave 1951], *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1952, 79–80; SEVER J. VOICU, "Filone di Carpasia e Pseudo Ippolito: di un'omelia pasquale tramandata in etiopico", *Augustinianum* 44, 1, 2004, 5–24; ZotBNat 9f. (no. 6).

Lit.: CerLett 20; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Bibliografia etiopica (1927–giugno 1936)", *Aevum* 10, 1936, 467–587; CRStor 141, 223; ROGER W. COWLEY, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: a Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge 1988 (University of Cambridge

Oriental Publications 38); MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, "Les versions orientales de la Bible: une orientation bibliographique", in: JOŽE KRAŠOVEC et al. (eds.), *Interpretation of the Bible …*, Ljubliana – Sheffield 1998 (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 289), 399–509, here 451–60 (Lit.); MICHAEL A. KNIBB, *Translating the Bible. The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1999 (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995); ALFRED RAHLFS, *Septuaginta-Studien I–III*, Göttingen ^{2}1965, 659–81 ("Die äthiopische Bibelübersetzung"); UllBibl passim.

Alessandro Bausi

Wohlenberg, Hellmut

W. (b. 16 October 1892, Hannover, d. 3 May 1939, Frankfurt am Main) studied education and humanities at Göttingen, Germany. He worked as a teacher at a grammar school, and, after World War I, was fascinated by the cultural philosophy and ethnography of Leo ↗Frobenius. He wrote articles about cultural morphology which conceives of culture as living organism and about "Paideuma", a kind of cultural soul which was considered to act more or less independently of humans. In 1933 W. left Hannover and joined Frobenius' "Institute of Cultural Morphology" at Frankfurt am Main. From October 1934 to May 1935 he participated in a research expedition to Ethiopia together with the ethnologist Adolf E. ↗Jensen and the painter Alf Bayrle. A fourth member, Helmut von den Steinen, made a separate journey via Goǧǧam to Gondär and Beni Šangul.

For the voluminous publication *Im Lande des Gada* (ed. Jensen 1936) W. contributed a descriptive account of more than 300 pages about the journey. It is a very detailed narrative and untypical of scholarly enterprises predating the postmodern postulate of reflexively revealing the personal conditions of field research. The itinerary led from Addis Abäba via the Rift Valley and Sidaamaland to Gideʾo and Konso where the researchers stayed for longer periods of fieldwork. They returned via the Gamu highlands to the capital whence they travelled on to Gurageland. Due to rumours of the impending Italo–Ethiopian war, the sojourn of the expedition in Ethiopia was shortened.

As W. (1936: 448) indicated, the research expedition was stimulated by by ↗Azaïs and ↗Chambard's (1931) book on archaeological findings in southern Ethiopia. A major interest of the ↗Frobenius-Institut at that time was the focus on culture history in general and on megalithic monuments and their ethnographic implications in particular. The monuments and the spectacular grave cult of the Konso, Gato and other groups as well as the widespread ↗stelae and the ornamented effigies of ↗Ṭəya therefore attracted the special attention of researchers with such a scholarly orientation. While Bayrle painted the monuments and objects of material culture, W. made a photographic documentation and also contributed to Jensen's analytical interpretations on the ↗*gadaa* systems and collections of folktales in southern Ethiopia.

Src.: FRANÇOIS AZAÏZ – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Ethiopie*, Paris 1931; HELLMUT WOHLENBERG, "Im südlichen Abessinien. Reiseberichte vom Oktober 1934 bis Mai 1935", in: ADOLF E. JENSEN (ed.), *Im Lande des Gada. Wanderungen zwischen Volkstrümmern Südabessiniens*, Stuttgart 1936, 3–310; ID., "Vorgeschichtliche Megalithen in Südabessinien", *ibid.*, 448–83; ID. – ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN, "Folkloristisches Material aus Südabessinien", *ibid.*, 484–558; ID., "Die Paideumalehre als Kulturphilosophie", in: WALTER OTTO et al., *Leo Frobenius*: *Ein Lebenswerk aus der Zeit der Kulturwende. Dargestellt von seinen Freunden und Schülern* (*Leo Frobenius zum 60. Geburtstag*), Leipzig 1933.

Ulrich Braukämper

Woma

W. was a title of high dignitaries among Highland East Cushitic-speakers such as the ↗Sidaama, ↗Kambaata, ↗Ṭimbaaro, ↗Dubamo, ↗Donga, ↗Allaaba and ↗Qabeena as well as some Omotic speakers. According to historical data of the 19th and 20th cent., the position of the W. was the highest in a monarchical system, i.e. that of the "king". Among the Sidaama, however, it referred to a leading representative in the age class system; most probably the original function of the W. (Jensen n.d.: 92f.).

In most cases the W. was considered the highest priest. the features associated with W. are typical of a divine king. As a male member of a "noble" clan he had to be physically and mentally fully intact. He was associated with the supra-natural world and was believed to act as a mediator between that sphere and his subjects. Major public performances such as religious feasts, ↗rainmaking, blessing of warriors, rewarding honourable titles and grants were carried out by the W. He also acted as the highest judge while other secular duties were limited. He did not participate in military activities, and political negotiations were usually conducted by the war-leaders or special representatives of his court.

The W. had to maintain a status of symbolic purity, particularly by observing sophisticated prescriptions concerning manners of behaviour and food avoidance. Ordinary people were usually not allowed to approach him directly, and to look at his face was considered harmful to them. The W. was therefore hidden behind a curtain and communicated with his subjects by an interpreter. "Royal" species such as ↗lions, ↗elephants and ↗bees were believed to be associated with him. The W. was entitled to claim considerable parts of the booty, land, livestock and slaves, obtained in war, and of precious items such as ivory, leopard skins and honey. However, it was expected that he generously redistributed most of these goods.

In the course of the 19th cent., the features of the divine ↗kingship associated with the W. were increasingly abandoned in favour of a more secular type of ↗monarchy. This can be stated, e.g., for the Kambaata, the Dubamo and the Qabeena (BrKam 123–31, BrHad 171, 175). The succession of the eldest son to the office of W. became a preferential practice. Among the Ṭimbaaro, however, the electoral system prevailed (BrKam 127f.) and among the Sidaama, where the institution of monarchy never fully evolved, the W. remained part of the age class system.

Lit.: BrHad 171, 175; BrKam 123–31; Adolf Ellegard Jensen, *Die Sidamo*, Frankfurt am Main, n.d., ms.

Ulrich Braukämper

Woodland

The most common definition of W. in an East African context is "land with an open cover of trees, the crowns of which do not form a thickly interlaced canopy, and which as a rule is leafless for some period during the year" (Greenway 1973, cit. in Friis 1986: 32). In a widely used and rather generalized classification system (often used by the FAO) the formation "W. savannah region" is characterized by an average rainfall of between 200 mm and 1,400 mm and at an altitude of between 250 m and 2,300 m A.S.L. This definition roughly includes all areas with a natural ↗tree vegetation, from closed ↗forests to treeless savannah or bushland.

Critical of these definitions the UNESCO Vegetation Map (White 1983: 47, 52) uses a more differentiated classification: based exclusively on the vegetation itself, without reference to the physical environment, it defines W. as "land occupied with an open stand of trees the crowns of which form a canopy from 8 to 20 or more in height and cover at least 40 % of the surface". And in this context: "Wooded grassland is land covered with grasses and other herbs, with scattered or, more rarely, grouped woody plants which are often, but not necessarily, trees. The woody plants cover between 10 % and 40 % of the surface. These figures are somewhat arbitrary, since wooded grassland grades into woodland on the one hand and pure grassland on the other" (ibid. 52). By this the differences to ↗grassland and ↗bushland become clear.

A small area of W. is to be found around Lake ↗Ṭana, but mainly along the semi-arid escarpment and valleys north-west and west of the Ethiopian highlands typically lying below 1,600 m A.S.L. in the north-west and 1,000 m A.S.L. in the south-west (usually ↗*qʷälla* and *bäräha*). In the lowlands (*bäräha*) near the Sudan border W. changes into wooded grassland and bushland. Although classified as "[↗]Acacia-Commiphora deciduous bushland and thicket" by White (1983, map), parts of the ↗Rift Valley look more like W. and wooded grassland, caused eventually by human impact.

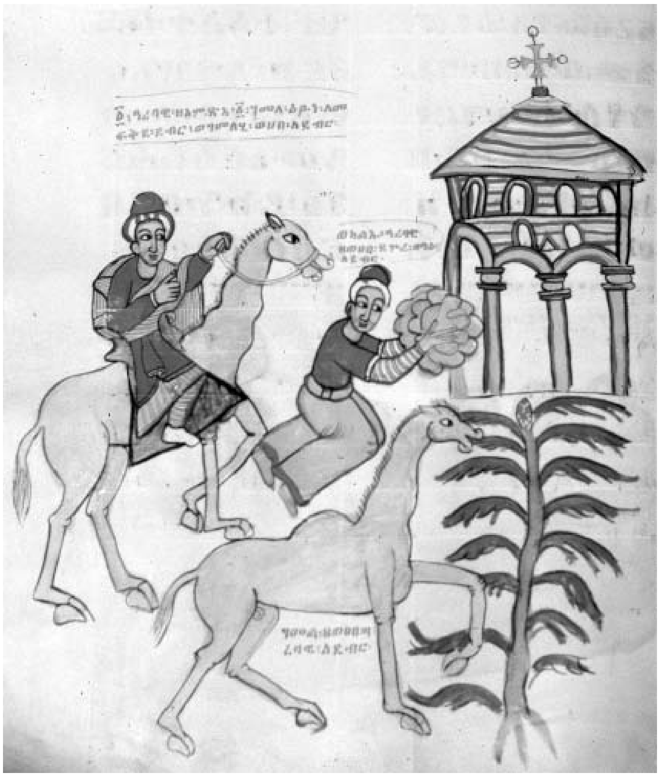
W. has a low to medium bio mass production. Therefore, the predominant land use system was traditionally and, in many parts, still is ↗pastoralism. Nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralists live(d) there, mostly ↗Oromo, with large herds of cattle, sheep, goats and sometimes camels (in drier W.). Since the 20th cent. W. areas, particularly those with higher bio mass production, have been invaded by arable farmers. Along rivers, especially along the ↗Awaš, potential irrigation areas have also been prepared for intensive farming. Intensification of land use, reduction of grazing areas and population growth may provoke deforestation, overgrazing, soil erosion and water scarcity if social, agro-economic and technological changes are not coordinated or if they are inadequate.

Lit.: Ib Friis, "The Forest Vegetation of Ethiopia", in: Inga Hedberg (ed.), *Research on the Ethiopian Flora. Proceedings of the First Ethiopian Flora. Symposium Held in Uppsala, May 22–26, 1984*, Uppsala 1986 (Symbolae Botanicae Upsalienses 26,2), 31–47 (Lit.); Pearcy James Greenway, "A Classification of the Vegetation of East Africa", *Kirkia* 9, 1–68; Id. – Sebsebe Demissew – Paulo van Breugel, *Atlas of the Potential Vegetation of Ethiopia*, Copenhagen 2010; Egbert Westphal, *Agricultural Systems in Ethiopia*, Wageningen 1975 (Lit.); Frank White, *The Vegetation of Africa: a Descriptive Memoir to Accompany the UNESCO/AETFAT/UNSO Vegetation Map of Africa*, UNESCO, Natural Resources Research 20, Paris 1983 (Lit.); Zerihun Woldu, *Vegetation Map of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1999.

Alfons Ritler

Wool

Reference to W. (Amh. **ሪዝ**, *riz* [‘W. of sheep’]) in Ethiopia’s historical record is rare, for cotton is the primary material for weaving. According to Strabo, Ethiopians wore skins, adding that sheep have no W. in Ethiopia, but hair like goats (Strabo 1830–33:565; Wilkinson 1878:261, n. 5). Francesco Suriano in 1482 reported that people wore linen but not woollen cloth (CrawItin 45; s. also ↗Clothing), in contrast to Brother Raphael’s statement in 1522 that “they make clothes (*panni*) of [↗]silk, W. and [↗]cotton, very fair and abundant, which they wear” (CrawItin 143). Manoel de Almeida’s statement (ca. 1645) that women in Təgre “wear something like shawls of sheep’s W. or goat’s hair, but so badly tanned and cured that it is more like hair than W. and is a rough hair shirt” (BeckHuntAlm 60f.), confirms the passage in Strabo and refers rather to fleece than to garments woven of W. More certainly woven is the clothing worn by married women of the ↗*baḥər nägaš*, referred to by Alvares according to whom they wrapped around themselves black (or coloured) woollen stuffs, with wide fringes of the same stuff (BeckHuntAlvar 171).



Rescued Muslims bring loads of wool and dates as gifts to the church of St. Mary, 17th cent. *Täʾammərä Maryam* manuscript, old Aksum Ṣəyon; photo 2000, courtesy of the author

Black highland W. continues to be produced locally in particularly cold regions of Təgre and Šäwa for blankets, tents and some articles of clothing such as hats and the burnous (Gervers in OrbAethChoj 25). Hats made of brown and white spun, course woollen thread are also popular in regions susceptible to cold weather. Parkyns (1853:174f.) describes tents in the camp of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam made of black W. from the southern provinces of Təgray (cit. in PankSoc 155f.).

The manufacture of small woollen carpets (↗*Mənṭaf*), which continues today, was noted before 1814 by Salt (SalTrav 426), who was shown “superior” examples from the Səmen region in the market at ^{c}Adwa. Numerous carpet- and tentmakers worked in Mänz (Šäwa), the latter at least with thick, black woollen cloth (PankSoc 230). Other Šäwan centres of black cloth production included Däbrä Bərhan (PankSoc 238).

Woollen garments were also imported at Massawa in the 17th cent. (PankSoc 55). Woollen carpets for churches and the homes of the wealthy have been a regular import item for centuries.

Indigenous Ethiopian sheep are raised primarily for their meat. The ^{c}Afar type produces no W., while the Ethiopian Highland sheep produces some. Subtypes of the latter which are known for their clip include the Mänz, which gives from 400–1,000 gram of W. usually twice per annum, sheep from Däbrä Bərhan (Šäwa) giving a single 600 gram clip annually, and those from Däbrä Marqos (Goǧǧam). In 1980 the country is recorded as having exported 33 tons of W., while importing 55 tons of greasy W. and 396 tons of W. waste, most of which was re-exported as 9,650 knotted and woven carpets (Wilson 1991:136).

In 1965, the government established the Däbrä Bərhan Wool Factory, the first of its kind in the country, with 120 spindles and six looms, employing 200 people and capable of processing a metric ton of W. a day. Belgium provided the equipment and the technicians. In a single-shift operation, it produced 7,065 blankets in the first six months (*Ethiopian Herald*), and cloth for the burnous. The factory is also known for its black, white and brown carpets, which often depict birds, lions and houses.

Using local production and W. acquired from eastern Gondär and northern Šäwa, western Wällo is known for its runner carpets (Cossins – Yemerou Bekele 1974). Small farmers from the same regions, and the Däbrä Bərhan Wool Factory, supply Addis Abäba's carpet makers, but there has often been a shortage of supply, especially of white W. from imported sheep (Gatenby – Trail 1982).

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 60f.; BeckHuntAlvar 171; EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans le pays des Gallas, de Choa et d'Ifat*, Paris 1838, vol. 4, 85–86; CrawItin 45, 143; HIOB LUDOLF, *A New History of Ethiopia*, London 1684, 398; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. 1, London 1853, 174f.; STRABO, *Strabonis rerum geographicarum libri XVII …*, ed. by ISACCUS CASAUBONUS, Geneva 1830–33, 565.

Lit.: NOEL J. COSSINS – YEMEROU BEKELE, *Still Sleep the Highlands*: *a Study of Farm and Livestock Systems in the Central Highlands of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1974; RUTH M. GATENBY – JOHN C.M. TRAIL (eds.), *Small Ruminant Breed Productivity in Africa*, Addis Ababa 1982; MICHAEL GERVERS, "Cotton and Cotton Weaving in Meroitic Nubia and Medieval Ethiopia", in: *OrbAethChoj* 25; PankSoc 55, 155f., 230, 232, 238; SalTrav 426; JOHN GARDNER WILKINSON, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, new ed. by SAMUEL BIRCH, vol. 1, London 1878, 261, n. 5; R. TREVOR WILSON, *Small Ruminant Production and the Small Ruminant Genetic Resource in Tropical Africa*, internet source (ms.) 1991 (FAO Animal Production and Health Paper 88), 136.

Michael Gervers

World War I

Ethiopian troops played no significant role in combat operations during W.W. I (28 July 1914 to 11 November 1918). However, after the outbreak of the war, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu sought to influence the course of events in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. He supported the Central Powers (Austria, Germany, Hungary and Turkey) much to the dismay of the allies, Britain, France and Italy.

In the early days of W.W. I, the central powers launched a disinformation campaign that accused the allies of plotting to colonize Ethiopia. They also promised that Ethiopia's support would be rewarded with the cession of Eritrea and parts of Kenya, Sudan and ↗British and ↗Italian Somaliland. More importantly, the central powers maintained that accomplishing these goals would facilitate the spread of ↗Islam throughout Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. The allied powers, in turn, banned arms sales to Ethiopia for fear of a wider conflict.

One of Iyasu's earliest undertakings involved sending arms and ammunition to the Somali rebel ↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan, the "Mad Mullah". Such behavior alarmed the allies, who encouraged Šäwan leaders to marginalize Iyasu. Other influential foreigners in Ethiopia failed to convince Iyasu to provide provisions to the allied forces. Instead, he started a secret correspondence with the ᶜAdalites and Somalis in the hope of convincing them to resist allied overtures.

In April 1915, Britain, France and Russia signed the secret Treaty of London. Italy promised to join the allies within a month in return for territorial concessions at the end of the war. On 23 May, Italy entered the war on the allied side. In June, Wilfred Gilbert Thesiger, British envoy in Ethiopia, warned that Iyasu aimed to facilitate the establishment of "a Moslem Kingdom that will stretch far beyond the frontiers of his present Empire".

On 27 September 1916, a group of Šäwan aristocrats finally deposed Iyasu and declared *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) heir to the throne, Crown Prince and Regent Plenipotentiary (↗Coup d'état 1916, s. EAE vol. 2, 1081). Three days later, Mənilək II's daughter, ↗Zäwditu, became Empress of Ethiopia. Täfäri then considered entering the war on the allied side. However, the allies maintained their arms embargo against Ethiopia as they feared a proliferation of weapons would destabilize the country.

In January 1916, the British legation in Addis Abäba sought to prevent Germany from persuading the "Abyssinians to attack Eritrea" and to undermine Iyasu's attempts "to rouse the Moslem tribes in the Ogaden".

Src.: WILFRED THESIGER, *The Life of My Choice*, New York 1988, 48f.

Lit.: PAUL B. HENZE, *Layers of Time*: *a History of Ethiopia*, New York 2001, 194ff.; "Iyasu Mikael, Lej", in: *Dictionary of African Biography*, vol. 1: *Ethiopia*, *Ghana*, New York 1977, 91–92; HEW STRACHAN, *The First World War*: *To Arms*, vol. 1, Oxford 2001, 746f.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

World War II

The Horn of Africa was much more actively involved in W.W. II (1 September 1939 to 2 September 1945) than in ↗World War I. During the ↗War of Liberation the Horn was to be one of W.W. II's most active battlefields outside Europe.

Moreover, the ↗Italian war 1935–36 is often presented as one of the events that helped pave the way for W.W. II.

By early 1939, France had increased its garrison to some 10,000 troops, which included several Senegalese Tiralleurs battalions, and had also strengthened its defenses around ↗Djibouti. In December 1939, France devised a common defense plan with the British that supposedly would facilitate the adoption of a "more enterprising policy". French General Paul Legentilhomme, who had just arrived in Djibouti, accepted the plan that involved French protection over Djibouti and ↗Zayla^c while British forces defended ↗Berbera, the capital of ↗British Somaliland. Legentilhomme also became commander of all allied military forces along the Somali coast, responsible to Lieutenant General Sir Archibald ↗Wavell. Squabbling between Britain's Colonial Office and the War Office over the plan remained unresolved until June 1940, when the War Office assumed responsibility for the administrative control of military forces in British Somaliland.

With the collapse of the French government in June 1940, Legentilhomme announced his intention of continuing the war on the allied side. The colony's administrative council turned against Legentilhomme, who fled to British territory and was replaced by General Aymé.

The collapse of ↗Africa Orientale Italiana in 1941 did not end hostilities in the Horn of Africa. Italy, which had declared war on Britain and France on 10 June 1940, had deployed some 300,000 Italian soldiers to Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia. British and allied forces were scattered along the frontiers of Egypt, Kenya and British Somaliland. On 4 July 1940, Italian forces deployed from Eritrea, attacked Sudan, and occupied ↗Qallabat and Kassala. Four days later, Kurmuk fell to Italian forces. On 4 August, three Italian columns crossed into British Somaliland and assumed control of the Protectorate while an Italian brigade captured Moyale on the Ethiopian-Kenyan border and advanced toward Buna and Lake Rudolf. Despite these reverses, Wavell, then based in Cairo, continued building up the Army of the Nile; he established military bases in Cairo, Khartoum, and Nairobi.

On 4 August 1940, Italian troops from Ethiopia attacked British Somaliland along the Harär-Ǧiǧiga axis. On 17 August, the civilian government evacuated Berbera. On 16 March 1941, a British expeditionary force arrived in Berbera from Aden and reoccupied the capital without incident.

On 16 February 1941, detachments of the King's African Rifles (KAR) arrived in Kismaayo and were warmly greeted by the Somali and Arab populations. The KAR reported that the European population had been evacuated from the town. The KAR managed to expropriate three 4.9 defense guns and ten reparable anti-aircraft guns. An unidentified Italian officer reported that the town's command element was the "first to leave the sinking ship". Military conditions at Jumbo and Jelib were chaotic. Additionally, ammunition and guns were left behind in Mogadishu.

Initially, the British made "immense advances with little opposition". However, they encountered more serious opposition as they approached the Juba River. At Bulo Erillo, for example, the Gold Coast Regiment contended with Italian armored cars, land mines, machine gun emplacements, and tank traps. Near Jelib, South African forces also faced fierce fighting and had to contend with enemy fire while on a pontoon bridge. Italian forces had become little more than a rabble as panic and deteriorating morale affected both Italian and Somali troops. On 24 February 1941, allied forces captured Mogadishu without any resistance and declared it an open town. In Somaliland, the British reported they had captured 250,000 square miles of territory, 20,000 prisoners of war, 350,000 gallons of petrol, rations for 10,000 prisoners for six months, and a variety of serviceable weapons.

In April 1941, Legentilhomme resurfaced in British Somaliland with a few small detachments of Gaullist troops. He launched a propaganda campaign against the Vichy government but it failed to have any significant impact on the course of events. On 1 January 1943, Legentilhomme became High Commissioner for French possessions in the Indian Ocean. After the cessation of hostilities, Ethiopia was totally under British Military Administration (↗British Military Administration of Ethiopia, s. EAE vol. 5).

Lit.: JAMES DUGAN – LAURENCE LAFORE, *Days of the Emperor and Clown*: *the Italo-Ethiopian War 1935–1936*, New York 1973, 159ff., 187ff.; CHARLES W. KOBURGER, *Naval Strategy East of Suez*: *the Role of* Djibouti, New York 1992, 18, 21, 23, 28f., 37, 53; MockWar 148, 241, 243–51; ESTELLE SYLVIA PANKHURST, *Ex-Italian Somaliland*, London 1951, 120–25; LORD RENNELL OF RODD, *British Military Administration in Africa 1941–47*, London 1948, 1–9.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Wright, William

W. (b. 17 January 1830, Mallai /Mully, Nepal, d. 1889, Cambridge) was a British Orientalist. The son of a Scottish officer in the service of the East India Company, he was first educated at Madras College and continued his studies at St. Andrews University, Scotland. Later he studied Syriac and other Semitic languages in Halle and Arabic in Leiden. At the latter university he received his PhD in 1852.

In 1855–56 W. was professor of Arabic at University College, London, and in 1856–61 at Trinity College, Dublin. From 1861 to 1870 he was conservator of Oriental ↗manuscripts at the ↗British Museum with the purpose of cataloguing the vast collection of Syriac manuscripts. From 22 May 1889 to his death he was professor of Arabic at Cambridge University.

W. published several books in Arabic studies, mainly an authoritative, frequently reprinted, revised edition of Carl Paul Caspari's grammar (Wright 1859–62) and became widely respected for his works in Syriac studies. In ↗Ethiopian studies he published *The Book of Jonah in Four Oriental versions* (1857) and, most importantly, the excellent catalogue of the Ethiopic manuscripts from the British Museum (1877; WrBriMus) acquired since Dillmann's previous catalogue of 1848 (DillmLond), consisting chiefly in the collection from ↗Mäqdäla that the ↗Napier expedition had taken to London.

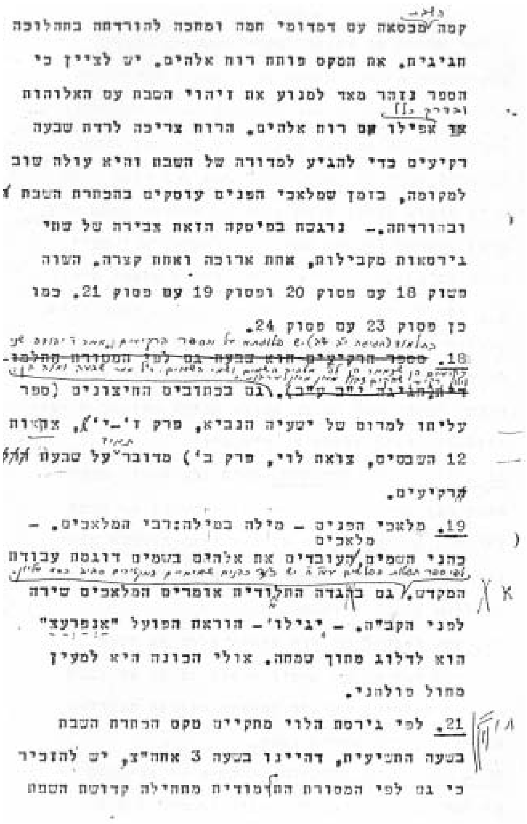
Src.: DillmLond; WrBriMus; WILLIAM WRIGHT (ed.), *The Book of Jonah in Four Oriental Versions, Namely Chaldee* [= *Aramaic*], *Syriac, Aethiopic and Arabic*, London – Leipzig 1857; ID., *A Grammar of the Arabic Language, Translated from the German of Caspari, and Edited with Numerous Additions and Corrections*, London 1859–62; ID. (ed., tr.), *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, London 1894 [repr. Amsterdam 1966; Piscataway, NJ 2001]; ID., *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of Semitic Languages*, ed. by WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH, Cambridge 1890.

Lit.: "Dr. William Wright [Obituary]", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* new ser. 21, 1889, 708–13; CECIL BENDALL, "Wright, William", in: SIDNEY LEE (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 63, London 1900, 138–39; FREDERICK BOASE, "Wright, William", in: *Modern English Biography*, vol. 3: *R to Z*, London 1965 (= 1901), col. 1522.

Witold Witakowski

Wurmbrand, Max (Mordechai)

W. (b. ca. 1900, Rumania, d. ca. 1996) was an Israeli Semiticist and translator of several ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel texts.



קמה מכסאה עם דמדומי חמה ומחכה להורדתה בתהלוכה
חגיגית. את הקטע פותח רוח אלהים. יש לציין כי
הספר נזהר מאד למנוע את זיהוי השבת עם האלוהות
~~אף~~ אפילו עם רוח אלהים. הרוח צריכה לרדת שבעה
רקיעים כדי להגיע למדורה של השבת והיא עולה שוב
למקומה, בזמן שמלאכי הפנים עוסקים בהכתרת השבת
ובהורדתה.- נרגשת בפיסקה הזאת צבירה של שתי
גירסאות מקבילות, אחת ארוכה ואחת קצרה. השוה
פסוק 18 עם פסוק 20 ופסוק 19 עם פסוק 21. כמו
כן פסוק 23 עם פסוק 24.
18. ~~מספר הרקיעים הוא שבעה גם לפי המסורת התלמו-~~
~~דית (חגיגה י"ב ע"ב)~~. גם בכתובים החיצוניים (ספר
עליתו למרום של ישעיה הנביא, פרק ז'-י'), צוואות
12 השבטים, צואה לוי, פרק ב') מדובר על שבעה
רקיעים.
19. מלאכי הפנים - מילה במילה: רבי המלאכים. -
מלאכים
כהני השמים, העובדים את אלהים בשמים דוגמת עבודת
המקדש. גם בהגדה התלמודית אומרים המלאכים שירה
לפני הקב"ה. - "יבילו" - הוראת הפועל "אנפרעצ"
הוא לדלוג מתוך שמחה. אולי הכוונה היא למעין
מחול פולחני.
21. לפי גירסת הלוי מתקיים טקס הכתרת השבת
בשעה התשיעית, דהיינו בשעה 3 אחה"צ, יש להזכיר
כי גם לפי המסורת התלמודית מתחילה קדושת השבת

A page from Wurmbrand's original translation of the *Təʾəzazä Sänbät*; courtesy of the author

W. moved to Palestine in the 1940s. He held no university post but informally taught Gəʿəz courses and Ethiopic texts at "Beit Faitlovich", the house of ↗Faitlovich in Tel Aviv. W. remained active in the Jewish folklore organisation *Yeda V'Am* ('Knowledge and People') whose headquarters were located there, even after Faitlovitch's death. He translated Faitlovich's *Quer durch Abyssinien* from German to Hebrew in 1959, thereby acquainting an Israeli public with Faitlovitch's second expedition to Ethiopia, and the origins and plight of the Betä Ǝsraʾel.

W. produced several important editions and translations (1961, 1964) and wrote encyclopaedia entries, translated texts from German, French and other languages to Hebrew, and published important articles on Betä Ǝsraʾel literature (1954, 1962, 1963, 1991–92, 1993).

Src.: MAX (MORDECHAI) WURMBRAND, "Fragments d'anciens écrits juifs dans la literature falacha", *JA 242*, 1954, 83–100; ID. (tr.), *The Death of Aaron*, Tel Aviv 1961; ID., "Remarks on the Text of the Falasha, 'Death of Moses'", *BSOAS* 25, 1962, 431–37; ID., "Le 'Dersana Sanbat'. Une homélie éthiopienne attribuée à Jacques de Saroug", *L'Orient syrien* 8, 1963, 343–94; ID., **አርድእት፡** *the Falasha "Ardeʾet"* (*the Book of the Disciples*), Tel-

Aviv 1964; Id. (tr.), *Sipuri Beta Israel, sipurim v'sipur mipi Yehuda Etiopia* ('Folktales of the Beta Israel, i.e. Ethiopian Jews'), Lod 1990; Id., "Sefer miṣvot ha'šabbat šel Beta Israel" ('Book of the Commandments of the Sabbath of Betä Ǝsraᵓel'), *Mahut* 8–9, 1991–92, 96–107 and 10, 1993, 13–23; Id., "Falashas", in: Cecil Roth (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 6, Jerusalem 1971, 1144.

Shalva Weil

Wylde, Augustus Blandy

W. (b. 1849, d. 1909) was a British traveller. The son of William Henry Wylde, a minor Foreign Office functionary, he came from a military family. Having been rejected by the army on grounds of unfitness he travelled to the East on his own account and established the trading concern of Wylde, Beyts & Company in the Sudan. He was successively appointed British consul in Jeddah and vice-consul in ↗Sawākin.

In the Sudan W. was initially highly regarded by the British Government. In 1877 he advised Colonel Charles ↗Gordon on its policy towards Ethiopia and befriended *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda. Later, at the height of the ↗Mahdist rebellion, W. was chosen to accompany Rear-Admiral Sir William Hewett's diplomatic mission to Emperor ↗Yoḥannəs IV in 1884 (Wylde 1888, vol. 1, 189ff.). Often outspoken W. became persona non grata to the British Government (ErlAlula 32), particularly when he described its abandonment of the Tripartite Treaty of 1884 signed with Yoḥannəs (↗Hewett Treaty) and British connivance at the Italian occupation of ↗Massawa in 1885, as "one of the worst bits of business" carried out by Britain in Africa (Wylde 1900: 39).

Later, after the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, W. travelled to the battlefield for the British *Manchester Guardian* and interviewed his old friend *ras* Alula, *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaᵓel and several other Ethiopian chiefs, as well as the Italian General ↗Albertone. W. devoted 17 long articles to the episode and also wrote two important, partly autobiographical, books, which contained accounts of the Hewett mission and the ᶜAdwa campaign, as well as of Ethiopian history, geography and political, economic and social life.

Src.: Foreign Office papers, PRO, FO 407/11 Wylde to Alula and Salisbury, 1879, FO 407/14 Wylde to Zuhrab, 1879, FO 407/72 Wylde to FO, 1879; Augustus Blandy Wylde, *'83 to '87 in the Soudan*, London 1888, vol. 1, 189ff.; Id., *Modern Ethiopia*, London 1900, 39; Id., "The Red Sea", *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* 3, 1887, 181–204; Id., "An Unofficial Mission to Abyssinia", *Manchester Guardian*, 5 May–1 July 1897.

Lit.: ErlAlula 32; Richard Hill, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, Oxford 1957, 382f.; "Obituary", *Manchester Guardian*, 6 January 1910; RubInd 337ff.

Richard Pankhurst

WᶜZB

W. was a Christian king of ↗Aksum probably reigning within the first half of the 6th cent. (and however distinguished from the earlier, possibly homonymous, ↗Ouazebas, cp. Hahn 1984: 133, on which Munro-Hay 1984: 110f., 119, and Godet 1986: 191). A son and successor of *nəguś* ↗Kaleb, he is only known from his monumental ↗inscription in pseudo-Sabaic (RIÉ no. 192), which was found at the site of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon cathedral: swarming with biblical quotations, it records a successful campaign against a people called WYTL, not attested elsewhere.

In his inscriptional titulary, rather close to ᶜEzana's older form, W. abandons his father's reference to the ↗Ḥaḍramawt and the highland and the coastal area of the Yemen, which are instead mentioned in the titulary of the contemporary king in South Arabia, ↗Abraha. The latter agreed to pay tribute to Kaleb's successor, and was thus recognized as a tributary ruler (Procopius, *Hist.* I, 20, 3–8, ed. Haury 1905: 106ff.): some adjustment of the Aksumite protocol might well have been effected at the same time (MHAksum 160).

W.'s own titulary also includes his "gentilicium" or "clan-name" (s. ↗Name(s): Pre-Aksumite and Aksumite names), read either as *Bᵓ S ḤDFN*, 'man of ḤDFN', which recalls the name of ᶜEzana's brother *Ḥadefa(n) (s. ↗ŚᶜZN), or as *Bᵓ S ḤDQN*, 'man of ḤDQN', a toponym with a "pendant" in South Arabia (not far from Ṣanᶜāᵓ), according to a proposal aimed at recognizing South Arabian place names after the "man (of)" element (Manzo 1976: 74ff. and n. 41; but see Fiaccadori 2004: 110, 134). The sequence in question is followed by "son of Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa, servant of Christ [*gäbrä Krəstos*]", a humbling formula already used by ᶜEzana in its Greek original (RIÉ no. 271.10: *doûlos Christoû*), and revived then in Gəᶜəz by Kaleb himself (RIÉ no. 191.11; s. MHAksum 208).

As to W.'s relation with the two other sons of Kaleb hitherto known, ↗Ǝsraᵓel and ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, it seems reasonable to suppose that the latter is the "Christian name" of W., who would have reigned, therefore, from 534 to 548 ca. (*pace* MHAksum 93, on whose historical reconstruction, and its alleged Chinese source, s. Fiaccadori 2006: 130–38).

Src.: RIÉ nos. 192 [tr. in HuntGeogr 65f.; repr. in: MHAksum 231f., cp. 93, 158–61, 208f., 244, 246], 271; Roger Schneider, “Trois nouvelle inscriptions royales d’Axoum”, in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 767–87, here 777–86 and pls. vii–x [“Inscription du fils de Kaleb (*W‘ZB*)”, text and commentary]; Procopius Caesariensis, *Opera omnia*, ed. by J. Haury, Lipsiae 1905 [rev. by G. Wirth, 1962], vol. 1, 106ff.
Lit.: Gianfranco Fiaccadori, “Sembrouthes ‘gran re’ (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita”, *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 110, 134; Id., “ᵓElla Gabaz/(ᵓElla) Ḥētāzā”, *ibid.* 61, 2006 [2007], 115–41, here 130–38; Eric Godet, “Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite”, *Revue numismatique* 6ᵉ sér., 28, 1986, 174–209, here 188 n. 19, 191; BrakKirche 108 and n. 537; Andrea Manzo, “Su alcuni recenti ritrovamenti in Ona Nagast (Bieta Giyorgis)”, *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997, but 1998], 71–79, here 74ff. and n. 41; Wolfgang Hahn, “Further Reconsiderations on the Chronology of the Coinage of Aksum”, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 34, 1984, 127–34, here 133; Stuart C. Munro-Hay, “Aksumite Chronology: Some Reconsiderations”, *ibid.* 107–26, here 110f., 119 [= *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 27–40, here 29f., 37]; Roger Schneider, “WᶜZB”, in: *DicEthBio* 175; Id., “Quelques remarques linguistiques sur l’inscription de WᶜZB, fils de Kaleb”, *Comptes rendus du GLECS* 18–23, 1973–79 [1981], 93–95.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

X

Xamar ↗Mogadishu s. EAE vol. 5

Xeer ↗Ḥeer